The Public

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EDITORIAL

The passing of materialism.

With the passing of the cynical grafter of high finance, and the decline of the boastful "business" man and his vaunted "business" methods in government—or, perhaps as the cause of this—we have the passing of the materialistic philosophies which have for a generation had a maleficent vogue. We need no college professors to tell us this. The fact is obvious. But it is assuring to be told, as Prof. George Santayana of Harvard is reported from Paris as saying in a lecture before a distinguished audience at the Sorbonne, that there is an increasing growth in America "of the idealistic school as distinguished from the materialism that has hitherto been in vogue."

The traction question in Chicago.

Two important lawsuits are pending with reference to the Chicago traction question (p. 577)—one in the Supreme Court of the State and one in the Supreme Court of the United States. They involve legal rights of the traction companies which if decided adversely to the companies would knock them completely out. They ought therefore to be decided before and not after the people vote on the extension of franchise. But the companies want them postponed, which is easily understood. It is not easy to understand, however, why their postponement should be desired by any honest citizen. Yet men whose whole civic stock in trade is that they are honest citizens, are trying to induce the city officials to seek of the companies the very postponement the companies themselves are trying with all their might to get. The only rational explanation is that these exceedingly honest citizens will bear watching.

Death of Gen. Herman Haupt.

Gen. Haupt, who died suddenly on the 13th of this month, had long been distinguished as the oldest graduate of West Point. He was born in 1817, was a great civil engineer before the Civil War, in which he served on Gen. McClellan's staff, and to the day of his death was a Democrat to the heart's core. Gen. Haupt's son, Lewis M. Haupt, also distinguished as an engineer, served on the Isthmian canal commission until his antipathy to the schemers for the Panama route made his further service impossible. Later events are justifying his judgment in the choice of routes. In this judgment he had the intelligent and hearty support of Gen. Haupt. Gen. Haupt was one of the men whose example of courageous democracy in the trying days of rampant imperialism, made it seem worth while to stand out for the great equality doctrines of the Declaration of Independence.

Gov. La Follette's primary reform.

Of Gov. La Follette's first and second choice plan for primary voting (p. 597) nothing adverse can be said by anybody but the politicians, who dread the loss of their power at primaries. Gov. Deneen came to the rescue of this class in Illinois, by gravely insisting upon the importance of a majority decision, something never before known in primary voting, and then providing for it in his bill with such nicety as in effect to take the nominations away from the voters and turn them over again to the conventions, where politicians and corporations can control them. In Wisconsin, La Follette honestly tried, by his first and second choice plan, borrowed from Australia, to make a majority choice necessary, yet to leave the decision with the people themselves. But the legislature, under politician and corporation influence, voted down his bill. They pretended that it was confusing, and in allusion to a popular riddle called it the "Mary Ann" bill. In view of this solitary objection a quotation from the Chicago Tribune is appropriate. In its issue of the 18th it said truly of the defeated "Mary Ann" bill:

> This is not a confusing system of making nominations, and perhaps is calculated to secure good results. It happens often that the choice of a voter at a primary is governed by sectional considerations. His vote is cast for the candidate of the county or the district. If he had a second choice he would designate the man who, locality aside, was in his opinion the best qualified man. If anybody should be the first choice of a minority and the second choice of a majority he probably would be the strongest possible nominee.

Harmon on Roosevelt.

Judson Harmon's wit regarding President Roosevelt's agreeable interchange of civilities over the Santa Fe rebate case is pointed with a sting or two. "The President and the Attorney General," he writes, "seem to be congratu-

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lating each other because the government lost its case against the Santa Fe Railroad Co." And then he wants to know why, "if they were always so certain there was nothing in the case,"—why they turned it over to him and Mr. Judson. But Harmon and Judson made the mistake, as they promptly learned, of refusing "to believe that the corporation had slipped out of nights and handed over the rebates while the officers in charge of its traffic were abed." They therefore, instead of exonerating Morton and the other officers, proposed proceedings against them, whereupon President Roosevelt "proceeded himself," says Mr. Harmon, "to hold a 'bed of justice' and have a trial by letter," and to "announce what was a cross between a judgment of not guilty and a pardon, in which the Attorney General concurred." The sting in all this is its truth.

President Roosevelt and rates.

In that part of his message (pp. 573, 576, 592) which deals with the subject of a railroad rate regulation law, President Roosevelt insisted that in his judgment—

> the most important provision which such law should contain is that conferring upon some competent administrative body the power to decide, upon the case being brought before it, whether a given rate prescribed by a railroad is reasonable and just, and if it is found to be unreasonable and unjust, then, after full investigation of the complaint, to prescribe the limit of rate beyond which it shall not be lawful to go—the maximum reasonable rate, as it is commonly called—this decision to go into effect within a reasonable time and to obtain from thence onward, subject to review by the courts.

This exhibits the whole fallacy of railway rate regulation in principle. Upon what sound principle could such a bureaucratic supervision of prices be tolerable? Upon no other than that railroads are engaged not in private trade but in the public service. And of this business that is true. A railway is a highway, and rates are tolls. But why should highways be turned over to private corporations? Are not the days of toll-gates past? The truth is that railways are highways plus the operation. The operation is a private business and could easily be made competitive. The highways are a public convenience and should be public. If this adjustment were made, rates would regulate themselves through competition. And the adjustment could easily be made. Nothing is required but to make the railway line with its rails a public highway open to all on reasonable and equal terms, under the regulation of a dispatchers' bureau, and to leave the competitive operators to charge "all the traffic will bear," which, in those circumstances would be the cost of service and no more. But that adjustment would break up railroad monopoly without paternalistic administrative bureaus; and it would cut off so much, oh, so much graft! Therefore—

The decision in Hearst's case.

It seems to us impossible to read the opinions of the Court of Appeals in the Hearst ballot box opening case (p. 596) without coinciding with the dissenting judges. The old election law required the immediate destruction of the ballots; the new one requires the preservation of the ballots for a considerable time after the election. Why this requirement? Nothing reasonably explains it but the intention of the legislature to make a recount possible should circumstances make it desirable. So the minority judges held. But the majority judges have in this respect virtually nullified the changed law. It may, indeed, be unwise to allow recounts; but that is for the legislature, not the courts to determine. Since the courts refuse a recount, it is gratifying to know that Hearst intends to have the whole subject investigated if possible by the legislature.

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Mayor McClellan told a New York Times reporter that he was "perfectly satisfied with the result." This is interesting, as throwing light upon McClellan's conception of perfect satisfaction. It seems to consist in getting an office by 3,000 plurality out of half a million votes, through the refusal of the courts to allow the evident frauds of his party associates, which the ballot boxes conceal, to be exposed.

Failure of John R. Walsh.

A remarkable fact regarding the bank failures which stunned financial Chicago this week, is the entire absence of sympathy for Mr. Walsh, whose personality is unhappily conspicuous in connection with them. Wealth has been the sole object of his pursuit, and now that he loses that he loses all. It was different with Altgeld, whom Walsh impoverished. Altgeld, too, was wealthy until he came within Walsh's power; but when he had lost all his wealth, he still possessed assets which wealth could not buy and the wealthy could not destroy. In the worst days of his experience, when in hopeless poverty and under a cloud of plutocratic contempt, Altgeld held the confidence and affections of throngs of honest people. But Walsh knows none of this. His enemies gloat over his downfall, his victims are pitiless, and outside of a narrow circle he has no friends. Even business associates who purred in his presence yesterday are clawing at him to-day.

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If any man's misfortune could justify a sense of gratification, Walsh's is probably one of the few. Not only has he earned general hatred, if hatred be permissible, but he has contaminated the whole business, political and financial system of the city in which he has lived and done business. His misfortune can hardly fail to let out some of the foul air; and it may result in positive purification. There is need for better business ethics in the business circles of Chicago. This need could not be met while Mr. Walsh was a dominant factor in Chicago business life. He knew no law but the criminal law, and now it appears he was not overmindful of that. It remains to be seen whether his scandalous failure will improve the business, and

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thereby the civic, environments of the city he and his kind have hoodooed.

Meanwhile the fact must not be blinked that the general execration of Walsh in high business, financial, journalistic and political circles is not necessarily a repudiation of his methods. His wickedness was as well known long before his banks failed as now. But he had power then, and business men cringed before it; he had acquired wealth, and business men imitated his methods. If the same men attack him now, it is to be feared that they do so not because they detest his methods but because they detest him—and that for no better reason than that he has lost his wealth and has fallen from power. Walsh is to be pitied, not detested. It is his sordid business policy, not the man himself, that should be the object of our detestation. But this can truly be, only by our substituting better business policies.

JOHN W. BENGOUGH.*

Readers of The Public have long been familiar with the name of John W. Bengough, for nearly all its cartoons have come from his pencil. Not so familiar, however, is the fact that he is the best known cartoonist and one of the most popular entertainers on the lecture platform in Canada.

Mr. Bengough was born in Toronto, April 7, 1851. His father was a Fifeshire Scot of sturdy intellect and rigid conscience—a typical Scottish reformer whose mind grew fresher and keener and his views broader almost to the day he died, at the age of 81. His mother came from County Caven, Ireland. The national characteristics of the parents blend in the rollicking humor and unflagging purpose of the son.

When he was of the age of two, his parents moved to Whitby, Ontario, and at the public schools of this place the boy got his education.

He was not very studious, in the school-master sense of studiousness; but in developing his natural aptitudes he was as studious as the best. For skill in English composition, song, recitation, drawing and comic carving, he soon became famous among his schoolmates. With these accomplishments matured, and the aid of a prodigious memory, he has made his place in the world and filled it.

After a brief experience in high school and a briefer one in a law office, Mr. Bengough discovered an entrance to the path along which he has made his career. He threw up his position in the law office to take a place on the Whitby Gazette, where he remained until he came of age in 1872, when he secured a job as a local reporter on the daily Globe in Toronto. This was in the days of George Brown and his brother Gordon, the acknowledged leaders of Liberal journalism in Canada.

Before he had worked long on the Globe, an opportunity opened which introduced Bengough to the whole Canadian public. A pencil sketch he had made of a well-known Toronto character having been reproduced by the then unfamiliar art of lithography, the idea occurred to him of utilizing this art for the publication of a weekly paper with pictures.

The process was quick and cheap, and its cheapness especially was important, for Mr. Bengough had but little capital. Neither had his younger brother, Tom Bengough (now known as the most expert shorthand writer of Canada if not of America), who joined him in the enterprise. Between them they had barely enough capital to pay for the first number of the paper. But they made the venture together, and on the 24th of May, 1873, the paper appeared under the name of Grip. Though it was a crude little sheet, the Canadians took kindly to it; and as the Pacific railway scandal flamed up an exceptionally fine opportunity for cartooning was offered, of which Bengough made good use. So Grip sprang into immediate popularity. For more than two decades it was an influential organ of Canadian opinion.

Bengough's editorial policy was to express his honest thought on every subject he wrote on or cartooned. So far from injuring the paper, this policy increased its circulation and strengthened its influence. A prohibitionist himself, he not only supported prohibition with pen and pencil in Grip, but as long as he controlled the paper he admitted no liquor "ads" to its advertising columns. Other subjects also claimed this kind of loyalty from him. While editor of Grip he read Henry George's Progress and Poverty, and at once capitulated to its reasoning. True to his editorial principles and policy, he then gave full expression to his thought along the lines of George's work, and Grip became an emphatic advocate of free-trade and the single tax as well as of prohibition.

When Grip had been running about a year, growing more popular all the time, the example of Thomas Nast, a cartoonist of whom Bengough was always a great admirer, made him ambitious to go upon the lecture platform. As he had from early boyhood been accustomed to public reciting, being regarded in his schooldays as the star of his town, and as he had attracted attention as a writer of sketches in prose and verse, as well as a cartoonist, he felt encouraged to make his experiment at lyceum entertainment.

His first appearance was at the Music Hall in Toronto under the auspices of the Mechanics' Institute, in 1874. Since then he has filled engagements every season, going twice across the continent, yet never neglecting his editorial work.

For 21 years Bengough edited and illustrated Grip without missing a week, no matter how pressing upon his time and energy were other demands. His connection with Grip was severed in the early 90's through a business disagreement between himself and the managers of the corporation which had come into its control. Grip did not long survive his withdrawal.

Since leaving Grip he has done regular cartooning and other journalistic work for the Montreal daily Star, the Toronto Evening Star, and the Toronto Globe.

In 1901, while on a visit to England, he responded to a call from the London Chronicle for a car-

*A half-tone portrait of Mr. Bengough accompanies this issue of The Public as a supplement.

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toonist, and for several months he aided the Chronicle in this way in supporting the programme of the Liberal party of Great Britain. Subsequently he was engaged as a cartoonist in London to assist in the Chamberlain movement for promoting the unity of the Empire; but after a fortnight's work he discovered that unity of the Empire was only a British euphemism for protection propaganda, whereupon he abandoned this engagement. He then contributed cartoons to the London Leader and the London News, on the anti-Chamberlain side.

The first Bengough cartoon to appear in The Public was on imperialism. It treated Uncle Sam as "Dr. Jekyll" with reference to Cuba, and "Mr. Hyde" with reference to the Philippines, and appeared in the issue of June 14, 1902 (vol. v, p. 160). The next, "The Unworking Classes," appeared (vol. v, 208) in the issue of July 5, 1902. Since then, with only two or three exceptions, every issue of The Public has contained a cartoon from the cosmopolitan pencil of Mr. Bengough.

With all his cartooning, editorial writing and lecturing Mr. Bengough has not neglected literary work of a permanent character. Like his cartoons, his writing is done not merely for the purpose of showing how well he can do it, but for the purpose of propagating ideas.

For political service he utilizes a character of his own invention, "Caleb Jinkins," who is made by Mr. Bengough's pen to do a good deal of useful "thinking out loud." His "Caleb Jinkins" papers have not yet been published in book form, but several books from his pen have come before the public. Among these are two volumes of verse, "Motley" and "In Many Keys." Another is "The Gin Mill Primer," and still another, probably the best known, is "The Up-to-Date Primer." The last is a witty yet philosophical book of one-syllabled words, with illustrations drawn by the author. It imitates the style of the old fashioned progressive school primer, and is intended, according to the title, as "a first book of lessons for little political economists." Here is a sample:

What is this? It is a High Wall. It is built by the Wise State all round the Bounds of the Land to Keep Out Cheap Goods that Foes might want to Send in. But if the Wall keeps out Cheap Goods, the like Goods our own Men make will be Dear, will they not? Yes, they May, but you see we will Keep our Cash in our own Land, so we can Buy even if they are Dear. And more, they will not be Dear long, for lots of Works will be set up, and the Price will soon Fall to a Fair Rate. And poor Toil will soon get Rich, will he not? So they Say. But see! there is a Hole in the Wall, and All who Please may come in to Beat down Toil in his Wage. Toil must buy Dear Goods, but Work for a Cheap Wage. That is what it Means, but Toil Votes for the Wall.

Political activity is not exactly in Mr. Bengough's line, but a man who is a prohibitionist, a single taxer and a municipal reformer is pretty apt to be dragged into political activity whether he will or no, and this is what has happened to Mr. Bengough. Toronto is the city in which at a referendum recently (vol. vii, p. 661; vol. viii. p. 21) the people voted to exempt from taxation all real estate improvements up to $700. That was the principle involved, though in form the vote was an affirmative reply to the question, Do you wish the City Council to ask the legislature for power to exempt dwelling houses up to $700 of their value? The aldermen having refused to execute the people's will in this matter the exemptionists have decided upon nominating aldermen of a more democratic type. One of these is Mr. Bengough. He will be supported also by the temperance people and the Municipal Reform League, and there are good reasons for expecting his success at the election, which is to take place on the 1st day of January, 1906.

Mr. Bengough is intending to make a lecturing tour of the United States under the auspices of the Henry George Lecture Association as a colleague of John Z. White, Ernest H. Crosby and Herbert S. Bigelow, but as a cartoonist and entertainer rather than a formal lecturer.

His cartoons are so familiar to our readers that no special description is necessary. They are distinguished for pungent, serious-minded wit, which probes and lays bare, although his pencil has a light touch of humor when he aims to amuse. It is in his lecture cartoons more than in his newspaper cartoons that his Irish jollity gets the better of his Scotch gravity; for in lecturing Mr. Bengough makes comical as well as instructive uses of the easel and chalk. In "chalk talks" he excels. What Thomas Nast was in this respect to American audiences years ago, such is John W. Bengough to-day.

An entertainer of high grade and fine humor, both with speech and pencil, he makes his humor serve higher purposes than those of a mere showman. The high ideals to which other lecturers appeal by verbal exposition, argument and oratory, are shrewdly and good naturedly served by Bengough with the cheerful art of the comic actor and the wit and skill of the ready cartoonist.

NEWS NARRATIVE

How to use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives: Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before; continue so until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.

Week ending Thursday, Dec. 21.

The Russian revolution.

"It is now the mailed fist of the Czar against the 'red terror,' with the destiny of Russia as the stake." This was the summing up by the Associated Press correspondent at St. Petersburg of the situation in Russia on the 17th; and both prior and subsequent events strengthen that prediction.

Our report of last week (p. 598) told of the setting up of a republican revolutionary government in Livonia. That report brought the events down to the 13th. Later reports of events of the same date indicated that this revolt was spreading fast. The districts of Riga and Vanden were said to be entirely in the hands of the new government. On the 14th dispatches from St. Petersburg reported the dispatch of war ships to Riga to put down the rebellion.

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Berlin dispatches of the 17th, originating in East Prussia, reported that the new government was in full control of all Courland and Livonia and that the rebellion had spread to the neighboring province of Kovno. According to these dispatches the plans for this revolution as set forth in resolutions adopted at Dorpat, an interior city of Livonia, provide —

for the establishment of a revolutionary administration which shall boycott the representatives of the present government, close the vodka shops, resist conscription, refuse quarters or subsistence to the troops, withdraw deposits from banks, and cease payments to the crown, the land owners and the church. It is also provided to arm and organize the people into a militia, to respond to the call for a general strike of the Russian proletariat, to compel the convocation of a constituent assembly, the liberation of martyrs for freedom, the immediate return of the Manchurian army and its disbandment, together with the army in European Russia, and the distribution of their arms among the people.

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In Warsaw the revolution has advanced to a point at which open agitation on the streets proceeds with impunity and the Russian troops have frequently refused to fire upon the populace. Similar conditions, though farther advanced, are reported to prevail at Moscow. A regiment of the garrison mutinied on the 16th, and other regiments, including the Cossacks, refused to fire on the mutineers. Even the army in Manchuria appears to be on the verge of revolt, Gen. Linevitch having officially telegraphed:

I cannot combat the growth and spread of the revolutionary propaganda in the army. Already over one-half is mutinous.

The Railway Workers' Union has telegraphed the Manchurian army:

Rely on us. Even if we declare a general railway strike we will see you brought home to assist in Russia's liberation.

The army has sent back an enthusiastic answer, telegraphic communication being especially maintained for this purpose through Siberia by strikers. The wires are closed absolutely otherwise by the telegraphers' union.

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But the particular event to which the Associated Press correspondent alluded as quoted above, was the Russian revolutionists' manifesto, the Czar's ukase in reply, and the consequent proclamation of a general strike (p. 580). The revolutionists published a manifesto on the 15th in which, after reciting grievances, they proposed:

To undo these terrible facts the only possible medium is an elective assembly. Even then it will be difficult. That body must, as its first task, take in hand a strict investigation into the finances of the country and show the people an honest picture of the position in all its horrors. Fear of this impending revelation is what is causing the government to delay calling together the popular assembly. As its military credit was, so to-day is Russia's financial impotence. And for all the government is indebted to the autocracy. The terrible enigma before the national assembly is how to straighten out the financial chaos. In defending its disgraceful misappropriation of funds the government has brought about a state of internecine warfare. In that strife hundreds of thousands of respectable citizens have gone under, and with their fall has come a complete collapse of trade. One way out of this is to vanquish the government and take from it the last shred of its power. Knock from under it its last support — namely, its income. This is necessary, not only on account of the economic position of the country, but in order to enable us to hold up our heads before other civilized countries. We have, therefore, resolved to refuse to pay any form of government taxation, and demand that the government shall pay for everything in specie, even small sums, insisting upon receiving coins, not paper money, and to withdraw everything from the imperial savings banks only in gold.

This manifesto was met on the 17th by an Imperial ukase clothing all governors general, governors and prefects throughout the Empire with authority to establish martial law without consulting St. Petersburg: As martial law may be ended only by order of the Minister of the Interior at St. Petersburg, the whole situation is placed directly under control of the reactionary minister of the interior, Mr. Durnovo. The response of the revolutionists was quick and sharp. On the 19th they proclaimed a general strike (p. 580) to begin on the 21st. It was called by authority of the Union of Unions, the Union of Peasants, the General Railway Union and the Councils of Workmen of St. Petersburg and Moscow. It had been approved also by the League of Leagues. The strike is already in effect in Moscow, the central committee of the workmen's organization there having ordered all the unions under its control to stop work at noon of the 20th. Telegrams from the Minister of the Interior, Durnovo, at St. Petersburg, ordering the arrest of members of the Railway Union and the Workmen's Council at Moscow, were intercepted and suppressed by the railroad telegraphers. The Imperial authorities are reported to be making extensive military preparations to crush this revolutionary strike. Troops with machine guns are being deployed throughout St. Petersburg, which swarms with secret service men in search of leaders among the revolutionists. Fighting is expected to begin at any moment. But, encouraged by the successes of the insurgents in the Baltic provinces, the workmen are reported as unanimously in favor of civil war. They are said to be armed and organized and to have secret money supplies which they declare it will not take long to augment from the coffers of the government and the wealthy classes when the struggle becomes general in the cities.

Japan and China.

When Russia and Japan were adjusting their terms of peace at Portsmouth in July, the Chinese government transmitted a note to the world Powers (p. 264) intimating that no provision affecting China would be recognized by the Chinese government as valid without her prior approval; and an adjustment of the relations of China and Japan has now been made. As reported from Tokio on the 14th, a treaty embodying the following terms has been perfected:

1. The lease of the Kwangtung peninsula will expire in 1923.
2. The railway south of Chang Chung will be handed over to Japan. China, however, will have the right to repurchase it in 1906, or earlier should the Russians relinquish the northern section of the road. Japan will not construct any branch lines.
3. Japan will be allowed to maintain railway garrisons.
4. Japan will evacuate Manchuria within eighteen months.
5. The military telegraphs will be treated in the same manner as the railway.

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The sixth, seventh and eighth clauses provide for garrisoned consulates at New Chwang, Mukden, Antung, Kirin, Chang Chung and other places, which are the residences of Japanese, and banking shall be restricted to those places.

9. The customs house will be maintained at New Chwang. The customs hithorto collected by the Japanese shall be restored to China.

10. Coal mining shall be restricted to Mujun and Yentai.

11. The military notes issued by the Japanese shall be redeemed rapidly.

12. The Japanese military administration shall lapse with Japan's evacuation of Manchuria.

American politics.

A political controversy of national interest is expected in New York with the assembling of the State legislature early in January. On the contest for the speakership of the lower House, which is Republican, the faction represented by Gov. Higgins and which President Roosevelt encourages, is supporting J. W. Wadsworth, Jr. The opposition faction is represented by ex-Gov. Odell, who has pledged himself to the candidacy of Edwin A. Merritt, Jr.

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In Wisconsin, Gov. La Follette's "second choice" direct primary bill (p. 597) was finally defeated in the lower House on the 14th, the House having then refused by 42 to 29 to reconsider its adverse action of the 12th. The law continues, therefore, under which primary nominations are made by pluralities instead of majorities. The defeat of this bill is charged to the influence of W. D. Connor, of Marshfield, a millionaire lumberman, who is chairman of the Republican State Committee, to which office he was elected by the La Follette faction. He is said to be a candidate for governor in opposition to La Follette's choice. By combinations with the "stalwarts" he defeated the legislation in question. After passing 17 bills on subjects for the consideration of which they were called together in special session by Gov. La Follette, the legislature adjourned on the 15th. Besides killing the direct primary bill proposed by Gov. La Follette, the legislature defeated an 8-hour-day amendment to the capitol building bill.

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On the 19th, Gov. La Follette resigned the office of governor (p. 577), his resignation to take effect on the first Monday of January at noon. This was in consequence of his decision to accept the office of United States Senator.

Chicago traction questions.

A concerted movement by the Municipal Ownership League has been in progress for the past two or three weeks for the purpose of forcing the franchise extension aldermen to face their ward constituents on the subject. Each alderman is invited to the meeting held in his own ward and given an opportunity to defend his course in the Council. The meetings have been under the direction of the president of the League, T. P. Quinn.

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On the 20th a coalition of the various municipal ownership organizations and the Referendum League was effected under the presidency of John A. Watson, a Republican, with Wm. J. D. Shanks as secretary and Frank W. Jones as treasurer. The object of this coalition is to secure signatures to a referendum petition without waiting further upon the dilatory action of the City Council, and to promote the election of non-partisan municipal ownership candidates for aldermen at the coming municipal election. The editor of the Examiner, Mr. A. R. Lawrence, who was present at the organizing meeting, pledged "all the influence" that "his paper commands, to the support of all that the body shall contend for at the April election."

—

Mayor Dunne's appointment of Dr. Maurice F. Doty as inspector of street car service and sanitation (p. 598) appears to have been a wise one. The circumstances are of interest wherever street car service is bad. Dr. Doty has actively begun a systematic crusade against the execreble service which has prevailed in Chicago without modification, simply because its improvement has been everybody's business and therefore nobody's. One of Dr. Doty's first steps was to publish a request to street car patrons advising them that—

in order that the transportation facilities of Chicago may be made satisfactory to the people, those who ride in the cars should co-operate with the city officials. All complaints, criticisms and suggestions will be promptly investigated and every effort made to make the system conform to the wishes of the people. The franchises that have not yet expired all provide that the cars must comply with the Council regulations as one of the conditions by which the companies are allowed the use of our streets. The City ordinances provide that each closed car shall contain a standard Fahrenheit thermometer in good order and so placed as to give the average temperature of the car, and that the temperature shall be maintained at not less than 50 degrees. The cars must be reasonably clean, disinfected and so ventilated as to be practically free from foul and vitiated air. A copy of the ordinances should be posted in each car. The cars and tracks should be maintained in good condition, so as to provide comfortable transportation. A sufficient number of cars should be run on each separate line to prevent overcrowding and to comply with a reasonable time schedule. Each car should run through to its terminus, as designated on the car, if there are any passengers on the car who desire to be carried to such terminus (except in blockades). A watchman should be stationed at all grade crossings of steam and electric car lines. When approaching a bridge or grade crossing the car should come to a full stop at 100 feet from such bridge or crossing and then proceed at a rate of not to exceed two miles an hour. Street cars should be stopped at a point ten feet from all street car crossings. Each car or train should have a fender in good order. By the complaints received we can tell just where to apply the remedy. For this reason it will greatly hasten the day of satisfactory transportation in Chicago if all citizens who know of violations of any of the above provisions will send notice of same by letter, or postal, giving time, car number, place, etc., to Maurice F. Doty, local transportation expert, Mayor's Office, City Hall.

This is the first systematic official effort to compel the Chicago traction companies to perform their contracts. It has already forced the companies to confess that they are neglecting to supply a sufficient number of cars to prevent overcrowding.

Chicago gas question.

In the gas rates controversy (p. 565) in which the City of Chicago is in a conflict (of a kind to which every American city is subject), with the local gas monopoly established upon franchises and governed from New York, Mayor

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Dunne has unearthed an interesting scheme for defrauding the city. He brought it to the attention of the City Council on the 18th, through a message in which he showed that the Universal Gas Company (a long-ago forgotten company) had been granted a franchise in 1894 providing—

that consumers be charged no more than $1 per thousand cubic feet for gas, and that 10 per cent of the gross receipts be paid to the city; that when the company reduced the price of gas to 90 cents per thousand feet, the company would be absolved from its obligation to pay any portion of its gross income to the city; that the City of Chicago was to be a special consumer and gas was to be furnished to it at 75 cents; that if the company should, either directly or indirectly, enter into any combination with any other gas company concerning the price to be charged for gas, its rights under the ordinance should be forfeited and its plant become the property of the city.

Proceeding, the Mayor's message declared that—

this company supplies one-fourth of the gas consumed in Chicago. It has been selling its output at the uniform rate of $1 per 1,000 cubic feet, and the compensation due the city amounts to more than $1,000 a day. For the purpose of depriving the city of its just revenue from gas, the Universal company entered into an agreement with the People's Gas Light & Coke Company, by the terms of which the Universal company sells practically all its gas to the People's company for less than 90 cents and the People's company in turn sells its gas to consumers at $1. The Universal company claims that, having sold its gas at less than 90 cents, it is not obliged, under the terms of the ordinance, to pay anything to the city. The fact that the People's company is now practically the owner of the Universal company shows that this arrangement is a mere subterfuge for the purpose of evading the payment of the compensation to the city under the terms of the Universal company's ordinance.

The Mayor therefore urged that an ordinance be passed forfeiting the right of the company to do further business under the ordinances and authorizing suits brought to recover money due the city and to acquire the company's plant and mains. The ordinance submitted by the Mayor was referred to the gas committee.

The New York gas question.

Forced finally to furnish New York city with an estimate of the cost of gas after deducting $1,114,236 for the contingent and depreciation fund and $936,833 for fixed charges from the total cost of production in the year ending October 31, the Consolidated Gas Co., through Robert A. Carter, its secretary, reported on the 20th. It puts the cost per 1,000 cubic feet of its product at between 56 and 57 cents. The Consolidated holds that the two items should be included in the cost of production, and on that basis computes the cost of 1,000 feet to be over 70 cents.

A sensational bank failure.

Financial circles have been disturbed by the failure of three great banking institutions of Chicago — the Chicago National Bank, the Equitable Trust Co., and the Home Savings Bank— all controlled by John R. Walsh, the proprietor of the Chicago Chronicle and a man of the highest standing, financially, in Chicago. The first announcement was made at a four-o'-clock-in-the-morning extra of the Chicago Tribune on the 18th. The Clearing House explained authoritatively during the day that the difficulty with these three institutions had been that—

their investments have been made in assets connected with the railway and coal enterprises of John R. Walsh. These assets were not immediately available to meet deposits and have been taken over on terms which will enable the three institutions to pay their depositors in full.

In the same circular the Clearing House stated that—

after a thorough and careful examination of their affairs by the Chicago Clearing-house banks, all of the depositors of these institutions will be paid in full upon demand, the Chicago Clearing-house banks having pledged themselves to this result, thus putting all the resources of the Chicago banks behind the depositors of these three institutions.

Mr. Walsh and his coadjutors resigned and other officers were installed.

Mr. Walsh is a director in the following institutions:

Chicago National bank; Akron Gas company; Audit Company of Illinois; Bedford Quarries company; Chicago Auditorium association; Chicago Safe Deposit company; Equitable Trust company; Home Savings bank; Illinois Southern Railway company; North Shore Electric company; Northwestern Gas Light and Coke company; Ogden Gas company; Rand, McNally & Co.; Southern Indiana Express company; Southern Indiana Railway company.

He has long been a financial politician, acting as a Democrat in conjunction with Fred M. Blount (his chief assistant in banking), a Republican, and thereby securing enormous deposits of public moneys for his banking institutions. As two of these were State and one a national institution, the officers managed to deceive the examiners by shifting unmarketable securities back and forth as examinations were made by the national and the State examiners respectively. The climax came when the national and the State examiners recently made their examinations simultaneously. There are intimations of criminal prosecutions.

The full financial significance of this crash is known only to men on the inside of matters financial. It may signify a general crash in the near future; or, it may be only a sporadic instance due to the crimes of a particular coterie, and therefore of no widespread financial importance. Bankers make the latter explanation. This would be amply reassuring were it not for the fact that bankers never admit impending disaster, lest they may thereby destroy confidence. Thomas W. Lawson, who is "bearing" the market with his fortune at stake, but whose exposures of highly reputable financiers have been verified in the past, insists that the failure of the Walsh banks signifies the crumbling of the whole financial edifice. In a published telegram of the 18th he said:

Day before yesterday it was Milwaukee, yesterday Kansas City, to-day Chicago, to-morrow Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, Boston or what particular city I cannot say. But there will be a to-morrow and it will be similar to yesterday and to-day, only more similar. Then there will be a day after to-morrow. That will be New York, and when that day comes clearing houses will do no good. The handwriting is on the wall, the sword is suspended, and it is only a question of how many days clearing house guarantees and other artificial machinery can stave off the inevitable. I can only repeat what I have been saying: The entire corporation and banking system of

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the country is stilted; the stilts are rotten, at the ends and in the middle, and the structure will, as sure as night follows day, collapse. If it dribbles along in Milwaukee, Kansas City and Chicago style so much the better, but I am afraid dribblings are nearly over.

NEWS NOTES

—The Supreme Court of Illinois has affirmed the conviction of Johann Hoch (p. 273), and condemned him to death on February 23d.

—The anthracite coal miners' convention began its sessions at Shamokin, Pa., on the 15th with 700 delegates present and President John Mitchell in the chair.

—The Chicago charter convention (p. 596) reassembled on the 19th and after informally considering the report of the committee on procedure, adjourned to the 4th.

—Daniel C. Gilman, of Baltimore, was reelected president of the National Civil Service Reform league, which closed its annual convention at Milwaukee on the 15th.

—Abe H. Hummel, a noted criminal lawyer of New York for many years, and of the old firm of Howe & Hummel, was convicted on the 20th of conspiracy and sentenced to a fine of $500 and one year's imprisonment—the maximum penalty. He is on bail pending appeal.

—The Italian ministry resigned on the 17th, following a debate on reducing the duty on Spanish wines, the cabinet opposing the reduction. A vote of confidence in the ministry was taken in the midst of the debate and was lost by 63 to 162. The ministry then resigned.

—Daniel Garrigan was sentenced on the 20th by Judge Kohlsaat, of the Federal Court at Chicago, to three months' imprisonment for contempt of an injunction in the teamsters' strike (p. 279) of last Spring. The specific act of which he was convicted by Judge Kohlsaat was riot and assault.

PRESS OPINIONS

FOLK AND FRANCHISES.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (ind.), by William Marion Reedy, editor, Oct. 26.—To my thinking, Folk as a reformer is only an emotional revivalist. He doesn't get down to the foundations of social wrong. As far as he goes, he is right enough, but he is just the man about whom, at a crisis, Privilege can rally with the false cry that the system is all right if only administered by honest men. This is wrong, for the system depraves the men. . . . Folk will go far on his compromise with the system. . . . He will dodge the truth that the great wrong which permeates this country is the farming out of governmental functions to fictitious creatures of government—the corporations. And back of this lies the great proposition of salvation which all the reformers evade—that the few are aggrandized at the expense of the many by the disinheritance of the multitude, for whom the earth was made, through the monopolization and forestalling of the land and its products by those few. Mr. Folk lets his thinking play only upon the surface of conditions. His plea for honesty is all well enough, but it doesn't go deep enough. The essential dishonesty is in the fact that men are made dishonest by the principle of unrestricted private ownership of the earth, which carries with it the ownership of the men who live upon it. Break up the hold of the corporations on the land and the exploitation of man by men, will cease. Destroy the privileges and franchises—all of them based on monopolization of land values created by the people who live upon the land—and the chief compelling necessity to dishonesty will be destroyed. Maybe though, Folk's plea for honesty can make men honest enough to destroy it.

THE NEGRO QUESTION.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (ind.), Aug. 24.—Negrophobia is the hysteria of a decadent aristocracy. There is need neither to love nor hate the Negro, but we should be fair and just towards him. If we ask the Negrophile if he'd have his sister or daughter marry a black man, may we not ask the Negrophobe if Christ did not die for the black as for the white man?

The Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Aug. 26.—The Negro has stood the bourbon Democrats well in hand. Whenever effort has been made to free Southern States from ring rule or corporate domination "the nigger" has been trotted out as a bugbear to frighten the simpleminded. If the people of the South are content with that sort of thing, the rest of the country as a whole has little reason to object. But when "the nigger" is brought forward to obstruct national policies, the country as a whole is concerned. Nothing could be better calculated to isolate the South from sympathy with the country at large than to permit itself to be used as an instrument by its bourbons and shifty politicians in league with great corporate interests to obstruct legislation designed to restrain the greed of organized wealth.

Manchester (Eng.) Guardian (Lib.), Sept. 4.—One of our dearest illusions, the belief in the inherent superiority of race and color, has recently suffered considerably in the Far East; and now, unconsciously and inadvertently, the "Contemporary Review" deals it yet another blow. Two articles in the September number discuss, in complete independence, somewhat similar topics from different standpoints—Principal Lindsay writes historically of religious revivals; Mr. Davenport analyses the religion of the American Negro—and it is interesting to see how far a comparison of Mr. Davenport's analysis with Principal Lindsay's history supports Mr. Davenport's dictum that in the Negro people we have a child race. . . . Each and every one of the phenomena which Mr. Davenport notes as primitive and peculiar has characterized religious revivals from the days of the early Church till the twentieth century. . . . However these things be interpreted—one moral seems inevitable: that the attempt to ascribe inferiority to the Negro on the ground of his religion has broken down.

Uncle John—My goodness, Tommy; you eat an awful lot for such a little fellow.

Tommy—I spect I aren't so little as I looks from the outside.—Woman's Home Companion.

IN CONGRESS.

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the official report of Congressional proceedings. It includes all matters of general interest, and closes with the last issue of the Record at hand upon going to press. Page references are to the pages of Vol. 40 of that publication.

Washington, Dec. 11-16, 1895.

Senate.

The Panama canal appropriation bill was referred to the committee on appropriations (p. 259) on the 11th. No business of general interest was done on the 12th. On the 13th the Panama canal appropriation bill was reported back (p. 309) with amendments and placed on the calendar (p. 310). It was discussed on the 14th (p. 352), 15th (p. 395) and 16th (p. 449), and on the latter day (p. 466) it was with amendments adopted.

House.

No business of general interest was done on the 11th, and on the 12th the House was not in session (p. 296). On the 13th the subject of the distribution of the President's message among the committees (p. 320) was under consideration. This business was continued on the 14th (p. 369), 15th (p. 414) and 16th (p. 469).

Record Notes.—Tillman's railroad rate bill (p. 243). Panama canal appropriation bill (p. 249). Text of sanitary convention with southern republics (p. 313). Senator Stone on discriminations in postage privliges for periodicals (p. 393). Bourke Cockran on insurance abuses (p. 437).

MISCELLANY

A CRY FROM THE GHETTO.

The roaring of the wheels has filled my ears,
The clashing and the clamor shut me in;
My self, my soul, in chaos disappears,
I cannot think or feel amid the din.
Toiling and toiling and toiling—endless toil.
For whom? For what? Why should the work be done?
I do not ask, or know. I only toil.
I work until the day and night are one.

The clock above me ticks away the day.
Its hands are spinning, spinning, like the wheels.
It cannot sleep or for a moment stay.
It is a thing like me, and does not feel.
It throbs as though my heart were beating there—
A heart? My heart? I know not what it means.
The clock ticks, and below we strive and stare,
And so we lose the hour. We are machines.

Noon calls a truce, an ending to the sound,
As if a battle had one moment stayed—
A bloody field! The dead lie all around;
Their wounds cry out until I grow afraid.
It comes—the signal! See, the dead men rise,
They fight again, amid the roar they fight,
Blindly, and knowing not for whom, or why,
They fight, they fall, they sink into the night.

—Translated from the Yiddish of Morris Rosenfeld by J. W. Linn.

RISING IN THE WORLD.

THE FIRST RUNG.

Forty dollars a month. Hard work,

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enjoyed leisure, cozy cottage and loving wife.

THE SECOND RUNG.

Five hundred dollars a month. Hard work, rising young man, sports, envy of riches, discontent in a bigger home, loving wife.

THE THIRD RUNG.

Five thousand dollars a month. Man who's made his mark, questionable friends, midnight orgies, cheerless mansion and patient wife.

THE TOP.

Millionaire. On the pinnacle of success. Head turned, many friends—of his money—fast women, shattered home, divorce.—Chicago Examiner, of December 15.

A CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY.

For several days the policeman on the beat had observed a small boy who spent the most of his time lounging near a down-town street crossing, and seemed to have nothing to do. One morning he accosted him.

"Tommy," he said, "or whatever your name is, you do entirely too much loafing around here. Hadn't you better be at home?"

"I ain't loafin'," indignantly replied the boy. "I got a reg'lar job here."

"You've got a job? What is it?"

"De guy wot owns dis store pays me a dollar a week fur keepin' dis crossin' swept clean."

"But I never see you doing any work," said the policeman.

"Course not," returned the boy. "I takes de money an' lets out de job fur 50 cents a week to de kid wot's out dere sweepin' de crossin' now. He gits his pay reg'lar, and don't have to do no head work huntin' jobs."—San Francisco Star.

A CITY FOR NEGROES ONLY.

BUXTON, IOWA.

Here is situated the only exclusive Negro city, governed entirely by Negroes, to be found in the North. A remarkable experiment is being carried on by this colony, for if it proves successful it may lead to the segregation of the colored race in other towns. Fully 4,500 colored persons make up the town's population.

The town has never been incorporated, but the colony works on the self-government plan. Whenever it is found that any offense is committed the guilty one is waited upon by a committee and told to behave himself or leave town. If he persists in his badness he is given five days to get out, and then if he has not complied he is taken to the edge and shoved over. He is sure not to come back.

The government proper is in the hands of two Negro justices of the peace, Spencer Carry and George Terrell. Two colored constables, John Brown and Nelson Walker, and a colored deputy sheriff, A. Perkins, form the police circle. Buxton's colored postmaster, Mr. Morgan, is the only Negro to hold the position in Iowa.

In addition, Buxton has the only colored industrial Young Men's Christian association in the world. Moreover, it is second in point of attendance only to the colored Young Men's Christian association in New York city, and Secretary Johnson expects to pass that mark this winter. The building is large and handsome and is thoroughly equipped. A ten-room public school building is presided over by Superintendent Gilliams, a well-educated colored man.

The men of the town are employed in large coal mines owned by the Consolidated Coal company. Most of them are prosperous and the town has a much better appearance than the Negro quarters in larger cities. It has grown from a field to this city of 4,500 in just four years.—Chicago Chronicle.

SHOVING THE SLUMS AROUND.

The "Chatterer" in the Boston Herald, of March 24, 1905, chattered as follows:

"A slum area in London has been recently completely abolished by Viscount Portman, who has erected on it an admirable block of workmen's dwellings, capable of accommodating at reasonably low rents a population of 450. Other similar blocks of artisans' dwellings have been provided by Lord Portman on his estate in other parts of Marylebone. He's the stuff."

COMMENT BY HENRY F. WATERS.

From a private letter.

Yes, "he's the stuff" undoubtedly, if we compare him with sundry other members of the English nobility whose names from time to time crop up in the newspapers in connection with some tale of squandered wealth. But I would like to ask the "Chatterer" if he has asked or considered the question, Who are going to occupy these "admirable dwellings"? Not the distressed tenants of the former slums. They fall to lower levels, if we may judge from reports about the condition of the London poor as given in the Speaker and other English publications. The occupants of the new buildings will be artisans of a somewhat higher grade, who are yet able to keep their heads above water, and are probably glad enough to secure, for a time, homes in these blocks at the "reasonably low rents" referred to. But they, too, I fear, are headed downward, and will probably have to sink to the slums in their turn.

So it goes, and so it will continue as long as the present social and economic systems prevail. All such plans of improvement of a district as this of Lord Portman may be well meant, but, in point of fact, they chiefly serve to keep up the respectability of that district as a residential quarter, and thus provide against the fall of rents of the neighboring houses of a better class, all belonging doubtless to the same great landlord. The well-known Portman square, you will recollect, is near by. I can see how the change will inure to the benefit of the landlord and his more respectable tenants, but not to the former occupants of those slums. They have been simply crowded out and forced to seek lodgment in other slums, perhaps near the Edgeware road or in other parts of Paddington, or even farther afield in Kensal Green or remoter Willesden, where, as I recall, the very poor were on the increase, when I was last in London. The "Chatterer" may feel very sure that the former occupants of those slums are no better off for the change. All the reports show that the class of the very poor is increasing. . . . I, who had rooms in London (chiefly in Greenwich and Hammersmith) for 17 years running, and have seen more or less of the London poor, am looking with a sort of horror towards their future—with horror and great sadness.

JOHN BURNS AS A MEMBER OF THE BRITISH CABINET.

John Burns is enjoying all the notoriety inevitable to his position as England's first workingman cabinet minister. His career has been irreproachable, and, except Keir Hardie and some others of his former labor associates, no one has uttered a word of anything except commendation of his high personal character and deserved success.

For years Mr. Burns has lived in a small workingman's house in Battersea, with his handsome wife and only son, on the allowance of $750 a year made to him by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. He neither smokes nor drinks, and he has no recreation other than an occasional game of cricket in Battersea park. He has

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worked regularly at his county council and parliamentary business 12 hours a day, and he always rides into town on a bicycle. Although he has lived sparingly and often found it difficult to exist within his small and occasionally fluctuating income, he has never been financially beholden to anybody.

Furthermore, year after year he has refused tempting offers of journalistic employment and lecture tours because he prized his absolute independence of all pecuniary interests above any monetary reward. Of course all his county council and parliamentary work is unpaid, and as he has contributed to the press only in furtherance of some public object he had at heart, he has never accepted payment for such work.

Now suddenly he has jumped into an income of $10,000 a year, but his mode of life remains absolutely unchanged. He went to Buckingham palace to be sworn in as a member of the king's privy council and to kiss the royal hand on acceptance of the cabinet office of president of the local government board dressed in his invariable dark-blue serge reefer suit, black derby hat and gloveless hands, carrying neither cane nor umbrella.

The king welcomed him with especial cordiality, and told him he hoped his objection to wearing court costume would never prevent him from obeying royal commands to court entertainments. That night the premier, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, gave a cabinet dinner, and John Burns, who never possessed, or had any ambition to possess, an evening suit, sat down in his usual reefer.

He has always maintained that municipal life was the basis of a state's greatness, and under his guidance Battersea has become a model of municipal government, with the prettiest park in London for its recreations. As president of the local government board he has administrative and parliamentary supervision of municipal government throughout Great Britain.

He arrives at his office in Whitehall on foot or on a bicycle at nine o'clock in the morning, to the great consternation of officials who are accustomed to beginning work at 10:30. His energy is causing a panic in his department, for he is going systematically through each branch ascertaining its duties and methods of work, of which he has had some trying experiences from the outside.—Chicago Chronicle, of December 17.

A FARMER'S COMMENT ON THE REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

For The Public.

Our secretary of agriculture is out with an array of figures, and he says:

Another year of prosperity the greatest ever known, which makes bankers out of farmers. Production has been unequaled, reaching the highest figure yet, $6,415,000,000. Every day farms are increasing in value at the rate of $3,400,000.

That means nothing to the farmer, since the greater part of it went to middlemen, the farmer getting a bare living only.

The increase in the value of farms is a curse instead of a benefit. They are taxed higher and will produce no more on account of such increase. And again, it takes as much capital today to own 40 acres as it did a decade ago to own 80 acres.

King Cotton has been dethroned by the hay crop.

The boll weevil and excessive rains so reduced the cotton crop as to make that.

"Twenty billion eggs," were produced, for which he says the farmers received $500,000,000. That would be 25 cents per dozen. Now we received 12 and 14 cents per dozen, when we had any amount to sell, so we received not over one-half that amount. Who got the other half?

And again, he says that since 1900 1,754 small national banks have been established to take care of this money. Bank deposits have risen in South Dakota 356 per cent., and in Arkansas 506 per cent. Why does he cite two States so far apart?

Some farmers have bank accounts, but they are those who inherited their lands or secured them from the government. They are few, and most of them draw pensions. Queer, is it not, that all this prosperity argument emanates from some Republican office holder or Republican politician who could not tell a gopher knoll from a potato hill?

No such statements come from farmers, because such are not the facts.

I am a farmer, practically all my life having been spent on the farm. Owing to ill health I have traveled extensively over the greater portion of the Northwest, and the same conditions obtain everywhere.

With barley at 27 to 33 cents, oats 21 cents, beef and nearly all other products of the farm below the cost of production, the farmer is far from contented. He knows something is wrong, but he has kept his face so close to the soil that he cannot see the octopus though he feels his tentacles.

And I warn you Republican politicians that such roseate statements will not always do; you exact so great a tribute, and give altogether too little in return.

HIRAM PETTEY.

Stewartville, Minn., Dec. 11, 1905.

FOR LACK OF TEN DOLLARS.

"The romances of life may hinge on love," said Miss Annette C. Fiske, attorney of the bureau of legal advice in thte Charities building, "but the tragedies of life, I believe, more often hinge on money. And among the poor, even the thrifty, hard-working poor, pitifully small amounts are sometimes enough to change the whole current of a life.

"The bureau has a case on the docket now, whose history includes the loss of a life position, the loss of a child's education, four years of poverty and hardship for a whole family, and the degeneration of a man to almost the status of a tramp, all through the want of a ten-dollar bill.

"Four years ago a conductor for the Manhattan Railway company was living in a little village on Long Island. He had held his place for 15 years, which argues that he was a man of good habits.

"His two-year-old child was taken ill and died. He had only $25 to provide for the funeral. There was only one undertaker in the place, and he demanded a deposit of $35.

"A funeral is a thing on which people feel themselves justified in spending money. The conductor went to a loan company down town and borrowed ten dollars. He was to pay it back at the rate of four dollars a week for three weeks, the company charging him two dollars for the use of ten dollars for three weeks. To secure the loan he assigned his salary.

"During the following week, he was ill himself, and lost some time, and with the unusual expenses of illness and death to which he had been subjected, he had only two dollars, instead of four dollars, to take to the loan company. The loan company refused to accept the two dollars, but, instead, went immediately to the railway company and demanded the man's salary.

"The company responded by discharging the man instantly. 'There,' they said, 'the man is no longer an

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employe of ours. Now you can settle it with him.'

"This may seem harsh, but it is the principle of many corporations. Many of them will discahrge any employe if they know he has obtained a loan on his salary. They have made the rule after bitter experience.

"The result was that the man was thrown out to hunt a job without reference. In consequence, he has never had a steady job since until this summer. For four years he had only odd jobs.

"The family left their village home and moved into a poor tenement. From that they were dispossessed and would have been on the sidewalk, had not a family, almost as poor as themselves, taken them in.

"The oldest boy had to be taken from school and put in as a cash boy, and at times his wages has been all the family had to live on. They have been helped by the Charity Organization society.

"During this period of despondency the loan company did not trouble the man. But this spring, for the first time in four years, he got a steady job with the Wagner Car company as cleaner.

"The long lane seemed to have found its turning, when at the end of the first month he went up to get his wages. He had $45 coming to him, and, to his astonishment, they handed him out ten dollars. They told him that the loan company had made a claim for $35 out of his wages. The money is being held to await the court's decision.

"Curiously enough, the ex-conductor has sunk into deeper despondency since this last development than in all the time before. The feeling that the loan company had watched him and come down on him the first time he had anything worth coming after, his resentment at the increase of the original debt to $35, and at the withholding of the $35 from him, have all had a bad effect on him. He could not have been a drinking man to have held one place 15 years, but the smell of liquor is on his breath pretty often now."—The Metropolitan.

MAYOR JOHNSON'S WAY.

CLEVELAND'S GOOD GOVERNMENT.

Expressing loud praise of the work of Cleveland's board of public service and the greatest admiration for the manner in which the local board conducts its work, Messrs. John R. Bender, William S. Marx and Anthony Hersehede, who will form a majority of Cincinnati's board of public service, departed for home last night after a two days' visit with the local board.

The Cincinnatians came here for the purpose of gaining pointers and information for their guidance in the management of affairs in the Queen City during the next two years.

The Cleveland board tried to show them as much of the work being done here as was possible in two days. They also explained all matters of detail to the visitors. From early morning till late last night the visitors were in the hands of Messrs. Springborn, Cooley and Leslie.

Beginning early yesterday morning the Cleveland board started its second day's work with the guests. The first visit of the day was to the Erie street pier, where the biggest dump in history was displayed. Springborn explained the purposes of the work there and what the city proposes ultimately to do. Then there was a visit to the street department barn on Lake street, where the flushing machines, dump carts and paraphernalia generally were exhibited.

A fast automobile trip took the party to the Detroit street grade crossings. The abolition of the Nickel Plate crossing is under way, while the Lake Shore crossing has already been abolished. The visitors were deeply interested in this subject. A full explanation was given of how the problem is handled here. Cincinnati is undertaking the work of abolishing its crossings, and a member of the council is now attempting to take this work out of the hands of the new service board there. The member is a Cox worker.

A trip to the Edgewater park shelter house followed. Cincinnati, the visitors explained, had the antiquated "keep off the grass" signs still in service in its parks. They were very much pleased with the Cleveland system. The skating ponds about the city also formed a matter of astonishment for them.

In the afternoon there was a trip through the city hospital, the infirmary and the tuberculosis sanitarium. Cincinnati is about to spend nearly $2,000,000 for hospitals and naturally the Cleveland institutions were particularly interesting.

The day's doings wound up with a visit to the city's garbage plant at Willow. The visitors explained that where they come from it costs the city $2.000 a year to have its garbage collected, with less work done. It doesn't cost Cleveland, with its greater amount of work, more than $60,000 a year and the municipality hasn't been operating the reduction works a year yet.—Cleveland Plain Dealer of Dec. 10.

REVISED PLUTOCRATIC VIEW OF THE PHILIPPINE QUESTION.

From Willett & Gray's Weekly Statistical Sugar Trade Journal, for Nov. 2, 1905.

President Roosevelt, having proved so grand an intermediary and director of the treaty of peace between Russia and Japan, cannot do better now than to give the same earnest attention to the Philippine islands' problem.

The feeling throughout the country appears to be rapidly taking form in the direction of parting with these possessions, and ridding the country and particularly the Republican party of this bone of contention, as it is likely soon to become, if measures are not taken to relieve the situation.

There are two outlets for the islands; an exchange of them with England for Canada or the British West Indies, and a sale or gift, even, of them to Japan. It is admitted already that the Filipinos like the Japs and hate the Americans, that Japanese money and enterprise are going into the Philippines, while the United States are withholding both.

Americans have openings enough at home for all their money, and enterprise without going to the other end of the world, and investments there with such an inferior race of people will never become popular to the American mind. If a vote of the entire people of the United States could be taken to-day on this Philippine question, apart from all other questions favorably considered by the party in power, we believe the vote would be overwhelmingly in favor of having President Roosevelt relieve us of the Philippines in either one of the two ways named.

Can such a vote be had officially or otherwise?

Not officially, but otherwise, with a little attention given to the matter. For instance, sugar is used in every family in the land, and is procured from every retailer of groceries in every city and town. The retailer buys the sugar from the wholesaler. This Sugar Trade Journal goes to nearly all the wholesale grocers in the land, and to the several trade exchanges of the country.

Now, if the persons receiving the Sugar Trade Journal will ask their retail grocery trade to take a vote of yes or no from each customer on the

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question of parting with the Philippines, every family in the land can soon be heard from, and the answer would go far to decide the question in accord with the known sentiment of the country. We will be pleased to receive and publish the returns; and inasmuch as our paper is the recognized sugar authority of the United States and is freely consulted by the senators and representatives at Washington, the result of such a vote as proposed would go far to solve the knotty question which will immediately come up on the assembling of Congress, regarding the Philippines.

We would like to hear from our wholesale grocer friends if such a proposal as the above is practicable with them.

DIRECT LEGISLATION.

Substance of an address delivered by John Z. White, of Chicago, at a business men's banquet at Wilmington, Del., in August, 1904, as revised by Mr. White, November 16, 1905.

The referendum seems to be generally misunderstood. People apparently believe it to be something strange—a new device, whose merits and demerits are vague and uncertain. In truth it is a plan universally followed in all parliamentary bodies. Without it parliamentary law is impossible. Its absence from legislative assemblies is possible only through the substitution of that meanest and most irritating of all tyrannies, the rule of the gavel.

The referendum, together with the initiative and recall, are the means by which self-government is secured by any group of men, under any conditions whatsoever. Interference with these is just so much subtracted from the fact of self-government.

In deliberative bodies a chairman is selected to preside. His duty is to enforce the rules that may be adopted. If any decision rendered by him is thought to be in violation of these rules any member so believing may appeal from such decision to the whole body. This is the referendum. In the absence of this right of appeal, the presiding officer practically can do what he pleases.

If a member wishes action on any matter, he makes a motion to that effect, and this, on receiving the support of a second member, is placed before the body for consideration and adoption or rejection. This is the initiative. In the absence of this right to "move," members are without power to act.

If an officer refuses to perform the duties of his office, or commits acts in violation of those duties, the body may remove him from office. This is the recall. In the absence of this power, the officers may wholly defeat the will of the body, or may even carry out an opposing policy.

If the people of a city, State or the nation, are to be in truth self-governing it seems inevitably to follow that they must have at hand the means of making the government do their bidding. The people of the city of Chicago, for instance, have voted in favor of public ownership of their street car system, but their board of aldermen appear to be able to thwart the popular desire. The people of Philadelphia, and many other places, have repeatedly found themselves unable to achieve their wish. To many, self-government has come to be looked upon as an iridescent dream.

This pessimistic view arises from the fact that we are possessed of but part of the necessary machinery of self-government. We are like an engineer who has all essentials save the governor. His engine will "go," but its action is beyond orderly control.

The initiative, referendum and recall, taken together, are called direct legislation. That is, just as in any deliberative body, if the usual machinery does not produce desired results, the body may act directly. So, if our city, or other government does not act rightly, the body of the people, when possessed of the machinery of direct legislation, may act, or legislate, directly. Without this power they are not really self-governing.

It is proposed, therefore, to give to a certain percentage of the qualified voters in any political body the power to prepare and present a petition under which there shall be submitted to the whole body of voters the proposal that may be indicated by the petition. This is the exact equivalent of a motion in any club or society, save that a considerable number of "seconds" are required. That is, each signer of the petition really "seconds" the motion to adopt the matter proposed in the petition. Such action, as I have stated, is the initiative.

It is sometimes said that the people need only to elect officials favorable to such action, and that thereby all need for the device known as the initiative will vanish. The fallacy in this position comes from the fact that our officials have many duties. An officer may be highly esteemed and very satisfactory in nearly all relations, but at the same time be quite at variance with the people on some question held by them to be important. At an election one candidate may be personally desirable, yet not in accord with the popular will on a given matter. Why shall we maintain a system by which we are either deprived of the efficient officer, or of a measure that we believe to be expedient?

In one of the elections in Chicago a man was elected by a majority of two to one, although he declared himself opposed to a policy which at the same election the same constituency favored by a vote of three to one. The opposing candidate, meanwhile, had declared in favor of this policy. The explanation is simple. Other issues were, in the opinion of the voters, sufficiently important to force this matter into the background. If possessed of the power to initiate legislation, the voters could have enjoyed the services of the officer they desired, and also secured the adoption of the policy they preferred. They were, in fact, but partly self-governing.

It is also proposed that the people shall have power, expressed by petition, as explained in the above reference to the initiative, to promptly propose the defeat of acts of legislation deemed by them to be unwise. If a measure has been enacted by the legislature, or other legislative body, a petition may be prepared within a stated time (perhaps 60 or 90 days) and signed by the given percentage of qualified voters in the territory affected by the legislation, whereupon it shall be submitted to the people for adoption or rejection. This is exactly equivalent to "an appeal from the chair." The matter may be placed before the people at a special election or at the next regular election.

It is sometimes urged that under such a plan the people would be voting all the time and on all manner of questions. In fact, the referendum, where adopted, is seldom resorted to. Legislators are careful when they know the people can easily reverse their doings; and, very much more important, lobbyists are not inclined to use their peculiar powers of persuasion on members of legislative bodies when they know there are watchful citizens intent upon the defeat of their nefarious schemes, and with full power to defeat them if the people so will. The referendum will not only cure legislative rascality, but in even greater degree operates as a preven-

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tative. Would a railroad corporation bribe a legislative body to enact injurious monopoly laws if it knew the people would in all probability rescind such act within a few weeks or months? It would not pay. They would merely lose the money spent to secure legislative privileges.

It is also proposed that, upon proper petition as above suggested, public officers may be removed from office. This is the recall. We have recently been entertained with accounts of many groups of citizens in Philadelphia visiting their representatives and urging them to take the side of the people and to oppose the influences favorable to official corruption. Do business men "urge" their representatives, or do they "order" them?

Probably nothing other than the recall can be devised that will so effectually bring about efficiency in our public service. Civil service—the so-called merit system—has been very extensively tried. It is largely a joke. The recall will "do business."

Direct legislation is merely the application to our public affairs of those methods that experience has shown best suited to attain the end desired. That end is self-government. Do we want self-government? It sometimes seems problematical. Capable men who oppose direct legislation can explain their attitude only on the ground that the people, in their judgment, are not capable of managing their own affairs. Such men are tories. They have no proper place in the American scheme of government.

If it be held that we have in fact conducted this government for above a century without direct legislation and that we may safely continue "in the path our fathers trod," we would call attention to the fact that in nothing else are we satisfied with the ways of our fathers. They used the ox cart—we don't. Just as we have improved on our father's mechanical appliances, without violence to the principles of mechanics, so it may be possible to improve on governmental machinery without in any way altering the correct principles of government with which we were dowered.

The principle of the first locomotive is identical with that of the last. The changes have all been in the elimination of defective methods in detail, to the end that the essential principle involved might be more fully realized. Why is it not the part of wisdom to eliminate like defective details in the machinery of our government?

Again, when we remember that for the first time in history self-government on a large scale is attempted in America, is it at all surprising that the machinery first installed is defective in detail? Would it not be profoundly astonishing if that machinery were not defective?

In theory we possess popular self-government. But in fact the hindrances to its realization are so many as to cause a considerable percentage of our voters to despair. Capable men, who are earnest in their studies and in their efforts to improve existing conditions, are heard to declare that representative government has proved a failure. That these men are hasty in so declaring is no doubt true; but, on the other hand, the evidence of seemingly almost fatal defects in our governmental machinery is overwhelming.

Why was it necessary to battle so many years in the political arena in order to secure the interstate commerce commission? Why is it now necessary to delay the enlargement of that commission's powers? Is it not because the people have no means by which they can directly express themselves on that one question? The people must express themselves through representatives, and these have many duties, other than the matter of interstate commerce, to engage their attention.

The resulting situation is that the representatives are not under positive command of any one particular thing—are not even certain as to the desires of their respective constituencies. These conditions inevitably give to the different political machines a controlling power, that, among a truly self-governing people, should reside with the voters alone. We have no reason whatever to despair of popular self-government until it shall first have had full and adequate trial under the most favorable circumstances, or in conditions giving the people every opportunity, when in their judgment the need arises, to completely control governmental action.

The intent of our governmental structure is right. Its theory is sound. Its defects are wholly in the details of administration. These are not of uncertain or indefinite character, but easily perceived, and as easily understood. So long as city or State legislative bodies may grant a privilege in highways—commonly known as a right-of-way—and the courts continue to call such grant a contract, thus placing it beyond the reach of sovereign states, the people are helpless, without we secure possession of the machinery for direct legislation.

Why should any man who believes in popular self-government hesitate to claim the right to review legislative action? Does he not know what he desires the legislature or the city council to do? If he does not, why does he vote?

Let us then recognize the very evident fact that the machinery originally installed for the realization of popular self-government is in some respects insufficient for the intended purpose. Let us observe that this insufficiency has been fully overcome by the commonly known and plainly correct methods of customary parliamentary law.

Having arrived at a clear knowledge of the paralyzing difficulty and its simple remedy, let us demand that it be applied—and at once. We demand the initiative, that we may carry our will into effect when legislative bodies fail or refuse to act. We demand the referendum, that we may resist legislative action when contrary to the popular will. We demand the recall, that we may remove public servants who violate the trust reposed in them by those whom they represent—or, more correctly, misrepresent.

In other words, we demand the continuance of representative government with optional direct legislation. We want representative government as a mere matter of convenience—but demand direct legislation as our natural and inalienable right.

Again, such a step is but in accord with the previous action. The electoral college was originally designed as a representative body, whose duty was the naming of a chief executive from among certain selected citizens. This body was soon reduced to a merely clerical position, with the result that, in the matter of selecting their chief executive, the people now possess the initiative. If the citizens of the United States desire a particular man to act as president, no one may say them nay. Would any considerable number of our people favor curtailing popular power in this direction? On the contrary, is there not an ever-increasing demand for the election of United States senators by popular vote?

Tories everywhere oppose the rule of the plain people. The claim is set up that they are incompetent. So said Charles I., so said Louis XVI. So say all tories to-day. And yet the world's

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history bluntly tells the story of meanness, misery and fraud wherever power has been placed with the few, while peace, good will and joy have ever attended those peoples whose governments were equally participated in by all.

L'ENVOI OF THE AUTHORS.

When Earth's last book has been printed
and the types are twisted and pied,
When the Smallest Maynard has perished
and the Littlest Brown has died,
We shall rest, and, faith, we shall need
it for the Century, at best,
Till the Houghtons cease from Mifflin and
the Scribners are at rest.
And those that were good shall be Harpers; they shall sit with the Putnam
chaps,
And write on Doubleday Pages, or an L. C.
Page, perhaps;
They shall have real Britons to draw from
—Macmillan and Kegan Paul,
They shall wait an age for their statements, and never get tired at all!
And only McClure shall praise us, and only
McClurg shall bless;
And no one shall write for an Agent, and
none for a Private Press.
But each for the joy of the writing, and
each in his separate star
Shall write the book as he sees it, for the
Dodd of Meads as they are!
—Carolyn Wells, in Bookman.

Little Clarence—Pa, what is an optimist?

Mr. Callipers—An optimist, my son, is a person who doesn't care what happens, if it doesn't happen to him.—Puck.

According to the Manchester Guardian, one of Gen. Booth's stories runs as follows: A parson complained to a Hallelujah lass that he did not like the "horrid drum." The Salvationist retorted that she did not like the church bell. "What, not like the beautiful note of the church bell which says: 'Come, come, come to the house of prayer?'" "No, it interferes with our prayer in the market place, and besides, our drum beats the bell hollow. The drum says: 'Fetch 'em, fetch 'em.'"

BOOKS

AN INTRODUCTION TO ECONOMICS.

Introduction to the Study of Economics. By Charles Jesse Bullock, Ph. D., assistant professor of political economy in Harvard University. New edition, revised and enlarged. New York, Boston and Chicago: Silver, Burdett and Company.

In his school book introduction to economics, Prof. Bullock, of Harvard, devotes a chapter to Henry George's single tax, which he identifies with land nationalization. It may be worth while to remind Prof. Bullock that between centralized national ownership of all the lands of a country, and local taxation (even up to full annual value) of the land of localities held in private ownership, there are political differences so wide that he who holds one of these policies to be equivalent to the other must be a very superficial student of public policy. But as Prof. Bullock professes to be only an economist, it may be assumed that his identification of the two policies relates not to their political elements, but to the fact that with either policy economic rent would be taken for public instead of being left to private use. If this is what he means, then his identification of the single tax with land nationalization is to that extent correct. Not so, however, with the criticisms which he thereupon offers.

He specifies two fallacies in George's argument for the proposition that, as he expresses it, "progress will always cause poverty, as long as land remains in the hands of private owners." This statement of George's contention indicates that Prof. Bullock has failed to grasp both George's argument and his conclusion. For George's contention is not that progress will cause poverty as long as land remains in the hands of private owners, but that it will cause poverty in the midst of wealth, where and when and to the degree that the institution of land ownership obtains. This misapprehension of George, however, is of small importance in comparison with the two points Prof. Bullock especially urges.

"First," he says, "all social progress"—with the "all" italicized—"does not increase the demands upon land." But George never argued that all social progress—with the "all" italicized—does increase the demands upon land. He argued that this is its tendency.

Yet if George's argument had been as Prof. Bullock understands it, Prof. Bullock's reply would be transparently absurd. Here it is in full: "The improvements in manufactures of the last century have increased enormously the product secured from each acre. Improvements in agriculture constantly enable the supply to be produced from better grades of lands, throw poorer grades out of use, and decrease rents. Improved means of transportation enable the best grades of lands in all parts of the world to be utilized, and they have reduced rents on older lands. The progress of the last century has notably increased rents only in the case of land especially desirable for use in commerce and transportation, and this mainly in large cities."

Is it possible that Prof. Bullock, who makes so much of history in his economic studies, does not realize that even if rents have fallen in some places, they have risen in others—agricultural and mineral, as well as urban—and that the aggregate increase is enormously greater than the aggregate decrease? Let him compare the aggregate rents of a century ago with the aggregate of to-day, the agricultural rents alone, if he chooses, and then say whether he stands by what he has written. Almost the entire American continent, now yielding fabulous incomes in yearly rent, and representing many times their yearly rent in salable value, commanded neither rent nor price a century ago. How much of any land of all the world is worth less to-day than it was then? These values were caused and are maintained by the condition to which George ascribes them, and which Prof. Bullock slurs over,—progress and expectation of progress.

Prof. Bullock's second point he states in these words: "The second fallacy is that of supposing that, in any case, the demand for land can increase indefinitely, and can throw most of the product into the hands of landlords."

Before considering the argument in support of this point, we must remind Prof. Bullock that the burden of George's argument is not that most of the product would be thrown into the hands of landlords (by that name), but that most of it would be thrown out of the hands of its producers.

In support of his second point Prof. Bullock argues that "the growth of population, which is the principal cause of an increased demand for land, is limited by the desire of men to maintain their standard of living or even to raise it." But is growth of population in fact the principal cause of increased demand for land? Doesn't the kind of population count? Won't 100 millionaires cause a much larger demand for land than 100 hod-carriers, simply for their own consumption—residences, clothing, food, luxuries, etc., etc.? Won't any progressive community make vastly larger demands upon land for the supply of their wants than an inert community of equal population? Then isn't it true, as George so forcibly argues, that improvement in the arts and in social conditions, as well as increase of population, is a great factor in creating demand for land? And doesn't it follow that the desire of men to raise their standard of living tends, not to limit but to increase the demand for land?

Proceeding from his two principal points of contention, Prof. Bullock states several others. For one thing, he accuses George of falsely assuming that investors in land never lose, but always gain. George did not assume this as to individual investors; nor even

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as to investors in land as a class. What he did assume, and he proved it, was that under the institution of land monopoly wages are diminished relatively to productive power by progress, with a tendency to absolute diminution, and that correlatively, land values are increased. But apart from the misinterpretation, isn't it a weak defense of land monopoly, that those who win in the real estate gamble come legitimately by their winnings because others lose? This is a defense that could be more logically offered for lotteries. The point is not whether there may be an equilibrium between the winnings of some land gamblers and the losses of others; it is whether or not the ultimate winnings are extorted from producers.

Another of the minor points is that the single tax would have been disappointing as a revenue measure in England during the past 20 years, because in England "agricultural lands have steadily fallen" during that time. Does Prof. Bullock understand that the single tax is an agricultural tax? If he does, he ought to honor his professorial chair by learning what it is before he discusses it. If he does not, why did he intimate that the single tax would have proved a disappointment in England because "agricultural lands" there have fallen in value? Hasn't he good reason for believing that, however it may be with agricultural land values alone, the aggregate of the values of all kinds of land in England is greater to-day than 20 years ago?

Still another point is that there are unearned increments besides those from land ownership. "When a monopoly of any sort," he says, "develops an unusually profitable field of investment, part of the monopoly profits are an unearned income." Can Prof. Bullock name any such field—patents excepted, and they are of the nature of land ownership, for a government patent to monopolize laws of nature is essentially the same as one to monopolize a place in nature—can he name any such field of any considerable magnitude and permanence which does not depend for its monopoly power upon a monopoly of some kind of land?

The final objection which Prof. Bullock makes to the single tax is in the form of an appeal to "the conscience of the average American." Prof. Bullock thinks George's single tax would amount to confiscation, and therefore wouldn't be just. Yet he says only two pages earlier, in reply to George's argument that land monopoly is contrary to natural rights, that modern writers "hold that all of a person's rights are based upon considerations of social utility, and, therefore, consider the justice of land ownership to be a question of social utility." Does Prof. Bullock accept this dictum of "modern writers?" If not, why does he use it without criticism as an argument against George? If he does accept it, why does he appeal to justice instead of social utility in attempting to controvert George at another point.

It would be interesting to know why teachers like Prof. Bullock deny natural justice, when it is appealed to in behalf of producers against land monopolists, and themselves appeal to it in behalf of land monopolists against producers. If the rights of producers are based only on considerations of social utility, when land monopolists defend their titles, why are not the rights of land monopolists based only on considerations of social utility, when producers propose to abrogate those titles?

Can it really be because these teachers are hired to make moral and economic confusion for the benefit of land monopolists? We do not believe this of Prof. Bullock. His book as a whole shows him to be naturally a clear and honest thinker. But he is wandering in the mazes of a nebulous system of economics, so confusing that it would entangle the intellect of a Solon and invert the conscience of a saint. The thread of primary economic principle that runs through this book, though too unobtrusive, is plain enough when you pick it out of the mass of superficial, irrelevant and trivial details; and it runs straight enough, astonishingly straight when the intricacies of the maze are considered. The chief value of the book, however, is its disclosure of the utter weakness of the professorial response to Henry George.

THE REIGN OF GILT.

The Reign of Gilt. By David Graham Phillips. New York: James Pott & Co. Price $1.00 net. Sold by the Public Publishing Co.

"The story of history, rightly written, would be the story of the march of democracy." This is the keynote of David Graham Phillips's double-barreled essay, "The Reign of Gilt,"—one barrel loaded with grape and canister for plutocracy and the other with bouquets for democracy.

The author of "The Cost" and "The Plum Tree" (p. 239) is evidently so sensitive to the democratic spirit that there is nothing surprising in the bold democracy of these essays of his. If their democratic spirit be disembodied, as it were, a purpose without a plan, the fault must be laid doubtless at the door of the literary standards of the time, which demand lightness of touch in the handling of substantial things, rather than at the door of the author's intelligence and convictions. While it is reassuring to be told that plutocracy, which includes all the perils to the Republic, may be overcome by going "boldly and democratically forth in the broad day," etc., one cannot but feel that it will be safer for democracy to carry arms and wear armor when going forth. Yet Mr. Phillips professes nothing more definite in the way of arms, armor or tactics than education.

Even though the education he has in mind is not the "educated ignorance" of the schools, but that which breeds "citizens who think for themselves," the feeling still persists that the important consideration of ways and means is overlooked. Plutocracy has its methods, and it cannot be overcome by a democracy without methods. This is the criticism which these essays especially deserve. They are optimistic in the sense of being confident that everything will come out all right in the end if we have general education.

And yet for the purpose of arousing a people paralyzed with the anesthesia of plutocracy, they may be better than if they were definite in plan as well as in purpose. Their appeal is to right emotions, and when right emotions are electrified right judgment will awaken.

The essays are well calculated to electify right motives. They are pitched in a high key in every sense. One almost longs for a break here and there into a commonplace of thought and expression. But nowhere in all the 300 pages will such a break be found. Lofty ideals, soaring enthusiasm, abounding faith, feathery optimism, and brilliant composition hold the reader's attention half-breathless to the end. Unlike most essays of this type, however, there is nothing frothy in these. Pervaded with an intense reasonableness, they are sound and wholesome.

Democracy is not regarded as "a cult to rise and rage and perish," or "a theory that may some day be discovered false;" or "a plant to be carefully watched and watered, lest peradventure it die;" but as "a condition, an environment, an atmosphere," with a force behind it "as irresistible as that which keeps the stars a-swinging." And the education demanded as the foundation of democracy is not mere literacy. Asking 'What is an ignorant man?" the essayist answers: "Of course there are the illiterates and the almost illiterate. But numerous though they are, they do not count for much in the Republic. . . . The so-called ignorant vote is not a national or a local peril. . . . The ignorance that counts in a democracy is educated ignorance . . . More often than not, the very conspicuous members of this ignorant class are full to the overflowing with knowledge, knowledge from books, knowledge from experience, knowledge from travel . . . Is not the

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"ONE REASON AMONG OTHERS"—ESPECIALLY OTHERS!

Which are hinted at in the above little drawing of the truly good John reading the essay he has lately written.

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dangerous, ignorant man of the democracy the man who cannot reason cannot think for himself?" The book is one of the soundest and most inspiring to which our era of graft and gilt has given birth.

A NEGRO BOOK FOR NEGRO CHILDREN.

Floyd's Flowers of Duty and Beauty for Colored Children. By Prof. Silas X. Floyd, A. M., D. D.; illustrated by John Henry Adams, professor of art at Morris-Brown College, Atlanta. Atlanta, Chicago and Boston. Hertel, Jenkins & Co. Price, $1.00.

We have often wondered what must be the emotions of Negro children upon playing with children's dolls or reading children's books, when all the nice doll babies are white and all the nice pictures and pretty talk about children are of white children. Can Negro children mother white dolls? Can they have a genuine human interest in the Negro picture or story, which contemptuous white folks provide? We should hardly think so. And would it be much better if sympathetic white folks made the Negro doll or the Negro child's picture book. We fear not—not for the Negro child, however it might be for the sympathetic white folks.

But such speculations are idle perhaps, and are likely soon to have no occasions to excite them. For in publishing, as well as in rendering other services to their own race, the Negro has made a good beginning; and here we have the first essay at a book for Negro children which is written and illustrated by Negroes. There is a good deal of evidence of the effects of white man influence, as is natural enough. The stories are often only white folks's stories done over in ebony so to speak, and the pictures are here and there of white folks with heavily shaded faces and Negro features. But some of the pictures are truly characteristic of the Negro—not as white artists caricature him, but as a Negro artist sees him; and some of the stories are carved out of the social life of the Negro as only the Negro knows it. Though there is a great deal of crudity about this child's book, both in text and illustration, it is the crudity of inexperience and not of incapacity.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—Egoism: A Study in the Social Premises of Religion. By Louis Wallis. Published by the University of Chicago Press, Chicago. Price, $1.10 net. To be reviewed.

—Bossism and Monopoly. By Thomas Carl Spelling, author of "Trusts and Monopolies," "Law of Private Corporations," etc. New York: D. Appleton & Company. To be reviewed.

PERIODICALS

The initial number of Moody's Magazine (New York), of which Byron W. Holt is the editor, appeared with the month of December. Designed for investors, it is unique in the evidence it gives of utter impartiality and disinterestedness. The principal feature is a synopsis on the economic effects, actual and probable, of the increasing supply of gold.

Life puts the Russian situation in a few words, which probably tell the story: "The plot is boiling hard, and all the world is watching it. We shall see what we shall see—some bloody sights, no doubt, much tumult; possibly a desperate rally by the reactionaries." Witte has a better chance than Mirabeau had to save the crown. While he is not popular with the masses, the masses that he has to deal with are sunk into a deeper death than were the French.—J. H. D.

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The Single Taxers of Chicago and vicinity, and their friends, will dine at the **Washington Restaurant, N. W. Corner Wabash Ave. and Adams St., Chicago,** on the first Friday evening of each month, **at 6 p. m.** The dinner on January 5th will be table d'hote. For further particulars communicate with the committee at 1202 Ashland block, Chicago. (Telephone, Central 925.)

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TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN: I, Emily Smith, being of lawful age, and a native of the State of Illinois, residing in the City of Evanston, County of Cook, State of Illinois, hereby give notice that at the January term of the Circuit Court for Cook County, Illinois, beginning on the 15th day of January, 1906, I will file my petition asking that an order be entered and placed on record directing and providing that my name shall be changed from Emily Smith to Mildred Batchelder, in accordance with the prayer of said petition, and that said application will be made before Judge Mack, or in his absence before Judge Gibbons.

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ANNOUNCEMENT

Arrangements have been made for the delivery of a series of lectures on historic, literary and economic subjects by Ernest Howard Crosby, of New York City; Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow, of Cincinnati, Ohio; J. W. Bengough, of Toronto; and John Z. White, of Chicago. The lectures are to be given in the following cities, under the auspices and on the dates indicated:

ELKHART, IND.—Federation of Labor.
Wed., Jan. 31st—Ernest Howard Crosby.
Wed., Feb. 14th—Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow.
Wed., Feb. 28th—J. W. Bengough.
Wed., March 14th—John Z. White.

GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.—Class in Applied Christianity of the Fountain St. Baptist Church.
Thursday, Feb. 1st—Ernest Howard Crosby.
Thursday, Feb. 15th—Herbert S. Bigelow.
Thursday, March 1st—J. W. Bengough.
Thursday, March 15th, John Z. White.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.—Brotherhood of St. Paul, Wesley Methodist Church.
Friday, Feb. 2nd—Ernest Howard Crosby.
Friday, Feb. 16th—Herbert S. Bigelow.
Monday, March 5th—J. W. Bengough.
Friday, March 16th—John Z. White.

OSHKOSH, WIS.—Special Committee—John Harrington, Secy.
Saturday, Feb. 3d—Ernest Howard Crosby.
Saturday, Feb. 17th—Herbert S. Bigelow.
Saturday, Feb. 3d—J. W. Bengough.
Saturday, Feb. 17th—John Z. White.

ST. PAUL, MINN.—Young Men's League of the First Baptist Church.
Tuesday, Feb. 6th—Ernest Howard Crosby.
Tuesday, Feb. 20th—Herbert S. Bigelow.
Tuesday, March 6th—J. W. Bengough.
Tuesday, March 20th—John Z. White.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—Young Men's Club of the Park Ave. Congregational Church.
Wed., Feb. 7th—Ernest Howard Crosby.
Wed., Feb. 21st—Herbert S. Bigelow.
Wed., March 7th—J. W. Bengough.
Wed., March 21st—John Z. White.

CHICAGO.—Society of Anthropology, Corinthian Hall, Masonic Temple.
Sunday, Feb. 11th, 2:30 P. M.—Ernest Howard Crosby.
Sunday, Feb. 25th, 2:30 P. M.—Herbert S. Bigelow.
Sunday, Feb. 11th, 2:30 P. M.—J. W. Bengough.
Sunday, Feb. 25th, 2:30 P. M.—John Z. White.

CHICAGO.—Men's Club of the Centenary Methodist Church, W. Monroe near South Morgan.
Monday, Feb. 12th—Ernest Howard Crosby.
Monday, Feb. 26th—Herbert S. Bigelow.
Monday, March 12th—J. W. Bengough.
Monday, March 26th—John Z. White.

This course of lectures will be repeated before six other organizations in the various parts of Chicago and vicinity between February 9th and February 17th. Announcements concerning these dates will be made in later numbers of THE PUBLIC. For further information address

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