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A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

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LOUIS F. POST
EDITOR

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PROBLEMS OF CITY GOVERNMENT

occupy the public mind to-day. The issue of THE PUBLIC of January 6th last, containing Louis F. Post's sketch of Tom L. Johnson, Mayor of Cleveland. has been widely called for.

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The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

Volume VIII Number 409

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, FEB. 3, 1906.

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EDITORIAL

Patent monopolies.

One day at the Patent Office at Washington it was discovered that three men in different parts of the country had, independently and simultaneously, applied for the same patent. Which of the three is to get the exclusive right to manufacture the article has yet to be decided. But what a convincing illustration it is of the injustice of the system which permits men to monopolize inventions for long periods of time when it is generally a neck-and-neck race between several persons as to which shall be recognized as the inventor!

High finance and pauper labor.

It is a matter of public comment that the heads of many of our financial institutions receive salaries many times higher than the governor of the Bank of England. Well, what if they do? Must we allow foreign pauper labor to set the pace for us in the matter of paying our financiers?

The President's superlatives.

The President's sweeping way of putting things has subjected him to one of those deadly parallels which are so disagreeable. The Nation of January 11 sets by the side of his superlative remarks about the excellency of the work at Panama, the statement of the chief engineer, Mr. Stevens. "His message went to Congress," says the Nation, "along with the report of the Panama commission, which comprises the report of the chief engineer. It is plain that Mr. Roosevelt cannot even have glanced at that; otherwise he could not have put himself into such open contradiction of its statements." In fact, no work that was ever done could measure up to the President's exaggerated account.

Saloon licenses.

The proposal to increase saloon licenses in Chicago from $500 to $1,000 is unwarranted for any purpose whatever. The saloon business is either legitimate or illegitimate. If illegitimate it is not a proper source of public revenue. If legitimate it is not a proper subject for discriminating licenses. We say discriminating licenses, because a heavy license applied to the little saloon and the big one alike, is discriminating. It is to be hoped that the city authorities will not allow themselves to be led into this high license ambush. Disorderly saloons should be closed and kept closed; but if any saloons at all are to be allowed to do business, it is bad civic policy and bad civic morals to require licenses for other than police purposes. To exact heavy license fees for the purpose of raising revenues for the relief of tax dodgers on one hand, and the monopolization of the liquor business on the other, is indefensible on both fiscal and moral grounds.

A curious coincidence.

The vigorous anti-saloon agitation in Chicago, which, after a thirty-year period of quiescence has suddenly broken out, just at a time when the traction interests are sorely in need of miraculous aid, is one of those curious circumstances that psychological science fails as yet to explain.

Gov. Folk on graft.

Gov. Folk is another great leader in the war upon graft who has learned, as Lincoln Steffens has, that the gray wolf grafters are not the worst grafters nor the cause of grafting. In his speech at Boston on the 20th he pointed to special privileges as in kind the worst and in character the mother of all graft. "Graft cannot be exterminated fully," he said, "until special privileges are done away with and the doctrine of equal rights is recognized." By way of explanation he added: "It matters not whether this special privilege be in the form of a tariff so arranged as to foster monopoly, or a combination to control the prices of necessaries, or rebates to favored shippers. Whenever a class is given a special privilege in any form whereby they can prey upon the rest of the people, that is a graft that should be stopped." But he struck the target in the center when he said: "Some special interest is at the bottom of every graft."

Federal centralization.

Justice W. P. Potter, of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, writes a strong letter in the Outlook of January 13, protesting

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against the sentiment for transferring the control of corporations from the State to the Federal government. Referring to the statement in the Outlook that "proper control is no longer possible by the single State which creates corporate existence," he says: "I beg leave to question sharply the accuracy of this statement, and I submit that it has no foundation in fact. On the contrary, the State which creates corporate existence has the power of complete control over its creature." The letter is a refreshing counterblast to the tendency to fly to Washington for relief, and is worth reading throughout.

Immunity to criminals.

The beef trust associates are either criminals or they are not. If they are not criminals no question of immunity can be of importance either to them or to the people. If they are criminals, any law that grants them general immunity for their crimes must be a bad law, and any promise of such immunity ought to be invalid. Yet the beef trust associates are seeking immunity from charges of crime upon allegations of official promises of immunity by Mr. Garfield, who investigated them. Isn't it a little as if a gang of counterfeiters had permitted a government inquisitor to investigate the operations of the gang for statistics upon a promise that the facts should not be given to the Department of Justice and that the entire gang should nevertheless be at liberty to pursue their criminal vocation? Whatever the courts may decide on this immunity question, the general public will have no difficulty in drawing a common-sense conclusion. If the beef people are not criminals, they need no immunity; if they need immunity, it must be because they are criminals.

Having eyes, yet seeing not.

Anyone who has ridden on an Irish jaunting car knows that if one sits on the wrong side of the car, it is possible to ride around the Lakes of Killarney any number of times without seeing the Lakes. A writer in the New York Outlook for January 6 did something very like this. In an attempt to answer the question, What is the true criterion of the value of men's services in ecnomic exchange? he makes a circular tour around the crucial point and winds up with the declaration that "the root of injustice is an immoral estimate of money as merely a means for commanding service." There you have it. Change the whole moral nature of man and everything will come right! The writer didn't see the industrial obstructions lying in plain sight on the other side of his economic jaunting car.

Landlords and the weather.

When single tax advocates explain that improvements, whether public or private, tend to increase site values, the business man thinks them mystics and their theory incomprehensible. But it is all plain enough to the business man when business profit and not social justice is the subject of consideration. For instance, the Commercial Bulletin, of Cleveland, an investment paper pure and simple, explains that "it is improvements that make values," meaning site values; "and the faster time that can be made in the building trade brings enhanced values that much sooner." This mention of greater rapidity in the enhancement of site values was an allusion to the continued good weather which had made building operations "fairly hum." So the real estate investor sees precisely what the single taxer sees—that improvements enhance site values, and that good weather, to the extent that it promotes improving, tends to quicken the enhancement of site values. The misunderstanding between them is doubtless due to the point of view. Whereas the single taxer thinks of this enhancement of site values as a common benefit which should go to the common good, the real estate investor thinks of them as the private property of the site owner for his appropriation regardless of the common good.

Gaining the world and losing your soul.

David R. Forgan, of the First National Bank of Chicago, spoke as an expert when at a Presbyterian banquet on the 29th, he told his auditors that if they knew some millionaires as well as he did they would agree with him that these persons "had lost the last vestige of the souls they may be presumed to have possessed before the mania for money-getting obsessed them." The truth is that no business man can give himself over to money-getting without losing his soul—and not in any mystical sense either.

—

In business life there are two great arts—the art of making money and the art of spending money. The art of making money resolves itself into serving others; the art of spending money resolves itself into being served by others. For when a man takes money, what is that money but a certificate of the agreed value of the service he has rendered others? When he spends money, what is that money but a certificate of the agreed value of the service he has received from others? If our industrial environment were normal and therefore just, all getting and all spending of money would represent the two sides of normal civilized life—the rendering of service to others and the receiving of service from others.

—

Our abnormal industrial environment largely interferes with that evenly balanced life. Too often, sometimes unlawfully and sometimes lawfully, the getting of money certifies to no service rendered, but only to unjust power applied; it may be the lawless power of the highwayman or the legalized power of the monopolist, but with either the moral principle is the same. Too often, also, the spending of money certifies to no service received, but only to a vanity indulged; it may be the reckless gratification of hurtful

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appetites or the calculated self satisfaction of spectacular charity. While such an environment continues, no equilibrium of getting money and spending money can produce the normal equilibrium of service for service; but even in this abnormal environment, some approximation to that equilibrium can be made. The man who does his best to adjust his getting of money to honest service, and his spending of money to honest getting of equivalent service, will approximate well balanced manhood; whereas the man who clings to the conditions that enable him to get much money for little service and give little money for much service, is pretty likely to shrivel his soul. Service for service is the natural law of orderly human life, and whoever violates it invites inward damnation.

Philip Henrici.

There are few men anywhere who know Chicago at all but will recall Philip Henrici, the originator and proprietor of Henrici's restaurants. Mr. Henrici, whose death was reported on the 25th, was worthy of remembrance for more than his success merely as a business man. He was also a man. And that means that he harbored genuinely democratic convictions and cultivated the courage of his convictions. A German by birth, an American by adoption, a baker by trade, a business man by occupation, a successful one by good management and good fortune, and a fundamental democrat by temper and conviction, Mr. Henrici knew no artificial distinctions of station, wealth or race. As long ago as thirty years, when Negroes in Chicago were denied restaurant accommodations even more brutally than now, Mr. Henrici would not turn away Negroes who entered his doors. They were served with the same promptness and consideration as any other customers; and if, as sometimes happened, his waiters refused to serve them, Henrici did it himself. Prejudice did not chill nor clamor intimidate him. While the so-called "anarchists" were in jail, Mr. Henrici, without charge or pay and without the omission of a day from their first arrest to their removal, some to the gallows and the others to State prison, sent them the best meals his restaurant afforded. He was not an anarchist. He was simply a human man, at a time when and in a place where most men in his circumstances were howling brutes with a thirst for human blood. Philip Henrici held human life sacred, he believed in human liberty, he stood for equality of rights. War, slavery, and privilege he therefore abhorred. Better to leave behind the fragrance of such a character than the odor of tainted millions.

The sacred soldier.

Nothing shows better the weakness of militarism than its sensitiveness to criticism. The following was recently published in a number of periodicals under the head of news from Germany:

> Herr Kunert, a Social Democratic member of the German Reichstag, was sentenced at Halle yesterday to three months' imprisonment for insulting members of the German expedition sent to China in 1900 by saying in a campaign speech: "Our soldiers in that desolated land plundered and abused women." A number of former soldiers of the expedition were examined and gave corroborative testimony in great detail.

It makes no difference whether the criticism be true. Those who are engaged in the noble profession of fighting must not be criticised.

The life insurance problem.

Now that the insurance investigation is over, whatever may be the legislative outcome the fact is established that the life companies, largely owing to the growth of monopoly in business and the consequent wholesale destruction of small, independent enterprises, have become the chief custodians of the people's savings. That the men who chanced to be at the head of these institutions were not, in all cases, equal to the moral strain of handling so much money was only to be expected. A few of the Jonahs have been sacrificed to propitiate the mob, but the danger still exists in a great measure. Policy holders have been encouraged to rely upon State protection of their interests at the same time that the State divested them of the power to protect themselves by bringing actions against the companies if aggrieved. How much the State protection was worth is now well known to the world. Insurance is a difficult business to regulate satisfactorily. In its nature it is a "mutual" business, because it is the distribution among the many of the losses that fall upon the few; nevertheless a workable scheme of self-government among the policy-holders of insurance companies has yet to be devised.

The womanly touch in literature.

Dickens wrote a letter to George Eliot soon after her first publication, and it is interesting to see how surely he detected that the author was a woman. He began his letter, "Dear Sir," but at once expressed his doubt. The letter has been published in the London Daily News. It runs, in part, as follows:

> In addressing these few words of thankfulness to the creator of the Sad Fortunes of the Rev. Amos Barton, and the sad love story of Mr. Gilfil, I am (I presume) bound to adopt the name that it pleases that excellent writer to assume. I can suggest no better one; but I should have been strongly disposed, if I had been left to my own devices, to address the said writer as a woman. I have observed what seemed to me such womanly touches in those moving fictions, that the assurance on the title page is insufficient to satisfy me even now.

A SORRY CONTRAST.

In Great Britain, without a whisper of corruption, a great constituency has just made election, not of a picturesque and magnetic personality—Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman is quite as unlikely an object of hero worship as former Judge Parker,—but of the leading representative of principle applied to commerce, to education, and to social reform.

In France, Mr. Fallieres, the son

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of a clerk, the grandson of a blacksmith, a countryman of genuinely simple life, has just been chosen to be the chief servant of the nation by the simplest machinery, working without clamor or expense.

On the other hand, the United States seems to be at this moment subject to the imperious will of an aristocrat who transparently condescends here and there to the arts of a demagogue, while surrounding himself with all the etiquette of a court; and acquiescence in his sovereign assumption, overruling the coordinate departments of government and the Constitution itself, is claimed to be a test of good citizenship.

Meanwhile, it has been quite forgotten that Mr. Roosevelt's position was reached with the use of great sums of money contributed by corporations and trusts, and that his apparent endorsement was obtained, not by a very general support so much as by divisions among his opponents.

We must try to believe that the United States, which for more than a century faithfully adhered on the whole to the ideals of democracy, contains within herself the elements of regeneration and purification. But how low is her standing to-day relatively to Great Britain and France in the actual conditions of her political life!

ERVING WINSLOW.

ALDERMANIC AMBIGUITY.

Certain members of the Chicago City Council, some of them very respectable and none of them of the so-called "gray wolf" group, are now revealed as having pursued in connection with the Chicago traction question (pp. 705, 707, 710), a course of considerable ambiguity. It is so ambiguous as to call for more satisfactory explanations than that they differed in opinion from the consistent municipal ownership members. We refer to the eight aldermen who constitute the majority of the committee on local transportation. Their names are: Milton J. Foreman, F. I. Bennett, Thos. Carey, Wm. D. Maypole, Walter J. Raymer, Robert R. McCormick, Thomas M. Hunter and Linn H. Young.

When Mayor Dunne had been elected on the municipal ownership issue, it was generally understood and unofficially declared in the Council that he would have the support of the Council regardless of party lines and in good faith, in perfecting and establishing his traction policy. Accordingly the local transportation committee was reorganized pursuant to a tacit agreement that it would assist and not obstruct Mayor Dunne. To that end the committee was promptly and with every appearance of good faith put under the chairmanship of Charles Werno, an alderman whose fidelity to the municipal ownership movement had been and has continued to be unimpeachable.

But this wisely generous civic spirit did not continue, and a curious transformation occurred within the local transportation committee. The external aspects of the change have now been publicly narrated by Alderman William E. Dever, one of the committee, who told the story in a speech at the City Club on the afternoon of the 27th, and again on the evening of the same day at a banquet given to the minority of the local transportation committee at the Iroquois Club.

No accusation nor imputation was preferred or hinted at by Alderman Dever in either speech. He merely disclosed the facts in their chronological order. But the barest statement of those facts constitutes an indictment of the eight aldermen in question, which no public spirited man can afford and no self-respecting man will permit to pass without explanation.

According to Alderman Dever's statements, the lines were first drawn by the eight aldermen named above, at the time when Mayor Dunne's "contract plan" for securing municipal ownership came up in the committee for consideration.

Prior to that time, said Alderman Dever, the committee did little. It was understood that Mayor Dunne would formulate his plans, and that upon their submission the committee would cordially cooperate with him in perfecting and promoting them. But immediately upon the taking up of the Dunne "contract plan," the committee divided, 8 to 5, and remained so divided to the end. The five who continued in the original purpose, cooperating with Mayor Dunne, were Charles Werno (the chairman), Michael Zimmer, William E. Dever, Nicholas R. Finn and John J. Bradley. The eight who reversed this original purpose were those whose ambiguous conduct is here in question—Foreman, Bennett, Carey, Maypole, Raymer, R. R. McCormick, Hunter and Young.

Why did those eight aldermen reverse the original purpose of the committee by obstructing instead of cooperating with Dunne? That is one thing for them to explain if they can explain it. Another inquiry in the same connection is, why in pursuing the new purpose they threw themselves so completely, and as the circumstances imply, so questionably, into the arms of the traction interests?

But let us proceed with Alderman Dever's story.

When Mayor Dunne's "contract plan" for municipal ownership came up in the committee for consideration, only three sections were read. As the reading of the third section closed, and without any attempt at consideration, the eight members of the committee named above as the majority—Foreman, Bennett, Carey, Maypole, Raymer, R. R. McCormick, Hunter and Young—suddenly forced the committee to decide that this would be a good time to invite the traction companies to come before them and submit proposals for an extension of their franchises.

That was the very policy which had theretofore been regarded as having been defeated at the polls by a referendum vote and Dunne's election. Yet the committee precipitately adopted it by the vote of 8 to 5—Foreman, Bennett, Carey, Maypole, Raymer, R. R. McCormick, Hunter and Young voting in the affirmative.

By that vote the majority decided to side track the Mayor's plan without examination, discussion or consideration, and in favor of such proposals as the existing companies might make.

Why?

Alderman Dever has suggested

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no explanation, either good or bad, and the eight aldermen whose intelligence or good faith is thus put in question, make no explanation in their own behalf.

Was there any possible connection between their unexplained action and the following news item which had appeared in the Chicago Tribune of August 8:

> No less a person than J. Pierpont Morgan himself is going to settle the traction question. . . . Mr. Morgan has awakened to the fact that buying a Chicago street car line with no franchise or only a partial franchise was one thing, and maintaining the value of its stock at a price which makes the purchase a good bargain is another, and he has determined to take a hand in the game himself.

We only ask the question. We do not undertake to answer it.

We may say, however, that Alderman Dever has made no hint of any connection between the fact thus noted by the Chicago Tribune of August 8, and the subsequent unexplained action of his eight colleagues in the committee —Foreman, Bennett, Carey, Maypole, Raymer, R. R. McCormick, Hunter and Young. Nor do we know of any such connection. We merely recall the circumstance.

What Alderman Dever does say is that the traction companies promptly responded to the 8 to 5 invitation to submit proposals. In a few days they submitted printed proposals completely formulated, which must have required weeks for preparation, and from that time on the majority of the committee actively cooperated not with Mayor Dunne in aid of municipal ownership, nor with the majority of the committee for the same purpose, but with the traction representatives to formulate the kind of franchise extensions that the traction companies required.

At first the minority were inclined, when they observed the apparent understanding between the majority and the traction representatives, to withdraw from the committee. But upon reflection they decided that their duty to the city demanded of them that they should see to it, if franchise extensions were to be granted, that the city's interests should be protected and that fair ordinances of their kind should be adopted. So, acknowledging that the franchise extension policy which the people had voted down, had become the policy of a majority of the committee, they endeavored to perfect the proposed extension ordinances by offering amendments.

This they did in good faith. Not one of their amendments was calculated to discredit the proposed ordinances. The most drastic one they offered was for a tax of 20 per cent. on gross receipts—1 cent in 5—a condition of franchise extension which had been theretofore commonly demanded by franchise extensionists themselves and which no one criticised but the traction companies. But this amendment was voted down—8 to 5. So was every other amendment of any importance that they offered. During three months, again and again the vote for the traction interests on every question the minority raised was voted down—8 to 5; the same faithful 5 and the same ambiguous 8.

And now comes a curious sequel. After the committee had by 8 to 5 formulated the ordinance the traction companies required, peremptorily voting down every amendment the minority proposed, just as the traction companies wanted them to, and when Walter L. Fisher, the president of the Municipal Voters' League, appeared before them and advocated the insertion of some 25 amendments which the minority had proposed and the majority had voted down, 8 to 5, then the majority were willing to accept those amendments!

Now, why did that majority incontinently vote down those 25 amendments when their colleagues in the minority proposed them, and pitifully break down, like unlucky prisoners pleading guilty to an indictment, when the head of the Municipal Voters' League proposed the same amendments?

To recapitulate:

Why did those eight—Foreman, Bennett, Carey, Maypole, Raymer, R. R. McCormick, Hunter and Young—foster the impression that the committee would cooperate in good faith with Mayor Dunne in promotion of municipal ownership as a demand of the people?

Having done that, why did they suddenly change front by refusing even to read Mayor Dunne's formulated plan and insisting upon inviting before them the defeated traction companies to formulate extension ordinances?

When they had forced the committee into ignoring Mayor Dunne's plan and to doing nothing but formulate extension ordinances with the traction companies, why did they arbitrarily vote down every substantial amendment proposed by the minority?

Having voted down every substantial amendment proposed by the minority, and having reported the traction company's ordinances to the Council, why were they afterwards willing to insert some of those same amendments upon the recommendation of private citizens?

The circumstances of the conduct in this matter, of Aldermen Foreman, Bennett, Carey, Maypole, Raymer, R. R. McCormick, Hunter and Young, are incompatible with good official service. They are inconsistent with the hypothesis of a difference in opinion, both honest and intelligent, with the minority.

To what influences, then, did these men respond?

No one believes that all of them were corrupted in any of the old fashioned modes of corrupting public officials. Some of them are above the possibility of vulgar bribery; and so far as we are aware none of them are so accused.

But to what influences did they, then, respond?

Were they bound by business, professional or political obligations? Were they affected by business, professional or political expectations? Or were they—shall we say, unintelligent and confiding dupes?

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, Feb. 1.

The British elections.

The British parliamentary elec-

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tions (p. 714) are ended, and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's ministry will have a majority over all of at least 82—the largest ever given a British cabinet. The latest reported returns, with 9 constituencies to hear from, give the following result:

Liberals	376
Conservatives	160
Irish Nationalists	84
Labor	50

Among the 50 Labor candidates the earlier reports mentioned 3 Socialist. The probability is that several socialistic Labor men have been elected, but no Socialist party candidate. Of the Labor members, some are expected to cooperate with the Liberal party, while others form a distinct group for common action on labor questions.

Death of King Christian.

Denmark's king, Christian IX., died suddenly of heart failure at Copenhagen on the 29th. The fourth son of Duke William of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glucksburg, and born April 8, 1818, Christian IX. ascended the Danish throne November 15, 1863, by right of his wife, a niece of Christian VIII, under treaty of May 8, 1852. He came to be facetiously known as "the father-in-law of Europe," in consequence of the marriages of his descendants to European royal personages. Either personally or through their consorts he was directly related to the rulers of Great Britain, Russia, Greece, Sweden and Norway. One of his daughters is Queen Alexandra of England. Frederick VIII, oldest son of Christian, has succeeded to the throne, having been proclaimed king on the 30th.

Troubles of the Standard Oil trust.

On our own side of the ocean, reasons for increasing interest in proceedings against the Standard Oil trust are multiplying. Since Gov. Folk's accession to office as governor of Missouri, the attorney general of that State, Herman S. Hadley, has been prosecuting this trust for violations of the laws of Missouri. In the course of his proceedings, Attorney General Hadley went in person to New York to take evidence under the laws of that State for use in his own State. Among the witnesses whom he examined was H. H. Rogers, who refused to answer important questions, and was consequently brought before the New York courts in proceedings for contempt. On the 31st the New York court sustained Mr. Rogers. The New York proceedings having been widely published, an attempt has been made in the legislature of New Jersey to hold the Standard Oil trust to accountability as a corporation of that State's creation. The matter came before the New Jersey legislature in the form of a resolution introduced on the 30th by Senator Minturn in the upper house. Senator Minturn's resolution reads as follows:

> Whereas, it appears from the testimony of witnesses produced in the examination in New York city in the case of the State of Missouri against the Standard Oil company system that the evils incident to this, the greatest of all trusts, are due to the laxity of the corporation laws of the State under the provisions of which the Standard Oil company is organized, and that the laws of the different States and the United States are habitually violated and contemned by it, its agents and subsidiary corporations, to the subversion of popular rights and the lasting disgrace of our State, therefore resolved by the Senate of the State of New Jersey, the House of Assembly concurring, that the attorney general be and is hereby directed to institute legal proceedings forthwith in the name of the State against the Standard Oil company of New Jersey and its subsidiary corporations in this State, for the purpose of annulling and forfeiting the charter of such companies upon the ground of the violation by such companies of the common law relating to monopolies, and violation of the provisions of the Elkins law and the law relative to interstate commerce.

Senator Minturn explains that—

> by the testimony in the case pending in the Supreme Court of Missouri taken in New York, the attorney general of Missouri succeeded in showing that the various oil companies in the West, and in fact in all parts of the country, which go to make up the Standard oil trust, are based upon the parent company organized in New Jersey. This resolution is intended to enable the attorney general of New Jersey to institute proceedings for the purpose of investigating whether that is a fact, as I believe it to be, and if it is a fact, then the charter of that company should be forfeited, because it represents a company that is violating the general law, as well as the Sherman anti-trust law and the other acts of Congress dealing with the subject.

Originally the Standard Oil trust was incorporated in Ohio, but a subsidiary corporation was maintained in New Jersey. Some years ago Attorney General Monnett of Ohio instituted legal proceedings against the trust, which resulted at first in his being refused a renomination by the Republican party, but ultimately in the withdrawal of the trust from Ohio. Thereupon the New Jersey subsidiary company became the parent company of the trust.

After the withdrawal of the Standard from Ohio it secretly manipulated the Republic company of Ohio, which was supposed to be an independent concern. The fact that this company is the Standard under another name has now been unearthed by the Missouri attorney general through testimony he has taken in Cleveland; and as a result of those investigations there the Ohio attorney general announces his intention of taking proceedings against the Standard combination in behalf of Ohio. Attorney General Hadley charges such plain crimes as fraud and forgery.

In the Ohio legislature.

In the upper house of the Ohio legislature on the 25th a bill for the limitation of railroad fares to two cents a mile, the Rathburn bill, was adopted by unanimous vote. For twenty years the railroad lobby at Columbus has fought this measure; but now, so decisive was the vote in the Senate, it is believed that the bill will readily be passed by the House.

The general situation at Columbus (p. 673) is thus described in the Cincinnati Enquirer of the 28th, by Columbus special of the 27th:

> The public service corporations and all that class of business represented by the somewhat threadbare name of vested interests are alive to the situation. So are the professional politicians—the leaders and the followers. They are not exactly alarmed, but they are watching movements with rare vigilance. The corporations are preparing to resist any further advance of the municipal ownership theory of government. So far as the ownership of water, gas and electric light utilities is concerned, the corporations hold untenable ground, or nearly so. Out-

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side of Cincinnati, Cleveland and Toledo there exists little objection to the doctrine so far as it relates to the utilities named. There is pending a proposition to permit the residents of all municipalities to vote upon the question of adopting municipal ownership of all public service concerns, and this will be strongly opposed. There is no municipal ownership in the three cities named save in the water supply. The proposition to extend it to street railway lines will meet with widespread, unceasing, unsparing and even unscrupulous resistance. These corporations will extend this resistance to the plan of requiring public franchises to be submitted to a referendum. Three years ago they succeeded in defeating a similar movement when the present municipal code was enacted. Many of the political leaders through whom they worked so successfully have since been dethroned. In the executive chair is a conservative, but yet a believer in the doctrine of home rule. The Supreme Court has since made rulings that have shaken the foundations of the street railway corporation franchises. What success they are going to have this winter is a problem. Mayor Tom Johnson, of Cleveland, with renewed vigor is pressing their flanks, and this time upon many of his changes he has the united support of the mayors of 70 municipalities of the State. Charlatan and fakir they call him, but that does not remove the fact that he is present and powerful. These organized mayors are asking a measure of home rule that five years ago would have been deemed impossible. They want civil service in the police, fire, health, water, parks and other departments. They seek the power to regulate the hours and condition of labor for minors and to employ factory inspectors. Power to regulate street railroad rates and telephone tolls is desired, and to place wires underground. In many ways blows are dealt at the board plan, which divides municipal responsibility, and every effort is put forward to concentrate it in as few hands as possible. In addition to the power now enjoyed by the mayor it is sought to give him exclusive control of the fire and police departments, power to enforce State laws and city ordinances, and to supervise the conduct of all city officials and hear and determine complaints against them. He is also empowered to name the city solicitor, auditor and directors of public works and public safety. Administrative control is to be lodged in a board made up of the solicitor, treasurer, auditor, director of public works and director of public safety. It is very easy to understand why these corporate interests are opposed to giving such power to Mayor Brand Whitlock, of Toledo; Edward J. Dempsey, of Cincinnati, and Tom L. Johnson, of Cleveland. The professional politicians find themselves confronted with proposed laws aimed at the destruction of machine control of parties and the placing of State institutions under the protecting aegis of civil service. First of all is the demand for the adoption of the Massachusetts ballot, which does away with party emblems and straight tickets. All of the election laws for 20 years have had the same object apparently—the rearing of obstacles to independent voting or scratching and the smoothing of the way to voting straight tickets. Now comes this revolutionary demand. The reformers are assailing the very citadel of machine politics—the machine primary. They want joint primary elections and direct nominations for all save State and district officers. Some of them include even these, but all are against the local convention. The power of political committees to prescribe qualifications is reduced to the vanishing point. Candidates can place themselves upon tickets by petition and without assessment to committees. For school elections the pure Australian ballot is sought, only the names of the candidates being placed upon the slip, without device or distinguishing mark of any kind. The extinction of the appointed delegate is sought. "Confine yourselves to elections and not to nominations" is the rule sought to be laid down to the machines. Gov. Pattison wants to go further and provide for a statement of collections and disbursements from candidates and committees. The hardest fight will come upon the abandonment of the straight voting device. Next it will center upon the restriction of the committees' right to prescribe the qualifications of candidates. All primary laws up to date have been optional. Now it is proposed to make them mandatory, thus denying by law that political parties are voluntary organizations.

The Chicago traction question.

On the 27th Mayor Dunne signed the traction municipalization ordinances as passed by the City Council (p. 710) last week. Both ordinances, one for ownership and the other for operation, are therefore laws, subject only to popular approval or disapproval by the people upon referendum at the city election in April.

At that election 35 of the 70 members of the City Council will be chosen; and in preparation for this, selections have been made under the new primary law for party nominees. Besides the aldermanic candidates to be elected, and the two mandatory referendums on traction ownership and operation an advisory referendum (p. 657) also on the traction question will be submitted. This municipal election in Chicago is likely therefore to be one of vast importance and interest not only to Chicago but to every other city in the United States. The campaign was opened by the Municipal Ownership League with a meeting on the 31st at Handell Hall, at which John A. Watson presided and Alderman Dever and Mayor Dunne were the principal speakers.

The mysterious Dalrymple letter.

It will be recalled that upon his election as Mayor of Chicago, but before his inauguration, Judge Dunne cabled a request to Glasgow for a visit from the traction manager of that pioneer city of municipal ownership, and that upon the consequent appearance of Mr. Dalrymple, the manager in question, much interest was excited throughout the country (p. 597) in his visit. Upon his return to Glasgow Mr. Dalrymple wrote Mayor Dunne a report which Mayor Dunne refused to give out for publication. Upon this there was much comment over the whole country, and during the traction controversy in the City Council aldermen inimical to Mayor Dunne and his traction policy appealed to the city authorities of Glasgow for a copy of that report. The Glasgow authorities consequently communicated with Mayor Dunne upon the subject, and on the 31st Mayor Dunne replied. We give the correspondence in full. The letter to Mayor Dunne reads:

Mayor Edward F. Dunne, Chicago:
Sir—I am instructed by the tramways committee of the Corporation to refer to the recent communications addressed to you by the general manager of the Corporation tramways, and to intimate that the City Council of the City of Chicago have requested the Corporation to furnish them with the views of James Dalrymple, the general manager of the tramways, on the local transportation question of the City of Chicago.

When the Corporation, on receipt of the cablegram from you in April last, granted permission to Mr. Dalrymple to visit Chicago and report upon the tramways, they clearly understood that the request came from you, not as an individual, but as the Mayor of the city, and this opinion is confirmed by

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the terms of the following cablegram sent to you in reply:

"Mayor, Chicago, U. S. A.—Corporation of Glasgow unanimously and cordially agree to request of your municipality. Tramways manager unable to leave before 10th May. Letter follows.—Lord Provost."

The tramways committee, however, are now led to understand that you claim that the request was made by you as a private individual, and I am instructed to say that if this had been made clear to the corporation, there is little likelihood that the application would have been granted. The corporation fully expected that any report made by their general manager would have been accessible, not only to the Council of Chicago, but to the members of this Corporation. The general manager, however, has refrained from submitting his report, until you had ample opportunity of first submitting it to the Council of Chicago. The corporation has at all times been willing to assist other municipalities in allowing their officials to advise and confer with these municipalities, and the committee does not see how it can longer delay complying with the application addressed to them by the Council of Chicago. I have, therefore, been instructed to say that unless you are prepared to submit Mr. Dalrymple's report to the Council of Chicago, or to show good reason why it should not be submitted to them, or to the members of my Corporation here, the committee will feel they have no alternative but to ask Mr. Dalyrmple to make a report to the Chicago Council as desired, and also to furnish a copy thereof to the members of this Corporation. I shall be pleased to hear from you by return of post or preferably by cable. I am, sir, your obedient servant, A. W. Myles, Town Clerk.

Mayor Dunne's reply reads:

Sir: Your favor of 18th inst. to hand. I regret exceedingly that the Corporation of Glasgow misunderstood the terms of my cablegram to the Lord Provost of April 5, 1905. This cablegram read as follows:

Lord Provost, Glasgow.—Chicago first great city America following lead Glasgow declares for municipalization street cars by twenty-five thousand majority. Will you give manager of your municipal tramways vacation thirty days to visit Chicago to confer with me. All expenses, first-class travel, hotel bills, etc., will be paid by me. Answer my expense.—Edward F. Dunne, Mayor-Elect of Chicago.

At the time I sent this cablegram I was not Mayor of Chicago, did not know the name of your traction manager, had no authority to invite on behalf of the municipality or incur any expense for the corporation. I therefore plainly indicated that I would be personally liable for all the general manager's expenses and that he would be my personal guest. This seemed to be clearly understood by Mr. Dalrymple. Before he left Glasgow I forwarded to him exchange, the proceeds of $300, paid for out of my own private funds, and when he left Chicago I asked him what would be the balance of his total expenses in America, including his transportation back to Glasgow. He fixed a figure, whereupon I urged him to make sure that all his expenses would be included in that figure, and I finally gave him my personal check for $400, which was slightly in excess of his estimated figure. No official action of the municipality was ever taken in relation to Mr. Dalrymple's visit until after his return to Scotland, when the City Council passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That Mr. James Dalrymple be requested to furnish to the City Council his views on the local transportation question of Chicago.

The above statement of facts, I think, will be agreed to by Mr. Dalrymple, who certainly knew that I was paying his expenses out of my own private resources. Indeed, since his return, as he has been quoted in the American press, he has stated that the letter to me was my private property and that he, for that reason, would not give a copy of the same to the public. In a letter to W. H. Brown, secretary of the Civic Federation of Chicago, dated August 17, 1905, a copy of which Mr. Dalrymple was kind enough to forward to me, Mr. Dalrymple states: "I have given a copy of my letter to Judge Dunne to no one, as I feel that the matter is entirely in the hands of the Mayor." I have, because of the foregoing facts, considered that this letter of Mr. Dalrymple to me was my private property and Mr. Dalrymple has treated the matter in an entirely gentlemanly and honorable way, which I highly appreciate. I know that he has had no objection to the publication of the letter, but as the letter was my private property I exercised the discretion which belongs to me, of refusing to make the same public—my reasons for so doing being that Mr. Dalrymple discussed therein certain subjects, or phases of subjects, about which I had not sought from him any suggestions. Mr. Dalrymple in his letter states: "I may be traveling beyond my brief in making this suggestion." While I have regarded and still regard Mr. Dalrymple's letter to me of June 29, 1905, being the letter about which so much controversy has arisen, as my personal property, I have not the slightest objection to Mr. Dalrymple's giving the City Council his views upon the local transportation question of Chicago in accordance with the resolution adopted by that body. In giving these views, however, I would respectfully suggest that Mr. Dalrymple take into consideration all of the facts and circumstances surrounding the present traction situation in Chicago as developed down to date, many of which facts and circumstances were unknown either to Mr. Dalrymple or myself on the occasion of his visit to this city last June. Among these facts and circumstances he should particularly take into consideration the fact that we have at the present time in the City of Chicago 130 miles of trackage, now in possession of the present traction companies, upon which all franchises have incontestably expired, and that this trackage lies in the most densely populated portion of the city, with avenues of access into the very heart of the city; and that on or about January 1, 1908, 274 miles of trackage upon which franchises will have incontestably expired will be at the disposal of the municipality for the running thereon of a municipal street car system. This 274 miles of trackage being in the most densely populated portion of the city, it will afford transportation to 1,000,000 of the 2,000,000 people of this city. I shall be most happy to place at the disposal of Mr. Dalrymple all of the information upon the present traction situation which has been presented to the City Council of the City of Chicago, so that he may consider the same for the purpose of enabling him to give his views and opinions to the City Council of this city.

NEWS NOTES

—Gen. Joseph Wheeler, of Alabama, died at New York on the 25th.

—Ex-President Cleveland was received at Albany on the 30th by the New York legislature in joint session.

—The legislature of Pennsylvania has ordered an investigation of the insurance department, formerly under the manipulation of Israel W. Durham, the late Republican leader of Philadelphia.

—Dean Williams, of Cleveland, who was recently invited to become bishop of the diocese of Michigan in the Protestant Episcopal church (p. 581), will be consecrated at St. Paul's church, Cleveland, on the 7th.

—Capt. William H. Van Schaick, master of the General Slocum, in the burning of which more than 1,000 lives were lost (vii., p. 205) was convicted on the 27th of neglect contributing to the disaster, and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.

PRESS OPINIONS

THE STATEHOOD QUESTION.

The Visalia (Cal.) Daily Times (Dem.), Jan. 26.—The most iniquitous bill that has ever passed the lower house of Congress is the joint Statehood bill that was passed at Washington Thursday. It forces Arizona to become a State with New Mexico in face of the fact that 99 one-hundredths of the residents of Arizona, Democrats and Re-

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publicans alike, oppose the measure. It is Roosevelt's own pet measure, too.

Auburn (N. Y.) Citizen (Dem.), Jan. 26.—The House of Representatives yesterday completed, as far as it could, the most flagrant piece of legislative tyranny on record, when it passed the bill requiring Arizona and New Mexico to come into the Union of States as one, if at all. Having succeeded the day before in passing the rule to shut off debate, preventing the two Territories from presenting their case to the House and to the country, the rest was easy, although 33 Republicans, as good as any in Congress, recorded their opposition to the outrage. They were reenforced by the whole body of the House Democracy, but their combined strength was not enough to defeat the bill. . . . There is grave reason to fear that Ari and New Mexico, if taken into the Union as one State, will not get on together upon the terms of peace. Between populations so dissimilar there is always danger of civil disturbance. In both Territories this danger is realized to such an extent that, if submitted to a vote of each separately, joint Statehood would be defeated in both.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Jan. 29.—The general lines of the Statehood bill as passed by the House of Representatives were dictated by politics. The Administration leaders are endeavoring to discount the future. They foresee the day when New Mexico and Arizona would apply for admission to the Union as two separate States. Arizona is growing with leaps and bounds. Irrigation has worked wonders with its once desolate wastes. In 1870 it had only 22,000 acres of land under cultivation. To-day over 2,000,000 acres are bearing bountiful crops and great plans for making the deserts bloom as the rose are being pushed rapidly forward. New Mexico has also been forging to the front. It is only a matter of a few years when both Territories would demand Statehood and ask for separate places among the stars on our national emblem. This prospect does not please the Administration leaders. In discussing the measure Mr. Dalzell complained bitterly of what he termed the over-representation of the West. He showed that there were 14 States of the Union with 28 Senators and only 28 Representatives. Mr. Dalzell does not consider the Representatives as a menace but the Senators rankle in his breast. Uniting Arizona and New Mexico lessens the possible number of Western Senators. The Senators from Rhode Island, Vermont and New Hampshire are not objectionable in the least. They are always "right," but Western Senators are an abomination and must be headed off by proper legislation. . . . Viewed from whatever side may be selected that Statehood bill contemplates a colossal crime. The people of Arizona as well as the people of New Mexico are entitled to fair treatment. They are still in the morning of their career, but for years they have held the pledge of the nation and that pledge cannot honorably be cast aside. The nation has promised them Statehood, and with that pledge in mind both Territories have for half a century been developing, each along its own line. They have had different hopes and different aspirations, but the citizenship of both Territories has come to feel the conscious pride springing from the best development of innate charactristics. There should be no disposition to criticise the Latins of New Mexico. They have been working out their own destiny in the only way possible for them. The same is true of the splendid American citizens of Arizona. Both Territories are entitled to traverse their separate paths to Statehood and both are entitled to make their separate entrance into the sisterhood of the States. To deny them that right is to deny that government should be founded upon the consent of the governed.

NORWEGIAN DEMOCRACY.

Collier's (ind.), Feb. 3.—Norwegian democracy takes a diverting way of expounding itself when it mingles royal titles with a modern spirit in address. The English form is to speak once to Edward as "Your Majesty," and thereafter mark the greatness of his place only by the monosyllabic "Sir." A further stripping away of reverential verbiage is taken by the Norwegians when "Your Majesty" gives place to "Mr. King." Assuredly there is nothing awe-inspiring in that address. It leaves one, at least, no more under the spell of majesty than "Mr. President." It recognizes the fact. The inhabitants of Norway wished a king for reasons of policy, not of social life.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S TROUBLES.

Collier's, (ind.), Jan. 27.—At the bottom of the President's troubles with Congress lies the question of patronage. Although a civil service reformer in theory, and in former practice, Mr. Roosevelt as President has not been able to divorce himself entirely from the political use of offices. Lately he has thought the Senate needed to be conciliated more than the House, and he has given Senators patronage which Representatives thought belonged to them. This has infuriated the Representatives without really winning over the Senators. The only thing which has thus far prevented Congress from taking the bit in its teeth and running completely wild has been the fear of the President's immense popularity. Senators and Representatives are watching for a sign that that is going down, and with the first hint of its subsidence Mr. Roosevelt will have Congress not only on his hands but on his back.

POPULAR INTELLIGENCE.

The (London) New Life (Rad.), Jan. 18.—We would multiply instances to show that reactions—at any rate in England, and we believe everywhere else—are not the wanton desire for a new broom because it is new, but mark a profound change in public opinion. Unhappily, such a change can be produced artificially—that is, not by a universal desire for reform, but by some class or clique, which has its private interest to serve.

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, Jan. 15-27, 1906.

Senate.

On the 15th the Senate had under consideration the ship subsidy bill (p. 1048), and on the 16th the pure food bill (p. 1110). Senator Tillman's discussion of the Santo Domingo question (p. 1169) and of the violent expulsion of Mrs. Morris from the White House (p. 1177), together with the executive session, occupied the day on the 17th. Mr. Tillman's resolution for an investigation of the forcible expulsion of Mrs. Morris from the White House was laid on the table, 54 to 8, on the 18th (p. 1214-1215), and the pure food bill was further considered. Adjournment having been taken to the 22nd, on that day the question of railroad rates was discussed (p. 1354). The pure food bill was again discussed on the 23d (p. 1427), and on the 24th there was further debate on the Moroccan conference and relations with Santo Domingo (p. 1463). After continuing this discussion on the 24th (p. 1524) and passing the bill for the reorganization of the consular service (p. 1527), the Senate adjourned to the 29th.

House.

Consideration of the Philippine tariff bill was resumed on the 15th (p. 1052) and continued on the 16th (p. 1120). On the latter day the committee of the whole reported the bill back to the House with the recommendation that as amended it pass (p. 1141), and upon yea and nay vote the amended bill passed by 258 to 71. Only private business was done on the 17th. and on the 18th and 19th miscellaneous business of no general interest. Most of the time on the 20th was devoted to a continuation of the consideration of the urgency deficiency bill (p. 1309) begun earlier in the week. Sunday having intervened, on the 22d consideration of the urgency deficiency bill was continued (p. 1366). This business was interrupted on the 23d by the introduction of majority and minority reports on the statehood bill (House bill No. 12707), "to enable the people of Oklahoma and of the Indian Territory to form a constitution and State government and be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States; and to enable the people of New Mexico and of Arizona to form a constitution and State government and be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States." On the 24th the House went into committee of the whole on this bill under special rule for the purpose (pp. 1498, 1507), and on the 25th the bill was passed (pp. 1531, 1557) by 195 to 150. On the 26th the urgent deficiency bill being again under consideration a clause was inserted (pp. 1587 to 1594, 1628), providing that the eight-hour law for laborers and mechanics on public works should "not apply to alien laborers employed in the construction of the Isthmian canal within the canal zone;" but a clause providing that the provisions of the law "excluding Chinese cooly laborers from our mainland and our island possessions are hereby extended to the Isthmian canal zone and shall also apply to Japanese and Korean coolies," was ruled out of order (p. 1594). The urgent deficiency bill was passed on the 27th (p. 1629).

Record Notes.—Speech of Senator Bacon, of Georgia, on the Moroccan conference (p. 1092). Speech of Senator Tillman on Santo Domingo resolution (p. 1169), including his discussion of the violent expulsion of Mrs. Morris from the White House (p. 1177). Speech of Representative De Armond on the Philippine tariff (p. 1302). Speech of Senator Spooner on Moroccan conference (p. 1571).

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE SEEKERS.

Friends and loves we have none, nor wealth, nor blessed abode,
But the hope, the burning hope, and the road, the lonely road.

Not for us are content, and quiet, and peace of mind,
For we go seeking cities that we shall never find.

There is no solace on earth for us—for such as we—
Who search for the hidden beauty that eyes may never see.

Only the road and the dawn, the sun, the wind, the rain,
And the watch-fire under stars, and sleep, and the road again.

We seek the City of God, and the haunt where beauty dwells,
And we find the noisy mart and the sound of burial bells.

Never the golden city, where radiant people meet,
But the dolorous town where mourners are going about the street.

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We travel the dusty road till the light of the day is dim
And sunset shows us spires away on the world's rim.

We travel from dawn to dusk, till the day is past and by,
Seeking the Holy City beyond the rim of the sky.

Friends and loves we have none, nor wealth nor blest abode,
But the hope, the burning hope, and the road, the lonely road.
—John Masefield, in the London Speaker.

THE FIRST FENCER OF LAND.

For The Public.

Apropos of Mr. George F. Baer's utterance, that Cain was the first striker, I remember an ancient Jewish legend according to which Cain was the first one who built a fence, and who claimed the land within the fence as his. He thus is the prototype of the landlord. And landlordism is still killing men.

The Jews of old seem to have had a pretty keen insight into the relationship existing between man and land.

J. L. STERN.

SHE HAD AMBITION.

Some people think that woman is "emancipated;" but it may be that the world has had only a hint of what is to be expected when the fair sex is really set free.

Some children were recently overheard discussing that interesting matter of "what we'll do when we get big." One, a very small boy from a Western village, outlined his dream of future power by stating that he should be a milkman, ride round in a wagon and ring a bell for folks to come out for their milk.

The second, a boy a little older, explained how he wanted to be the man to ride on the freight cars and "make the round things go like this"—illustrating with his hands the brakeman's action.

The third, also a boy, still older than the others—laughing a little at their childish notions—stated that he could not decide whether to be a minister or a grocer. In the place where they were all spending the summer the grocer has candy to sell, and a young clergyman was the object of much feminine devotion.

The fourth child, a girl of eleven, was seen to smile enigmatically. She did not care to tell what she would do, she said.

"Aw, *yur!*" contemptuously cried he for whom the ministry and confectionery had equal attraction. "*Yur* want to get married!" he said, with the traditional blindness of his sex.

When the boys with these ignoble aims had run off to play ball, the girl's ambition came out, confided to her favorite aunt.

"I wouldn't tell before *them*," she said, scornfully. "They couldn't understand. But, aunty, I want to be a justice of the Supreme Court, and"—her voice became solemn—"*beyond human control.*"—Youth's Companion.

THE CLASS IN STATESMANSHIP.

"Now, Johnny, what is a Legislature?"

"Please, mum, but it is a body of men surrounded by the gas and other trusts, and individual members are sometimes offered as high as $2,000 for their votes."

"For what purpose does a Legislature assemble?"

"To make laws with holes in 'em and give taxpayers an idea that there is something doing."

"Of what does a Legislature consist?"

"Of a Senate, a House, a lobby, a dozen lawyers, about $50,000 in cash and lots of gab."

"What is Congress?"

"A larger body of men selected by the railroads and trusts and surrounded by more temptations than a Legislature."

"How is it formed?"

"Of a Senate, a House, unlimited boodle and more or less prerogatives."

"What is a prerogative?"

"Stealing Government land, whacking up with rings, selling inside information to speculators and heading off committees appointed to investigate the Beef Trust and the railroad."

"Correct, Johnny. You look pale and tired and you may now take your seat."—Town Talk, of Newark, N. J.

STRAIGHT THINKING.

By Herbert S. Bigelow, Pastor Vine Street Congregational Church, Cincinnati, delivered Jan. 14, 1906.

If a man's thought is at sixes and sevens, his life is apt to be full of inconsistencies. A false idea is next door to an immoral act. Straight thinking is essential to right living.

From the galleries of the city council chamber I heard a councilman advocate the passage of the gas franchise. He began by declaring that he was a friend of the workingman. He favored giving the franchise to the gas company because the directors of the company were our richest citizens. They gave us our skyscrapers, they gave employment to our laborers; and, therefore, as a favor to our workingmen, the councilman proposed to give the franchise to their employers. To be sure, the franchise sent the stock of the gas company up $1,000,000, but the interests of labor have to be looked after, no matter what crumbs fall to the respectable business grafters of the town.

While the councilman was making his speech, some one near wondered how much the gas company had to pay him for it. But another volunteered the opinion that the councilman was honest and well-meaning. "Well," said the first man, "suppose he is honest. Does that help any? Can you tell me of what earthly use is an honest, damn fool?"

In State legislatures and city councils, the crooks and the fools usually vote together. It matters little to the people whether the legislator is a smart thief or just a dupe.

Some people think as a calf walks; and if a man wabbles in his thought, he wabbles through life.

The man who rides home with you on the street car can tell you about the bill of goods he sold yesterday, about the show he saw last night, or the beefsteak he ate for dinner. But that is his depth. If you try to talk religion, politics, taxation, municipal ownership, referendum, you will find his mind confused, and hopelessly so, for he will think himself wise. The less he knows, the wiser he is.

If thoughts were things, the furniture of some men's minds would make a second-hand furniture store look like a Tiffany palace. What a lot of clap-trap, rusty junk and frayed rags of thoughts men carry about in their minds, and set before you, without shame and without apology!

Here is a man with a defective heart valve. It does not kill him. But he is handicapped by it. He is short of breath. He has fainting spells. He must always guard against over-exertion. Because of that defect he gets less service out of the other organs of the body.

Now it is just as impossible to have a false idea in the mind without damage as it is to have a diseased heart without lowering the tone of the bodily health. And if the error pertains to so basic a thing as religion, if one has a false philosophy of life, the damage will be serious.

There is not a leper spot on the body politic which is not due to bad thinking. Isaiah declared that social distress was due primarily to man's ignorance, and his words are full of significance to-day:

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"Therefore are my people gone into captivity, because they have no knowledge."

THE REFERENDUM IN OHIO.

The Ohio Legislature has now before it a proposed amendment to the Constitution for the Optional Referendum and the Direct Initiative. The advocates of this reform claim that the necessary three-fifths of the members of both houses are pledged to vote for it, and in that event it will certainly be adopted by the people of the State. The discussion by the voters of Ohio of the advantages of the Referendum system has been quite one-sided, for but few newspapers have declared directly against it, though those controlled by the Hanna and Foraker rings are damning it with faint praise, or urging that many obstacles are in the path of its fulfillment.

The independent newspapers of Ohio have given the subject great publicity, and the Cleveland Press, with over 128,000 circulation, has just published an article in large type by Col. Jeptha Garrard, under the caption: "The Initiative and Referendum —What It Would Mean to Ohio," which will be of interest to the voters of other States. It is as follows:

"Initiative is the right to propose any measure to be enacted by the General Assembly; and if the same is not enacted by the General Assembly, to have same submitted to a vote of the electors of the State to be enacted or rejected at the polls.

"Referendum is the right to require that any law which the General Assembly may have enacted shall be submitted to a vote of the electors of the State before becoming a law.

"These rights, Initiative and Referendum, to be secured by petitions signed by the electors—the number of electors required to be a definite per cent. of the votes cast at the preceding State election.

"The amendment which is to be urged upon the Ohio legislature follows closely the Oregon amendment, which was adopted in 1902 by a vote of 52,024 to 5,668.

"In Ohio the advocates of this measure have been doing quiet but effective work, and claim that they have already received from the newly elected representatives more than enough pledges to give them a three-fifths majority in each house.

"What this measure is, and what it is expected to do for Ohio, may best be told by describing the form and the practical effects of the Oregon amendment.

"It is not proposed that all the laws passed by the legislature shall be referred to the people. It is proposed merely that the people shall have the power, to be exercised at their discretion, of bringing to referendum vote any particular act of their representatives.

"This power is guaranteed by the Oregon constitution in this way. It is provided that no act of the legislature, except emergency measures, shall go into effect until 90 days after the adjournment of the legislature.

"If, during these 90 days, petitions are signed by five per cent. of the citizens of the State, demanding a popular vote upon any act or acts of the legislature, and if these petitions are filed with the Secretary of State, the legal effect of the petition is to hold such act or acts in abeyance until the next regular election, when they have to be submitted to a vote of the people.

"If any measure so referred to the people receives the support of the majority, it thereby becomes a law; if it fails of a majority, it is thereby repealed.

"Under the foregoing provision, most, if not all, laws passed by the legislature will go into effect after the expiration of 90 days from their enactment without a popular vote. Referendums will be infrequent.

"The chief aim of the Referendum consists, not in the frequency of its use, but in the fact that it may at any time be invoked. Experience shows this to be true."

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY.

THE MATTER OF DRESS.

From the comments of the London Speaker on a correspondence that has been raging in the London Daily News upon the question, "For Whom Do Women Dress?"

There is nothing humiliating in dressing to please yourself, any more than in playing cricket to please yourself. A painter paints, a poet makes verses to please himself. At least, if they do so for any other reason they waste their time. In fact, whatever we do well we do to please ourselves; and our object in life should not be to do everything against the grain, but to take pleasure in things worth doing.

There seems, however, to be a belief among men . . . that it is not worth while to dress well. They have given up the business as a bad job. They are content to be eyesores, and make a virtue of their ugliness.

Yet men in other ages, and men, too, who did great things, have spent some of their abounding energy upon their clothes. The young Elizabethan conquered worlds and made great verses, arrayed like Solomon in all his glory; and the Spartans combed their long hair at Thermopylae. Are our affairs more important than theirs, or do we manage them better, that we have no time to adorn ourselves? Is it not rather that we are more oppressed by the burden of life than they were, and that we can no longer sustain it with an air? It is a common error for the man of a poor and starved nature to reproach the man of a rich and abounding temperament with frivolity. It is one of the mean consolations of life that pleasure always seems foolish to us when we lack the energy to share it; and that, no doubt, is the reason why men are angry with women who still have enough joy of life to take a pleasure in their clothes. . . .

Dress ought to be an expression of the joy of life, and not of any kind of sense of duty whatsoever. But it is not for the sex which includes bishops and soldiers to reproach women who dress from a sense of duty with the inevitable result. Men are nearly all figures of fun, and if they do not laugh at each other in the street, it is only because they cannot laugh at the same joke a thousand times a day.

MAYOR JOHNSON ON THE MUNICIPAL CONTROL OF VICE.

A REPLY BY TOM L. JOHNSON, MAYOR OF CLEVELAND, TO A COMMUNICATION FROM A COMMITTEE OF THE MINISTERS' UNION OF CLEVELAND.

Rev. Wilbur C. Mickey and Associates, Committee of the Ministers' Union of Cleveland, O.

Gentlemen: I regret that my written reply to the representations made to me by you in conference has been so long delayed, but the pressure of other matters has until now prevented me from giving to the subject that deliberate consideration which it requires.

The problem presented is most difficult, but I am satisfied that you and the city administration have a common aim in view. We both most earnestly desire to make Cleveland a good place to live in, to promote the happiness of our people, and to surround them with such freedom from temptation

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and such encouragement in right living as will discourage vice and promote morality. Our difference, in so far as any exists, is as to the means most conducive to this common end. In case of such disagreement, if one there shall be, I shall assume that you credit me with good faith; and, so far as I am concerned, let me assure you that any such disagreement is not colored by the slightest doubt as to your sincerity and singleness of purpose.

Accompanying your communication are copies of several laws and ordinances which theoretically provide a complete remedy for the ills of which we complain. From an inspection of these it would seem that the only thing necessary is to arrest and prosecute the law breakers. When, however, the practical effects of such a course are considered, I am satisfied it will be found to be the least effective method that can be pursued, and this opinion is confirmed by actual experience.

There are three courses of policy which may be followed with respect to public dances and wine rooms, disorderly houses, gambling and the liquor traffic. First, official toleration; second, attempted suppression by crusade; and, third, administrative repression.

The first course, we would agree, could not be followed by an administration seeking the end which you and I have in view. It is usually accompanied by blackmail, graft and official corruption, which no possible foresight can prevent, and it cannot be adopted by a decent administration.

The second is the one in most common use. It is the usual method of the "reform waves" which sometimes sweep over cities. When this method fails, as it invariably does, there is apt to arise a demand for more drastic action of the same kind, based upon a belief that the failure is due rather to lack of official sympathy in enforcement than to inherent defects in the method itself. In my judgment this is a mistaken belief.

I doubt if there is a city in the country in which there has not been, at one time or another, a formal crusade against vice; but I equally doubt if a time or place can be named where such a crusade has effected even temporary betterment. The results are rather to scatter the social poison throughout the whole body of the city, and to cause it to hide itself from police knowledge and interference in neighborhoods and communities theretofore unpolluted. Meanwhile it inevitably results in the blocking of the courts. Six years ago our police court dockets were choked and the courts themselves paralyzed by the liquor cases alone. At that time some sort of a crusade was being made. Saloonkeepers were arrested wholesale, many of them arrested many times. The result, however, was that by uniting and securing legal counsel at a very small cost to each defendant, the laws you cite me and which seem so simple and appear to afford such adequate remedy, were found ineffective. Nor does this involve a criticism of the law. The administration of justice is not mechanical, but human, and when the law is made with enough safeguards to protect the rights of the innocent, it of necessity affords technical refuge and delay to the guilty. Every defendant demanded a jury and exhausted every dilatory privilege in its selection, so that at one time there were so many jury cases pending in the police court that trials were continued for six months and longer, only to be recontinued, because of the inability of the courts to deal with the multitude of cases; and in the end all of the cases were dismissed. There was no other practical result than a demonstration of the inefficiency of this method of enforcement.

If the same method has been used in many cities besides our own and we can find no city in which an actual and permanent victory has been won, are we not justified in doubting the advisability of going back to it in Cleveland?

The third method, which may be described as administrative repression by direct police intervention, is the one which the present administration has been applying. To its operation and results I direct your attention. The theory is that direct regulation or suppression in individual cases, as the circumstances warrant, is more effective than indiscriminate raiding and arrests. It is necessary, of course, that in the application of this policy there be no favored class or pulls, political or otherwise. I am aware that this policy can be corrupted, though I think it is not so inevitable, nor so easy to avoid detection, as in the first method to which I have referred, and I believe that the efforts of the present administration to apply the policy have been free from that reproach. Let us see how this policy has worked.

To secure the conviction of gamblers has hitherto been a difficult thing, for the reason that the detection of the men at their game is almost impossible. Yet gambling has been practically wiped out in Cleveland by administrative repression. That is to say, a policeman in uniform, standing at the door of a gambling house, makes the business too unprofitable to be continued; and when this means fails, the breaking down of doors is resorted to, and the unlawful paraphernalia is destroyed instead of its being preserved to be used as evidence of the character of the place in which it was found on the trial in the police court, where legitimate technicalities and delays could drag the matter out indefinitely. This has proved effective; the ordinary crusade never has.

The wine rooms have been abolished by being put under the close surveillance of policemen, who constantly visited the places and so disturbed the patrons and harassed the proprietors by their presence that the unlawful business became unprofitable.

The most dangerous class of saloons, namely, those with the bar in front connected directly with a disorderly house in the rear, has been absolutely stamped out by means of this policy. These are the places where men and boys who may enter with no worse intention than to buy a glass of beer, are subjected to unsought temptations and perils. I believe that this combination saloon has been completely driven out of Cleveland.

You mention specifically in your communication the evils of the public dances as being a menace not alone to virtue and innocence, but also to the lives of young girls. I have felt, and the administration is working on the theory, that a dance hall run in connection with or adjacent to a bar is likely to be dangerous, and I believe that an investigation will satisfy you that by a systematic application of the policy of administrative repression, the number has been greatly reduced. Those which still exist are of far better and less menacing character than the class you describe, and are operating lawfully.

In regard to the liquor laws, our policy has been to repress in cases of flagrant violation; that is, where a place was open at forbidden times and where brawling or disorder was permitted or where men were allowed to drink to intoxication. Beginning with the worst of these, we struck at them by stationing uniformed officers at their doors until their trade was driven away, and the idea was forced upon

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their proprietors that it was "better business" to limit their excesses than to try to run in disregard of order and decency. In my judgment also—and if you reflect upon all the facts I think you will agree with me—the result of indiscriminate suppression would be wholly at variance with your sincere purpose and mine. It would result in general resistance and evasion. It would create, what does not now exist, a community of interest and purpose between orderly and disorderly saloon keepers. It would open the way, moreover, for the resumption of business by the indecent and disorderly saloons which are now repressed. These considerations suggest to me the desirability of continuing the present distinction between orderly and disorderly saloons.

I am not defending administrative repression as a general principle of government. But inasmuch as the laws for the suppression of public vice place the responsibility of enforcing them upon the executive, I resort to it as the only practicable method of genuine enforcement.

I do not claim that conditions in Cleveland are ideal, nor that there is not much yet to be done; but I do believe that this policy of repression, operating as it does directly upon the persons guilty of excesses and untrammeled by long drawn out and technical court proceedings and delays, has been successful. My belief in this regard rests upon the fact that Cleveland is freer now from gross forms of vice and law-breaking than at any previous period. And comparison of the conditions in Cleveland with those of any other city of her size, where either the first or second policy to which I have referred is followed, will satisfy you that the results of the policy of this administration are good. If your committee desires to investigate the situation in Cleveland, it will give me great pleasure to delegate a committee to co-operate with you, that you may have every means of information and every opportunity to satisfy yourselves of the correctness of the opinion which I here express. It is the determination of this administration that vice and crime shall not be protected in Cleveland, and equally that there shall be no blackmail, graft or corruption attendant upon official dealings with it.

I might stop here, resting my reply to you upon the superior results of the third course enumerated above. For after all, the thing that you as well as I are solicitous about is the rational enforcement of the law; and when I have shown that the course which this administration is pursuing produces the best results of any suggested course in enforcing the kind of laws to which you direct my attention, I may be thought to have said all that the occasion requires. I believe, however, that there is a deeper and more fundamental consideration which I ought to urge upon you.

Crime and vice are not the natural consequences of normal human impulses They are largely if not almost wholly products of environment. Society itself creates the economic condition in which the people live, and the pressure of the means of subsistence upon opportunity is such that men are driven out of their true course as a result of the despair caused by inequality of opportunity and the hopelessness of an unequal struggle. More men drink because they are miserable than are miserable because they drink; and the unfortunates who lead lives of vice do not choose that occupation from natural preference or waywardness of disposition, but are forced to begin and to persist in such lives by the pressure of conditions which make the earning of an honest and adequate livelihood difficult and sometimes impossible. I do not believe that the whole penalty of society's aggregate sin should be visited upon its weakest sinners, nor that wholesale arrests and indiscriminate fines can do more than harden the lives and condition of those who are driven to vice and crime as a desperate resort. That society must protect itself and restrain law-breaking goes without saying; and this administration, by the direct pressure of the police force, and by the arrest and punishment of those who in their wrongdoing pass beyond technical law violation, and foster the growth of worse forms of crime, is attempting to do that thing. I earnestly invite you, however, to join with me in an effort to do the larger thing—to alleviate the hard social conditions which produce the environment out of which this crime and vice grow. To remove causes is better than to deal only with effects. As a temporary measure and until the fight on the causes shall be won, direct repression must be applied to the effects; but we must never regard these measures in the light of remedies, for back of it all lies the source of the evil—involuntary poverty.

A recent book, by Mr. Frederick C. Howe, entitled "The City, the Hope of Democracy," contains a fuller statement of the things I have here sought to set down than the proper limits of this letter will permit, and I beg leave to commend it to your consideration as a part of the literature of the problem with which we are dealing.

When I became Mayor of Cleveland, it was with certain very definite aims directed to the accomplishment of this larger good which I have pointed out. I have never lost sight of that as the main thing. Yet the critics of this administration are forced to admit that as an incident to the accomplishment of these larger things, good government even in the ordinary sense of honest and efficient administration has been achieved. By following the policy which I have outlined, the conditions in Cleveland have been vastly improved. We found it a city of unregulated vice and crime, and now gambling has been driven out, the wine room closed, the combination saloon expelled and a far better condition of public order created. But this has been incidental to our efforts for the larger objects we had in view. You urge the administration to concentrate its entire effort upon the smaller things, as they seem to me, and to hazard our whole chance of success in doing something toward the solution of the larger problem upon a fresh experiment in that sort of law enforcement which always hitherto and everywhere else has failed. Would it be either wise or right?

We are both seeking to exterminate crime and vice and misery. These are for the most part but consequences of involuntary poverty, resulting from the existence of law-made privilege whereby some men get more than they earn, while the vast mass of mankind earns more than it gets. It is the existence of this legalized privilege in society which creates the slums of a great city and condemns a large portion of every city population to lives of vice and crime, by depriving them of that equal opportunity in life which nature accords and which our fundamental law theoretically recognizes. This is the central point of the great problem, to which the specific evils to which you refer, vast and degrading though they are, are only as effect to cause. It is easy to enlist the co-operation of good men everywhere in an attack upon lesser and grosser forms of vice and crime, but it is not easy to get the co-operation even of good men in attack-

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ing the unrighteous privileges which are the cause of such offenses.

Powerful interests, misleading phrases, and forms of law too often serve to blind us to the real immorality of privilege. But when we shall have thoroughly realized what I believe to be a final truth—that involuntary poverty is the most menacing fact in modern society, and almost the sole cause of vice and crime, and that involuntary poverty itself is but the logical and necessary result of law-made privilege, all good men will unite in attacking it. When privilege has disappeared, the problems which you gentlemen present will in large measure be solved.

It too often happens, when genuine efforts at fundamentally remedying such conditions are made, that the more superficial are emphasized for the purpose of dividing those of us who at such a time should be united. This usually results in frustrating honest effort in both directions. In such emergencies it behooves men with the responsibilities that you and I have to bear, to be upon our guard. I shall not allow myself to be tempted into any of the weak promises that are sometimes made in these circumstances by men in my position, and which enemies of the policy of this administration would welcome. Confident of the integrity of my own purpose, and appreciating as I do the spirit animating you gentlemen in your work, I will not bid for your co-operation by easily-made and glittering but futile promises. I will not be diverted from the solution of these problems of our city life which I think lie at the core of municipal evils.

I trust you will consider these suggestions in the fraternal spirit in which I assure you they are made. And while I will not bid with insincere promise for your co-operation, I most cordially invite it. In your philosophy of life there is the idea of the Fatherhood of God. So there is in mine. In yours, as in mine, therefore, there must also be the idea of the brotherhood of man. I appeal to you, then, to give me your encouragement and support, not only in enforcing as best we can such laws of our statute books as are provided for the maintenance of order and decency in our community, but also in bringing as near to an end as in our power it lies, the unbrotherly legal conditions, which, by giving valuable privileges under the law to some, thereby deny just natural rights to so many others, and consequently make so much of the poverty and misery from which indecency and disorder proceed. To whom can I look with confidence for sympathy, encouragement and support in the faithful execution of this purpose, if not to the good men of your profession?

Perhaps I should explain before closing that I have had no intention of being dogmatic in enumerating three and only three possible courses for enforcing the laws and ordinances you cite. If, however, there are other alternatives, I shall be glad to be advised of them and to confer with you frankly and cordially with a view to their possible adoption. But as at present advised I am obliged to approve the policy which the administration has pursued, and my hope is that its continued application will steadily produce better results as time goes on.

Meanwhile, I shall lend my effort to improving the environment of our people by the creation of better and healthier places of recreation, by the establishment of better and more socialized public comforts and conveniences, by the more scientific and humane treatment of delinquent classes in our penal institutions, by setting an example of efficient self-government and home rule, and last and most important of all, by promoting the restoration of individual opportunity and hope to the submerged classes of our city, and establishing a condition of equal legal rights, with no legal privileges, to all its inhabitants.

Permit me to remain, with great respect,

Very sincerely yours,
TOM L. JOHNSON, Mayor.

During a recent cold period in Switzerland thousands of swallows fell exhausted and half frozen. At Lucerne and Zurich the birds were collected and taken care of by the people. When they had sufficiently recovered they were shipped by train to Italy and there set at liberty to continue the migration southward.—N. Y. Tribune.

Our contemporary, the Warsaw Zapadnyjoolos, has been suspended. We have no particular interest in the Zapadnyjoolos, but we want to see whether the linotype man can set up Zapadnyjoolos three times without pieing the type.—Later. He can.—N. Y. Mail.

"There's only one way to get anything nowadays, and that's to work for it," said the first citizen.

"I guess that's right," admitted the grafter, gloomily. "I wouldn't have agreed with you a few days ago, but times have changed."—Detroit Free Press.

More than a year ago the leading railroad officials declared that they had ceased to grant rebates, which is surely consistent with their present declaration that they are perfectly willing to abolish rebates.—Philadelphia Record.

BOOKS

THE HOUSE OF MIRTH.

The House of Mirth. By Edith Wharton. Scribner's. New York. $1.50.

This novel has been much talked about, and has received more than the perfunctory notice of the critics. One leader in the world of letters has written of it in terms of highest praise, both for its intellectual power and for its artistic qualities. It seems to be generally regarded as the most important work of fiction brought out in America during the year.

That such a book should be so widely heralded and so highly praised seems to me an evidence of the low condition of our imaginative literature. The great books of imaginative literature hold forth some ideal, set to work in us some aspiration, so that we rise from the reading of them to some finer outlook, to some firmer standpoint in the uphill ways of life. There is nothing of this in the present novel. It holds us in the mud from start to finish.

In doing this Mrs. Wharton is but following the literary spirit of the time, which is manifested not only in America, but Europe. A recent critic has called attention to the absence of the ideal in modern literature by making a contrast between Dante and Ibsen. Dante had an awful hell, but he also had a paradise. Ibsen shows us the hell on earth, but he has no paradise anywhere. Modern literature has abolished paradise, and in doing so has also abolished, perhaps unconsciously, the ideals and aspirations of character which, whether necessarily or not—this is another question—have been, up to most recent days, associated with the idea of religion. At any rate, it is easy to see that the modern trend, for the past quarter of a century, has been away from idealism.

The criticism is not that imaginative literature has been realistic, that is, that it has been analytical and true to life. The criticism is that the trend of modern fiction has been materialistic, that is, that it has confined its view too exclusively to conventional shams and meannesses, and to conventional lusts and ambitions. It may be that it has painted these in dark colors, that it has made the mud look dirty. So far, so good; but it has kept us looking at the mud.

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Mrs. Wharton's mud is the gilded society of New York. She writes with artistic restraint, and makes us feel that her pictures are not overdrawn. All is quite natural in its unnaturalness. You have a society built on enormous, unearned fortunes, where the people have no idea beyond a continuation of gambling and a constant effort to find amusement. The tragedy of the book is the collapse of the heroine, who lacked money enough to keep up with the procession, and had no idea of the possibility of a life worth living outside of the procession. One feels that if the poor girl had had any sort of religion, even Fijiism, it might have saved her. Or if she had had any good adviser, some man or woman of sincere principles, strong enough to give her a different view of life, she might have been saved. But there was no one. The only man who gave her a negative discontent with her way of life was not strong enough to give her or himself a positive stand in a better way. And yet there was in her a good basis of character, which makes the tragedy all the darker.

J. H. DILLARD.

GOVERNMENT REGULATION OF RAILWAY RATES.

Government Regulation of Railway Rates. A study of the experience of the United States, Germany, France, Australia, Hungary, Russia and Austria. By Hugo Richard Meyer, assistant professor of political economy in the University of Chicago. New York and London: The Macmillans. Price, $1.50 net.

This "book appears at the present time," writes the author in his preface, "because of the possibility that Congress, influenced by the discontent that exists in some sections of the country because of the friction necessarily incident to the transaction of the complicated business of transportation, may be led to enact ill-considered laws granting dangerously enlarged powers to the Interstate Commerce Commission." The explanation was unnecessary. From preface to conclusion the book testifies steadily to this purpose in publishing it "at the present time" notwithstanding that the author has not yet "been able to carry out his plans for securing additional information, for bringing all statistics down to date and for a more careful arrangement of the materials already at hand." It is plainly a partisan brief for the corporation side of the railway rate controversy.

Yet a partisan brief is not necessarily either dishonest or otherwise useless. That this book is an honest production there are no reasons to doubt and many reasons for believing. That the material it contains constitutes a useful collection of facts, as far as they go, like the citations on a lawyer's brief, is also doubtless true. But readers must draw their own conclusions, and from other facts as well as those this author gives. They would be extremely unwise to allow the author to draw conclusions for them, or to confine their attention to the facts he presents. As to conclusions there is, indeed, little temptation, for the author hardly ventures upon any other conclusion than his principal one that the railroad monopolies ought to be let alone, just as they want to be. He calls this let-alone policy "the regime of individualism and industrial freedom under which the United States has attained its crowning position," etc., etc. But if this is individualism, no wonder the masses of the people feel that they have had enough of individualism.

Apparently the author has been one of that university type of socialists, who, with no principle to guide them with reference to the difference between public and private franchises, but struggling empirically with a milky way of economic facts, relieve the hopeless confusions of their task by cultivating a bias in favor of state ownership regardless of normal state functions. This would account for his having begun his railroad studies in Australia "with a strong bias in favor of state intervention in industry." Between industries that normally belong to the state and in the nature of things can be conducted by no private interest without a state grant, such as highway control, and those that normally belong to the individual because no state grant is necessary in the nature of things, as making clothes, he appears to have made no discrimination. Upon that supposition it is easy to understand why his inquiries in Australia caused him to "become firmly convinced of the unwisdom of government regulation of railways or their rates." Just as the confusions of private ownership appear to have given his empiricism an ill-considered slant toward government ownership, so the confusions of government ownership appear to have given it an ill-considered slant back to what he very crudely calls "individualism." At any rate the "overwhelming proofs" of the evils of government railways in Australia, by which the author was converted, are not sufficiently palpable in this book to convert anybody else.

Prof. Meyer proceeds upon the assumption that his case is made out for the railroad corporations if he can raise a doubt as to the case for government rate-making. He does raise serious doubts as to the case for government rate-making. He does make the proposal to authorize a government bureau to control railroad managers look absurd. But he ignores the greater absurdity of allowing private corporations to control public highways. From his plea for competition in a business where genuine competition is in the nature of things impossible, one might suppose either that he knows little about railroading or nothing about competition.

RAILWAY LEGISLATION.

Restrictive Railway Legislation. By Henry S. Haines. Published by the Macmillans, New York and London. Price $1.25 net.

When it is noted that the author was formerly vice president and general manager of the "Plant System" of railroad and steamship lines, and ex-president of the American Railway Association, the tenor of this book may be surmised. In so far as it deals with public questions relative to highways, it does so with the railroad corporation bias. To look for indications of public spirit is to be disappointed. Public spirited words sometimes occur, but public spirit itself is absent.

Yet there is no marked unfairness, and some very wholesome truths are told. For instance, upon examining the Congressional hearings on proposed amendments to the inter-State commerce act, Mr. Haines observes that "the voice of selfishness alone is heard." All the arguments "are directed to the prevention or to the expedition of the same purpose; and that is, the transfer of profits from the treasuries of corporations engaged in the service of transportation into the treasuries of other corporations engaged respectively in the services of distribution or production, or of their intermediaries." The much talked-of "rate question" could not be better summarized in so few words.

The book depends for its usefulness mainly upon the history of the development of railroad organization, including the history of legislative and judicial interference, and in this respect it excels.

COPYRIGHT DECISIONS.

Copyright Cases. Compiled by Arthur S. Hamlin. Published for The American Publishers Copyright League by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

This is a summary of leading decisions on the law of literary property, from the enactment of the international copyright law in 1891 down to 1903.

An interesting distinction to be noticed in these decisions, though the principle is much older than any of them, is that which places books within the protection of copyright, while excluding their subjects. That is to say, a copyright gives a monopoly of the particular arrangement of the words of a book, but not of the ideas, however original these may be. Anoth-

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INTERESTING FORTHCOMING SOCIETY EVENT.

"There is reason to hope for that natural union in the early future of what have been called the radical conservatives with the conservative radicals."—THE PUBLIC, Jan. 20.

er elementary distinction is that of a mechanical device from a book describing it: the book may be copyrighted, but not the device; and another book describing the same device but in different arrangements of words would be no infringement.

On analogous principles a new kind of dance cannot be monopolized by copyright description of it; and reversely a phonographic cylinder reproducing a copyrighted song, to the ear and not to the eye, is no infringement.

The usual notion that a title is copyrightable is erroneous. Although the copyright will protect a title as part of a book, it will not protect the title alone.

Mr. Hamlin's compilation seems to be complete, the condensations are clearly as well as accurately made, and in addition to the condensations of decisions the full text of the copyright statute is given.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—Reason in Society. Second in the series of The Life of Reason; or, the Phases of Human Progress. By George Santayana. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, $1.25 net. To be reviewed.

—The Abolitionists; together with personal memories of the struggle for human rights, 1830-1864. By John F. Hume. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. Sold by The Public Publishing Co. To be reviewed.

—In Peril of Change. Essays written in time of tranquillity. By C. F. G. Masterson, M. A., Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. New York: B. W. Huebsch, 150 Nassau street. Price $1.50, net; postage 12 cents. To be reviewed.

—The First County Park System. A Complete History of the Inception and Development of the Essex County Parks of New Jersey. By Frederick W. Kelsey, vice president of the original commission. New York: J. S. Ogilvie Publishing Co., 57 Rose street. To be reviewed.

PAMPHLETS

"A French Plea for Limitation of Naval Expenses," published in pamphlet by the American Peace society (31 Beacon street, Boston), is a speech by Baron d' Estournelles de Constant, in the French senate. The title explains its purport.

George A. Briggs is a new American writer on the single tax idea. His address on this subject delivered before the Elkhart (Ind.) Society of the New Church, which has been published in a neat pamphlet of 66

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pages, is an exceptionally clear exposition of the single tax theory, and an interesting explanation of the movement for their application through the initiative, referendum and recall.

The Western Federation of Miners (Denver) have compiled an inventory of aggressions by the organized capital of Colorado, which they entitle "Category of Crime of the Mine Operators' Association." It specifies 851 murders in less than four years, and declares this to be only a partial list. Fair-minded men should consult this pamphlet before jumping to conclusions hostile to the Colorado labor organizations.

"Is it not evident that we are sacrificing Seattle development to Boston dividends?" In one form of phrase or another that question might be asked pertinently in almost any city, little or big, where public functions are farmed out to private corporations. It was asked and answered by the Hon. George F. Cotterell, of Seattle, in a speech on Municipal Ownership, which has now been put into pamphlet form.

Now that the British elections, with their land value taxation issue, have swept England with a Liberal victory, the rejoinder of William R. Lester (13 Dundas street, Glasgow) to Prof. William Smart, of Glasgow, on the subject of the single tax on land values, is especially interesting on both sides of the Atlantic. Mr. Lester has produced an exceptionally able and lucid reply to Prof. Smart's attack; and his pamphlet deserves to rank with the best essays in defense of Henry George's fiscal proposals.

The pamphlet report of the Anti-Imperialist League (20 Central St., Boston), is full of encouragement for those of us who believe, as more and more of us are coming to do, in "Americans for the Americans, and the Philippines for the Filipinos." Ernest Crosby's little speech on imperialistic trifles, showing the way the imperial wind blows, is a gem. Truly, as he says, "we cannot own nations of helots abroad without hazarding the manners and customs of freedom at home." The speech of Moorfield Storey, the president, is an admirable review of the imperialistic situation.

The people of the United States have had a surfeit of publications supporting Chinese exclusion, with only now and then a protest. They have not heard what American Chinamen competent to speak for their Asiatic countrymen have to say upon the subject, nor much of what those Americans by whom all races are regarded as one are thinking. In a pamphlet entitled "A Statement for Non-Exclusion" (San Francisco), by Patrick J.

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Healy and Ng Poon Chew, the exclusion policy is thoughtfully condemned. We commend the pamphlet as a sound expression of genuine American democracy.

All the investigations of Prof. John R. Commons, of the University of Wisconsin, into the facts regarding labor conditions may be depended upon for thoroughness and accuracy. His pamphlet on the "Longshoremen of the Great Lakes," reprinted from the Quarterly Journal of Economics for November, is no exception.

In a pamphlet on "First Century Christianity in Twentieth Century Conditions," the Rev. E. F. Blanchard (63 Auburn street, Paterson, N. J., price 30 cents, prepaid) makes a suggestive quotation from Lorimer's "Christianity and the Social State," regarding Christian communities "where the admission of one rich man into membership occasions more jubilation than the conversion of ninety and nine poor men." Approving this criticism, Mr. Blanchard condemns voluntary support of the church as "corrupting the ministry," and recommends a return to the system of tithes, under which the influence of church members upon ministers would not depend upon their financial gifts.

An example of brevity and lucidity in dealing with a subject usually considered complex, is Lawson Purdy's (52 William street, New York) pamphlet on municipal taxation. It is gratifying to find an acknowledgment here that the pernicious theory that equality of taxation is to be secured by trying to tax equally everything of value, is completely discredited. Mr. Purdy approves of the New York system of distinguishing land values in tax assessments, which he also describes and explains. His recommendation for immediate reform is assessment of real estate annually, statement of land separately, and publication of assessment rolls in convenient form.

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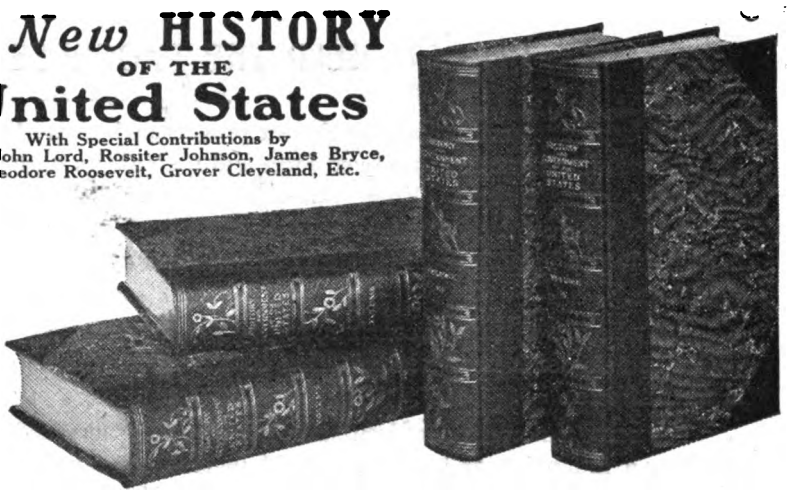

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