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LOUIS F. POST
EDITOR

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FOR TABLE OF CONTENTS SEE FIRST EDITORIAL PAGE

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CONTENTS

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Types of Princes of Privilege
Further Types of Princes
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Aristocracy a Fruit of Privilege

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Physical, Mental and Moral Deterioration

BOOK IV. RESISTANCE TO PRIVILEGE
Organization of Laborers
Dangers of Unionism

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The Bayonet in Civil Affairs
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National Politics
State and Municipal Politics

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Bondage of the Press
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BOOK VIII. PRESENT AND PAST
Centralization of Government
Foreign Aggression
Civilizations Gone Before

BOOK IX. THE REMEDY
To Free Natural Opportunities
To Stop Taxation Evils, Grants and Immunities
The Natural Order

INDEX

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LOUIS F. POST, Editor

Volume VIII Number 407

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JAN. 20, 1906.

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:
Senator Depew's devotion....687
Lynch law....687
A danger signal for labor unions....687
A contrast in non-partisanship....687
Our merchant marine....687
Tariffs and subsidies....688
Free trade revival in England....688
Mayor Dunne in Denver....688
Lincoln Steffens on the warpath....688
The Good Government Movement....689

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:
Australasia (Bray)....690

NEWS NARRATIVE:
The British elections....691
Election of President of France....692
The Moroccan conference....692
Free trade in the United States Congress....693
The Chicago traction situation....693
National conference of good government clubs....694
A municipal ownership inquiry....695
Democratic rejuvenation in New Jersey....695
News Notes....696
Press Opinions....696

RELATED THINGS.
In the Open (verse)....697
The Gradations of Theft....697
A Fool Angel....697
Gov. Altgeld's Optimism....698
Cincinnati's Anti-Slavery Church....698
Women's Rights or Women's Wiles—Which?....699
The Russian Crime Against the Jew...699

BOOKS:
Hadley's Roman Law....701
Trade Unions and the Law....701
American Constitutional History....702
Books Received....703
Periodicals....703

CARTOON.—The Builder of the City (Bengough)....702

For terms and other particulars of publication see cartoon page

EDITORIAL

Senator Depew's devotion.

And so Mr. Chauncey Depew's active career is only beginning! He is going to cut himself loose from the 72 (or was it 79) companies through which his beneficent energies are distributed to the public, in order to do justice to his legislative undertakings. The wonder is that with such a multitude of altruisitc enterprises he should have had any time left to devote to the special interests of Chauncey Depew.

Lynch law.

Of a man charged with murder and now awaiting trial in Chicago, the Chicago American of the 16th said editorially that he—

> should be put on trial this week. He should be found guilty of murder in one day. He should pay the penalty for his crime in less than a month.

This is not law. It is unworthy to be called even lynch law, so devoid is it of all that pertains to law and good order. Why try the man at all if his conviction and execution are foreordained? Unfortunately this lawless spirit is becoming common. Not long ago the Civic Federation of Chicago put forth a plan for convicting defendants by means of special juries. The promoters of this plan were more circumspect in expression than the American. They did not say that they wanted juries that would promptly convict, but that is what they meant. Now, there is no middle ground in this matter. We must either lynch accused persons, or we must try them; and a trial which is designed as a mere formality is none the less a lynching because we call it by the prettier name.

A danger signal for labor unions.

An article in the January Philistine, evidently intended to advertise a strike-breaking bureau of Cleveland, should be read in open meeting repeatedly in every trade union in the country. For, in order to make known to employers the services which this despicable bureau offers them, the editor of the Philistine has exposed the treacherous nature of the bureau's business. Its work consists in maintaining spies in labor unions. According to the Philistine's puff, these spies are there for the purpose of keeping employers posted on union purposes and plans; but there is reason to believe, from the development of recent prosecutions of labor union members in Chicago, that they may be there for less lawful purposes. At any rate, the Philistine's article should receive immediate attention from labor organizations. If the puff is not overdone, no labor union can be sure that it is not equipped with spies from this enterprising bureau. The worst of the matter is that men who will consent to serve in such a way, may not be above manufacturing evidence and concocting conspiracies for the undoing of law-abiding union men. That they are not, may possibly be inferred from a recent unanimous decision of the appellate court (opinion by Judge Brown), which reverses a conviction of labor unionists for conspiracy, on the ground of the dubiousness of the spy evidence.

A contrast in non-partisanship.

Ohio has a Democratic Senate and a Republican House. As the partisan majority in each house is small, the opportunity is excellent for non-partisan legislation, and of this opportunity the Democrats have taken commendable advantage. Not only did they vote for the Republican candidate for clerk of the house, an election which they could only have opposed and not prevented, but they have given to the minority party in the Senate no less than thirteen committee chairmanships, something utterly unprecedented in party politics. They have given it besides full representation on all committees. Some recognition by the Republicans of the wholesome spirit of the Democrats might have been expected; but if anyone did expect it he was doomed to disappointment. Not a single committee chairmanship was given to the Democrats in the lower house, and the most important committees are packed with Republican partisans.

Our merchant marine.

In one of those occasional reports, sometimes instructive as public documents and frequently entertaining as Republican campaign tracts, which the Treasury Department at Washington circulates, a curious complaint appears. The Department's editorial writer finds that "the rapid growth achieved by American railways" is in sharp contrast

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with "the slow development of the merchant marine of the United States." For, whereas "the tonnage of vessels engaged in the foreign trade of the United States was, in 1855, 2,348,358 tons;" it was, "in 1875, 1,515,598 tons; in 1895, 822,347 tons; and in 1905, 943,750 tons." This is, of course, a hint for ship subsidies. But it is more impressive as a condemnation of protection. Why should we expect an increase in our ocean tonnage in the face of tariff laws intended to diminish our ocean trade? If tariff protection is a good thing because it hampers international trade, then a reduction of ocean tonnage ought to be desirable. It proves that in our attempts at hampering international trade we have been to this extent successful.

Tariffs and subsidies.

Subsidies for the promotion of foreign trade among privileged ship owners are a natural consequence of tariffs for the obstruction of foreign trade in general. The tariff makes manufacturing monopolies, the ship subsidies make ocean trading monopolies, and the two together foster good will among their plutocratic beneficiaries and promote respectable corruption in government. It is done on pretense of principle, and the rascals who do it are shielded from the just scorn of mankind by the plea that the question is one of opinion and not of plunder. Pursuant to their so-called principles they themselves defend their plunder with the demand that the tariff should be revised by its friends. But no one is recognized as its friend unless he stands for plunder. Gov. Cummings of Iowa and Congressman McCall of Massachusetts have begun to realize this, and Mr. McCall says he is "tired of the oft-repeated cry." He wants to know when the friends of the tariff are going to revise it, if they can't do so with two-thirds of both houses of Congress Republican; and he solemnly warns his fellow Republicans that if they "do not treat protection as a rational principle instead of a cast-iron immutable system of schedules, then we are liable to have the Democratic party and possibly the deluge." Aye, and deluge it will be if by deluge Mr. McCall means the sweeping away of those tariff barriers which rob the American masses for the enrichment of a few exploiters.

The free trade revival in England.

Such a political deluge as is surely coming in this country has begun in England. They, like us, have had their era of plutocracy and of imperialism and are sickening of it. Although they have not been cursed for more than half a century with the tariff protection that has cursed us almost that long, the issue of protection has been raised among them. At first it seemed to take with the people, and England was in danger of forgetting Cobden and returning to her protection vomit. But that danger is past. With a background of 60 years of comparative free trade, the English people were quick to see through the sophistries of the protection argument, and a political tidal wave for free trade is now sweeping over the English constituencies. It is free trade, too, in a deeper and truer sense than the British free trade of the past; for the logic of the situation has driven free traders to demanding the taxation of landed privileges for public revenues, and the consequent release of productive business and produced property from the burdens of taxation. In other words, the parliamentary campaign is at bottom an opening of the contest in England for the freeing of all labor forces from taxation and the shackling of land monopoly with taxation.

Mayor Dunne in Denver.

To promote a municipal ownership movement in Denver, Mayor Dunne of Chicago was invited to speak there; and when he arrived, the acting mayor of Denver refused to extend him the ordinary courtesies, lest he might thereby commit the Denver mayor, an adversary of municipal ownership, to Mayor Dunne's views. This fatuity on the part of their municipal executive aroused the people of Denver, and Mayor Dunne received an ovation. His reception almost paralleled that of the President. And he made an effective speech in favor of municipal ownership. In that speech, reporting upon progress in Chicago, he denounced the traction ring in the Chicago Council as that ring deserved. Nothing could have been better, and the ring felt the lash. It set out to "discipline Dunne" again, but was so demoralized that its leaders lost their heads. They offered a puerile resolution in the Council, requesting the mayor to "refrain from presiding over" the Council's deliberations. It was something he could not legally do if he wished to. Whether for this reason, or for another, or for an accumulating mass of reasons, the ringsters found themselves in a humiliating minority. This is only one of many indications of approaching disaster to the traction ring of Chicago, and in making note of it a name besides Mayor Dunne's must not be overlooked. Throughout all this controversy, Alderman Dever has not only been faithful to the cause that Mayor Dunne leads, as others have, but—and this may be said without making an invidious distinction—he has proved himself an able and worthy leader. His speech in defense of Dunne against the attacks of the ring has deservedly won him a high place in public respect and confidence.

Lincoln Steffens on the warpath.

Not satisfied with the slow processes of magazine publication, Lincoln Steffens has gone upon the lecture platform and into the syndicate correspondence corps. His work is always welcome. On the platform he is telling of the notable fights in various cities over municipal corruption, especially with reference to street franchises; and through McClure's syndicate he is explaining graft at the national capital. Mr. Steffens be-

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gan his investigations as a mere reporter. He exposed graft, of course, as everybody can and does, but it was the kind of graft that the pharisees are thankful for not indulging in. As he proceeded with his investigations Steffens traced corruption to public utilities corporations and the financial interests which such corporations foster. Being a reporter, a conscientious one, he reported what he learned, no matter whose interests were hurt; and his fidelity led him on from minor graft in cities to major graft in cities; from the graft of local politicians to the graft of their rich tempters; and from the cities up to the States, whence the city grafting power emanated. But when he explored the State capitols, he found himself hot upon the trail to Washington, where he is now at work. His opening letter, published in Chicago by the Record-Herald of Sunday last, promises a series of most interesting and instructive revelations entirely out of the beaten path.

THE GOOD GOVERNMENT MOVEMENT.

After many years of political dilettantism, the movement for good government in cities, which, with some irreverence yet not wholly without propriety, was long ago dubbed "goo-goo," has begun to exhibit civic purpose and political virility of an order that deserves and will doubtless command respect outside of society drawing rooms. Whether this movement with its later gratifying tendencies will retain the respect and continue to receive the encouragement of our superior classes is another question.

In their beginnings the good government clubs, by whatever name they were known or in whatever specialty in good government they were interested, had but one theory of good government, and that was conventional honesty and routine efficiency in public office. They were consequently solicitous for little else than the "election of good men to office," and the elaboration of civil service merit systems or mechanisms for the bafflement of party spoilsmen. Of their petty and often ludicrous accomplishments in these matters their members were ever fond of boasting, and this weakness persists.

But most of the active men in the movement, however superficial they may have been, were sincere of purpose. The evils of dishonesty and inefficiency in office had impressed them in connection with the spoils system and partyism, so they turned single mindedly upon the party boss and the spoils hunter. Those were the evils, as they saw the matter, and at those evils they struck directly. They did not mean, however, to be a buffer for more subtle evils; and when the truth began to dawn upon them, that the evils which they saw were merely effects of deeper seated and more subtle ones, they leveled their lance at these. At least they tried to.

But they were hampered. Their freedom of movement was mortgaged to beneficiaries of great financial interests; not mortgaged in any reprehensible sense, but tied by the subtle influences of wealth and respectability based upon privilege. For back of the active and sincere men in the good government movement were financial backers and smug applauders who were themselves beneficiaries or admirers or both, of dishonesty and inefficiency in public office—a species of dishonesty and inefficiency which, though infinitely worse for the public than that of the spoilsman, is neither disreputable nor so easily detected.

The Citizens' Union of New York had an illuminating experience in financial circles when its active workers struck at the great franchise grafts.

The experience of the Municipal Voters' League of Chicago is even more significant.

The Municipal Voters' League of Chicago was organized to effect one particular purpose. This purpose was the prevention of the election of conventionally dishonest and inefficient aldermen. It is a good purpose, and the League has served good uses in pursuing it.

When this League came into existence, the Chicago Council was packed with a dominant faction of aldermen, colloquially known as "gray wolves," whose votes were for sale in the open market, and who regarded public denunciations for their corruption as valuable advertisements of their wares. The League made genuine war upon this condition and these men, and with such success that hardly any of the "gray wolf" pack are left in the Council—perhaps not more than a dozen or fifteen.

But new methods of corruption have since taken the place of the rough and ready ones of the "gray wolves." They are similar to those of which Lincoln Steffens, referring to Congressmen, says:

> There is no bribery at Washington. Many men have told me that, and I do not expect to find any; not cash bribery. But cash bribery is crude and unnecessary; cash bribery is the least dangerous form of political corruption. Offices, promotion, committees, stock tips, business, campaign contributions, social position, dinners—these and such as these, are the higher, subtler, more respectable, and therefore the more really dangerous forms of our political corruption.

Corruption of this species is rampant in the Chicago Council; and the observant members of the Municipal Voters' League know it full well. But for this kind of corruption, which reaches out its tentacles into newspaper offices, lawyers' offices, pulpits and drawing-rooms, as well as into the Council chamber, the franchise grabbing corporations could not have made the progress they have made in the direction of defeating the popular will expressed overwhelmingly at the polls.

Yet this is a species of corruption against which the Municipal Voters' League is by its limitations powerless. There is no use in condemning its officers; the fault is in the narrowness of its function. It has no test of honesty much higher than the "business" test of maintaining a good reputation on the street and keeping out of jail. Consequently it has within a few days given a clean bill of civic health to aldermen who, by Lincoln Steffens's reasonable standard, are more dangerous grafters than the "gray wolf" pack.

This kind of good government club, no matter how useful it may have been in the past, is useful no longer. If its functions and possi-

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bilities are so limited that it cannot hunt out and expose the forms of corruption that Lincoln Steffens describes, then its functions and possibilities are too limited to warrant its further existence.. The type of alderman who ostentatiously wears asbestos gloves so as to be ready on call to steal red-hot stoves, no longer demands much attention. His heyday has passed. The Municipal Voters' League did much to rid us of him—more, perhaps, than any other agency; but it cannot thrive in the future by boasting of its past and imagining that the old battles with unmasked grafters are still to be fought. A new type of official grafter has the boards now, and the League, with all the boasting of its friends, has been under the unhappy necessity of not condemning individuals who are unmistakably of this type.

Perhaps it is a disturbing realization of this inherent weakness of their organization that has led some of the progressive members of the League to venture a step in the direction of organizing the good government movement in all cities, for a radical crusade—a crusade for city government along lines that would end the power not only of the "gray wolf" remnant, but also of the respectable money changers who desecrate our civic temples.

At any rate the League has brought together distinguished representatives of clubs from some fifteen cities, including New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Denver, Minneapolis and Chicago. The delegates met at Chicago on the 11th and 12th. After two days' consultation, they adopted unanimously a most excellent platform for progressive city work. Its text is given in our news columns. Enough to say here that it demands untrammeled local government in local affairs, and approves—though without particularizing—of the initiative, the referendum, and the recall, for the purpose of making local officers responsible to the people that elect them.

The most significant fact in connection with the gathering was the unanimity of the reports made by these conservative reformers from most leading cities, to the effect that official corruption in their respective cities is traceable to the public utility and other privileged corporations and financial interests. In this fact alone there is great encouragement for the future.. These conservatives have discovered the cause of bad government and are becoming radical. They are learning that bad government comes from above, not from below, and are going straight to the remedy. As Clinton Rogers Woodruff, one of the most conservative of them, expressed it, quoting the words and adopting the sentiment of Macaulay, "the cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy." This was the line of policy which the conference of these clubs laid out. They are looking to the people for good government. They are changing their mission from one of petty reform to one of militant democracy.

Let us not be misunderstood as to the petty reforms. They are petty only in their relation to others that are pressing upon us; petty only when they are held so close to the eye that greater ones are hidden from sight. The civil service system should be a merit system; public officers should be efficient and honest. But these things are secondary, not primary. They are consequences, not causes. Democracy comes first; honesty and efficiency in public office according to the degree of your democracy follow. If there were no other or better reason for democracy, the reason that is scientifically demonstrable would be enough, namely, that democracy is necessary in order that we may have good government. The least democratic country, Russia, is the worst governed; the most democratic country, England, is the best governed.

In this turning of the good government movement from its petty fetishes to democracy, we have another instance of the breaking away of democratic conservatives from plutocratic conservatives, of those who would conserve the interests of all from those who would conserve only their own or their class interests. On the other hand we may observe a correlative cleavage of democratic radicals, of the radicals who would radicalize in the interest of all from those who would radicalize for personal or class interests alone. In all this there is reason to hope for that natural union in the early future of what have been called the radical conservatives with the conservative radicals. This alone can give us a progressive movement capable of persisting and progressive policies worthy to endure.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

AUSTRALASIA.

Corowa, N. S. W., Australia, Dec. 1.—The New South Wales shires (local government) bill (p. 594) has not yet been finally dealt with, but it is almost certain to be passed within the next fortnight. It has been amended, in some respects for the better.

As for some time nothing had been heard of the trades marks bill with the union label clause (p. 487) in the Federal parliament, it was supposed it had been dropped. But in the beginning of November the Ministry suddenly brought it up and tried to push it through the House almost without debate. The Opposition "stonewalled" it; and the Ministry carried some very drastic closure motions. No doubt the bill will now be forced through.

There is great opposition to it all through the country. Whether it is constitutional is doubtful. Many authorities hold that the States could legalize the union label, but that the Commonwealth has no power to do so.

The question of the site of the Federal capital is still in dispute between the Federal and the New South Wales governments, and at present there seems no chance of a settlement being reached.

Reports from New Zealand state that the parliamentary campaign is being carried on very vigorously, but it is expected that Mr. Seddon will return to power with a reduced majority.

One of Seddon's proposals is a reduction of tariff duties in the direction of a free breakfast table, any deficiency in the revenue so caused to be made up by increasing the graduated land taxes.

Mr. Massey, the leader of the Opposition, advocates purer government, and allowing crown lessees to obtain the freehold of the land they occupy.

The liquor prohibitionist party is also very active. It ignores the ordinary party lines, and supports any candidate who is in favor of prohibition.

The New South Wales parliament is now debating a local option liquor bill. Children's courts have recently been established in New South Wales.

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Gen. Booth has been the unintentional cause of bringing Australia face to face with the overshadowing importance of the land question. A short time ago he offered to bring out 5,000 emigrants; but, although Australia is sparsely populated, no land could be found for them. Apropos of this astonishing condition. Max Hirsch's paper, the Reform, has explained:

The proposal of "General" Booth to send 5,000 emigrants to Australia is doing more than reams of printed argument or floods of political speeches to bring us face to face with the great fact of the land question. Our own people have been leaving us for years in search for land, but that did not move us; but when we get a definite offer of immigrants we are forced to confess the truth that there is no land available. The continent of Australia is still as big as ever, and our population is as small as it has been for many years, but somehow there is no land for immigrants—not even enough for ourselves. Our territory is as large as Germany, France, Austria, Spain and all the other countries of Europe combined, exclusive of Russia; it is about the size of the United States or Canada; but we find there is no room in it for more people. We did not believe our own people were being crowded out, but we can no longer deny it, when there is no land for those who would take their place. It is hard for us to admit that we have ourselves erected artificial barriers to keep people off the land—that the land is there but we have fenced the people off. Therefore, attempts will be made to blame the country, and we may be prepared to hear Australia slandered. More than half of our land is unoccupied owing to artificial restrictions, and it is easy to falsely charge that portion with being unfit for settlement; but how the occupied portion? It is larger than China, and 11 times as big as the United Kingdom. If fault is found with the leased portion of Australia, how about the purchased portion? We have shown our appreciation of 111,000,000 acres by acquiring the fee simple of it. This purchased territory is twice as large as Victoria, over one and a half times the size of New Zealand, and nearly one and a half times the size of the British Isles. To this extent we have demonstrated that the country is good. It is so good that we can live by owning it, and keeping the cultivator off. In all countries there is a tendency towards land monopoly, and that is generally recognized as an evil. In Australia there is added to this a second tendency, which constitutes a double evil. In other countries when a man acquires more land than he can cultivate he must employ labor to cultivate it for him; but in this country nature is so lavish in her gifts that she rewards the man who acquires more land than he can cultivate by relieving him from the need of cultivation at all. Land monopoly in the rest of the world turns the cultivator into a servant of the landlord, which is held to be undesirable; but under our winterless climate land monopoly turns the cultivator out on to the road, for the landlord has no use for him. Nature's lavishness does not confine her munificence to the large land-owner alone; but to every cultivator who can contrive to buy his neighbor's land, she says: "Well done! Leave the plough and take up the stock-whip. You need cultivate no more; your land will keep you without even employing a cultivator." In Victoria alone some 33,500,000 acres of land are under occupation, and of this area no less than 28,500,000 acres are held in holdings over 320 acres in extent; while only about 4,000,000 acres are under cultivation. Where nature in a special way encourages the grazier, all artificial arrangement ought to aim at helping the cultivator.

This extract may serve to explain some anomalies in connection with Australia—the strength of land monopoly in a large country with a very small population; overcrowded cities, low wages, unemployed men, and yet a high average production of wealth. The land is so fertile that little labor is required in grazing pursuits.

Although Australia exports metals largely, the net profit on them is small if the money spent on unproductive mines is taken into account. It is said that in Victoria, which exports a good deal of gold, the metal really costs more than it is worth.

Not knowing the drawbacks other countries have to contend with, Australians do not properly appreciate their own land. Our one trouble is uncertain rainfall, with occasional droughts, for which little or no provision is made. A great deal of the driest country could be irrigated from rivers or artesian supplies. An immense tract of artesian country runs from northeast Queensland across western New South Wales and southern South Australia. Artesian water has also been found in West Australia, but the extent has not been proved. The only real desert (sandy waste) is in interior West Australia, and is not so large as used to be thought.

We had seven poor seasons in succession, followed in 1902 by a drought. During this time, the worst known to white men, the losses of sheep and cattle were very great. Yet already, in only three years, the increase has been so rapid that the number of stock is now nearly as large as in the early '90's. The country will grow almost everything; and under the single tax, which would automatically limit ownership to occupation and use, it could support an immense population.

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, Jan. 18.

The British elections.

Confident as the Liberals have been of success at the general parliamentary elections (p. 673), and hopeless as the Conservatives have confessed themselves, no one had expected the tidal wave toward Liberalism which the earlier pollings have disclosed. The first test took place at the borough of Ipswich on the 12th, which has for 20 years been represented by at least one Conservative. At this election the Liberals won both seats by large majorities in an unusually heavy vote. Since then returns have poured in from different parts of the country, most of them of like tenor. The Conservative leader, and late prime minister, Arthur J. Balfour, was defeated at Manchester on the 13th by T. J. Horridge, the Liberal free trade candidate, and as yet no safe constituency has offered him a seat. Among the other Liberal successes of the 13th was the election of Winston Churchill by a majority of 1,241. Out of 76 contests on the 15th the Liberals and Labor candidates together secured 62 seats, and their majorities were overwhelming. Up to that time the Liberal gains had been 42, while the Conservative gains were but one. The aggregate Conservative majorities of 7,321 in five Manchester districts have been turned into Liberal majorities of 11,111, and the Liberal majority of 26 in the South district has been increased to 2,454. Campbell-Bannerman was elected without opposition. Out of 21 Conservative strongholds in London, the Conservatives saved only five. Herbert J. Gladstone, Augustine Birrell, James Bryce, Sir J. Lawson Walton and John Burns are members of the new ministry who, in addition to Campbell-Bannerman, have been elected. Burns increased his majority of 254 in 1900 to 1,600, and this in spite of Socialist opposition. The Labor candidates, cooperating with the Liberals, have been so successful that on the 15th they had more members of the new parliament than they had all told in the old one. On the 16th the Liberals did not lose a single seat in the 53 contests, but with their Labor colleagues they gained 25. The returns of the 17th showed the only bright spot for the Conservatives, and this was for the Chamberlain faction. Chamberlain and his Birmingham colleagues were elected. His own majority was 5,000; the majorities of his colleagues averaged 3,000. But as these seats had been practically uncontested at the previous election, Mr. Chamberlain

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merely saved perfectly safe seats. Elsewhere the Liberal success continued, the total gains on the 17th being 22 seats, the Conservative gains but 1. At Portsmouth, heretofore represented by 2 Conservative, 2 Liberals were elected. In London, of 23 seats voted for on the 17th the Liverals won 16, and of these 12 were gains. The total number elected up to and including the 17th was 321, distributed as follows: Liberal, 167; Conservative, 73; Irish Nationalist, 50; Labor, 30; Socialist, 1.

Election of President of France.

A caucus of the republicans of both houses of the French parliament on the 16th foreshadowed the result of the Presidential election (p. 674) on the 17th. To this caucus 717 members were invited, and 649 attended. Upon polling those present 416 voted for Fallieres, and 191 for Doumer; the scattering vote being 42. Senator Fallieres was thereupon declared the republican candidate, and was formally elected on the 17th by the National Assembly in the Congress Hall of the Palace of Versailles. Only one ballot was taken, the result being: Fallieres, 449; Doumer, 371; scattering 28. Armand Fallieres, now President of the Republic of France, was born at Mezin, Nov. 6, 1841. His grandfather was a blacksmith and his father a magistrate's clerk. He became a lawyer, and as early as 1876 was elected as a republican against a Bonapartist to the Chamber of Deputies. He soon distinguished himself as an orator of "the left," and was made a member of Ferry's cabinet. In Duclere's cabinet he was minister of the interior, and succeeded Duclere as premier. Elected to the Senate in 1891, 1897 and 1905, he has been president of that body since 1899.

The Moroccan conference.

An international conference involving large European interests, the result of long negotiations wherein an issue of war between France and Germany was at stake, and in which the United States has become involved through President Roosevelt's intervention, assembled at Algeciras, Spain, on the 16th, upon the call of the Sultan of Morocco, whose country is the bone of contention. The Duke of Almodovar was unanimously chosen to preside.

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Situated in the northwest of Africa, Morocco borders upon an interior wilderness over which France exercises dominion (vol. iii, p. 152). Its government is an absolute despotism, unrestricted by any laws, civil or religious, and the Sultan is the irresponsible chief of state and church. He has six ministers, but they are the mere executives of his will. Unsettled conditions in Morocco (vol. vi, p. 184) in 1903 and 1904 afforded opportunity to France to make aggressions. To these Great Britain objected, and on the 8th of April, 1904, in a treaty between the two countries settling this and other disputes (vol. vii,, pp. 24, 25), a mutual understanding was arrived at and interests relative to French aggression in Morocco and British aggression in Egypt were pooled. Great Britain having occupied Egypt for a quarter of a century, under pledges to withdraw when a stable Egyptian government should have been established there, and France being indisposed to look with satisfaction upon Great Britain's persistent neglect to redeem those pledges, the difficulty was settled by the treaty of 1904 (vol. vii, p. 25), from the terms of which it was to be inferred that France had agreed to assent to the British occupation of Egypt in consideration of Great Britain's acquiescence in the pressure France was bringing to bear upon Morocco. This part of the treaty of 1904, if undisturbed by other Powers, was calculated to create in time a condition giving practical control to France and Great Britain of the whole southern coast of the Mediterranean from the Atlantic to the Nile.

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Under cover of the clauses of the French-British treaty mentioned above, which bound Great Britain to recognize the right of France to assist the Sultan in administrative, economic, financial and military reforms in Morocco, France has ever since been gradually acquiring control over the Sultan's government. A year ago she had come into possession of the custom houses, and was preparing to dominate the army. It was this tendency on the part of France to do in Morocco what Great Britain has done in Egypt, establish her own rule there, that aroused the Emperor of Germany to the protest, accompanied with veiled threats, which has culminated in the present conference at Algeciras.

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The German Emperor's first step was to visit the Sultan at his capital, Tangier, late in March, 1905, when he declared his views in person to the Sultan's ministers. A trustworthy version of what he said, for which the London Times vouched in its issue of April 4, 1905, was as follows:

> The Emperor declared that he had come expressly to Tangier to assert that he would maintain the absolute equality of German economic and commercial rights, and that he would not allow any power to obtain preferential advantages. The Sultan, he said, was the free sovereign of a free country, and Germany would insist on always carrying on her affairs direct with him, and would never allow any power to act as an intermediary. The present was an unsuitable time to introduce reforms on European lines, and all reforms should be founded on Islamic laws and traditions. What Morocco required was only peace and quiet, and he would find means later on for making his opinion known on questions of detail. Finally, the Emperor declared that he had made these views quite clear in a conversation with the French charge d'affaires.

Commenting upon this declaration the Times said:

> Since the famous Kruger telegram no action of Emperor William has been of such a sensational character. His language is a flat denial of the special interests of France. Fortunately for the peace of the world the statesmanship of the French government and the temper of the French people alike are proof against a provocation so exaggerated that it palpably overshoots its mark.

Prior to this publication, upon learning its tenor, the French foreign minister, Delcasse, said in a newspaper interview at Paris, March 31, the day of the Emperor's visit to Tangier, that—

> France's Moroccan policy continues on the same conditions as it was begun. France does not pretend to base her interests on disregard for the interests of others. The Anglo-French treaty recognizes that it is France's task to assist in opening Morocco to civilization, and also that from the economic point of view all nations have an equal footing there. The Franco-Spanish agreement confirms these views. If France sought

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a pretext for intervention, one existed in the disturbed state of the Algerian frontier. The resistance of parties interested in maintaining the present anarchical condition of affairs leaves no room for illusion, but that will not modify our policy.

—

Within two weeks after his visit to Tangier the German Emperor had sent a note to the Powers proposing acceptance of an invitation from the Sultan of Morocco for an international conference. According to the text of this note as reported at the time from Paris —

Germany relies mainly on article 17 of the treaty of Madrid, signed July 3, 1880, which recites that Morocco recognizes the most favored nation treatment in the case of all the Powers represented at the conference. The German note holds that this gives the Powers equal rights to consider the affairs of Morocco. The French answer is as follows: "Article 17 refers to the preceding articles, which deal solely with the protection of the lives and property of foreigners residing in Morocco, but does not warrant the German claim that the Powers agreed to exercise equal political control of Morocco.

Before a reply to Germany's conference proposal had been made by France, Delcasse withdrew from the French ministry, Rouvier taking his place; and for weeks following, the German ambassador at Paris, Radolin, pressed Mr. Rouvier for a response but without result. It was reported by the Paris dispatches at the time that France was in an embarrassing dilemma. To refuse the conference would displease Germany, and to accept it would displease Great Britain. But on the 18th of June last dispatches from London reported that Great Britain had given France a free hand in the matter, and the dispatches of the next day from Paris were to the effect that an international conference was then assured. It was not until the 10th of July, however, that the agreement was published.

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This agreement consisted of three documents, all bearing the date of July 8. In the first Premier Rouvier for France wrote to Prince von Radolin, the German Ambassador at Paris, saying that—

the French government, through the discussions that had taken place between the representatives of both countries in Paris and Berlin, had reached the conviction that as the conference proposed by the Sultan of Morocco was directed toward no aim opposed to the interests of France in Morocco, nor to her defined rights, nor in opposition to her treaties or engagements, France gave her assent to the conference with these fundamental principles: The sovereignty and independence of the Sultan, the integrity of his kingdom, the usual economic freedom, the necessity for police and financial reforms, and their introduction for a short period on the basis of an international agreement, and the acknowledgment of the fact that France had special interests in having order rule in Morocco because of the long frontier between Algeria and Morocco and the resulting neighborly relations.

Prince von Radolin replied that his government authorized him to confirm his oral representations that the proposed conference would not be in opposition to French interests as outlined by Mr. Rouvier. The third document was a joint declaration by Rouvier and Radolin to the effect that the two governments had agreed to recall their legations at Tangier, and jointly advise the Sultan to prepare a programme to be laid before the international conference in accordance with the principles set forth in the letters exchanged between Rouvier and Radolin. More than two months elapsed, however, before the programme, prepared by representatives of Germany and France, was complete. Its completion was announced September 30, and Algeciras, Spain, was stated as the place and January 16 as the time of meeting for the international conference. Fourteen Powers are represented, with two delegates each, namely: Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Morocco and the United States.

The participation of the United States is supposed to rest upon the fact that this government is a party to the treaty of Madrid of 1880. It is in response to a request from the Sultan of Morocco, transmitted June 20 last to the American State Department, that the United States take part. The request was similar to that addressed to the other Powers. President Roosevelt is criticised for thus involving this country in European politics. A resolution was introduced in the Senate on the 8th by Senator Bacon of Georgia requesting of the President an explanation of the reasons why the United States participated, but Senator Lodge objected and a discussion in secret session resulted. Senator Bacon's resolution has not been passed; and Senator Lodge contends that no inquiry can be constitutionally made by the Senate into the President's course with reference to treaty negotiations and participation in international conferences until treaties are presented to the Senate for ratification.

Free trade in the United States Congress.

In the lower house of Congress on the 16th, the Philippine bill, which has been under discussion on the floor for several days, came to a vote and was passed. It now goes to the Senate. The bill was a Republican party measure, but with few exceptions was supported by the Democrats because it tends away from protection. It was opposed, however, by Republican "insurgents," influenced partly by a spirit of revolt against autocratic party management, and in part by considerations regarding the American sugar and tobacco interests. The former influence broke down, but the latter held together in opposition to the bill 56 Republicans and 14 Democrats. As finally amended, omitting unimportant changes, says Raymond, Washington correspondent of the Chicago Tribune—

the bill provides that all articles which are wholly the growth and product of the Philippine islands shall hereafter be admitted free into the United States, except sugar and tobacco, manufactured and unmanufactured, and rice, upon which there shall be levied only 25 per cent. of the Dingley tariff rates. It provides further that after April 11, 1909, there shall be absolute free trade each way between the United States and the Philippines.

The final vote was 258 to 71.

The Chicago traction situation.

When the advocates of franchise extension in the Chicago Council had their extension ordinances referred back to the local transportation committee for further negotiation with the companies (p. 672), it was supposed that

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the majority which has all along controlled that committee would revise the ordinances to meet the demands of conflicting interests, political and financial. But this was not done. When the committee met, the representatives of the Chicago City Railway company (the solvent system) refused to say in advance of action by the Council itself whether they would accept terms any different from those already expressed in the proposed ordinances. Asked if they would consider the requirement of a joint acceptance by all the companies, they replied in the negative; and in answer to further questions they said they would not negotiate regarding any of the proposed amendments. The committee then decided to report the ordinances back to the Council with suggestions for amendments, and this was done at the meeting of the Council on the 15th. The Council thereupon fixed the 18th for considering the subject in committee of the whole.

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At the Council meeting on the 15th, the leading advocates of franchise extension created a sensation with reference to a speech by Mayor Dunne at Denver. The circumstances are of general interest as part of the public utilities and referendum controversies. In his Denver speech on the 11th, Mayor Dunne had said, as reported in the Record-Herald of the 12th:

> And yet, the will of the people is still set at defiance by the tremendous influences that are behind these traction companies and other utility corporations. The companies which procured the passage of the infamous Allen and Humphrey bills by wholesale bribery and corruption are still exerting their malign influences against the carrying out of the will of the people. By influences known only to themselves they have succeeded in getting almost two-thirds of the City Council to vote in contempt and defiance of the public demand. The committee on local transportation, backed up by almost two-thirds of the City Council, has been engaged industriously for the last two or three months in framing ordinances extending the franchises of the present companies for the next 20 years.

Rising to a point of personal privilege in the Council on the 15th, Alderman Foreman, a leading franchise-extension advocate, asked Mayor Dunne, who was presiding, if this quotation was a correct report of what he had said. The Mayor promptly replied in the affirmative. Alderman Foreman then asked for proof. The Mayor replied that—

> on two occasions the people have voted for municipal ownership against franchise extension, and that the traction companies have succeeded by influences known to themselves, proper or improper as the case may be, in getting a Council majority to vote against the will of the people.

Violent verbal attacks upon the Mayor were made from the floor, and Alderman Bennett, whose name is usually associated with Foreman's, offered this resolution:

> Resolved, That it is the sense of this Council that until the Mayor retracts the statements casting aspersions on the members of this Council he refrain from presiding over the deliberations of this body.

The resolution was finally disposed of by a reference to committee, the vote being 48 to 14 and the principal implicated aldermen voting in the negative. The last speech on the resolution was impressive as an answer to the usual arguments of franchise advocates and lucid as an explanation of the present situation in Chicago. It was made by Alderman Dever, and as reported by the Record-Herald was as follows:

> "I don't know what influence it is that controls two-thirds of the Council," he said, facing Aldermen Bennett and Foreman, "but it is a fact that no one disputes that that proportion is disregarding the will of the people. No one disputes that. Let us put it fairly. Two-thirds have shown a belief in the extension of the franchises, notwithstanding the fact that the people by a vote of two to one instructed them not to do that. No one disputes that."
>
> "Yes, I will," shouted Alderman Bennett from his chair. "Not one-half the people voted on that proposition."
>
> "I'll say that not one-half of the people vote on any proposition submitted to them at the polls," Alderman Dever shouted back. "Some of our ablest aldermen did not receive one-half the votes of their constituents. There is nothing in that argument. They know, and the people know, that the people have voted on franchise extensions. If Alderman Bennett says the people did not vote on that proposition, then that argument holds good against nine-tenths of us who sit in this chamber. For four years hypocritical resolutions and evasive tactics have precluded a settlement. We've either been afraid to get at the work or other influences have been performing. Something seems to have irritated these supersensitive gentlemen—"
>
> "Do you think we're supersensitive?" asked Alderman Bennett with a laugh.
>
> "Yes," answered Alderman Dever. "Now, I will take no part in impugning the motives of any alderman. I've never spoken on this subject unless I've been drawn out by some such tactics as these. You've been sitting around like a lot of sisters in the Salvation Army. I'll tell you what hurts these gentlemen's feelings. They have been working on the traction ordinances honestly and patiently to get an ordinance they thought would find favor with all the forces lined up against municipal ownership. They thought it would be a campaign issue. They are disappointed at the disclosure that half the interests they thought would support them against municipal ownership have left them in the wilderness. That's what hurts their feelings. The Mayor spoke the truth when he said that the malign influence of the street car companies has been exerted for forty years against the interests of the city. Isn't a mayor sane when he says that they are still exerting their malign influence?"

National conference of good government clubs.

At the City Club, Chicago, on the 11th and 12th a conference of good municipal government clubs (pp. 564, 673) was held under a call of the Municipal Voters' League of Chicago in cooperation with the City Club. The object of the conference was to consider—

> the extent to which municipal elections should be separated from national party politics and the control of national political parties, and the best means by which such separation as may be deemed advisable can be brought about.

Among the cities represented were Grand Rapids (Mich.), Cincinnati, Minneapolis, Kansas City (Mo.), Denver, Pittsburg, Baltimore, Buffalo, Indianapolis, Milwaukee, Chicago, Detroit, New York, Louisville and Philadelphia. There was also a representation from the Yale City Government club of Yale University. After reports of local conditions in all cities represented, the conference adopted the following national platform unanimously:

> Whereas, the vast growth of American cities has brought with it a series of problems peculiar to congested population, and most of which have no possible connection with the general policies of the nation; and,

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Whereas, These problems — moral, social and economic—can only be solved by the intelligent, unhampered, direct attention of the communities interested; and,

Whereas, Prior to the accomplishment of the great tasks set before the cities there is need that all unnecessary obstacles be removed and all steps be taken that may lead to simplification of elections;

Now, therefore, we, the delegates representing militant nonpartisan organizations working for the improvement of city government in America by practical participation in municipal politics, assembled in conference at Chicago, January 11 and 12, 1906, in the name of the United Cities of America, declare the following:

We hold that the lines of cleavage in municipal politics have no relation to the lines of cleavage in national politics.

We hold that the intrusion of national politics in municipal government brings with it issues absolutely foreign to the proper functions and reasonable aspirations of the national parties, and others which are alien to the interests of the municipalities, thereby tending to degrade the national parties and seriously injure city government.

We further hold that more efficient means should be provided whereby the will of the majority of the people deliberately formulated and expressed should control municipal policies.

We further hold that there is urgent need of fixing direct responsibility of municipal officials to the people and of reducing to the lowest practicable number the city offices to be filled by election.

We further hold that the merit system of appointment has demonstrated, wherever honestly applied, that it tends to result in the selection and retention in office of a higher grade of men than are obtained by other means; that it opens the public service as an honorable career, free from the distractions of politics, and that it tends to relieve the citizens from the possibility of tyranny by office holders.

Holding the propositions advanced to be self-evident in theory and amply demonstrated in practice, we, therefore, now urge in the interest of better municipal conditions:

1. That cities should be granted the largest possible measure of home rule, subject only to such general statutory safeguards and restrictions as may be necessary to protect the general interests of the state as distinguished from the local interests of the municipality.

2. That the party column on the ballot should be abolished; that the names of candidates for a single office should be printed on the ballot under the designation of that office, and that it should be made impossible to vote a straight party ticket by a single mark or cross.

3. That municipal nominations and elections should be completely separated from State and national nominations and elections, and should occur at different times. And that nominations for all municipal offices be made by petition or by an efficient method of direct primaries.

4. That the number of elective municipal officers should be reduced as far as practicable, always preserving the right to elect members of the municipal legislative body or city council.

5. That the merit principle should be applied to all departments of city administration under practical and efficient civil service laws.

In conclusion, this conference, realizing the vital importance of the successful solution of the municipal problems now confronting us, earnestly hopes that consideration and discussion of them may continue, and to that end urges the formation of more organizations devoted to local issues which shall cooperate in all practical ways to secure the enactment of laws embodying the principles outlined.

The following resolution, proposed by William Kent, was also adopted unanimously:

Resolved, That this conference do, and it hereby does, heartily indorse the proposal of the Yale City Government Club to encourage the establishment of similar clubs in other colleges and universities, to the end that knowledge of and interest in municipal civics may be increased by such action.

Power to call another conference in its discretion was vested in a committee of five to be appointed by the chairman of the conference, Mr. Charles R. Crane.

A municipal ownership inquiry.

Measures have been taken by the National Civic Federation for an inquiry into the comparative merits of public and private ownership of municipal utilities, a commission of some of its members having been appointed for that purpose by the Federation. This commission met at New York on the 10th to make preliminary arrangements. Those present were Melville E. Ingalls, chairman, Cincinnati; Talcott Williams, Philadelphia; Walton Clark, Philadelphia; Edward W. Bemis, Cleveland; Professor John H. Gray, Northwestern University; Professor John R. Commons, University of Wisconsin; Professor Leo S. Rowe, University of Pennsylvania, and F. J. McNulty, president International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Washington. It was decided by the commission to investigate plants in Chicago and other cities as follows:

Duluth, Wheeling, Richmond, Va., Danville, Va., Norwich, Conn., Atlanta, Norfolk, Petersburg, Va., Philadelphia, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Cleveland, Kansas City, Syracuse, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, New Haven, San Francisco, Detroit, Jacksonville, Allegheny, Nashville, S. Norwalk, Conn., Newark, Buffalo, Pittsburg, Toronto and Fort Wayne.

Democratic rejuvenation in New Jersey.

Following the upheaval in the Republican politics of New Jersey at the election last Fall (pp. 425, 490, 579), the democratic Democrats have begun to organize against the dominance of public utility corporations in their party. The first pronounced expression of this tendency was at Elizabeth on the 8th, when John Moody was unanimously elected chairman of the Union county committee of the Democratic party under significant circumstances. Their nature may be inferred from this extract from Mr. Moody's speech of acceptance, reported by the Elizabeth Evening Times:

While I am deeply impressed at this display of personal confidence shown by my election, I rejoice more because it indicates such a strong endorsement of the views recently expounded by myself and others in reference to our present State committee, and of the plans which are now being formed for the revival of a true Democratic programme in this State. Our committee indeed deserves praise for being the first organization of the kind to step to the open and denounce the outrageous mismanagement and treachery of the State organization during the past few years. The deplorable conditions in all parts of the State are primarily due, as we all know, to the work of this small group of grafters who have sold us out, in one way or another, for many years past, and whose only vital interest in politics has been to be the receivers of corporate pap in exchange for favors received and to come. As many of you know, true democracy is beginning to awaken all over the State. During the past few weeks I have heard from and seen a large number of men from all parts of New Jersey, and I am able to state to you here tonight that a programme, vital, aggressive, independent and thoroughly democratic will shortly be announced which will, I believe, have far-reach-

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ing consequences, and should do much toward inspiring us all with the belief that a day of true, not false, democratic success is at hand. It is, in a way, fitting that our county committee should be the first to step to the front in this new movement. Already we have declared for true democratic doctrine where others have doubted or held back. Our last county convention declared definitely for direct legislation, the referendum, municipal ownership, equal taxation and election of United States senators by the people, and, of course, we feel that any positive programme for State reorganization must involve, not only a repudiation of the methods and personality of the old State gang, but also a continuous and definite endorsement of fundamental principles such as these.

Mr. Moody is reported as having further stated that he "put regularity to principle ahead of regularity to a machine;" that if he had lived in Jersey City last year he would have demonstrated his democracy by voting for Fagan, the Republican candidate for mayor; and that if he had lived in Essex he would have done it by voting for Colby, the Republican candidate for State senator.

NEWS NOTES

—The revolution in Ecuador (p. 674) was reported on the 12th as at an end.

—An extraordinary session of the Pennsylvania legislature convened at Harrisburg on the 15th.

—Marshall Field, the distinguished merchant and landowner of Chicago, died at New York on the 16th.

—A bench and bar memorial meeting in honor of the late Judge Tuley (p. 659) was held at Chicago on the 13th.

—The 17th annual convention of the United Mine Workers of America met at Indianapolis on the 15th, John Mitchell presiding.

—The 38th annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association has been called for February 7th to 13th at Baltimore.

—Henry Pratt Judson, dean of the faculty of the University of Chicago, has been appointed acting president in place of the late Dr. Harper (p. 674).

—At the Republican primaries in Pittsburg on the 14th (p. 658) Alexander Jenkinson was nominated for mayor over Wm. A. Magee. Charges of wholesale frauds are made against the Jenkinson faction.

—A resolution introduced in the New York Senate by Senator Brackett demanding that Chauncey M. Depew resign his seat in the United States Senate, was defeated on the 16th by a vote of 34 to 1.

—On the 16th the Chicago charter convention (p. 616), which had adopted rules of procedure on the 4th, met to receive from the president, Judge Carter, his announcement of committee assignments. At the conclusion of this business and after the submission of a charter proposed by the Socialist party and its reference to committee, the convention adjourned subject to the call of the president.

—The monthly statement of the United States treasury department (see p. 632) for December, 1905, shows the following for six months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1906:

Gold reserve fund	$150,000,000.00
Available cash	139,780,373.46
Total	$289,780,373.46
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1905	292,490,322.87
Decrease	$2,709,949.41

—The statistics of exports and imports for the United States (p. 632) for the six months ending December 31, 1905, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for December were as follows (M standing for merchandise, G for gold and S for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M	$885,799,651	$598,114,976	$287,684,675 exp.
G	6,953,136	33,671,417	26,718,281 imp.
S	32,424,922	20,076,603	12,348,319 exp.
	$925,177,709	$651,862,996	$273,314,713 exp.

—The monthly treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government (see p. 632) for December, 1905, shows the following for the six months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1906:

Receipts:		
Tariff	$149,868,680.93	
Internal revenue	128,567,976.65	
Miscellaneous	18,422,091.51	
		$296,858,149.09
Expenses:		
Civil and Misc.	$64,805,423.92	
War	50,996,578.50	
Navy	59,346,771.56	
Indians	6,770,429.02	
Pensions	72,464,671.24	
Public works	34,457,738.12	
Interest	15,260,222.69	
		304,101,835.05
Deficit		$7,243,085.96

PRESS OPINIONS

THE MOROCCAN CONFERENCE.

The Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Jan. 10.—The United States has no interests in Morocco. It has no quarrel with either Germany or France. Yet the Roosevelt administration has gone out of its way to have a finger in the pie. It is a part of the "world power" programme, which requires that the United States shall attend to everyone's business but its own. . . . The President has authority to appoint delegates, but in mixing in quarrels that are not our own he has departed from the traditional policy of the government to mind its own business. He has the power, but in exercising it he has shown poor judgment and entered upon a course that is calculated to entangle the United States in the controversies and quarrels of Europe from which we should hold aloof.

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep), Jan. 18.—The summary of the instructions given to our representatives at the Algeciras conference, which Secretary Root has published, should reassure the critics of the administration. The United States participates in the conference as one of the signatory Powers of the treaties of 1836 and 1880 in relation to Morocco, and because it has commercial interests and opportunities in the Moorish kingdom. . . . In other words, we are not at Algeciras either to help France or to further the designs of Germany, or to take a hand in deciding European matters. We are there to protect our own present and prospective interests. Our only test in the settlement of any pending question is, Will it safeguard the open door? And since both France and Germany unreservedly accept that principle, our position is not calculated to offend either of them. Of course, delicate differences may arise in the course of the discussion, and the application of the apparently harmless test may prove difficult. The state department, aware of this, has instructed our representatives to consult it by cable in regard to any vote or other action they might wish to give or take.

Springfield, Republican (Ind.), Jan. 12 (weekly ed.).—It was months ago, before even the President had determined to send delegates to Algeciras, that we began to question the wisdom of having this country participate in the Moroccan conference. To question it was legitimate, notwithstanding that the United States, as a signatory to the wholly innocent Madrid convention of 1880, had been invited to the conference. There was every indication, from the day of the Kaiser's visit to Tangier, soon after the battle of Mukden, that this conference would be almost exclusively concerned with an issue of political significance to Europe alone, based upon the rivalry between France and Germany. Beneath the question of political predominance in Morocco, which France had attempted to secure for herself in the agreement with England in 1904, under cover of Delcasse's phrase of "peaceful penetration," there lay the much greater question of the political equilibrium, or the balance of power, in Europe after the defeat of Russia by Japan and the culminating domestic troubles in the Czar's domain. Every observer of European international politics knows that the equilibrium of Europe has been to some extent upset by the great weakening of the power of the Franco-Russian military alliance; and when we supplement this fact with the historical observation that in the past an upset political equilibrium in Europe has generally been restored by wars the larger significance of the Morocco conference begins to be clearly visible. . . . Waving aside small points of contention, there is too much evidence as to the real character of this conference to permit the slightest doubt that, in entering it, the United States concerns itself with questions that have to do primarily with the political and territorial rivalries in the Mediterranean basin of France and Germany and, in the larger view, with the European balance of power. . . . Senator Bacon's resolution offered in the Senate this week, calling for information, has been suppressed, and the debate upon it was immediately hurried into secret session. Such a course only whets one's curiosity, and invites further speculation on the general question of American participation in the conference at Algeciras.

The Manchester Guardian (Lib.), Dec. 15.—The German diplomacy by its roughness has lost some claim to the gratitude of neutrals which it might otherwise have had; and France, by descending from the high

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horse, has picked up some of the gratitude dropped by Germany. Both Powers now stand exactly on the same level, and France is as willing to acknowledge as Germany to assert the rights and interests of neutral Jowers in Morocco. Things could not have turned out better. Morocco was in some danger of being a French affair only; it was, later, in danger of becoming a nasty affair between France and Germany; and in either case British interests might have suffered seriously. It has now been made the exclusive interest of neither but the common interest of all. This country, with its great commercial stake in Morocco, will enter on the Algeciras Conference with full liberty to protect the commercial interests which were to some extent endangered by the Anglo-French agreement. . . . The Algeciras conference, with such a history behind it, may perhaps signal the entry of a new principle into European politics. Germany interfered on the ground that no Power or combination of Powers has a right to make arrangements that affect the interests of others without first obtaining their consent. Her own interest in Morocco was small and purely commercial, but its smallness serves to strengthen the importance of the principle involved. If the conference enforces it in Morocco, as it is almost certain to do, we shall have obtained a valuable precedent which will rob the numerous sick-beds all over the world of their terrors. For if it becomes a generally acepted axiom that political preponderance in or annexation of any nominally independent country does not abrogate the rights of other Powers, however small, two most wholesome results are pretty sure to follow. First, there is likely to be less eagerness to annex; and, secondly, there will be no such thing as the loss of a "neutral market." The policy of protection and the policy of annexation will cease to be natural allies. The cause of free trade will be stronger than ever, and we shall be in a more favorable position for beginning those economies in military and naval expenditure which, everyone agrees, are necessary.

THE PHILIPPINE TARIFF BILL.

The Nation (ind.), Jan. 11.—From the debate on the Philippine tariff bill it is easy to see why Speaker Cannon and the standpatters so dread having the tariff question "opened." Every time it is opened, such disagreeable facts pop out! On Friday the House had some of them in full sight—the surrender of the Republican party to the Sugar Trust in the matter of the differential, its dread of allowing a fair vote on the abolition of that unnecessary and opprpessive duty, the alleged bargain between the Speaker and the President to sacrifice tariff reduction for the sake of railway-rate legislation—all the long record of selfishness and inconsistency. Whenever the Democrats are given a chance, they press home these truths. The Republican complaint is that they do not accept the Philippine bill without a word. It is a measure of tariff reduction, isn't it? Certainly; and we presume the Democrats will vote for it. But it is their duty to try to amend it in order to give relief to tariff-ridden Americans as well as Filipinos. If they succeed, with the aid of some Republicans, in making the measure so just and beneficial that the Republican party managers dare not let it pass, the country will be in no doubt where to place the responsibility.

REPUBLICAN SPOILSMEN IN OHIO.

The Cleveland Plain Dealer (ind.), Jan. 12.—The House is Republican by a small majority and the Senate Democratic. Under those conditions it was expected that partisanism would not be offensively displayed on either side. . . . The announcement of the House committees disappointed such expectations. To the amazement and indignation of fair-minded people, Republicans as well as Democrats, not a single chairmanship of a committee was given to a Democrat. That was an evidence of the rankest partisanism, but not the full measure of the offense of the Republican Bourbons who used Speaker Thompson as their tool. The representatives from Cuyahoga and Hamilton counties were not elected as partisans or by partisan votes. Democrats and Republicans united in sending them to Columbus as a protest against partisan legislative mistreatment of the great municipalities in those counties, and in the expectation that they would be a powerful influence toward securing municipal reforms at the hands of the present legislature. Speaker Thompson, apparently acting for those interested in obstructing such reforms, practically ignored those representatives in making up the committees having in charge the questions in which their constituencies were most vitally interested. Out of the 13 members of the committee on cities that will have to consider proposed changes in the municipal code, the great cities of Cleveland and Cincinnati jointly have but a single representative. On the committee on fees and salaries not a single representative from Cuyahoga or Hamilton county appears, and yet it is in these two counties the fee abuse is most flagrant and the demand for its abatement most insistent. In the 11 members of that committee there are but three Democrats, and two of the three have been objected to as not assuredly sound on the salary question. . . . In refreshing contrast with the hidebound partisanism of the Republican leaders in the House is the liberalism of the Democratic majority in the Senate. As against the absolute ignoring of the Democrats in appointing the chairmanships of the House committees, 14 chairmanships in the committees of the Democratic Senate were given to Republicans. A spirit of fairness was evident in apportioning the memberships of the important committees between the parties and the reform element in both parties was given full consideration in the Democratic Senate, while it was conspicuously snubbed in the Republican House. It is evident the Republican politicians who brought their party into disrepute and actual disgrace have not reformed and do not believe in reform for the State or municipalities. They think the storm of last November a mere passing squall that will blow over before another election comes around, and that the turn of the partisan spoilsman and grafter will come again when the independent voter has been lulled into false security. But the people are not fools or blind.

GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY'S RADICAL LETTER.

The Auburn (N. Y.) Citizen (ind. Dem.), Jan. 10.—Mr. Peabody as a New York banker (he is a member of the firm of Spencer, Trask & Company), and as one of the Indianapolis Gold Democrats, would naturally be ranked among those we have called liberals. His letter, therefore, is all the more noteworthy. It shows how far some of the conservatives are ready to go toward the radical camp; and outlines a policy upon which it may be possible to unite the party. . . . If the Democratic party is not prepared to grapplpe effectively with the great demand for reforms in our social and political life, much of its most valuable support will desert it for a more radical standard; and the party's usefulness will be over. Therein lies the mistake of the reactionary control of the party; and therein lies the importance also of Mr. Peabody's letter. It shows that there are Democrats of character, of ability, and of true conservative instincts, who are alive to the dangers in the situation and are ready to meet them, not by ignoring their existence until too late, but by recognizing the truth and the plain facts of the case. . . . If the Democrats are to become once more an effective political party, it can only be by a union of those we have called the Radicals and the Liberals. The Opportunists will follow; and the Reactionaries must be allowed to go. Or, as Mayor Tom L. Johnson, of Cleveland, happily expresses it, there must be a union of the conservative Radicals with the radical Conservatives.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

IN THE OPEN.

I have thrown the throttle open and am
tearing down His track;
I have thrown it out to full-speed and no
hand can hold me back!
'Tis my arm controls the engine, though
Another owns the rail,
But for once I'm in the open and the yard-
lights pass and pale!

Green lights! Red lights! He has hung
His signals out!
Caution here! Danger ho! And what's
the man about!
'Tis true he owns the Engine, to do as he
has done,
But how about the Final Word—when he
ends the run?

So from siding on to junction-point now I
shall have my day;
I have stopped to read no orders but I take
the right-of-way.
Down the open grade I thunder and around
the curve I swing,
For my hand is on the throttle and my heart
shall have its fling!

Light lost! Life lost! Flag, O flag the
others back!
Switch the wreck! Ditch the wreck!
Dare any block His track?
There creeps into the Terminal the man
who had his day,
But I wonder, O my soul, just what his
God will say!

—Arthur Stringer, in McClure's.

THE GRADATIONS OF THEFT.

Stealing a million—genius.
Stealing $500,000—sagacity.
Stealing $100,000—shrewdness.
Stealing $50,000—misfortune.
Stealing $25,000—irregularity.
Stealing $10,000—misappropriation.
Stealing $5,000—speculation.
Stealing $2,500—embezzlement.
Stealing $1,250—swindling.
Stealing $100—larceny.
Stealing $10—theft.
Stealing a ham—war on society.—Peoria Star.

A FOOL ANGEL.

Whenever Sis Tempy arose to speak in the Hamburg Methodist church every one present gave instant heed because experience had taught the members that they were bound to hear something un-

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usual whenever Sis Tempy felt disposed to testify.

One night the subject of the meeting was: "The First Hour in Heaven." Aunt Hannah Duncan had just testified that if she was "able ter hol' out an' hol' on an' git inter de kingdom," she would be so overwhelmed with the thought of God's goodness that she would "jes' set down inside de gate fer de fus' hour an' cry" for the very joy of being saved.

Up jumped Sis Tempy. A hush fell on the audience. "Bruddahs an' Sistahs," she said, "Sis Hannah's wrong! Who evah hyeahed uv any cryin' in glory? Nobody—nobody—less'n 'twuz Sis Hannah! Soon's I enter de gate I gwine hitch on my wings an' I gwine try de air! I gwine fly f'um glory ter glory! Zip-zip, zip-zip, zip-zip, I gwine fly up an' down ev'y street. Den I'll circle 'roun' de th'one same ez a eagle; an' den I gwine set down by de 'postles an' de fo' an' twenty eldahs! An' I gwine hyeah 'em a-sayin': 'Gee! whar dis fool angel come f'um! "—S. X. Floyd, in Colored American Magazine, of New York.

GOV. ALTGELD'S OPTIMISM.

Peroration of a speech delivered in Chicago by John P. Altgeld in 1900.

But, says one, is there any use in our making an effort? Are not all the banks of this country, all of the trusts and great corporations of this country, is not the fashion of this country, are not the drawing rooms and the clubs of this country now controlled by concentrated and corrupt wealth? Are they not growing stronger every year, and do they not vilify and attempt to corrupt everybody that does not submit? Can anything be accomplished in the way of curbing this great force and protecting the American people?

My friends, let me cite you a parallel. George W. Curtis and other writers of his day, have described the slave power back in the '50's. They tell us that slavery sat in the White House and made laws in the capitol, that courts of justice were its ministers; that senators and legislators were its lackeys; that it controlled the professor in his lecture room, the editor in his sanctum, the preacher in his pulpit; that it swaggered in the drawing room; that it ruled at the clubs; that it dominated with iron hand all the affairs of society; that every year enlarged its power, every move increased its dominion; that the men and the women who dared even to question the divinity of that institution were ostracized, were persecuted, were vilified—aye, were hanged.

But the great clock in the chamber of the Omnipotent never stands still. It ticked away the years as it had once ticked away the centuries. Finally it struck the hour, and the world heard the tread of a million armed men, and slavery vanished from America forever. Note the parallel. To-day the syndicate rules at the White House and makes laws in the capitol, courts of justice are its ministers, senators and legislators are its lackeys. It controls the preacher in his pulpit, the professor in his lecture room, the editor in his sanctum; it swaggers in the drawing room, it rules at the clubs, it dominates with a rod of iron the affairs of society. Every year enlarges its power, and the men and women who protest against crimes that are committed by organized greed in this country—who talk of protecting the American people, are ostracized, are vilified, are hounded and imprisoned. It seems madness even to question the divinity of the American syndicate. But, my friends, that great clock is still ticking—is still ticking. Soon it will strke the hour, and the world will see, not one million, but ten million free men rise up armed, not with muskets, but with freemen's ballots, and the sway of the syndicate will vanish from America forever.—From Speech Delivered in 1900.

CINCINNATI'S ANTI-SLAVERY CHURCH.

Abstract of a sermon preached by Herbert S. Bigelow in the Vine Street Congregational Church of Cincinnati, Ohio, December 31, 1905.

The Vine Street Congregational church, with which the first ten years of my professional life have been spent and of which I am still pastor, was organized in 1831 as an anti-slavery congregation.

Until ten years ago this church was not unlike other Cincinnati churches except that it was especially venerated by those who knew its past because of its courageous leadership in the anti-slavery cause.

In the last ten years this church has experienced a revolution. It has come to take an extreme interest in what it believes to be another anti-slavery movement, and this interest has overshadowed the doctrinal and theological tenets and interests which were shared by its founders three-quarters of a century ago.

There are one million, seven hundred thousand of the nation's children under school age, wearing their little lives away in the mines and factories. This, too, is slavery. This church says in effect to those seeking membership: "We do not ask you what peculiar view you hold about God, or what you think of the nature of Jesus. What do you think of these little children? Do you pity them? Will you help to free them? This is the test of true religion to-day."

The message of this church to the world is: "The vice, the crime, the misery for which poverty is responsible—these are the penalties men suffer for the violation of God's laws. Our first duty is to give men hope and opportunity. This is a social problem. It is an economic problem. It is not directly reached by the gospel of individual salvation which the church preaches. It comes of ignorance of economic forces, social laws which inhere in the nature of things and which we disregard to our cost. Cruel slavery yet remains. Does your heart rebel against it? Would you know the cause of it? Would you gladly do something to stop it? Then come with us. Theological differences are insignificant. Let us strive to learn to do justice here, not only individually but socially also, assured that the love of our fellowman and the genuine desire to mitigate his misery is the only test the Christian church can make without departing from the spirit of its founder.

Those whose minds have not awakened to the hatefulness of our social conditions; those who do not see that the poverty of to-day, like the plagues of former times, is due to ignorance; those who have not conceived the freedom and happiness that would certainly result from the social recognition of the great law which Henry George, the Newton of political science, pointed out to the world—it is inevitable that such people should misunderstand the attitude of this church and that some even should regard with bitterness what they look upon as a misuse of a church with a splendid past and a generous endowment. That is one point of view which I can understand if not approve.

The other point of view is expressed in a recent letter from a prominent and respected citizen of Cincinnati, who is not a member of the church.

The following excerpt is of interest because in its appreciation it links

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the old with the new and has respect for both:

"I beg you will take it in good part if I say a word about the old Vine Street church. I have known it for more than sixty years. I frequented it some in my boyhood. I venerate it and wish to endorse and encourage it and yourself. I have heard Rev. Mr. Boynton pray in its pulpit, I dare say, a half a hundred times, and never that he did not entreat—'O that the shores of Ethiopia may be lifted up!' It was indeed the 'cradle of liberty' in the West, the 'Faneuil Hall' of the Queen City. It is perhaps more so now than ever before. If I understand its theology now, a man may be received, whatever are his intellectual convictions, provided he live the good life. That is the church for me. I venture to prophesy that it is the faith and the church of the future."

WOMEN'S RIGHTS, OR WOMEN'S WILES—WHICH?

The tenth annual report of the "New York State Association Opposed to the Extension of the Suffrage to Women" is sent to us, with a list of a "standing committee," comprising 88 names. These are women who don't want to vote. Their reasons are not stated, except that it is said that women generally don't want to vote, and that "everyone knows that the influence women can exert for good is immeasurably beyond the boundaries of any power which the use of the ballot might confer." Well, this is rather flat. Suppose men did not vote, or only a few privileged classes of men voted, and suppose that men didn't really want to vote, being satisfied with these privileged classes, and suppose that those outside these classes were happier in their "influence," wheedling concessions, appealing to courtesy, accepting gentlefolks' alms—would that be argument against endowing all men with the power to express their own opinions and emphasize them by the ballot? Would that state of content with subjection show that men in general ought not to vote? Would all the protests of slavish tradition in any degree affect the rights of those men who really did desire to vote? This is the history of suffrage, the history of the constantly increasing, but by no means universal, demand for equal suffrage. Did the subjects, serfs, feudatories—whatever they were called—of the great age of the barons of Europe ever think of voting? Did they not come by slow degrees to be "the people"—and what work they made finally of the question of privilege, the droit de seigneur, the jus primae noctis, and all the rest of that evil legacy of the slavery of both man and woman?

If in the French Revolution there had been such an association as this, and it could have had any influence at all, would not Europe still be dead in the subservience of man and the dishonor of woman? If there is one thing to be thankful for in the history of the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteeth century it is first that America declared for the equality of man and next that France destroyed the prestige of titles and abolished the degradation of woman. For that also was a result of the blessing of the French Revolution though it did not at first appear, and though there was so much of chaotic simmer and despotic suppression to follow. Despite all that was in the way, European women began a new life in 1793, and whereas there were before salons where aristocrats or plebeians alike ruled over men through feminine wiles, and feminine complaisance with the passions of their adorers, there began to be women who were thinkers and patriots and stirred men's blood. No, these women did not vote—and would the opponents of suffrage for the sex like to recall the days before them, and resume the types of woman represented by the mistresses of kings and the charmers of philosophers? Were the days of Louis le Bien Aime so much better then? The advance was not immediate—no change is that; a sudden stunning break there is, like the guillotining of such victims of the past as the lockmaker king and poor Marie Antoinette, as the noble creature Charlotte Corday and Madame Roland. But though progress is slow, it is launched in such storms.

Fortunate was America that it had a gentler genesis; and over to "the American shore" swept the ideas that had so little fruition in Europe. The first apostles of woman's rights here had the way prepared for them by the circumstances of our Revolution; Abigail Adams, a statesman in mind, was the prototype of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Julia Ward Howe, Lucy Stone, and those other great women who make faint the signatories of the antisuffrage protests.

The protest is astonishingly disingenuous. It points to laws enlarging women's rights in law—and without a solitary recognition of the work done by Mrs. Stanton and others with her of the early advocates of justice to women in the way of inheritance; of the rights of a mother in her own children; of a woman's equal right to hold and enjoy and convey property, to sue and be sued; of the entrance to professions and businesses. "The door has been opened wider for women"—but who opened it? Is it not strange that this work should have been done by the women who demanded suffrage as well as rights? and doubly strange that the fact that it was done without the power of the ballot is now used as an argument against giving that power? Rationally, it is an argument for enlarging the franchise to include these so capable women, who used the high male prerogative of reason.

But besides the reason of it, there is the duty of it. Women should vote for the good of the state, just as men ought to vote, but do not, just because they are wheedled and coaxed, and deceived into helping other men with schemes and devices of their own interests. And if the same shall happen when women vote, now—the argument from that is against all voting, against all expression of opinion, and leads a vast reaction toward autocracy. This cannot be. It cannot be too often repeated that the cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy. All humanity not only deserves the fullest expression through every instrumentality that has been devised, but also no part of humanity, and assuredly not its finest and best part, can rightly shirk the duty of claiming that expression.—Springfield Republican (weekly edition) Jan. 12, 1906.

THE RUSSIAN CRIME AGAINST THE JEW.

Portions of the speech of the Hon. William Sulzer, of New York, in the lower House of Congress, December 18, 1905, when speaking to the following preamble and resolution introduced by Mr. Sulzer on December 11:

Whereas the people of the United States, animated by the sympathy of a common humanity, view with deep sorrow, heartfelt commiseration, and poignant regret the deplorable condition of the people in Russia, and especially condemn and exceedingly deplore the cruel outrages, the unspeakable brutalities, and the unwarranted and wholesale assassinations of Russia's citizens; and

Whereas it is solemnly alleged, and there is widespread and prevalent feeling throughout the world that it is true, that these terrible crimes, these brutal atroc-

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ities, and these willful murders of the Jews in Russia are connived at by the Russian government, and have been incited by the Russian ruling classes, and are instigated directly or indirectly by high officials in Russia for political purposes, and have continued for a long time in all parts of Russia to such an extent that they have aroused the sympathies and shocked the moral sensibilities of the civilized world; Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the United States, voicing the humanitarian sentiments of the American people, deplores the terrible crimes, the brutal outrages, and the uncalled-for and wanton murders of the Jews in Russia, and hereby condemns and denounces these awful outrages, these shocking assassinations, and these appalling atrocities as great international crimes against a common humanity that must be stopped and stopped quickly, by the Russian government; otherwise Russia, in the opinion of mankind, will and must stand indicted before the judgment bar of the world as beyond the pale of its civilization.

Mr. Chairman, I arraign Russia before the bar of civilization for great crimes against a common humanity. The Russian government is responsible for these outrages on the Jews, She cannot avoid the awful and tremendous responsibility. I believe that Russia could stop these murders if Russia wanted to stop them. These great crimes, sir, against an oppressed race, on account of race, are not local crimes; they go beyond State lines; they are great international crimes; they are butcheries of innocent man and women and children, and in the eyes of the Master these innocent victims are our brothers and our sisters, and we would be false to ourselves, to all that we revere and hold dear, and to every dictate of humanity, if we did not denounce and cry out against them with all the vehemence of our righteous American indignation. If we do not, ours will be the shame and ours the blame. We cannot evade our responsibility by asking: "Am I my brother's keeper?"

Oh, yes, Mr. Chairman, I know it is said by those who speak for the administration that our government can do nothing; that the President and Secretary of State cannot act and have no power, according to international law, to intervene or to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia. That may or may not be true, but one thing is certain—it has been done in Turkey and in Cuba and in China; and another thing is sure, and that is, that we, the Representatives in Congress of the American people, have the right to raise our voice in protest against the plundering and the massacre, week in and week out, of thousands and thousands of poor, helpless, defenseless men, women and children in Russia. We can do that. Let us do it. We aided the Greeks in their heroic struggle; we sympathized with the Irish in their aspirations; we interfered when the Turks massacred the Christians in Armenia, and we intervened with force of arms to aid the Cubans.

Why should we refrain from aiding the Jew in Russia? I say, in my judgment, it is our duty and the duty of the government to condemn and denounce these Jewish atrocities and to protest against these unspeakable crimes against the Jewish people in Russia in words that cannot be misunderstood, and I believe that if we do, that if we pass this resolution, that it will have the desired result and effectively put a stop to the Russian Jewish outrages, atrocities and massacres. That right we have; let us exercise it. It will be a declaration to Russia, to the Czar, and to the grand dukes, who are directly or indirectly responsible for these crimes, that the American people and the House of Representatives of the United States sympathize with the Russian Jews the same as we would with any other outraged and downtrodden and oppressed people, and that we are opposed to these race crimes and that the ruthless extermination of the Jews in Russia must cease. If this is all we can do, let us do it, and do it quickly; and I believe that if we do our protest, our condemnation, and denunciation will be heard in St. Petersburg and that the Russian government will quickly see to it that the wholesale butchery of Jewish communities is stopped. We cannot ignore these crimes against humanity. We cannot escape our duty and our responsibility. These innocent victims are our brothers and our sisters—mankind throughout the world are one. A great and continuing crime against one race is the concern of all the other races. Can anyone who believes in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man successfully deny it?

For mankind are one in spirit, and one instinct bears along,
Round the earth's electric circle, the swift flash of right or wrong;
Whether conscious or unconscious, yet humanity's vast frame
Through its ocean-sundered fibers feels the gush of joy or shame—
In the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal claim.

(Applause.) . . .

There is nothing right but justice. I appeal for justice for the Jew, and I say to all the world that these outrages on the Jews in Russia must stop. I tell you that we can do our share to stop them. This resolution I offer is only a beginning. Let us pass it. Let us condemn and denounce the massacres of the helpless Jews in Russia, and that will accomplish something; and then let us hold a monster demonstration of protest—here in the capital of the Republic; here in the shadow of the White House—and demand, in the name of the American people and a common humanity, that official America, in a diplomatic way, serve notice on official Russia that the murders of the Jews in Russia must cease, and that will accomplish much more, and I believe effectually put a stop to these atrocities and devastations. A word from the President will go far to realize the object desired. A note of warning from the Secretary of State will have a most salutary effect. All the world applauded Theodore Roosevelt in using his good offices to bring about peace between Russia and Japan. We ask him now to use his good offices as President of the great Republic to bring peace to the harassed and maligned and outraged and persecuted Jew in Russia. He can do it if he will; and if he does, sorrowing humanity will place him on a higher pedestal, and a great race of grateful people will forever call him blessed.

Mr. Chairman, let me say to this House that I have the honor to represent in the heart of the city of New York one of the largest Jewish constituencies in the United States, and most of these people, or their parents, have come to our shores from Russia and southeastern Europe, and I want to say here, knowing them as I do, living among them, believing in them as I do, and respecting them as I do, that there are no better, no more loyal, and no more patriotic citizens in the United States. They are honest, sober, thrifty, industrious, liberty loving and intelligent. They have come to our free land to escape the ostracism and the persecution of governments like Russia, and taking advantage of the opportunities vouchsafed them here, by frugality and industry, by perseverance and sobriety, by hope and tenacity of purpose, they have forged rapidly to the front in every line of endeavor, and they are to-day as good citizens as any other class of people in all our country. (Applause.) If anyone here will go over to the densely populated great East Side of New York, where I live, and where these people live, and where there are more people to the block than in any other like space on earth, he will be convinced of all I say regarding the Jew, and he will find among the throngs of school children in the public schools that the Jewish boys and the Jewish girls are among the

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brightest, the neatest, the aptest, the smartest and the most intelligent. I know well these people; they know me, and have always been my friends; and I would be false to myself, false to my convictions, and false to every impulse of my nature, if I did not sympathize with them and do my best to comfort and aid them in the day of their greatest sadness and affliction and calamity. (Applause.)

Mr. Chairman, just a word of truth for the Jew and I will conclude. It is, however, unnecessary for me, or any other man, to eulogize the intrepid sons and the virtuous daughters of Israel. The Jew needs no eulogy. All he asks is justice. All he demands is equal opportunity and equality before the law. The record of his race from the dawn of time down to the present day is the history of the march of humanity along the highways of progress and the avenues of civilization. In all ages of the world the ostracized and persecuted Jew has done his share for his fellow-man, for enlightenment, for liberty, for freedom, for progress, and for civilization—and he has done it all in the face of intense adverse circumstances. In science and in art, in literature and philanthropy, the Jew, in all lands and in all times, has written his name high in the temple of human fame. In statesmanship and diplomacy, in law and in medicine, in ethics and philosophy, in research and discovery, the greatness of the Jew is and ever has been unchallenged. In commerce and in trade, in industry and husbandry, overcoming forces that would deter another, he has held his own in the vanguard of progress. Persecuted for thousands of years he has surmounted all obstacles; shunned for centuries he has kept in the very front of the higher and the better civilization. In trial and in sunshine, in war and in peace, on land and sea, in all eras and in all places, the Jewish race has written its enduring name and its eternal fame all over the pages of human history. Civilization owes much to the Jew; Christianity owes more. Neither debt can ever be paid. Destroy what Israel has done for the human race and you leave a void that cannot be filled—an abyss which cannot be bridged. Call the roll of the earth's illustrious dead and at least one name in every five will be the immortal name of a distinguished Jew who has stamped his indelible impress on the brightest pages of the world's history. (Prolonged applause.)

When our ship comes in we're going to dig right down into the hold, and if there isn't a big rag carpet there we'll refuse to receive the ship. If there is, then we're going to put that carpet right down on the parlor floor, and the first visitor who turns up his or her proboscis in a sneering way is going to fail to receive an invitation to take a chair.

That's what we think about the old-fashioned rag carpet.—The Commoner.

"No," said Mrs. Bounce, "I don't know as there's any real harm in smoking—that is, in itself; but when two or three men get together, puffing at their cigars or pipes, they seem so contented and so happy that I fear they forget what sinful creatures they are. There's where the harm comes in, Mrs. Green, as I've said to Bounce a hundred times if I've said it once."—Boston Transcript.

"No," said the business man, "I don't want a man in my employ who plays the races."

"Then you think gambling is wrong?"

"It isn't so much that. But I am convinced that a man who would make the loose, one-sided contract required by a bookmaker is not competent to take care of his own interests or those of anybody else."—Washington Star.

"What is a 'Crystal Maze'?" asked Willie.

Bobby (lately returned from the city)—Why, it's a place full of mirrors that you go into and meet yourself coming out.—Lippincott's Magazine.

Being informed that the cashier had run away, the police at once declared that he was not a good man.

"For good men," they argued, "are naturally scarce; they do not have to make themselves scarce."—Puck.

BOOKS

HADLEY'S ROMAN LAW.

Introduction to Roman Law. By James Hadley. Appleton, New York.

James Hadley, father of the present president of Yale University, was professor of Greek in Yale College for a number of years, up to the time of his death in 1872. But he was more than a professor of Greek; he was learned in many ways, and might have made as successful a professor of mathematics as of Greek. And he was more than a learned professor; he was a broad-minded, liberal man. Take him all in all he was perhaps the greatest man among all the scholars and college men of America, and we have not seen his like since his death. Our present trend toward early specialization is not productive of such men.

Along with his other fine qualities, Prof. Hadley had the gift of style. One who knew him well has said of him that "In all his work as a college man and as a writer, in his conversation, even, he ever showed uncommon clearness, beauty of method, power of expressing the exact idea in appropriate words, a certain joyousness in communicating knowledge, and a simplicity of purpose, which looked away from himself." In the volume of his collected essays one can see the invariable clearness and grace of his style, no matter what subject he touched. In this book there are treatises on the most difficult philological questions, along with essays on such subjects as "Day Dreams" and "Tennyson's Princess." In all these may be seen the same breadth of view, the same simplicity and beauty of treatment.

The "Introduction to Roman Law," given in 12 lectures, was first published in 1873, after the author's death. It is a book that will continue to be read as long as there is interest in its subject. The present volume bears the date of 1904. Nowhere else can be found in a single book so clear and interesting a discussion of the general subject of Roman law. As the writer quoted above has said of the lectures: "The whole subject lay as sunlight before his mind."

The first lecture is devoted to the famous Corpus Juris Civilis, telling its contents, and something of Justinian and the great law-minister Tribonian, who superintended the preparation of the monumental collection. The second and third lectures deal with the history and development of Roman law before and since Justinian. The remaining lectures treat of the system of Roman law in its various applications to family relations, property, obligations, and inheritance. All these subjects are put before us with the simplicity of manner and the touch of human interest which are characteristic of a man of genius.

J. H. DILLARD.

TRADE UNIONS AND THE LAW.

Trade Unions and the Law in New York. By George Gorham Groat, Ph. D. No. 3, of volume XIX., of "Studies in History, Economics and Public Law." New York: The Columbia University Press; the Macmillan Co., agents; London: P. S. King & Son.

Dr. Groat gives us a fairly complete study of trade unionism and the law in New York. After outlining the history of the State labor organiza-

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THE BUILDER OF THE CITY.

Tom L. Johnson—That, sir, is the root of all municipal mischief, and it must be dug out clean!

tion of New York, he explains the development of the law of that State as evidenced by legal decisions. Regarding the strike, he finds two judicial periods: that preceding 1890, when the strike was held to be unlawful, or to be limited by the law to demands for higher wages; and that subsequent to 1890, when through the interpretation of new statutes, a greater range for the strike was judicially conceded. All strikes were at first held to be unlawful as conspiracies; but this theory was judicially modified when in 1867 an attempt was made to apply it to an employers' organization. Then came labor legislation, under which the courts have recognized the doctrine that in the absence of violence or intimidation no strikes are unlawful.

In the course of his outline of legal decisions, Dr. Groat refers to Chief Justice Savage's opinion in the famous Fisher case, of 1835, as containing a peculiar "mixture of sense and nonsense." Perhaps it would not have been appropriate to introduce a Massachusetts case into this discussion of New York decisions; but if only for the contrast, Dr. Groat might have been excused for setting off the decision of Chief Justice Shaw, of about the same date, and in a case "on all fours" with the Fisher case, against Chief Justice Savage's "mixture of sense and nonsense." The Shaw decision gives one an impression that if this great judge had sat in Savage's place at the trial of the Fisher case, labor law in New York might have run for the past 70 years in a different current. As it is, to compare Shaw's opinion with Savage's is to conclude that Dr. Groat has been generous in discerning even a modicum of sense in the nonsense of the Fisher case.

AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.

A Short Constitutional History of the United States. By Francis Thorpe. A. M., Ph. D. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

Dr. Thorpe's short history of the Constitution of the United States, while pronounced in its sympathy with the Hamiltonian ideal and development, is nevertheless not only an instructive but a fair narrative of what the author calls "that civil evolution which has made America what it is to-day." And although a single volume of only 400 pages, it is an astonishingly full discussion of the journey of the American communities of the Revolutionary period, when "the vital characteristic of

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The Single Taxers of Chicago and vicinity, and their friends, will dine at the **Washington Restaurant, N. W. Corner Wabash Avenue and Adams Street, Chicago,** on the first Friday evening of each month, **at 6 p. m.** The dinner on February 2nd will be table d'hote. For further particulars communicate with the committee at 1202 Ashland Block, Chicago. (Telephone, Central 925.)

On March 2nd the Single Taxers will attend the banquet to J. W. Bengough at the Auditorium, instead of holding the usual monthly dinner.

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the American proposition was their latent democracy," through all the vicissitudes of Constitution making and interpretation, down to the period of imperialism, when the word "national," so obnoxious to the founders of our general government, has taken the place of the word "federal," and a colonial system like that of Great Britain is engrafted by construction upon the Federal compact.

This outcome is properly attributed to Chief Justice Marshall, who was made chief justice by the dying party of Hamilton as a sort of last gasp when the people had killed it, and who from the judicial bench insidiously restored vitality to the very doctrines which the people at the polls had condemned. Dr. Thorpe frankly admits at page 236 that "there is no doubt that Marshall's political opinions affected his decisions." Adopting Hamilton's political opinion that "the means must be adapted to the end proposed," and Hamilton's constitutional ideal that the end was nationality, which was utterly opposed to the ideal of the Constitutional Convention, Marshall elbowed aside the sound constitutional doctrine that the general government was intended to be an agency for certain purposes of certain united states, and substituted that doctrine of nationality which has in our day expanded into a doctrine of empire.

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BOOKS RECEIVED.

—The Changing Order. A Study of Democracy. By Oscar Lovell Triggs, Ph. D. Series I. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company. Sold by The Public Publishing Co., Chicago. Price, $1.50. To be reviewed.

—The Philosophy of Egoism. By James L. Walker. Denver: Katharine Walker, Denver. To be reviewed.

PERIODICALS

The Pacific Monthly (Portland) for January emphasizes a new regime in its publication, with some strikingly beautiful color prints. Among the contributors are William Winter, David Starr Jordan, Julian Hawthorne and C. E. S. Wood. The latter writes with his usual charm of style, and profoundly as

John Z. White's itinerary, beginning Jan. 31st, and ending April 16, 1906. The names given indicate the local correspondents:

Jan. 31st—Niagara Falls, N. Y.—J. C. Moakley, 332—6th St., Niagara Falls.

Feb. 1st to 14th—Toronto, Ontario.—Fred B Lake 75 Yonge St., Toronto, Ontario.

Feb. 15th and 16th—Cobourg, Ontario.—W. R. Whitelaw, King St., Cobourg, Ontario.

Feb. 16th and 17th—Kingston, Ontario.—J. H. Baker, Kingston, Ontario.

Feb. 19th and 20th—Brockville, Ontario.—James Cummings, Lyn, Ontario.

Feb. 21st to 27th—Montreal.—Prof. John R. Roebuck, c. o. McGill Medical College, Montreal

March 2nd—Lewiston, Me.—Joseph Walsh, 68 Spring St., Lewiston, Me.

March 3rd—Auburn, Me.—H. G. Casey, 20 Holly St., Auburn, Me.

March 4th—Woodfords, Me.—R. W. Debeck, Woodfords, Me.

March 5th—Portland, Me.—Geo. E. Kittredge, 21 Grand St., So. Portland, Me.

March 6th and 7th—Boston, Mass.—C. B. Hillebrown, 68 Essex St., Boston, Mass.

March 8th and 9th—Erie, Penn.—E. S. Roach, Erie, Penn.

March 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th—Cleveland, Ohio.—Otto K. Dorn, 417 Woodland Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

March 14th—Elkhart, Ind.—Geo. A. Briggs, Elkhart, Ind.

March 15th—Grand Rapids, Mich.—Jesse Orton, Houseman Bldg., Grand Rapids, Mich.

March 16th—Milwaukee, Wis.—C. Le Monts, 102 Wisconsin St., Milwaukee.

March 17th—Oshkosh, Wis.—John Harrington, Oshkosh, Wis.

March 19th—Colby, Wis.—Dr. E. V. Kautsky, Colby, Wis.

March 20th—St. Paul, Minn.—E. M Van Duzu, Jr, Room 2 Merchants' National Bank Building, St. Paul.

March 21st—Minneapolis, Minn.—S. A. Stockwell, Andrus Building, Minneapolis.

March 22nd—Marshfield, Wis.—C. A. Johnston, Marshfield, Wis

March 24rd—Elmhurst, Ill.—W. B. Griffin, Elmhurst, Ill.

March 24th—Chicago—Woodlawn Ave. Methodist Church, Corner 64th and Woodlawn Ave.—Dr. W. H. Walker, 6335 Greenwood Ave.

March 25th—Chicago—Society Anthropology, Corinthian Hall, Masonic Temple—Dr. Chas. J. Lewis, 753 Carroll Ave.

March 26th—Chicago—Men's Club of Centenary Methodist Church—Monroe near Morgan, Alexander Cleland, care of Y. M. C. A., Chicago.

March 27th—Springfield—Christian Endeavor Society, Westside Christian Church, F. H. Bode, Springfield.

March 28th—Carlinville, Ill.—Per y D. Plain, Carlinville, Ill.

March 29th—Jacksonville, Ill.

March 30th—Peoria, Ill.

March 31st—Bloomington, Ill.

April 1 to 7th—St. Louis, Mo.—E. J Geittman, 406 Granit Bldg., St. Louis, and Mrs. B. J. Hall—101 S. Channing Ave., St. Louis.

April 8th to 14th—Chicago.

Eastern tour beginning on April 16th. Particulars concerning this tour will be given in a later issue of THE PUBLIC.

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Mr. Hamlin Garland will open the course on some date between Feb 26th and March 10th, the other speakers following at intervals of one week. For particulars address

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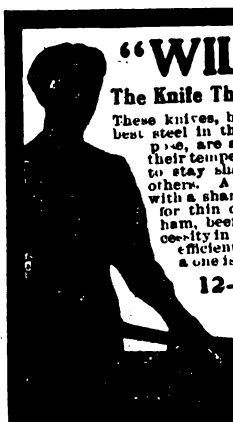

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well as sweepingly, of "the best books in the world."

"The Railway Empire" is the title of a valuable paper by Prof. Frank Parsons in the Arena for January; and Archibald H. Grimke begins a discussion of the heart of the race problem, while George McA. Miller continues his outlines of the economics of Moses. Direct legislation in cartoon, the cartoons by Bengough and the text by Eltweed Pomeroy, is a bright touch on Canadian politics.

An admirable examination into the proper and respectful name for Americans of African descent, appears in The Voice of the Negro (Atlanta) for January, from the pen of J. W. E. Bowen. Dr. Bowen considers "African," "Afro-American," "Colored," "American Negro" and "Negro," each in turn, and finds them all defective except "Negro." He acknowledges that the word has "become spotted by evil associations," but he sensibly advises his race to "rise up and and wipe away the stain from this word by glorious and resplendent achievements." As he truly adds, "good names are not given, they are made."

In Alexander's Magazine for December we had the eighth number of another periodical for Negroes and by Negroes. Among several excellent contributions a very suggestive one is a Negro song on "The English-speaking Race." A single stanza reveals the recognition of as broad and deep a truth as has found expression in print in many a day; for true it certainly is, that language is the blood of a people:

It matters little where I was born,
Or whether the most of my good forbears
Were pallid or dusk, or ruddy or brown,
Puritan wheat or convict tares;
I care not the shell of an o'erbaked clam
Which of them gives the tone to my face,
But I thank my stars that through them I am
One of the English-speaking race.

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The Changing Order

By Oscar Lovell Triggs, Ph. D. (Professor in the University of Chicago until he began telling too much truth to suit Standa d Oil). Some of the truth is in this book; it is a Study of Democracy, showing that democracy is the inevitable result of changed industrial conditions, and that it in turn will bring radical changes i art, literature, education, work, play, philosophy and religion.

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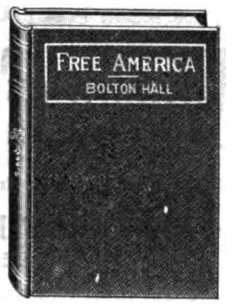

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