

legislation is away behind the needs of the times and the wishes of the people. Nor is there any prospect of its overtaking their demands.

But with a reasonable minority of the voters given the power to propose constitutional amendments, a number of vital reforms, first among which from the social point of view being the Single Tax, would be given a trial within a very few years.

Lonsdale, R. I.

PROGRESS AND POLITICS.

An Outlook Upon Current Home and World Affairs.

(For the Review.)

By FRANK C. WELLS.

The Fifty-Ninth Congress came to an end in a blaze of flag-waving and appropriations. Its short session accomplished little save in the line of spending. Colonies, Dreadnoughts and semi-universal pensions come high, and since we must have them it is no wonder that the billion-dollar total that startled the country not so many years ago has been made to look almost like thirty cents.

In respect to constructive and reform legislation it was distinctly a "stand pat" session. In the House the rough-and-ready Speaker—more autocratic than Reed and vastly his inferior in depth and scope of mind—stood guard, assisted by the Dalzells, the Paynes and the Grosvenors—surely the most monumental pigmies that ever posed as statesmen. In the Senate, Aldrich and the other corporation watchdogs were in firm control. The disorganized Democrats under their Bourbon generalship made no headway. Representative Williams is an able and a likable man, but his limitations as a leader were as clearly defined as those of Bailey, Bacon and Blackburn in the Upper House. The pugnacious Tillman is oftener wrong than right, and there was no strong voice raised in behalf of real democracy as distinguished from party maneuvering. It is not to Yazoo, Miss., or Macon, Ga., that the Democratic party must look for inspiration. The Southern members are faithful to Jeffersonian principles as they interpret them, but in applying these principles they shut their eyes to the changes that a century has wrought. If to their opposition to federalism and paternalism and their free-trade devotion there could be added the sensitiveness to monopoly abuses shown by the progressive Westerner and the freedom from race prejudice possessed by the cultured New Englander, together with a real zeal for human progress, there would be united the ideal qualities for democratic leadership. It is unfortunate that Bryan, the leader most nearly uniting in himself these characteristics, should have no seat in either branch of the national legislature and should therefore be unable to exercise his influence at the center of party councils.

The few praiseworthy achievements of the short session are easily recounted. A law was passed reducing the hours of labor of railway employes, telegraphers and signal station men, thereby throwing additional safeguards about railway travel. The government obtained a limited right of appeal in criminal suits brought to enforce federal laws, thus doing away with the absurd practise of allowing technical appeals to the defendant and denying them to the prosecutor and permitting the opinion of a single federal district

judge to stand as final on questions of constitutionality. The Denatured Alcohol law of last winter was amended so as to give the small producer a larger share of its benefits. A commission was created to devise means for breaking up alien city colonies and distributing foreign labor to points where it is needed. Another commission was created to investigate the postal system, and discover just why that system is operated at a loss instead of a profit. This should be easy. Finally, a bill has become law which forbids any corporation chartered by the national government to make money contributions in connection with elections, and further forbids corporations chartered by the states to make such contributions in connection with any election at which Presidential electors, representatives in Congress, or legislatures which elect United States Senators are to be chosen.

In addition, the Santo Domingo treaty, setting a more than doubtful precedent, was passed in amended form; new expatriation and immigration acts became law; Senator Aldrich got a currency bill through for his Wall Street constituents, the long impending Civil War service pensions were authorized and our Congressmen gave their own salaries a boost. The vitally important bill to preserve the forests of the Appalachians was marked for failure by the prairie-dwelling Speaker; but to offset this the bill to grant subsidies to certain steamship lines—thin edge of a colossal wedge—was talked to death by Senator Carmack, of Tennessee, his last and by no means his least service in the Upper House.

One more achievement must not be forgotten. At last, after eight long years, the Republican party has vindicated "benevolent assimilation" and proved that when it declared its conquest of the Philippine Islands was undertaken solely for the good of the natives it made no hypocritical boast. The vindication has not come in the shape of abolishing the tariff on Philippine products. Even Republican statesmen are not full-fledged angels, and while there is a tobacco grower in Connecticut or a raiser of sugar beets in the West to expect virtue like this would be to look for more than weak humanity can compass. But, under hard pressure from the weighty Taft, and against strong opposition, an Agricultural Bank has been authorized! Henceforth let the anti-imperialists cease to cavil and the cynics hide their diminished heads. Will not the most unreconcilable Filipinos have to admit when they see the new institution arise in Manila that the American conquest was worth all it cost them? If they are ever again disposed to think sadly of their nationality destroyed, their young men slaughtered, their families corralled in reconcentration camps, of brutal Smiths and treacherous Funstons, of water torture and the murder of boys of ten, they will have but to hie them to the bank and gaze through its plate glass windows at its American officials lolling in luxurious private offices, while further back perchance a real Filipino assistant deputy cashier passes over the counter to the needy farmer his loan at ten per cent., to feel how ungrateful are their repinings!

THE RACE QUESTIONS AND THE PRESIDENT.

The most interesting and perhaps the most important discussions of the session were those which centered around questions of race. The trouble with the negro regiment at Brownsville, Texas, gave to the President a great opportunity for his favorite pose in the role of Justice—inflexible and infallible. He who had demanded a "square deal" for good negroes now insisted on condign punishment for bad ones; but Senator Foraker, with one eye perhaps on the colored voters of Ohio and the other asquint at the National Convention of 1908, succeeded easily in showing that the case was not such a simple one as it seemed to the cocksure Roosevelt. The mystery surrounding it will

perhaps never be cleared away; but, however criminal some of the black soldiers may have been, the haste of most of the Democratic leaders to range themselves instantly on the President's side rather than to demand a searching investigation was not encouraging to those who hope for a regenerated party whose principles do not melt away in the presence of a black-skinned brother. An inquiring Englishman, with the Englishman's usual ignorance of American political history, seeking a parallel in the United States to what he would have called demagogism in the politics of Great Britain, once asked the writer if the Southern States were so strongly Democratic because of the ignorant negro vote there. Laughable as the blunder was, it affords food for thought. Is not the unshaken Republican solidarity of our black voters a standing indictment against the present-day pretensions of the party of the common people?

Surpassing in interest the Brownsville incident, there arises the new race complication on the Pacific Coast. Thick-lipped Africa we have always had with us, but since the Chinese exclusion law slant-eyed Asia has troubled us little. Now, however, new Japan, which to Eastern brain has added Western muscle, demands equal treatment. Organized labor, which apparently believes as little as the Democratic party that all nations are of one flesh and blood, objects strenuously. The outcome, temporarily adjusted by the passport provision of the immigration law, lies in the future. If the President shall postpone still further a potential crisis by a treaty providing that Japan and the United States shall mutually exclude each other's "laboring classes" the Pacific coast leaders say they will be satisfied. To be sure, such a treaty would contain the first recognition in a legal instrument of the existence of classes in America. "A nonsensical academic objection," says the "practical" man, be he magnate or laborer. But is it?

THE PUBLIC DOMAIN AND CABINET CHANGES.

Whatever Mr. Roosevelt's shortcomings may be, and timorous as he is when the tariff is the subject of the moment, he deserves unstinted praise for his attitude in the matter of conserving the public domain—or what is left of it. His message on this subject was sound and admirable, and when he says that "mineral fuels, like the forests and navigable streams, should be treated as public utilities," he takes unassailable ground. The lease system which he proposes is, of course, not the ideal one, but it would be a thousand times better than the old method of private monopoly under which already one-half of the high-grade coal lands in the West have fallen.

The President followed up his courageous stand on the coal lands by an equally courageous action in creating or increasing thirty-two forest reserves in the Rocky Mountain region. This action he took just before a bill forbidding their creation save by act of Congress—a measure obviously in the interest of the horde of timber thieves—could reach him for signature. It may be hoped that this policy of active opposition to public spoilers will not be weakened by the change in the Department of the Interior. The quiet, determined Hitchcock, the least known but far from the least deserving member of the Cabinet, whose name had become a terror to the land sharks of the West, has been succeeded by James R. Garfield, who sprang into fame a few years ago when as a result of investigation he gave to the Beef Trust a certificate of character. Let us trust that he has now a deeper insight into the tricks of business Napoleons.

The career of Mr. Cortelyou, who succeeds in the very important place of Secretary of the Treasury that delightfully logical protectionist and determined stand-patter, Mr. Shaw, will also be followed with interest. By the favor of two Presidents Mr. Cortelyou has risen in a comparatively few years

from the post of assistant private secretary to the President to that once filled by Alexander Hamilton and Albert Gallatin. Mr. McKinley and Mr. Roosevelt must have been impressed greatly by his ability, and doubtless he is an efficient bureaucrat; but the public has had as yet no reason to be astonished at his breadth or depth of statesmanship. It was he who when Minister of Commerce and Labor held the English labor leader, Turner, in durance vile for months and then deported him on charges of anarchy that would have been quite as applicable to Tolstoy had the latter paid the United States a visit.

AN ENCOURAGING SYMPTOM.

A healthful sign of the times is the tendency shown by many states to attack vigorously problems of administration too long neglected or allowed by default to settle themselves in a way inimical to the public interest. Perhaps the pronouncements of the President and Secretary Root in favor of the nation assuming functions belonging to but unexercised by the states, have had much to do with this renewed activity. Probably much ill-considered legislation, based on wrong principles, will be the result; but of the desirability of the movement itself there can be no doubt. The state legislatures have slumbered too long, while dishonest members have worked for their own pockets and simple ones have followed blindly unenlightened or corrupt party leaders. The most important object in the eyes of the aroused legislators is, of course, the railroads, and the two-cent passenger rate is likely to become law in several states, Nebraska having led off. As to such enactments, the courts, of course, will again show themselves our real rulers, and if their veto power is not exercised in behalf of the railroad corporations it will be a subject for wonder as well as congratulation. Still, in the light of Harriman's revelations of vast fortunes made purely by manipulation of the stock watering can, thinking men are not going to acquiesce too good-naturedly in judicial interpretations of constitutional provisions against confiscation. If the railroads win in the courts the programme of government ownership will receive a tremendous impetus.

In New York State Governor Hughes is showing clearly that he is his own master and that he desires solely to do his duty to the state as he conceives it. He is not spectacular and does not cultivate the arts of popularity, but he is likely to prove a model conservative executive—by which is meant an executive whose conservatism is honest and temperamental, not the result of prejudice or partisanship, and who is too fair-minded and intelligent not to see abuses and too conscientious and energetic not to fight them. If all our conservative leaders were of this stripe and all our radical leaders as free from self-seeking and demagogism as he is from self-seeking and old-fogeyism, our party strife would be far more wholesome than it is. None the less, only a sanguine believer in government regulation as a cure for monopoly evils can think the measures to this end proposed so far by Governor Hughes worthy of much expenditure of energy.

THE CHICAGO ELECTION.

Chicago cannot be congratulated on the result of her Mayoralty election. The city which seemed so determined to own her street car lines has rendered nugatory the progress made toward that end by agreeing to a compromise with the traction companies that postpones city ownership indefinitely, if it does not abandon it. Mayor Dunne, in reward for two years of earnest effort against predatory capitalists, slippery aldermen and obstructive courts, is dismissed to make way for a machine office seeker, apparently of the ordinary type. It is the old story of short-lived enthusiasm—of a fickle electorate,

impatient because miracles cannot be wrought offhand, dropping its plans before they can be tried. Perseverance is a lesson that democracy has yet to learn. Its enemies learned it long ago.

THE OLD WORLD.

British Radicals have to deplore the defeat of the Progressives in the London County Council, their eighteen year stretch of office having been brought to an end. Charges of reckless extravagance in the conception and carrying out of the many municipal enterprises upon which it had entered seem to have been the main cause of the party's defeat. Possibly it was going too fast for slow-moving John Bull; but, however this may be, nothing can be more certain than that those who rejoice most at its defeat are the great monopolizers of London's soil, who saw in its ascendancy a growing menace to their inherited privilege of living in luxury on the depleted earnings of their countrymen.

In Germany the Kaiser has succeeded in getting a Reichstag more nearly after the desire of his heart than the one which he dissolved on its refusal to vote supplies for his war of conquest in South Africa. He may yet enjoy a proud distinction as monarch of the most backward country in Europe, politically speaking, Turkey of course excepted; for Russia's new Douma, despite all the government's effort of disfranchisement, is as radical as the last one and as little disposed to acquiesce in half-way reform, though this time it is pursuing its ends in an extremely cautious manner, hoping thereby to avoid its predecessor's fate.

While Germany still struggles over her little bit of Africa, Great Britain plumes herself on the organization of the first Transvaal colonial ministry, and is preparing to make an imperial hero of the new Boer Premier, her former arch-enemy, General Botha. Apparently the Boers, mollified by the liberal and enlightened course with colonial possessions that Great Britain has learned by bitter lessons to pursue, are prepared to acquiesce without outcry in the new order of things and to use the powers put in their hands rather than expend fruitless efforts in endeavors to bring back the past. None the less, the colonial status is an anomalous one in this stage of the world's progress. Except over that queer order of medieval minds that love kings and courts and cherish the homes of their ancestors rather than their own it has no charm. However fully the Transvaal may come to govern itself, its people, English as well as Dutch, will chafe under the remaining deflected and implied inferiority of colonialism. In bonds of commerce and fellowship between independent states, not in ties of empire, however light, lies the hope for the world's future solidarity.

THE LATE ERNEST CROSBY.

Tributes to His Memory and Services from Margaret Lacey, William Lloyd Garrison, Bolton Hall and Louis F. Post.

The appropriate word regarding the late Ernest Crosby is not easy to write, and no attempt will be made here to utter it. To Single Taxers of course his activity in their chosen field will seem the chief distinguishing feature of his career. Despite his espousal of many causes, too, this doctrine unquestionably remained to him the one of fundamental importance.