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**A Journal of Fundamental Democracy and
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LOUIS F. POST
EDITOR

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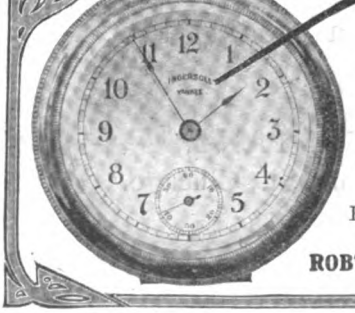

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LOUIS F. POST, Editor

Volume VIII Number 412

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, FEB. 24, 1906.

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EDITORIAL

Railroad passes.

The Pennsylvania railroad announces that it has stopped giving passes, but has it not made a special reservation in favor of the legislature? It still gives passes to its employes.

Savings bank statistics.

Every now and again the country is assured of the prosperity of the poor upon the basis of fat savings bank statistics. Also every now and again something happens to prove that these statistics are stuffed. The latest event of the latter kind was the discovery upon the body of a dead miser in New York, so the New York Herald of the 15th reports, of 29 savings bank books showing a credit to him in half a dozen different savings banks of an aggregate of $50,000. Divided among a score of poor men that would have yielded a tolerably comfortable average. But it wasn't divided among a score of poor men; it was owned by one rich man. Statistically, however, it has done noble duty in the computation of prosperity averages.

Centralization and bureaucracy.

Those of us who have been deploring the marked tendency since the Civil War toward centralization and bureaucracy in the Federal government, must needs rub our eyes when we read that Speaker Cannon is with us. But so he seems to be. In a speech at the Union League Club in Philadelphia, he said, as reported, that "if the Federal government continues to centralize we will soon find that we will have a vast bureaucratic government which will prove inefficient if not corrupt." Unfortunately, however, Speaker Cannon was making a special plea for railroad corporations, and not a statesman's demand for decentralization of government.

Educational suffrage qualifications.

The New York Times has published a letter described as coming "from one of the best known men in Chenango county, New York," which states that he has seen "the canvass of a town in Chenango county of the highest grade of literacy, where more than 40 per cent. of the voters were marked as purchasable, and the canvasser knew his ground so well that he had written out in the column for remarks just what was necessary to get the vote. The necessary varied from 'pint of whisky,' 'pair of felt boots,' etc., to $1, $2, or $5." Could an illiterate electorate be bought for less?

Land value taxation in Australia.

The shires bill of New South Wales, the enactment of which has been reported in our Australian correspondence, is one of the notable steps in the progress of what in this country is best known as the single tax. It applies to all shires, or unincorporated areas, in New South Wales, except in the far west where the population is sparse. By it shire councils are allowed to tax nothing but land values. These values may be taxed at the rate of about 1 cent on the dollar, and no land is exempt. The passage of this measure was secured through the efforts of the State Premier, J. H. Caruthers, who is understood to be a single tax man. At present the incorporated areas or municipalities are subject to real estate taxation—that is, on land and improvements together; but the Caruthers ministry is committed to the enactment of measures fixing for the municipalities taxing powers similar to the single tax regulation for the shires.

Legalize the "sweat box."

In a recent case of murderous assault in Chicago, a woman was arrested, and, as the newspapers report, "was closely interrogated by the police." This interrogation by the police of persons accused of crime has grown into a general custom which is at variance with the law. Every policeman who subjects a prisoner to his inquisition is a law breaker. Even magistrates have no right even to accept statements from prisoners accused of crime, much less to extort statements, without first notifying them that they need not make any statement. Yet police officials constantly, and not infrequently by cruel methods, do subject their helpless prisoners to inquisitorial examinations. The excuse is that it is necessary. But if it is necessary the law should be changed; if it is necessary, it

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ought to be legalized. Let laws be passed, if these inquisitions are necessary, under which the proceedings shall be conducted in a responsible manner.

Railroad service and charges.

While we have been investigating foreign railroad service, foreigners have been investigating ours, and the comparisons they make do not confirm the corporation literature which assumes that railroad transportation is cheaper and better in the United States than in Europe. The investigation to which we refer was made by two privy councillors of Prussia. A very brief consideration of their exhaustive report was cabled from Berlin to the American press on the 11th. It is instructive and we quote:

> They quote official statistics showing that per million passengers carried the American roads kill six times and wound 29 times as many of them as the Prussian roads. The writers found that the average passenger rate in America was 2.02 cents per mile, against 0.98 cents in Prussia, while freight rates nominally average 0.78 cents per ton per mile in the United States, against 1.36 cents in Prussia. This comparison, the authors affirm, is fallacious, because it ignores some essential facts. The American statistics, they say, include freight carried for the railroads themselves, while the Prussian statistics show only pay freight. On the other hand, the American statistics exclude high-class goods carried by the express companies, which class is included in the Prussian figures. Furthermore, they say, the American roads receive immense sums for carrying the mails, and the Prussian lines almost nothing, and, besides, the latter carry a volume of postal packages for which the American roads get large extra sums from the express companies.

The postal censorship.

Some months ago we told of the suppression by the postal authorities of a banking business in St. Louis as fraudulent (p. 420), by refusing delivery of letters addressed to the bank. This action was taken upon the report of cheap Federal detectives, which the accused persons were not allowed to see, and without any trial, but by the arbitrary order of the Postmaster General. The bank was of course forced into the hands of a receiver. Business on a large scale without the postal service is impossible. But now the receiver reports that "every loan and investment held by" this so-called fraudulent bank "has been liquidated 100 cents on the dollar with interest in full to date," and that the "deposits are being paid in full" and he has "already declared dividends to the stockholders of 85 per cent." This does not indicate that the concern was deeply steeped in fraud, as the Postmaster General arbitrarily decided it to be; and the fact that a business which proves to have been upon such a financial footing could be ruined by the reports of two Federal detectives and a Postmastre General with Presidential campaign favors to his debit, is a sufficient commentary on the censorship power of the postal department. An investigation by Congress into the nature and exercise of this despotic power is proposed and should be pushed.

Deadly assault upon Raymond Robins.

Raymond Robins and his work are so well known, not only in Chicago but from the Pacific to the Atlantic coast and South as well as North, that the wanton and almost fatal assault upon him last week by a trio of thugs will excite widespread and profound indignation. The crime was committed in broad daylight, within sight of his home. He was on his way to a committee room where he had been engaged in important public business, consisting partly in the exposure of criminal candidates for office. The assailants approached him from behind, out of an alley where they had evidently lain in wait, and struck him senseless, first with blows upon the back of the skull and then in the face. The initial blows were doubtless intended either to kill outright or to disorder the brain permanently; but they failed to kill, and as it now appears they have failed also to cause permanent injury. That the attack was no highwayman's "hold-up" has been placed beyond question; that its purpose was to get him out of the way for political reasons, can be proved; that it was done in execution of a conspiracy, which is permanently organized and of which Mr. Robins is but the latest of many victims, is more than a reasonable probability.

This probability gives vastly greater importance to the matter than if the assault had been personal, or even political but sporadic. Not only Mr. Robins, but every other man from the Mayor down, is in danger of the same brutal treatment if he offends this thugs' combine in a similar way. Nominally the thugs are labor unionists; actually they are miscellaneous boodlers with the courage of their criminality. One of their methods is to manipulate blackmailing strikes; another is to discredit and defeat legitimate strikes; another is to influence local politics in favor of franchise corporations and other grafters. They get their power partly by threatening and if necessary by "slugging" legitimate labor unionists who oppose them; partly by cooperating with conscienceless employers against legitimate unionism; and partly through filling minor offices in the local government with their henchmen. Even the machinery of the merit system of civil service in the past and its rules in the present are made to serve them in the latter respect; and if strike-breaking brokers and imported strike breakers are not sometimes in their confidence, the evidence is misleading. One of the victims of their "wrecking crew" was Donnelly, the honest leader of the stock yards strike. He offended by opposing their criminal plans in labor organizations. Another victim is Robins, the chairman of the nominating sub-committee of the Municipal Ownership Advisory committee (p. 657). He baffled some of their political plans. Other cases of similar slugging, especially of labor unionists, are numerous, as we are informed, and the concerted attempt to

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seize power in the Chicago Federation of Labor by thug violence is matter of common knowledge. Meanwhile more than one labor union man who knows and understands the gang and is disposed to thwart them, is in deadly peril from their "wrecking crew." The condition has become intolerable, and it is to be hoped that the Robins case has brought it to a climax.

The saloon question in Chicago.

The whirlwind agitation for thousand dollar saloon licenses in Chicago, which has sprung up most opportunely for the purpose of distracting sentiment at a time when the corporation interests are in need of some such diversion, is supported by the most absurdly incongruous arguments. Prohibitionists are assured that it will be a step toward the abolition of saloons, because it would lessen the number. Brewers are told that it would not diminish their trade, because as much beer would be consumed as before. Large saloon keepers are shown how they would make more out of increased sales than they would lose by the license fee. To believers in saloons as "the poor man's club," it is argued that the high license would improve the character and tone of the survivors among these clubs, by increasing their profits through lessened competition and thereby enabling them to provide better accommodations and greater comfort for their patrons. And in the midst of all this jangle we hear the tax-dodgers' plea for high license as a revenue raiser. "You pays your money," so to speak, "and you takes your choice!"

—

This thousand-dollar license question is a simple one, provided it has been proposed in good faith. If it is a trick to embarrass the municipal government at a critical time with reference to franchise corporations, it is of course complex. But in itself it analyzes into this very obvious issue: Is the saloon business morally legitimate or morally illegitimate?

If the saloon business is morally illegitimate, several of the arguments for a flat thousand-dollar license fee fall to the ground. Such a tax does not tend to destroy the business, which is the only justification for a tax on businesses that are immoral. A properly regulated tax might have that tendency, and therefore be defensible: a license tax burdensome to large dealers as well as to small ones, would assuredly operate as a check on the whole business. But a tax which, while prohibitory to small dealers, is only a slight expense to large ones, and may be more than offset by increased trade, does not discourage the business as a whole. It concentrates the business and augments the ill-effects of its immorality by endowing it with political power of an exceedingly dangerous and easily directed kind. If the saloon business is morally illegitimate, the only defensible license tax is one so graduated with reference to little saloons and big ones that with a horizontal increase from time to time it may operate to make the business unprofitable all along the line, from the little German family beer saloons to the gilded bar rooms and the Union League club. A license primarily for revenue is morally indefensible if the business be morally illegitimate; and a flat license which does not hinder large establishments is primarily for revenue.

—

If, on the other hand, the business is morally legitimate, then any license operating oppressively or with discrimination is unwise and unjust. The saloon business now furnishes over 25 per cent. of the revenues for the municipal corporation of Chicago. That is grossly excessive if the business is morally legitimate. To pile up further taxes upon this business, if it is a moral one, is to discriminate against one morally legitimate business in favor of others in the same category. Moreover, a flat license fee, if large enough to suppress or burden small dealers in any morally legitimate trade, is unwise and inequitable because it discriminates against traders with little capital and in favor of those with large capital. As a revenue measure, therefore, the flat thousand-dollar license, immoral if the licensed business be immoral, unjustly discriminates if the business be moral.

Finding out bad men.

"How soon we are despised when we get caught!" If Chauncey Depew doesn't say this he has good reason for thinking it. Here, for instance, is Alderman R. R. McCormick, of Chicago, who innocently follows his graft-hunting leaders; and always did, as it would seem, for at the University of Chicago recently he said:

> Several years ago Chauncey M. Depew came to Yale and made a speech. He told us how we could grow up to be like him, and we cheered him and hauled him around the campus in a carriage. If he ever comes to Yale again we'll do the same, only this time we will ride him around on a rail.

Yet Chauncey Depew's iniquities were just as many in those Yale days of Mr. McCormick's. They were just as well known. And they were all the more dangerous for being practiced under the applause of such men as McCormick. The only difference is that now this brilliant bunkoist has been caught in the act—only a minor one at that. To Mr. McCormick, however, and such as he, this makes all the difference between riding the culprit in a carriage and on a rail! How many other grafters is he riding in carriages whom he will want to ride on rails when it is too late to be worth while?

ABOLISH THE SENATE.

The agitation in favor of the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, arises from a genuine desire to hold the government within the people's power. But the election of Senators by direct vote of the people would not be very effective, with the Senate remaining a select and superior body.

True, men controlling great wealth could not bribe the people of a State to elect their favorites, as they can bribe a few members

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of a State legislature. But the bribery of a State legislature, sensational and demoralizing as we all admit it to be, is only a small part of the evil. The evil is the Senate itself. To abolish the Senate would bring the government at least half-way back to the people.

And why not abolish the Senate? What is the use of it? Or, to be more direct, what is the excuse for a Senate?

We are told in our books on civil government that the bi-cameral system was adopted in our plan of government to prevent hasty and ill-considered legislation. This is only another way of saying that it was designed to make legislation that the people might want, more difficult to procure; or to put the government farther out of the people's hands, by making the legislative power less responsible to the people.

Those who profit by special privileges have no dread of hasty legislation when it promotes or conserves their privileges. They have the means of putting themselves in direct contact with the members of both houses, and they sometimes procure enactments in unseemly haste. Why should not the people at large have the most direct possible means of procuring legislation with the most possible promptness? There need be no dread of hasty legislation while the means of hasty repeal are left.

We are also told that in the framing of the United States Constitution the several sovereign States demanded equal representation in a legislative body. If this were wholly true, the demand could be challenged as being entirely unjust. What could be more absurd than that Delaware and Rhode Island have the same power in legislation as New York and Pennsylvania?

Our form of government was a compromise between monarchy and democracy. The two-house feature was copied after the British government, from which ours emerged. Strong influences proposed even a king, but the democratic spirit was sufficient to prevent that. The jealousy of the States was appealed to, and with some effect, in support of the scheme of a Senate; but back of that and beneath it was the contempt which monarchists have for the masses, and the design of making the government as remote as possible from the people.

The two-house scheme appears to have descended to us from ancient Rome, and through a long line of injustice, which to review ought to be to condemn. In every case the so-called upper house, the one nearest the throne, has been the conservator of privilege; while the other house, where there has been another, has been called the "lower" house, and admitted to represent the people. This is expressed even in the titles of the two houses of the British parliament, our immediate parliamentary ancestor. Our Senate corresponds to the British House of Lords, representing privilege; and it does it too well. Our House of Representatives corresponds to the Commons; but many doubt its representing the people so well.

It cannot reasonably be expected that our national House of Representatives will represent the people so faithfully, while it has the Senate to divide responsibility with, as it would if it were the sole repository of legislative responsibility.

The Constitution confers upon the Senate certain powers in connection with the Executive, in imitation of its many prototypes that were recognized as standing nearest the throne — and, of course, farthest from the people. But all these powers could as well be exercised by the single house, if we had no Senate.

A senate, or so-called upper house, is not only a superfluity, it is a positive obstruction, and has no proper place in a government proceeding from the people. It ought to be abolished. It is of no use. There is no excuse for it.

WM. GARRETSON.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

AUSTRALIA (See p. 710.)

Corowa, N. S. W., Aust., Jan. 13.—The Federal parliament passed a number of bills last session, but only a few of them would be of any interest to you.

Two amendments were made to the alien immigration restriction act, 1901. Under this, any person unable to pass a written examination in some European language might be refused admission to Australia. The Japanese objected to this clause, and the word "European" has now been struck out; there is an understanding with Japan, however, that her subjects will still be excluded. Another clause gave the minister in charge of the act power to prevent the landing of persons who had previously made contracts for employment. This was intended to exclude strike breakers and cheap labor, but has sometimes been enforced against skilled workmen who had been brought out from England by Australian manufacturers. In future British people and their descendants will be exempt from this clause.

Sugar has been subject to an import duty of £6 a ton, and an excise duty of £3, while a bonus of £2 was paid on sugar grown in the commonwealth by white labor. The excise and bonus expired at the end of last year, but was replaced by an excise of £4 and bonus of £3. The quantity of sugar grown by colored labor has increased since federation, so the bonus has not had the desired effect so far. Colored labor has never been used in southern Queensland and northern New South Wales, and before federation the local import duty in Queensland had become inoperative, as the State produced more sugar than it required, so the industry must now be very profitable in those districts. The high price of sugar affects the fruit industry very adversely by increasing the cost of jam making, so even from the "white Australia" point of view the sugar bonus is a failure.

The trades mark act was passed; the union label clause being carried by four votes only, in a very nearly full House.

The worst measure passed is the commerce act. As originally introduced, it gave the minister of customs power to stop any imports or exports which were not up to a standard to be fixed by himself. The scope of the act was restricted to articles of food and drink, medicines and drugs; but the minister is given power to make regulations, similar to those assumed by your postmaster general. The customs act of 1902 permits the minister to make regulations in many cases, and when we have had ministers like Mr. Kingston and Sir W. J. Lyne, who would like to prohibit imports, the regulations seem to be specially framed to harass importers as much as possible. A merchant cannot get a decision beforehand. He has to act and take his chance of being prosecuted, just as in the case of your newspapers in the post office.

Two very objectionable bills were rejected. The iron manufactures encouragement bill empowered the ministry to impose duties on iron by proclamation. The House cut out most of this bill and the Senate rejected the rest.

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The most extraordinary measure proposed was the Australian industries preservation bill, which empowered the ministry to prohibit the importation of any article which they considered as competing unfairly with Australian manufactures. It was said to be copied from your Sherman act, but has been described as the Sherman act turned upside down, for it was intended to prevent a combination from lowering prices. It was aimed primarily at the International Harvester company, of the United States, and the Canadian Massey-Harris company. Without producing any reliable evidence, some Victorian manufacturers of agricultural machinery have been persistently accusing these companies of "dumping" their machinery in Australia in order to kill the local competition and capture the whole trade. They asked for a duty of £25 per machine to prevent this. The ministry, having found that the House would not agree to that, introduced this bill, which would have given them very wide powers over all importations, but the House rejected it.

It will be noticed that in these bills, especially the last, the ministry attempted to bring in increased protection and prohibition indirectly. The tariff commission appointed in 1904 is still taking evidence and does not appear likely to recommend increased duties, so the ministry did not want to wait for its report.

About two years ago a public agitation was started against the importation of opium. In 1904 the State premier and the Federal prime minister came to an agreement on the subject, in accordance with which importation into the Commonwealth of opium for smoking was absolutely prohibited from January 1, 1906, while for medical purposes it can be imported and sold only under the same stringent conditions as poisons. The customs revenue from opium has been about £60,000 per annum, so the Commonwealth will lose £15,000 and the States £45,000 a year.

ERNEST BRAY.

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. 22.

The British Parliament.

Parliament was formally opened on the 19th (p. 763), when the King's speech from the throne was read. It indicated a policy of constitutional government for the Transvaal, and was satisfactory to the Laborites but was regarded by the Irish Nationalists as ambiguous. The reply of the Commons is now in course of preparation. A significant vote in this connection was taken on the 21st. A Chamberlainite had moved as an amendment the adoption of an expression of alarm at a statement in the king's speech indicating that the new ministry had committed themselves to a policy of home rule that would endanger the liberties and property of the loyalist minority in Ireland and impair the union. Mr. Bryce, chief secretary for Ireland, replied. In his speech he declared that home rule had no terrors for him, and that he had not departed in the smallest particular from the principles of the Liberal party under Gladstone's leadership. He urged the defeat of the amendment because it would tend to discourage the creation of an intelligent selfgovernment for Ireland. Mr. Bryce's speech was received with prolonged cheers from the Irish Nationalists, and the amendment was defeated by 406 to 88.

Dissolution of the Hungarian Parliament.

Since the Hungarian elections of a year ago (vol. vii, p. 731), the Hungarian government has been in a state of constant disorder. At those elections the Independence or "coalition" party won a notable victory. One of the principal elements in this party is the Magyar. The other elements in the coalition support it in resisting the efforts of the Emperor of Austria (who is also king of Hungary under the dual government of Austria-Hungary) to submerge the Magyar race and language in the German. The principal concrete issue is the question of words of military command for Hungarian troops. These words are now German; the Independence party demands the substitution of Hungarian terms, and this demand the Emperor Joseph refuses to grant. When the Independents won their electoral victory a year ago, under the leadership of Francis Kossuth, the Emperor sent for Kossuth to request him as the leader of the majority to form a cabinet. But the conditions that Kossuth imposed were such that the request was withheld. Kossuth's primary condition was the substitution of Magyar for German words of command in the Hungarian army. As no other member of the majority would accept, the Emperor sent for Gen. Fejervary, his military henchman, who formed a minority cabinet and remained in power by disregarding votes of no confidence by both Houses. But this was revolutionary, and Fejervary, casting about for a means of disintegrating the majority, hit upon the policy of proposing universal suffrage. It was a master stroke. The suffrage in Hungary is limited to about 900,000 in a population of 17,500,000; the disfranchised classes are eager to vote; the Socialists and other radicals of the coalition demand it for them; and the Magyars, who are in the minority of the population of Hungary, are opposed to universal suffrage. But the Emperor, as much opposed to genuine democracy as the Magyar oligarchy, refused his assent to Fejervary's policy. After some months of stormy parliamentary weather, Fejervary's stop-gap cabinet resigned. This was in September last. Their resignations were accepted by the Emperor, but he directed them to continue in the performance of their official duties until further orders.

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Immediately summoning the leaders of the parties in coalition as Independents, five in number, the Emperor demanded that they form a parliamentary government upon conditions which he prescribed—practically an ultimatum denying any concessions. They refused. He then reappointed the Fejervary cabinet with power to extend the suffrage. Fejervary promptly issued a statement in which he said:

The basis of the existing Government is represented as unconstitutional in principle. It is incumbent on the Opposition to form a government based on a programme acceptable to the Crown. Since the Opposition refuses, no recourse exists but to carry on the administration by means of an interim such as I now exercise. . . . The government's hope of an official, peaceful settlement is that by a programme of universal suffrage it will succeed in obtaining a majority by which the military question, which in

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itself lacks a sound motive, shall be obliterated from the public mind and the nation's attention directed to economic, social and agricultural reforms.

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Under this regime the government was conducted by Gen. Fejervary until the 19th, when Parliament was dissolved by royal rescript. The majority refused at first to obey. They declared the dissolution unconstitutional. But by the use of military force they were ejected. Elections for a new Parliament are now to be held, though upon what basis as to suffrage, if any change is to be made, has not been reported.

The Isthmian canal.

American "parliamentary" proceedings of special importance relate to the Panama canal (p. 218), President Roosevelt having on the 19th sent to Congress a message transmitting the report of the board of consulting engineers and of the Isthmian Canal Commission on the question of a sea level or a lock canal, in which he advises the latter. This is in opposition to the advice of the majority of the consulting engineers. Describing the reports in his message, he says:

The majority of the board of consulting engineers, eight in number, including the five foreign engineers, favor a sea level canal, and one member of the canal commission, Admiral Endicott, takes the same view. Five of the eight American members of the board of consulting engineers and five members of the Isthmian Canal Commission favor the lock canal, and so does Chief Engineer Stevens. The Secretary of War recommends a lock canal pursuant to the recommendation of the minority of the board of consulting engineers and of the majority of the canal commission. After careful study of the papers submitted and full and exhaustive consideration of the whole subject, I concur in this recommendation.

He adds:

A careful study of the reports seems to establish a strong probability that the following are the facts: The sea level canal would be slightly less exposed to damage in the event of war; the running expenses, apart from the heavy cost of interest on the amount employed to build it, would be less, and for small ships the time of transit would probably be less. On the other hand, the lock canal at a level of eighty feet or thereabouts would not cost much more than half as much to build, and could be built in about half the time, while there would be very much less risk connected with building it, and for large ships the transit would be quicker; while, taking into account the interest on the amount saved in building, the actual cost of maintenance would be less. After being built it would be easier to enlarge the lock canal than the sea level canal. Moreover, what has been actually demonstrated in making and operating the great lock canal, the Soo, a more important artery of traffic than the great sea level canal, the Suez, goes to support the opinion of the minority of the consulting board of engineers and of the majority of the Isthmian Canal Commission as to the superior safety, feasibility and desirability of building a lock canal at Panama.

A divorce-law congress.

A congress called by the State of Pennsylvania met at Washington on the 19th to consider the question of uniform divorce laws. Delegates had been appointed by the President and by the Governors of all the States but three. Some of the State delegates were women. Gov. Samuel W. Pennypacker called the congress to order and was elected its president. Voting is by States. No definite action has yet been taken.

Progressive legislation in Ohio.

The Ohio papers are alive with reports of proposed improvements in local government likely to be adopted by the legislature (p. 746), but which are being vigorously opposed by financial interests with privileges.

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On the subject of taxation, Senator Frederic C. Howe, of Cleveland, is responsible for a bill providing that—

City Councils may establish departments of taxes and assessments of not more than three persons who shall be appointed by the mayor subject to removal by him. It would have the power to increase, diminish and equalize for purposes of taxation, the value of all real and personal property within the limits of said city; to make additions and deductions; to hear complaints; to investigate valuations; to subpoena witnesses; to administer oaths and examine persons under oaths in regard to their own and other person's property and the value thereof, and to order any real or personal property, credit or investment, to be placed on the duplicate for taxation. Also to adopt such other measures as may be necessary for carrying out the purposes of this act.

This bill proceeds upon the theory of making mayors of cities directly and exclusively responsible to the people.

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In the same direction is the municipal code bill, proposed by the Ohio Mayors' Association (p. 673) and introduced in the House by Representative L. H. Paine of Toledo. The general purpose of this bill is to provide a new form of government for the municipalities of the State by abolishing the present system, under which the heads of municipal departments are elective and providing for single department heads, practically all of whom would be appointed by the mayor, who would thereby become responsible for them to the people. The power of the governor to remove mayors, adopted by the State ring when the cities were rippered, would be repealed (vol. v, p. 249). This bill also provides, in accordance with the custom in Cleveland, secured by charter before the rippering, that the mayor and the heads of departments may attend Council meetings and participate in all debates. Rights as to municipal ownership and operation would be extended so as to include electric light, power and heating plants, artificial as well as natural gas, and street and traction railways. Public utilities could be acquired or disposed of by municipalities only by a majority referendum of those voting on the proposition for acquisition and two-thirds for disposal.

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In addition to his municipal taxation bill, Senator Howe has introduced one which is reported to have set the public service corporations at work "moving their lobby reenforcements to the State capital on the double quick." This bill, as described by the Cleveland Press of the 15th would—

levy a small tax on the actual value of the corporations which enjoy State, city and county franchises. If Howe's bill becomes a law it will add $3,600,000 in taxes in Ohio. A study of the tax returns in Cleveland shows that the Concon [the traction companies], the various illuminating and fuel companies, and the two telephone companies are now taxed on an equalized valuation of $7,769,788. The market value of the stocks and bonds of these seven companies Thursday was $47,697,051. Howe's bill proposes to subtract the first figures from the last

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and to add a tax of six-tenths of 1 per cent. on the balance. This would add to the present taxes of these seven corporations in Cleveland each year $239,783.50, which would almost double their present taxes. . . . Senator Howe has made a careful study of the public corporations of Ohio. He finds that their real value, based on the market price of their stocks and bonds, amounts to about $1,000,000,000. Their physical value is about $300,000,000. Yet their value returned for taxation is in round figures only $170,000,000.

Revolution in Iowa politics.

Public opinion in Iowa has been going through a revolutionary process. Beginning with the "Iowa Idea" in opposition to tariff protection to trusts, it has now reached a point at which Gov. Cummins regards himself as justified in demanding of his party, the Republican, its nomination for a third term, in opposition to the concentrated corporation interests of the State. In an address on the 19th giving his reasons for the demand he said:

> The mask has been removed from the issue and it is now plain. Who shall master, the corporations that are to be regulated or the people in whose name the regulation is imposed? While giving to the corporations the most complete protection in the prosecution of their legitimate enterprise, we must eject them from politics. The struggle now going on in Washington shows how well they prepare themselves to resist the just demands of the people. The history of the last four years in Iowa is crowded with evidence of the determination of the railway companies not only to manage their railroads, but to manage the State as well.

Municipalization in Cedar Rapids.

Among the civic movements of general interest, nominally local, but in reality part of the world-wide progressive movement which is most conspicuous in Chicago, New York and London, the municipal ownership movement at Cedar Rapids, Ia., is highly suggestive and important. It has been under way since 1898 or 1899, and with one complete victory to its credit is now entering upon a campaign for another.

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Until 1903 the water supply of Cedar Rapids was furnished by a private company. As usual where public functions are farmed out to private interests, the supply was managed with an eye single to exorbitant profits, and little or no concern for the public service. While the profits were generally believed to be large, though carefully concealed by the company, the water supply was unwholesome, the rates to consumers were high, the city itself was charged large sums for hydrant rentals, sewer flushing and street sprinkling, and the proper extensions of mains was resisted. The company did not realize that it was thereby fostering a strong hostile sentiment against itself, but such was the fact. In one of the residence wards that sentiment had grown so strong by 1898 that a Democrat who had taken the lead in agitating for municipal ownership, Mr. Charles D. Huston, was elected to the City Council over a popular Republican and in a strong Republican ward. Mr. Huston was made chairman of the councilmanic committee on light and water, and by resolution of the Council of February 17, 1899, his committee entered upon an investigation of the whole subject. This was the official beginning of the municipalization movement in Cedar Rapids.

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Alderman Huston's committee tried to negotiate with the private company, but without avail. The company refused not only to negotiate but also to give information as to cost of service and income. But the committee, by a laborious inquiry, finally obtained this concealed information, approximately, and thereupon undertook to negotiate an equitable adjustment with the company upon the basis of the facts it had discovered. These overtures also were rejected, whereupon the committee decided that "the attempt to conciliate the company in the hope of treating equitably and justly" must be abandoned, and that a municipal plant should be established. But the city had reached its limit of indebtedness, and could not, therefore, issue bonds for such an enterprise. Accordingly it bargained with a foreign company for the construction of a plant. But the bargain was nullified by the Supreme Court of the State as an evasion of the debt-limit restriction. This ended the first official chapter. The city had lost, the company had won.

But the people of Cedar Rapids were more insistent than ever, and when the Democrats nominated Alderman Huston for Mayor, in 1902, he was elected by a majority of 500, although the city was normally Republican by over 2,000. This was part of the price the Republican organization has paid for supporting the water company. Immediately after his inauguration Mayor Huston made the company a proposal. In effect, he said: "You must realize from the result of the recent election that you are in conflict with a resistless public sentiment to which sooner or later you must yield. Why not yield now, when you can get better terms than later? Agree with us upon a fair price for your plant; bond it for that amount; sell it to the city for nothing, subject to the bonds; and we in return will impose a sufficient tax levy to retire the bonds in 20 years." The company considered and consented. Accordingly the plant was bonded at $400,000; the city levied a tax of 2 mills on the dollar, to meet the bonds as they fell due; and for three years the water service of Cedar Rapids has been municipalized. The result has been a demonstration. Although but little more than one-seventh of the bonded debt is due, nearly one-fourth of it has been paid; and whereas the city formerly paid $14,000 annually for hydrants, $7,500 for sewer flushing, and $2,000 for sprinkling, it now pays nothing for any of these things; and yet its net annual income from its water service, over and above all operating expenses, cost of repairs and interest on bonds is $16,000, in spite of the fact that it has reduced the price of water to consumers 15 per cent. To tabulate the result the following financial advantages have accrued:

Annual saving to consumers, 15 per cent. (about)	$11,000
Annual saving in hydrant rentals	14,000
Annual saving in sewer flushing	7,500
Annual saving in street sprinkling	2,000
Net income over and above expense of operation, repairs and interest on bonds	16,000
Total financial advantage annually of city ownership over private ownership on a $400,000 plant	$50,500

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Naturally enough, after that demonstration, the people of Cedar Rapids are friendly to Mayor Huston's proposal that the city

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now do its own electric lighting, with a view also to supplying private consumers. For this further movement toward municipalization Mayor Huston has made intelligent preparation. Having been reelected as Mayor in 1904, and contemplating an extension of municipal service into the electric lighting field, he negotiated with the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad company for its dam across the Cedar river and the appurtenant land and water rights, which he bought without a money price and without yielding any concessions of value to the city. The company owned land along the river, between which and the river there was a street running parallel to the river and connected with the city by cross streets. These streets were of no special use to the city, and the company had long been desirous of closing them, but had never been able to get permission from the city authorities. Considering the uselessness of the streets as public highways on the one hand, and the value of the company's water rights for electric lighting purposes on the other, Mayor Huston offered to swap. At first the company refused, but finally the exchange was made, and now the streets have been turned over to the railroad company and the city owns the dam with its land and water rights. Mayor Huston proposes to utilize this water power for a municipal electric lighting plant. And this can be done without further burdening the city. For the net profit of the water plant is so large that only a part of the tax levy intended to meet the water bonds is necessary for that purpose. By devoting the remainder to the construction of an electric lighting plant such a plant can be fully paid for in five years.

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This, then, is the issue at the approaching municipal election—whether to establish a municipal lighting plant. In preparation for that election Democratic primaries (caucases, rather, for there is no primary law in Iowa), were held on the 19th, and the city convention was held on the 21st. The result was virtually determined at the caucuses, where the supporters of Mayor Huston, the non-partisan candidate, were chosen for delegates over the supporters of a distinctly Democratic partisan by about 4 to 1. Until these primaries the Republicans had come to no definite conclusion as to a candidate for Mayor. The feeling seemed to be that Mayor Huston would, if renominated, make a Republican campaign hopeless, whereas a partisan Democratic nomination would assure a Republican victory. The Republicans are expected now to nominate Mr. W. G. Haskell. The election will take place on the 5th of March.

A civic innovation in Brooklyn.

President Coler of the Borough of Brooklyn, City of New York, has made an innovation which promises to be as useful an example in municipal government as it is novel. He has undertaken to organize a committee of one hundred to act as the Borough President's Advisory Council, with which he may frequently and regularly consult, and by the aid of which he may—

> be better able to keep in touch with public sentiment and opinion, and formulate measures and adopt policies which shall both deserve and have the approval and support of all citizens not selfishly biased against the general interest. No undiscriminating crusade against corporations, nor any ignoring of either law or fairness, is either suggested or intended; but, while the "public confiscation of private property" is not to be attempted, the private appropriation and exploitation of public property, and the disregard of the public's rights and needs, are to be by all lawfully practicable means resisted and prevented, as being by far the more harmful, dangerous and actually threatened wrong.

The Borough President is ex-officio the chairman of this council, the Commissioner of Public Works ex-officio the vice chairman, and the Borough Secretary ex-officio the secretary. The latter, Mr. Charles Frederick Adams (p. 539), makes an additional novel suggestion for the purpose of enhancing the usefulness of the Advisory Council as a thermometer of public opinion. He is reported by the New York World of the 26th as advising that—

> citizens not members of the Advisory Council identify themselves with it and its work by filing with him as secretary a paper or "proxy" with the signer's address and indicating a member to act as his spokesman and representing his interests, such "proxy" to remain in force for a stated time. The work of the Advisory Council would be thereby more representative and carry much greater weight than could be otherwise hoped for. Mr. Adams would have these "proxies" revocable at any time by filing the name of another member of the committee as representing the constituent's choice. "Presumably," Mr. Adams said, "the committeemen would differ very materially in respect to the number of supporters enrolled as their personal constituents at a given time, and the variations and distribution of this constituent support would throw a very interesting light on the trend of public sentiment and opinion upon the various subjects discussed." Mr. Adams added that the public announcements relative to the acts of the committee, and how each member stood with reference to given public measures, would furnish an interesting barometer of public opinion. He believes the members of the committee and their friends would indulge in a friendly rivalry to secure as large an enrollment as possible of personal constituents.

NEWS NOTES

—The Mayors of the League of Michigan Municipalities convened at Grand Rapids on the 21st.

—On the 18th the new president of France, Clement Armand Fallieres (p. 692), assumed the duties of his office at Paris.

—John A. McCall, late president of the New York Life insurance company (p. 659), died at Lakewood, N. J., on the 18th.

—The lower house of the Ohio legislature on the 13th voted down, 65 to 50, a bill giving women the right to vote on temperance questions.

—A report to the legislature of New York by the Armstrong insurance investigating committee (p. 659) was made on the 18th. Remedial legislation is proposed by it.

—The amendment to the Constitution of the State of Illinois, authorizing a special charter for Chicago (p. 696) was sustained by the Supreme Court of the State on the 15th.

—Alice Roosevelt (daughter of President Roosevelt), and Congressman Longworth, of Cincinnati, were married at the White House on the 17th by the Episcopal Bishop of Washington, Henry Y. Satterlee.

—At the election for mayor of Greater Pittsburg on the 20th George W. Guthrie, candidate of the Citizens party and the Citizens League, was elected over the Republican candidate, Alexander M. Jenkinson (p. 696), by 6,000 plurality.

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—James A. B. Dilworth, a single tax man of note in New York, and a fruit expert, who wrote on that subject for many years on the New York Times, died at Yonkers on the 9th at the age of 65 years. He was a member of the firm of Gordon & Dilworth.

—At the Republican convention for the Eleventh Congressional District of Ohio on the 21st, Charles H. Grosvenor, who has represented the district for 20 years, was defeated by Albert Douglas. The vote was 78 to 20, and Grosvenor's own county delegates voted unanimously against him.

—A suit of the State of Missouri against Illinois in the Supreme Court of the United States to prevent the emptying of the drainage canal with Chicago sewage into the Mississippi river and polluting its waters was dismissed on the 19th for want of evidence of pollution, but without prejudice to the bringing of a new suit.

—One of the decisions handed down by the Supreme Court of the United States on the 19th held that a railroad company, which is a common carrier, could not own and mine coal or own and transport any other commodity and then sell that coal or commodity below the market price, so as, in effect, to make the reduction a rebate on the cost of transportation. The suit was by the Interstate Commerce Commission against the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad company.

—On the 17th at Denver Charles H. Moyer, the president; William D. Haywood, the secretary, and C. A. Pettibone, a former member of the executive board of the Western Federation of Miners, were arrested at midnight and immediately deported to Idaho on extradition warrants. They are accused of complicity in the murder of the late Gov. Steunenberg of Idaho (p. 659), upon alleged revelations of the confessed murderer. Sensational but questionable telegraphic reports are published in the daily press regarding the matter.

PRESS OPINIONS

THE BRITISH ELECTIONS.

(London) Land and Labor (Land Nationalization), February.—Forty-one members of the Land Nationalization Society stood as candidates, and, of these, 34 have been elected. . . . Besides 58 avowed friends of our cause, there are many others who support the "tax and buy" policy of our society. Taxation of land values is supported by every Liberal, every Labor man, and, we believe, by every Irish Nationalist.

Elizabeth (N. J.) Times (ind. Dem.), Feb. 14.—A new force has entered the field of British politics or, rather, an old influence has begun to actively participate in the administration of the affairs of the people of Great Britain and Ireland. . . . A great number of the English people now understand that to private land monopoly are due most of the industrial and social ills which they have suffered, and which they are experiencing to-day. With a knowledge of the source of these evils, the application of the proper remedies can be but a matter of time.

WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

Johnstown (Pa.) Daily Democrat (Dem.), Feb. 7.—The whole country is beginning to sit up and take notice that William J. Bryan is not the dangerous man he was so assiduously pictured. It has developed that it was the big thieves in the giant trusts who did the mighty shouting against Bryan; that it was the holders of colossal graft who yelled so vociferously for "safety and sanity;" that it was the beneficiary of public plunder who shouted "anarchy" every time Bryan's name was mentioned. It has developed that it was the McCalls, the McCurdys, the Depews, the Burtons, the Mitchells, the McNichols, the Durhams, the Ryans and the Morgans who put up other people's money for the "honor of the country"—for "safety and sanity." . . . Mr. Bryan is more than the great orator. Back of his eloquence and his fluency is a firm conviction for right; and because he wanted to be right in 1896 and 1900 he was defeated for President. The forces against him then have been detected. . . . So far not a single scoundrel brought to view was a Bryan man. The whole nasty lot was against him and the loss of the Presidency twice is fully compensated in the fact that Mr. Bryan can lay claim to the greater honor of having been defeated only by a horde of public plunderers. The chickens are coming home to roost. Through all the years Mr. Bryan has calmly awaited the judgment day. It is about here. And when that day does come, and come it will soon, it will mark Mr. Bryan in popular esteem as one of the noblest men in this great country.

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, Feb. 12-17,

Senate.

Senator Tillman's joint resolution directing the investigation of the relation of railroads to coal mining (p. 2393), was adopted on the 12th (p. 2400), and on the 13th the ship subsidy bill was further considered (p. 2453). This bill was passed on the 14th (p. 2511 to 2537); and on the 15th, after consideration of the Statehood bill had begun (p. 2606), the Senate adjourned to the 19th (pp. 2613, 2614).

House.

A bill to punish wife-beating with flogging in the District of Columbia was considered on the 12th (p. 2410) and laid on the table—153 to 60. On the 13th the House considered the fortifications appropriation bill (p. 2474) and passed it on the 24th (pp. 2539, 2561). No business of general interest was done on the 15th, and adjournment was taken to the 19th (p. 2634).

Record Notes.—Senator Bacon's speech on the Constitutional power of the President and of the Senate in making treaties, with special reference to Morocco and Santo Domingo (p. 2344). Senator Spooner's speech on the same subject (p. 2358). Senator Lodge's speech on railroad rates (p. 2382). Text of Senator Tillman's joint resolution on the relation of railroads to coal mining and his speech on the same subject (p. 2393). Speech of Representative Sulzer on the railroad rate bill (p. 2433).

A lucky man his wealth displays
And tells you how he made it.
The hen admires the china egg
And really thinks she laid it.
—Washington Star.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

A WONDER WORKER.

LUTHER BURBANK.

For The Public.

He dwells so nigh to Nature's brooding heart,
He feels the throbbing pulse of her desire;
And lending to her powers his subtle art,
He shapes the end to which she doth aspire.

With loving faith in the Great Silent Cause,
Patient, the Wonder Worker plans and sows,
Knowing the desert, by its hidden laws,
In joy at last shall blossom as the rose.

ANNIE L. MUZZEY.

THE GREATEST DUTY.

From the fourth annual address of Charles D. Huston, Mayor of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, delivered to the City Council, Feb. 16, 1906, as printed in the Cedar Rapids Evening Gazette.

Long ago I became convinced that no man can escape the duties of citizenship, and he should not wish to. I believe that every man can be of greater service to mankind by taking an active interest in civic affairs than in any other way.

It matters little as to what party he may affiliate with, but it matters much as to what principles he advocates.

I am of the belief that the time will come, and at no distant day, when the people will firmly grasp the great idea of unity, the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man; and when they do, then indeed will we have a true democratic form of government. And, when that time comes the manly men who believe that right is right and must prevail, will be found ready—yea, anxious and willing—to hold up the hands of those who stand for good government, and will question neither their politics nor religion.

HOW THE FILIPINOS RECEIVED MR. BRYAN.

Little has been told in the press dispatches of the magnificent reception and triumphal progress of Mr. Bryan in the Philippine islands. The universal enthusiasm was astonishing even to its object. According to El Renacimiento, Mr. Bryan asked as he was driven through Paranyake, Las Pinas and Bakoor: "Why do all the people salute us? Do they treat all Americans this way?"

"'These salutations are for you,' answered a prominent Filipino, 'because they had been looking for your coming. These people do not know

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you, but they know that you are here and your name is loved.'

"In fact few names can be mentioned among the Filipinos that will excite more sympathy. Bryan did not need to come to be popular.

"The principal impression produced by his presence, even among his chief political adversaries, is one of consummate amiability and discretion. Bryan has not made any public declarations nor expressed a judgment of the Philippine administration. He has not given the partisans pretext to accuse him of being an agitator, or unpatriotic in view of the enterprise that America, as a nation, is undertaking in these islands. His coming has made a most grateful impression. Without any ostentatious official character, he receives consideration from the officers of the government, the respect of the Americans and the homage of the Filipinos; homage spontaneous, sincere, cordial. Bryan, who has penetrating insight, will have observed this. If not, the onlookers observe it. See the difference between the receptions according to order and this purely voluntary one. How many such have been given to Americans in the Philippines?"

"THE LITTLE MOTHER OF THE PRISONERS."

From the Chicago Chronicle of Feb. 17, 1906.

Chicago's "little mother of the prisoners" is slowly passing away. Mrs. Margaret Curtin, who for more than 20 years has been known as the good angel of all the oppressed in this city, is lying at her daughter's home, 953 Hood avenue, fatally ill with cancer of the liver. The news of her death will carry sorrow into more humble homes of Chicago than that of many of the world's great ones.* Mrs. Curtin has perhaps a wider acquaintance among the wretched homes and hovels of the city than any other charity worker. Her work had taken her for a number of years among the drunken, the outcast and the utterly abandoned, and it was among those whom she had rescued from a life of depravity and crime that she was known by her sobriquet "little mother of the prisoners."

Many interesting and pathetic stories of her work in reuniting husbands and wives, in restoring the self-respect of the despairing and in finding homes for the homeless are well known to her friends.

One instance of her broad charity is well known to tobacco dealers of the city. She was accustomed to go from tobacco shop to tobacco shop begging for clippings, stubs and ends and rejected tobacco leaf, which she would take to her home and patiently grind between the palms of her hands until it was made serviceable. This tobacco she would then place in small paper bags and distribute among the prisoners at the county jail and other penal institutions. On one occasion she secured a whole bale of rejected leaf from a dealer, who thought that this would last her for the rest of her term of charities. Within two months she was back to the same shop asking for more.

Another instance of her charity occurred in October, 1905. On that occasion she was called from her home in Edgewater at ten o'clock at night to visit a dying Italian woman in the neighborhood of State street and Hubbard court. When she arrived she found the woman lying on a filthy blanket on the floor with a two-months-old baby by her side. The window had been broken and the cold air poured in through the broken pane. There was absolutely no furniture in the room. As she held the dying woman's head in her lap the single kerosene lamp went out and the woman died in Mrs. Curtin's arms in total darkness. Mrs. Curtin paid for and attended to the funeral and saw that the child was properly cared for. By such deeds as this she earned the heartfelt gratitude of her "children," as she called them, and there are hundreds of such homes in Chicago where her illness is felt as a direct personal sorrow.

Mrs. Curtin was an indefatigable worker in the juvenile court and for more than 17 years had not missed a weekly visit to Dunning, where she gave unfailing care to the inmates.

*Mrs. Curtin died on the morning of Feb. 18.

THE CHURCH AND THE DEMOCRATIC IDEA.

Extract from address by Prof. J. H. Dillard before the convocation of Episcopal clergymen of North Louisiana, published in Shreveport Daily Times of Feb. 10.

It was this fraternal spirit that St. Paul was describing in the Fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians. It was this truly democratic and fraternal spirit that Francis of Assisi emphasized, and in which the Franciscan order had its power until the church absorbed and ruined it. It was this spirit that burned in John Ball, the great peasant priest of England. It was this spirit, translated into politics, that animated Thomas Jefferson when he bravely wrote that all men are born free and equal. It was this spirit which Buckle felt when he described its opposite. It was this spirit which the greatest Italian since Dante, Joseph Mazzini, was urging, when he said, in the middle of the nineteenth century, that we had been reverencing the soldier, the priest, the prince, and that the time was at hand for reverencing the man as man. It was this spirit that filled Henry George when, before a great audience of workingmen, he repudiated his introduction as their special friend, and declared: "I am for men." It is this spirit which Gilbert Chesterton, the latest of English writers, in his latest book, is still describing for us when he says that it helps man not because man is so miserable, but because man is so great. In a word, this is the spirit which dwells upon the value of man as man. We see how Christian it is, and how the idea of equality comes in. It is the equality in humanity, which far outweighs the inequalities of birth, fortune, environment, development or any other distinction.

It would seem that this is the spirit to which the church must be committed, if she would be the church of the people, if she would have her social work count, if she wishes her giving to have no cause to complain of the ingratitude of the poor. Giving and doing, no matter how honest and sincere, if they be in the spirit of condescension, are pharisaism and not charity. True philanthropy is true fraternity. If the church shall understand and sympathize with democracy, in the highest sense of that word, then she will see that all special privilege and all caste are unfraternal and unchristian.

History shows that the forces of the church have too often stood on the other side. This is especially true since the democratic idea has begun to make itself actually felt in legislation. With notable individual exceptions, the mass of her influence has been thrown against the reforms that have made for the promotion of the democratic spirit.

Perhaps Chesterton is right in saying that the church was more democratic in her sympathy and methods in the thirteenth century than in the nineteenth. The great cathedrals

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were more democratic than our modern pews. The church seems then to have been, certainly in some ways, more the church of the people than she is to-day. In those days, says Chesterton, it was the poor man who went into the house of the rich to give him a little friendly advice; nowadays it is the rich man who makes a fad of visiting and helping the poor. There is some truth and much significance in the remark. The church in her work, of course needs the poor to-day just as much as she needs the rich, and perhaps she wishes for them as much. Does she get them? We all know that she does not. Not more than two per cent. of our workingmen ever go inside a church. There has been much written and said as to the cause of this. I have ventured in this address to suggest what seems to me the cause. Back of external manifestations there of course always lies a cause, and that cause depends upon some inherent spirit or idea. In the relation of the church to the industrial problem, and in her divorce from the masses of the people I believe that the trouble lies in the fact that the church has not yet sympathized with, and absorbed as she should, the new democratic spirit which is growing in the world. The triumph of this spirit, which is new and yet is at least nineteen centuries old, is, in the process of human development, inevitable; inevitable, because it is founded in the truth of human fraternity, which Jesus himself taught and manifested to the world.

CONSISTENCY.

For The Public.

A group of friends at table one morning were talking of taxation. They grumbled about the rates, the changes which are often suddenly made without any apparent reason, and, in general, the disorder and exorbitance of taxation methods. Not wishing to argue, I listened quietly, until the conviction became settled firmly in their minds that the whole system was a rotten affair. When all had worked themselves up into a considerable heat over it, I volunteered a remark:

"What seems strange to me," I said, "is that while everybody resents the present methods, they all howl if anyone proposes a better system."

A laugh went up, and a shout of "Single tax! Single tax!"

The curious effect of my remark was that when the laugh had subsided they all forgot to go on grumbling.

JANE DEARBORN MILLS.

WHAT MAKES DESPOTS?

GROWTH OF THE POWER OF THE EXECUTIVE.

The recent growth of the authority of the president of the United States, the increase of his prerogative, has been realized more clearly by foreigners than by ourselves. Bjornsterne Bjornson, discussing the question of a monarchy or republic for Norway, said: "We might as well have a democratic kingship, like that of England, as an autocratic presidency, like that of the United States."

It is a jest in earnest when the press talks of "Princess Alice" and humorous ballads sing of "good King Theodore." The people are lodging more and more power with the executive. We have well entered into that phase which was the prelude of the Roman empire, which was the twilight of the states general of France, which preceded the tyrannies of the Pisistratidae in Athens and the Dionysii of Syracuse. Which is not repeating the threadbare statement, the trite prediction, that we are verging into a monarchy.

This prediction has been made and the danger ascribed to the machinations of our privileged classes. We should pause, and, reading by the light of the past, take counsel lest by the very means we adopt to fight the privileged classes we follow the road of other republics, that we suffer the misfortune that changed liberal monarchies into despotisms. Full often in his own person the popular liberator has become a new despot, like Rienzi, and the fight of the commonalty against the nobles ended in the erasing of commons and nobles and the emerging of a Louis XIV.

The peculiarity of the strengthening of the central power lodged in the hands of one man is that in the beginning it has come about by the voice of the common people, that it has been through the struggles of the proletariat and not by the desire of the aristocracy. Even the tyrants of the Greek cities won their power by the support of the rabble and it was the nobility that felt the yoke, the nobility that finally undid them. The educated classes who wrote the histories and tinged our idea of these tyrants were the enemies of these men because they came into power through the desire of the commonalty. The diatribes against the Dionysii, Damocles and their multitudinous ilk show us that these tyrants were in reality popular favorites, heroes half-way between the Folks and La Follettes and the Crokers and Hinkey Dinks — more like the former than the latter, usually.

The empire came to Rome, absolutism came in France, because the people combined with the consuls or kings to break the strength of patricians and nobles. It was the plebs who offered the crown to Caesar. It was the patricians who slew him. It was the army, sons of the common people, who used to elect the imperators, the emperors. The favorite comparison of our present course with the last days of the Roman republic is entirely unhistorical. The prediction that the privileged classes will turn us into an empire because they made Rome an empire is basically wrong, because it was not the privileged classes that turned Rome into an empire, but the common people.

In mediaeval France, that freest of mediaeval nations, to escape the oppression of the feudal lords, the people, the bourgeois, the free cities, made common cause with the king against the enemy of both. The French king was little more than duke of the Isle of France, that small domain which he ruled personally. The great lords of Burgundy, Brittany, Picardy and other chiefs were almost upon an equality with him. In order to fight the nobles, the common people intrusted all their rights and immunities to the king. They saw that if he were stronger the nobles would be weaker. The nobles were not servants and bulwarks of the throne, as they became later, but rivals. The great trades guilds, the free cities, the legislative assembly of the states general, did not cease to be because the kingship absorbed their privileges by insidious design. Their rights were voluntarily made over to the king with the result that, when the nobles were subdued, he only remained.

There has been a decided growth of the power of our president. As great combinations of capital have arisen, able to frustrate law and legislation, the common people have turned, as ever before in history, to the central power. By the desire of the people, the president's prerogative is greater than that of any European monarch, except Nicholas, Wilhelm and Abdul. The foreign press no longer allude to him as our president, but as our "ruler." Foreign courts treat direct

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with him, exchange courtesies, confer gifts upon his family as upon another royalty. His acts are as little subject to review as are those of a king. He sets up and puts down like a very monarch. By the voice of the people!

It is the people trying to break modern feudalism as ancient feudalism was broken. Losing confidence in congress, unable to exact responsibility from that body of hundreds of members, they appeal to one man.

That this contemporary phenomenon will have the ancient result let us not assume to say. We will doubtless stop the progression. Modern feudalism hasn't the strength of ancient feudalism. History is made faster now than it was in the past. The fight of king and people against nobles in Spain and England did not reach the point of absolutism. Whatever the future may have in store, we have at least repeated history to the extent of increasing the power of the executive in order to diminish the power of the privileged classes. The power and personal responsibility of the president will increase until the power of great capitalistic combinations decreases. Thus far will our president tread in the path of Julius Caesar.—Wardon Allan Curtis, in Chicago Daily News of Feb. 19.

THE LABOR UNION A STEP TO DEMOCRACY.

Portions of a sermon delivered by the Rev. Dr. E. A. Wasson in St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, Newark, N. J., Feb. 11, 1906. As reported in the Newark Advertiser.

Fundamental democracy and fundamental Christianity are the same thing, approached from different sides. Jesus approached it from the religious side; Lincoln from the political and economic. Lincoln was the first, that is, the greatest American. Washington was a gentleman after the old English idea. Lincoln was a man after the new American idea. To be a gentleman is much; to be a man is more. Jesus's favorite term for Himself was Son of Man, that is, Man. Lincoln was simple, elemental, always contemporary. We do not associate him with accidents of dress peculiar to his day, as we do Washington. He is not for a day, but for all time. After generations of toil and tribulation we shall arrive at a better state of society, only to find that Lincoln has anticipated us. It will be long before Americans cease to sit as learners at the feet of Father Abraham.

Lincoln was the successor of Jefferson. Lincoln did for a race what Jefferson and his contemporaries did for a nation. They both stood for the democratic idea and against the aristocratic idea. Democracy says one man is as good as another, and ought to have an equal voice in the government. Aristocracy says that one man is better than another, and is competent to rule not only himself but others as well. The creed of democracy has two short articles. The first is, I am as good as you. The second is, You are as good as I.

Lincoln's early conditions were not so unfavorable as might be supposed. With all its deprivations, there was at least freedom and equality. One man was as good as another, the employed as the employer. Those conditions made for the democracy, which says that the whole is greater than any part. Lincoln believed in nothing less than the whole, that two heads are better than one, and three than two. He had faith in man, and the more man the more faith. When aristocracy said that the common people were ignorant, inefficient, inexperienced, fickle, Lincoln answered: It may be true, but they can be taught, they can be trained, and it is best for them to profit by their own blunders.

Always there is that effort to discredit the people, to get away from them, to get above them. This it is which has made the national Senate the most eminent assemblage of rogues that ever gathered together, that in a republican nation they are unrepresentative and irresponsible. How many of them would be out of the penitentiary if the laws were executed on them?

And does anyone suppose that if the people were free to choose, the present incumbents would be selected? And likewise with our judges, who are becoming the most dangerous menace to the freedom of the country. If the people were left free to select they would at least select men that looked to them, and not to organized wealth, as their masters. We are bidden to say nothing that will undermine respect for the judiciary. It is the bounden duty of every good citizen to say all that he can to undermine respect for any institution that does not deserve respect; and the judiciary does not.

It is safer to defy the Lord God Almighty than to criticise a judge. The Lord God won't bother about you, but the judge will throw you into jail for months without hearing or trial. On what meat hath this our judicial Caesar fed that he hath grown so great? With his injunctions he comes near to making other functions and arms of government superfluous. Who is he anyway? In nine cases out of nine a man who cringes before the money power, that put him where he is, and bestrides us common mortals, whose bread he is eating, like a colossus. It is because that practically nowhere have the people the choice of these men. They are put where they are by the corporations directly, or through their tools the political bosses. Lincoln stood in no awe of these people. He denounced a decision of the Supreme Court of the nation as "a burlesque upon judicial decisions, a slander and profanation upon the honored names and sacred history of republican America. It must be overruled and expunged from the books of authority." "The people," he said, "the people are the rightful masters of both congresses and courts."

What is needed is a direct control by the people over their servants and their legislation. They must be able to oust any man that contravenes their will; to initiate legislation that their misrepresentatives refuse to enact, and to check and thwart legislation hostile to their interests. These same classes that are so fearful that the people cannot take care of themselves are the same classes that crucified Jesus, and who would have done it long before had they not feared the common people who heard Him gladly. Let these presidents and judges and legislators look to the rock whence they were hewn and to the hole of the pit whence they were digged. . . .

The labor union is a necessary step in the progress to democracy, and the eight-hour day is a necessity to the labor union. I am for it unequivocally. It means better morals, better health, better work, better minds.

How can a minister criticise the closed shop, when the ministry is closed tighter than any shop you ever saw? We ministers have managed it so, each denomination by itself, that competition is reduced to a minimum. The pastor enters the church he is called to with the distinct understanding that his employer, the congregation, can do little or nothing without his consent. No other minister can set foot in it without his invitation.

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nor can his employer touch the organ or raise his voice in song in the choir, in the Episcopal church, without his consent. Nor can any other Episcopal minister preach anywhere in his neighborhood, not even in a hall or in the public street, without his consent. Talk about closed shop; besides the years of preparation required. When we are sick, instead of docking us, they send us jam and bouquets and come and pray by our bedside. That's where we have got our employer! And when work is slack our pay goes on just the same. This is not democracy, but it ought to close our mouths against the closed shop in other trades.

Industry is the crux of the whole situation: for men live, not by voting, but by eating.

Democracy is the voice of the people, and the voice of the people is the voice of God.

A WARNING AGAINST PRECIPITANCY.

For The Public.

Jepson—Listen to this, Stepson; here's a man who declares against the enforcement of a certain law, in connection with contract labor—

Stepson (explosively, his face reddening in anger)—Yes! I'll warrant you. Labor agitation and anarchy are most appropriately coupled in the same sentence! Against enforcement of law;—who does not know, without your confirming the fact by reading out of a newspaper item, that all these labor agitators are at heart anarchists? Of course, they're against enforcement of law! The only proper way to deal with such incendiaries would be to put them in prison as fast as they proclaim their enmity to civilized society by any such anarchistic utterance!

Jepson—But wait a bit, Stepson. Hear the whole sentence.

Stepson—The whole sentence? I know whence the thing emanates, from the outrageous character of what you've already read. Gompers, probably, or John Mitchell.

Jepson (reading from the Chicago Record-Herald, of December 17)—"As to contract labor, the law . . . never ought to be enforced."

Stepson—Eh—who said that?

Jepson—The press dispatch ascribes it to President Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard.

Stepson (explosively, his face reddening—in something else than anger, this time)—Ahum! Ahem! A—ah—er—a—ahem! Yes.

E. H. P.

A GREAT AND PICTURESQUE OBJECT LESSON IN TAXATION.

Nowhere in the world are there so many magnificent buildings within the same area as on Manhattan Island. Their very profusion prevents full recognition of their excellence. Structures that in smaller cities would be monumental are here lost among the giants that crowd each other into comparative smallness. The facade of an insurance company's building attracts little attention, though less imposing ones have made European towns famous. Domes and spires of old world cathedrals would be lost if transplanted among the towering office buildings that overshadow the spire of Trinity church and hide this one time landmark. Millions of dollars are expended on structures used only for desk room; hundreds of thousands are lavished on vestibules that outshine many a famed stairway in ducal palaces, but are unnoticed by the throngs who hurry past them intent only on their daily bread.

Here, if anywhere, the ordinary observer, were he questioned, would reply that however valuable the land might be, surely the worth of the buildings was as much or more.

And yet to Manhattan the value of all buildings is less than one-half the value of sites. To be exact, improvements are only 31 per cent. of the total value of taxable real estate. If the observer came from a small town where houses were usually four or five times as valuable as the lots on which they stood, he would expect that these towering marble palaces would far exceed the value of the land on which they stand. Yet only one or two of the finer office buildings cost as much as the land on which they are built. None of the great department stores is worth as much as its site. Furthermore, almost every one of the palatial residences along Fifth avenue is valued less than the price of the lot on which it stands, and many of these residences are worth less than a third of the total value of the property.

These illustrations from the dry figures of the city assessment roll are of interest not merely to economists. They are of practical importance to the business man and to the wage earner. For they show how easily far greater material progress can be made; how the whole of Manhattan island could fast be covered by modern buildings which, though so numerous, now occupy only a small portion of its area; how homes could be made to spring up in the outlying boroughs, and modern apartments be made to replace the dumbbell tenements.

Consider that all magnificent modern buildings and apartments have been built in spite of the fact that not only every dollar put into bare construction, but all the money spent upon elaborate decoration will be subject to taxation. How much more and better building would be done if the discouragement of an annual fine upon such enterprise were removed.

The exemption of improvements from taxation has been advocated for many years and from various standpoints. However, few of even the most sanguine advocates of this change have held that such exemption could be given with so little added burden to any one as can now be shown would result from its adoption in the city of New York. It has generally been thought that to exempt improvements would double the tax rate. But if all buildings in the city of New York were exempted the tax rate in Manhattan and the Bronx would not exceed $2.17 on the hundred dollars. This year the rate has been fixed at nearly $1.50, so that total exemption of buildings would add only 67 cents to the rate, an increase of less than 50 per cent. Thus under the present "full valuation" the tax rate would be less with buildings exempt than it was three years ago under the old haphazard assessment.

The effect of such a change in taxation is perhaps easier understood if stated in another form.

Every property owner whose land value assessment is not more than two-thirds of his present real estate assessment would pay less taxes than now if all buildings were exempt.

Every owner whose land value assessment is only one-third of his present assessment would pay only one-half the taxes he now pays if buildings were exempt.

Here are the data on which these statements are based, compiled from the assessment for 1904, when for the first time the assessment rolls showed the assessed value of land separately from the total assessment of real property. The value of improvements is easily determined by subtraction, and in the following table the value of land and the value of improvements in the different boroughs of the city in 1904 is given. These figures do not show the value either of roadbeds or special franchises of corporations, but are simply what may be termed ordinary taxable real estate—buildings and lots.

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	Value Land.	Value Buildings.
Manhattan	$2,435,913,737	$1,045,738,274
Bronx	150,995,762	85,457,290
Brooklyn	395,941,515	455,123,072
Queens	70,113,345	51,622,220
Richmond	20,023,231	20,844,278
Total	$3,072,987,590	$1,658,785,134

If all the buildings in the city of New York were exempted from taxation the total assessment of taxable real and personal property for 1904 of $5,640,542,657 would have been reduced to $3,981,757,323.

The following table shows the tax rate (omitting decimals) in the various boroughs in 1904, and the rate that would have produced the same revenue had buildings been exempted and other taxes and revenues remained unchanged. The greater proportional increase in some boroughs is due to the county taxes, which are included in the levy:—

	Rate in 1904.	Rate Under Exemption.
Brooklyn	1.57	2.30
Manhattan and Bronx.	1.51	2.30
Queens	1.67	2.28
Richmond	1.59	2.32

Exact calculations for 1905 cannot yet be given, but the proportion of land to improvement value cannot be much different. The tax rate for 1905 has just been placed at about two cents lower, and in Richmond the rate will be reduced more than three cents, so that the table shows the maximum increase to be expected from exemption.

Some illustrations of the effect of building exemption on different classes of property will be of interest. Lower Fifth avenue, changing from residential to commercial uses, shows the extent to which improvers are now fined for their enterprise. Adding the figures for old and new properties in the four blocks from Eighteenth to Twenty-second street shows these totals for the two classes:—

	Modern Buildings.	Old Buildings.
Land value	$5,980,000	$4,007,000
Building value	4,495,000	806,000
Taxes in 1904	158,528	72,840
Taxes under exemption.	129,766	86,951

It is important to note that while exempting buildings would reduce the taxes of owners of fine structures, the burden upon those whose buildings are antiquated would not be so seriously increased. And the latter class would have this enormous advantage which they do not enjoy at present, that when they did put up fine improvements (as most of them undoubtedly will some day), their taxes would not be increased as would happen now if they improved. They could increase their incomes by turning their land to more productive use without any increase of taxes.

There are rows and rows of old buildings off Fifth avenue, where the land is assessed as high as $60,000, and the total assessment is only $65,000. Such property pays $975 taxes now. Under exemption the tax would be $1,302. But a $60,000 building could be put up without increasing the tax, whereas now such enterprise would raise the tax to $1,800. It is easy to see that building exemption would encourage owners of such property to improve as the site requires.

The effect of exemption upon tenement property would be still more marked. Typical old flats in Manhattan are assessed at $10,000 for the land and $5,000 for the building. The tax on such property last year was $227; under exemption it would be $217. New flats that were assessed at $11,000 for the land and $27,000 for the building paid $575, whereas under exemption they would have paid but $239, a saving of $236. This is the interest at 4½ per cent. on $5,200, or one-quarter the cost of the building.

It seems hardly necessary to discuss the help that exemption would be in solving the tenement house problem, when it would give such financial benefits to the landlords who put up modern flats, and with the increase of room accommodation some of this benefit would go to the tenant in decreased rent or better quarters.

On small houses, such as are assessed in Brooklyn at $800 for land and $3,000 for building, the present tax of $60 would be cut to $19, a saving of $41 a year, the interest on $800. This would be quite a help to the wage earner trying to buy a home. Illustrations could be multiplied, but these must suffice.

It is hardly to be expected, however, that such a change as the total exemption of improvements will be accomplished all at once. If it were brought about gradually, either by exempting a specific amount or by imposing a lighter tax upon improvements, or by gradually decreasing the assessment on them in accordance with a fixed scale, the needed changes in the tax rate would hardly be felt.

Yet were the entire exemption granted now and the tax rate therefore raised to 2.17, it would not stay long at that figure. The impetus to building and indirectly to trade through the encouragement of enterprise would immediately enhance the value of New York land, and it would not be long before land values would increase to such a point that very little more than the present tax rate would produce as much revenue as is now derived from the real estate tax, with the additional advantage to the land owners of increased value and consequently enhanced incomes.

Philadelphia years ago declined to tax personal property, because, said its councilmanic committee, such taxation would discourage industry and depress real estate values so that land owners would lose more than they would gain. If exemption of personal property is beneficial to Philadelphia real estate owners, how much more direct would be the benefit from the exemption of buildings to the real estate owners of New York?—A. C. Pleydell, in the New York Evening Telegram of August 1, 1905.

Russians all over Russia are glad to employ Finnish servants, because "they never steal, and nothing has to be locked up." I remember how once, when I went to the captain of a steamer which was carrying me to Stockholm to find out when I could telegraph to Helsingfors for a valuable gold buckle I had left in a hotel, he replied: "There is no occasion to telegraph; write to the hotel manager when you get to Stockholm, and he will send the buckle to you. No one ever steals in Finland." I wrote as he directed, and the buckle followed me to England, where I received it soon after my arrival.—Mrs. Meakin's "Russia."

"And now, my son," said the bank president, "on this the threshold of your business life I desire to impress one thought upon you. Honesty, ever and always, is the policy that is best."

"Yes, father," said the young man.

"And, by the way," appended the graybeard, "I would urge you to read up a little corporation law. It will amaze you to find how many things you can do in a business way, and still be honest."—Minneapolis Journal.

BOOKS

OSCAR WILDE'S AWAKENING.

De Profundis. By Oscar Wilde. Methuen & Co., London.

This is the only thing written by Oscar Wilde while he was in jail; and brilliant as are some of his epigrammatic plays and essays, none of them will endure as will this personal rec-

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ord of a contrite and a broken heart. More truly personal and candid than Rousseau's Confessions, it will take its place with it as one of those barings of the soul to public view. Like Rousseau's Confessions, De Profundis is self-conscious. No artistic nature ever loses self-consciousness. The artist must give expression to himself. He cannot live without doing so; he cannot even die without doing so. In this little book this artist says: "On the other side of the prison wall there are some poor black soot-besmirched trees, which are just breaking out into buds of an almost shrill green. I know quite well what they are going through. They are finding expression. Expression is as necessary to me as leaf and blossoms are to the black branches of the trees that show themselves above the prison walls and are so restless in the wind."

As a lesson in true humility, the book is a sermon; as an example of how to absorb and overcome disgrace, it must remain as a help and a consolation; as a picture of Christ, the great Poet and Artist of the world, it is a poem. Some of its thoughts are: "Whatever happens to another happens to oneself, and whatever happens to oneself, happens to another. When Christ says, 'Forgive your enemies,' it is not for the sake of the enemy, but for your own sake that He says so." He describes himself on the platform of Clapham Junction, in convict dress, the butt and ridicule of the multitude, and confesses that for a long time he wept in bitterness of heart in his prison over that humiliation. "Well, now," he says, "I am beginning to feel more regret for the people who laughed than for myself."

Speaking of the discharged criminal as an outcast, he writes this truth: "Society takes upon itself the right to inflict appalling punishment on the individual . . . and fails to realize what it has done. When the man's punishment is over, it leaves him to himself. That is to say, it abandons him at the very moment when its highest duty toward him begins."

"Christ's place is with the poets. His whole conception of humanity sprang right out of the imagination and can only be realized by it. . . . He was the first to conceive the divided races as unity. . . . There is still something almost incredible in the idea of a young Galilean peasant imagining that he could bear on his own shoulders the burden of the entire world, . . . and, not merely imagining this, but actually achieving it, so that at the present moment all who come in contact with his personality . . . in some way find that the ugliness of their sin is taken away, and the beauty of their sorrow revealed to them."

"He saw that love was the first secret of the world, . . . and that it was only through love that one could approach either the heart of the leper or the feet of God."

"And, above all, Christ is the most supreme of individualists. It is tragic how few people 'possess their souls' before they die. 'Nothing is more rare in any man,' says Emerson, 'than an act of his own.' . . . In his view of life he is one with the artist who knows that by the inevitable law of self-perfection the poet must sing. . . . To turn an interesting thief into a tedious honest man was not his aim. . . . The conversion of a publican into a Pharisee would not have seemed to him a great achievement, but in a manner not yet understood of the world, he regarded sin and suffering as being in themselves beautiful and holy things and modes of perfection . . . Of course, the sinner must repent. But why? Simply because otherwise he would be unable to realize what he had done. . . . It is the means by which one alters one's past. The Greeks thought that impossible. They often say in their Gnomic aphorisms: 'Even the gods cannot alter the past.' Christ showed that the commonest sinner could do it; that it was the one thing he could do."

And so he discourses of Christ with the sympathy of the poet with the poet, the artist with the artist, the sufferer with his consoler.

Toward the end of this missal he writes: "I tremble with pleasure when I think that on the very day of my leaving prison both the laburnum and the lilac will be blooming, and I shall see the wind stir into restless beauty the swaying gold of the one and make the other toss the pale purple of its plumes so that all the air shall be Arabia for me."

He said of himself that when he went into prison he exclaimed: "What an ending! What an ending!" But now he could say: "What a beginning! What a beginning!" But it was not to endure for long, and a handful of Paris literary men soon followed to a borrowed grave in an obscure cemetery the cheap pine coffin in which lay this broken instrument men had named Oscar Wilde.

Let him who knows every fiber of that instrument, its stops and keys and its quiverings, be his judge. His faults will die; his poetry will live, and none longer than this poem of a stricken soul. One of the truths of life, in the contemplation of which we may find gratification, is that only the best survives. Time is a great crucible burning away all offensive, gross and sordid matter, and leaving only the sublime. Who cares for the riotous life of Marlowe? save that a knife thrust, in a brawl cut short a fertile and a wondrous life; or for the desertion of wife and children by Shakespeare? The world is a selfish world, and in time a kindly world. for it says: "Tut! what have we to do with the frailties of a frail life? Behold the treasure it has bestowed upon us." But it is Time which covers over, not Christian charity. That love and tenderness which was the sweetest blossom of Christ's soul cannot be grafted into the blood of priestly inoculation, and most Christians limit their brotherly love and charity to some motions of the lips once a week—not in hypocrisy, but in that smug, self-satisfied self-delusion worse than hypocrisy. On his release from prison Wilde found himself, as he himself has said, an outcast unaided by Christian society, and deserted by all save a few, who had Christian charity by birthright, not by profession.

It matters nothing at all to him now, but it matters much to us—for he said a truth, that whatsoever we do unto another, we do unto ourselves. How long he will live among men after his present death I do not know. but I do believe he is enough the poet to live long after the generation which laid the rod of punishment upon his back and then turned away, has been forgotten. His errors are fading back to earth as things of the flesh, and how far he was a helpless victim to the insanities of the flesh, and how far a willful slave, no man can say—but it is certain that the sinner and all his sins have died, and it might almost be said no man held out the hand to him. And it is certain that the world will treasure the flowers he gave and care nothing at all for the soil from which they sprang—or if caring, it will be with a divine pity denied to the living.

C. E. S. WOOD.

FUNERAL ADDRESSES.

Addresses at the Funeral of Henry George. Compiled by Edmund Yardley. With an Introduction by Henry George, Jr. Published by The Public Publishing Company, First National Bank Building, Chicago. Price, 40 cents net.

Of the ten thousand people who crowded the Grand Central Palace hall in New York city on an October Sunday in 1897, with Henry George's body in the midst of them, to pay their last tribute of respect and affection to this dead leader, none could have missed the inspiration of that most remarkable of funerals.

Four distinguished men and eloquent orators delivered the addresses. They were Lyman Abbott, the Congregational minister; Gustav Gottheil, the Jewish rabbi; Edward McGlynn, the Roman Catholic priest; and John

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R. Heber Newton, the distinguished Episcopal clergyman, having impressively read the funeral service of his church and offered a prayer, Dr. Abbott came forward to speak. He struck a chord lightly to which Dr. Gottheil and then Dr. McGlynn gave greater and still greater volume. "We can say of him," said McGlynn, "as the Scriptures say: 'There was a man sent of God whose name was John;' and I believe that I mock not those sacred Scriptures when I say: 'There was a man sent of God whose name was Henry George.'" At this the electrified audience, until then restrained, gave way to applause, repeated again and again. From that moment the conventional funeral hush was disregarded, and applause frequently punctuated the oratory. At no point was it more prolonged than when Mr. Crosby, referring to George's having threatened established institutions, exclaimed: "Threatened? He has not only threatened them; he has shaken them to their foundations;" nor so vociferous as when the same speaker argued that "if we have faith in God and believe that whenever he makes a thing right he also makes it practicable, then may we pray, hope and work, as did Henry George, for the coming of the Kingdom." At first the demonstrations were shocking to conventional minds; but, as Dr. Newton significantly said, they really translated a funeral into a resurrection.

These inspiriting addresses, with only enough explanation by the compiler to picture the unique occasion, have now for the first time been brought together in book form. The work has been excellently done by Edmund Yardley, to whom it was a labor of love; and its value is enhanced by the interesting introduction from the pen of the son and biographer of Henry George, who, besides telling briefly the story of George's life and characterizing the man, gives a succinct explanation of the doctrines for which he stood.

Although the attractive typographical design of the book has been slightly marred in some places by careless folding of pages, for which the

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Feb. 25. The Power of an Idea. By **Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow, of Cincinnati, O.**

March 4. **Prof. George B. Foster, of the University of Chicago, author of "The Finality of the Christian Religion."** Subject will be announced later.

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publishers have made allowance by deducting 20 per cent. from the price originally contemplated, its readability is not affected. In other respects a neat little volume of 55 pages, which can be quickly read, and which will be read with interest by almost anyone of serious mind, it is well calculated to draw attention to George's career and excite deeper interest in his teachings. Mr. Yardley has done a distinct service in preserving these short, crisp, thoughtful, reverent but cantless and inspiring speeches, which but for him might have been wholly lost.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—City Government for Young People. A Study of the American City, adapted for School Use and for Home Reading for Children. By Charles Dwight Willard, secretary of the Municipal League, Los Angeles, California. Published by The Macmillan Company, London and New York. To be reviewed.

—Facts and Figures. The Basis of Economic Science. By Edward Atkinson. Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Company, Boston. To be reviewed.

—Who's Who (British), 1906. An Annual Biographical Dictionary. Fifty-eighth year of issue. Published at London by Adam and Charles Black and at New York by The Macmillan Company. To be reviewed.

PERIODICALS

Moody's Magazine (New York) financially cold but intellectually alert, directs attention in the February issue to the remarkable fact that our amazing volume of export balances keeps us in debt to Europe instead of making us her creditor, and passes some shrewd observations upon the phenomenon. A valuable paper on tax regulation in New York is contributed by Lawson Purdy, and John Moody writes entertainingly as well as instructively of "get-rich-quick" schemes, closing with good advice to investors, whom he warns to invest only through bankers or agents of good reputation.

The January issue of The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science (Philadelphia) is an issue of extraordinary value for students of municipal affairs. Its collection of special articles, by experts, on the subject of municipal ownership, is especially important. Among the fields studied are Glasgow, London, Germany, Chicago, Massachusetts and New York city. The next most important subject in point of treatment is municipal government with especial reference to home rule. Here also the essays are on the practical side. They relate especially to Missouri, Baltimore and Philadelphia. A symposium on the relation of American municipalities to the gas and electric light service, is not the least valuable item in this excellent collection; and a paper by Clinton Rogers Woodruff on municipal progress in 1904-05, a brief historical outline, by grouping widely separated

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NEW ITEMS OF INTEREST

The members and friends of the Henry George Lecture Association will tender a banquet to Mr. J. W. Bengough, the cartoonist of THE PUBLIC and lecturer on the staff of the "Association," on Friday, March 2, 1906, at 6:30 P. M., in the banquet hall of the Auditorium, Chicago.

Mr. Hamlin Garland will be Toastmaster.

The Committee on Toasts and Speakers is composed of: Hamlin Garland, Wallace Rice, Louis F. Post, W. Chas. Tanner and Trumbull White.

The list of speakers includes John T. McCutcheon, W. D. Nesbit, Rex E. Beach, Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow, Prof. Lee Francis Lybarger, and Trumbull White.

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Further announcements will be made next week.

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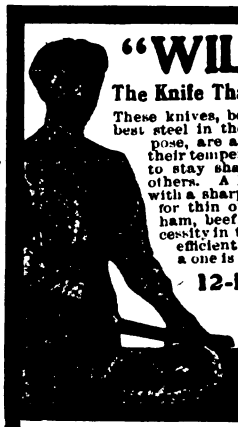

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An Interesting Letter

FROM

REV. DR. R. HEBER NEWTON

HAMPTON TERRACE,
AUGUSTA, GA., Feb. 16, 1906.

To the Editor of The Public:

My Dear Sir: In common, I suppose, with all readers of The Public, I was mightily pleased with a letter of Mayor Johnson to the Ministers of Cleveland.

The summing up of that letter hits the nail of true reform square on the head.

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The undersigned have been selected to act for a committee to carry Dr. Newton's idea into effect, and will secure the greatest possible distribution of Mr. Johnson's letter, to the municipal authorities, clergy, and religious publications throughout the United States, from funds contributed for that purpose. The Secretary-Treasurer will receive and acknowledge all contributions, large or small.

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All attending are requested to meet at the Washington Restaurant, corner Wabash Avenue and Adams Street, at 12 o'clock noon on that day. The conference will meet at 2 p. m. at a hall to be announced in next issue of THE PUBLIC.

The conference will be followed in the evening by the banquet at the Auditorium Hotel in honor of J. W. Bengough.

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