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A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

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EDITOR

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The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

Volume VIII Number 379

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JULY 8, 1905.

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EDITORIAL

John Hay.

It may be true, as some of his admirers say, that John Hay was the greatest secretary of state the United States ever had. But when the imperialistic regime with which his service in that office is associated takes its proper place in history, and the plutocracy with which in his later years he became congenially identified has been spurned, his countrymen will be glad to remember him only by those songs of humanity and liberty he voiced in his youth, which found no echo in his after life.

Suffrage qualifications.

Prof. William James, of Harvard, uttered an awkward truth when he said last week at the Chicago University that schools and colleges instead of curing crime aggravate it. And he was merciless when he explained that "higher education has freed us from the more brutal forms of crime, but the very education itself has put even meaner crimes in our way." With Prof. James in this reckless way "knocking" our theories of educational qualifications for voting, and the crimes of the rich that are every day getting found out and "knocking" property qualification theories, nothing seems left us but to fall back on manhood (which includes womanhood) suffrage and make the best of it.

William Prentiss and his traducers.

Of the excellent appointments that Mayor Dunne has thus far made, none have been better than that of William Prentiss to a seat in the civil service board. An able lawyer and a citizen with a civic conscience, Mr. Prentiss is also a democratic Democrat who has long devoted himself wholeheartedly to the renovation of the public service. As he has been no respecter of persons in this work of good citizenship, he has come into collision with panders to monopoly in both parties,—men of every degree of repute from nominal respectability to notorious corruptibility; and among these gentry he is accordingly most cordially as well as deservedly disliked. Alderman Bennett, of the traction franchise ring (and railroad pass connection incidentally), seems to have considered it appropriate to object to Mr. Prentiss's appointment. As Bennett confessed when doing so, he had never opposed the rottenest appointments; but he "could not stand for" Prentiss. He was interestingly vague in saying why. Mr. Prentiss is not only an able but he is also an honest man, of whom his friends may justly boast that the character of his traducers is a tribute to his worth.

Gov. Hanly and railroad passes.

All honor to Gov. Hanly of Indiana, for the firm stand he has taken against pass bribery. He declared himself against it at the beginning of his administration, when he refused to accept passes; and now he announces his intention of breaking up the system. In an address at Terre Haute on the 5th he said: "During the three and one-half years that remain of my administration I intend to make the acceptance of passes so distasteful that an honest man will not wish to accept one and a dishonest man will not dare. It is said that many honest officials accept the passes, but the argument is a poor one, for it is an admission that many dishonest ones do likewise. The passes are said to be gratuitous, but if the returns to the corporation were not satisfactory at the end of the year, the passes would be cut off. The fact that passes stop when officials retire from public office shows that the passes are given to the office and not to the man."

Inconsistency of employers' unions.

The teamsters' strike in Chicago (p. 201) has unfolded many little peculiarities of human nature, but none more instructive than the inconsistency of the merchants in refusing to act individually in dealing with the strikers. They demand that the strikers shall act individually in dealing with them, but they on their own part will deal only through their committees. Strenuous for maintaining the principle of "open shop" against organized workingmen, they are stubborn in maintaining the principle of "closed shop" for employers.

Patriotism of the typical employer.

A certain ingenuousness characterizes your typical employer. He condemns in labor organiza-

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tions the very practices which he himself adopts, and does it with an air of piety and patriotism which almost deceives others and probably does deceive himself. It is not often that he is quite so comically candid as in a circular of June 29 of the Employers' Association of Cincinnati. In that circular we have the deliciously ingenuous assurance that "nearly every employer is patriotic and wise enough to do all he can to secure the enforcement of laws that are made for the security of his invested capital." Behold the devoted altruism! There is nothing in that circular to indicate that this type of employer ever does anything to secure the enforcement of laws made for any other purpose than "the security of his invested capital," and if the patriotism and wisdom of employers' associations are any broader than the naive declaration of this circular they have yet to demonstrate it.

Class partisanship.

An interesting example of the lengths to which men of this employer type will go to punish their enemies and protect their friends was afforded this week by the Chicago grand jury. The preceding grand jury (p. 179) had acted in a similar manner, but for it the excuse has been plausibly made that it lacked evidence to do more than it did. Not so, however, with the grand jury that has just adjourned. It learned, according to its own presentment, that "men high in financial circles have sought to prevent a free exposure of the labor graft development, and the little evidence given by them was only to disguise their own guilty knowledge;" yet it neither indicted nor named these "men high in financial circles," but found further indictments against workingmen who had already been indicted. The class partisanship of this grand jury, like that of its predecessor, is manifest. Forgetting its obligation to the public as a whole and regardless of class, it seems to have considered itself an adjunct of the Employer's association, to attack the enemies and shield the friends of that eminently patriotic combine.

A curious coincidence.

In connection with the grand jury proceedings noted above—inasmuch as they include indictments against Shea, the strike leader, who may be guilty for aught we know,—a significant fact should not be overlooked. Mr. Shea is credited with having endeavored to secure the passage by the Illinois Legislature last Winter of a bill to protect labor organizations from bribery of their leaders by employers. This bill, introduced by Representative Sheen, provided that—

> any person, agent, or representative, for himself or another person, firm, corporation or association, who, directly or indirectly or corruptly, gives or offers to give any money, position or thing of value to any duly appointed representative or member of any labor union or labor organization, with intent to influence him or her in respect to any of his or her acts, decisions or duties as such representative or member, or to induce him or her to prevent or cause a strike by the employes of any person, firm, corporation or association, shall be deemed guilty of bribery. Any duly appointed representative or member of any labor union or labor organization who shall corruptly, directly or indirectly, accept or receive any money, position or valuable thing or who shall solicit the same from any person or agent or representative of any firm, corporation or association with intent to influence his or her acts, decisions or duties as a representative or member of any labor union or labor organization or to induce him or her to prevent or cause a strike by the employes of any person, firm, corporation or association, shall be deemed guilty of bribery. Any person found guilty of violating any of the provisions of the two foregoing sections shall be punished by confinement in the penitentiary for a term of not less than one or more than five years.

This bill was killed in committee, by what influence it would be highly interesting to know. At all events it is a remarkable circumstance that while Mr. Shea, who is credited with having tried to secure the passage of this bill, is now indicted for the alleged taking of labor graft, influential employers who have given the graft (and presumably for an adequate consideration), escape indictment and even the mention of their names, which in itself might have been wholesome.

The railroad rate question.

The absurdity of attempting to control railroad monopoly by regulating rates through commissioners and courts instead of recognizing the public and common character of rail highways and acting accordingly, is illustrated by a really considerate and fairly intended leading editorial in the Chicago Record-Herald of the 3d. It discusses the Esch-Townsend bill (vol. vii, pp. 711, 712, 721, 732) providing for railroad rate regulation by the Federal government. With that bill the Record-Herald finds this fault, that it is unfair to the railroads because it proposes that rates fixed by the Inter-State Commerce Commission shall go into effect after 30 days, notwithstanding that the courts may subsequently declare them unreasonable or confiscatory. To remedy that defect the Record-Herald itself proposes an amendment to the effect that rates fixed by the commission shall go into effect in 30 days unless the railroads appeal to the courts, in which case they may collect the old rates, but must hold the difference in escrow until the decision of the appeal, when they must refund it if the decision goes against them. This plan, the Record-Herald believes, would "give justice to all." And so, doubtless, it would, if "all" are only railroads and shippers.

It would not give justice to consumers. For the shippers would make no refund to their customers, although they would charge consumers, in prices of goods, the old rate until the new one had been sustained by the courts. Of course this cannot be avoided by any scheme for regulating rates. Either railroads or shippers or consumers must, under any such scheme, be treated unfairly. There is no help for it.

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But doesn't this suggest that rate regulation is not the true remedy for highway monopoly?

—

The truth is that there are only two rules for freight rates, and government regulation can avail of neither. One is to operate approximately at cost, and the other is to operate for "all the traffic will bear." But only the government itself, as owner, could do the former. It could not, and it ought not to try to, force that rule upon operating corporations. The latter rule, "all the traffic will bear," is an excellent one where there is competition, but a grinding one where there is monopoly. To get rid of monopoly, therefore, and not to try the impossible of regulating monopolies, would seem to be the key to the railroad problem. And this can be done, and not only done but done without government operation of railroads. Nothing more is necessary than to separate the monopoly part of the railroad business, the highway, from the competitve part, the operation; and that, though not easy under present circumstances, would be child's play in comparison with attempts to regulate monopoly rates fairly by commissions and courts.

A railroad opinion bureau.

Systematic work to influence public opinion favorably to railroad interests, has been undertaken by a firm of "industrial statisticians," Michaelis and Ellsworth, whose commodious offices are at 850 Orchestra Building, Chicago. As a descriptive term, "industrial statistician" is not difficult to define. What may be the scope of its meaning as the name of a profession whose services are at the command of clients, somewhat as are those of the legal profession, we do not pretend to know. We are able to state, however, that Michaelis and Ellsworth are industriously circulating expensive literature, for which the railroads are doubtless paying them, and that this literature is designed to impress business men and newspapers. It is perfectly legitimate in itself, whether quite veracious or not, and we advise applications to Messrs. Michaelis and Ellsworth for supplies. The intelligent citizen who familiarizes himself with their literature will be the better qualified to judge, when he reads astonishing editorials defensive of railroad interests in his newspaper, whether or not their inspiration is editorial in its origin.

Bribery by railroad passes.

What we have long suspected regarding the purpose of railroad passes is now acknowledged by a prominent Eastern railroad, to which the press dispatches refer without naming it. The facts were stated by the Chicago Record-Herald of the 1st, which said:

> One of the most prominent Eastern railroads has refused all requests for free transportation which have come from the Senators and Congressmen who were either in favor of the Esch-Townsend bill or were lukewarm in their advocacy of the railroad side of the legislation. It is also understood that other Eastern roads are taking similar action, and in consequence there is consternation in the ranks of the United States legislators. There is no mistaking the reason for the "turning down" which the members of Congress are receiving. To every request that comes from legislators who have been placed on the black list a stereotyped letter is sent by the president of the road. This letter says that for years that particular railroad has submitted without a murmur to the petty system of blackmail levied upon it by legislators who had no claim to free rides. This was done on the theory that when the time came the railroads would have friends who would at least give the railroad side of legislation a careful and fair study. On the contrary, it is said, when the opportunity presented itself the legislator in question broke his neck getting on record as being in favor of the Esch-Townsend bill. The president's letter then declares that so long as favors do not seem to bring even a fair consideration of the railroad's rights he has decided that favors shall cease, and that if the person in question wants to ride over the road in question he had better buy a ticket.

Here is an admission from railroad sources that passes are bribes, and a plain statement that public officials who take them are blackmailers. We had supposed so—(vol. vii, pp. 690, 721; vol. viii, pp. 98, 114, 196)—at any rate that they are bribes. And now, let us ask, if railroad passes are given Congressmen on the theory that they might insure friends in Congress who would "at least give the railroad side of legislation a careful and fair study," why are they given to judges? Is it so as to make friends on the bench who will "at least give the railroad side of litigation a careful and fair study"? Some of these pass-taking judges are candidates for reelection in Chicago, and they might throw light on the subject if they would. Dare their adversaries ask them any questions?

Judge Parker's democracy.

In his Fourth of July oration at Tammany Hall, Alton B. Parker made a point of attacking public ownership of public utilities as "incipient socialism." What if it is incipient socialism? What of it, unless socialism is an objectionable policy? Judge Parker makes no attempt to show it to be objectionable. He probably hasn't the least understanding of what kind of policy socialism really is. But he assumes that there is a prejudice against the word, and he therefore uses it as an epithet to excite prejudice against public ownership of a kind of public business upon which private corporations fatten their purses by corrupting politics. When he drops into argument, Judge Parker shows that he might better have stuck to epithets. He objects to public ownership of public utilities because, forsooth, he would "divorce business and politics." He fails to realize, apparently, what his intelligent auditors must have known, that the way to "divorce business and politics" is to withdraw such political functions as ownership of highways, from the field of business exploitation. You can't farm out political functions to business corporations without holding business and politics in the most dangerous combination. This fact is put in other form most impressively and truly by that strong new paper of Providence,

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Rhode Island, The State, when it declares its advocacy of "the principle of public ownership of public utilities, not only that they may be administered for the good of the people instead of for private gain, but because, in the form of private monopolies, they have become an imperium in imperio, rivalling the state in power and seeking to dominate it." Judge Parker's Fourth of July democracy needs burnishing. It is rusty with a plutocratic rust.

Mayor McClellan on thoughtful action.

A much more inspiring Fourth of July address than Judge Parker's at Tammany, was that of Mayor McClellan before the National Educational Association at Asbury Park. Mayor McClellan made an appeal for thoughtful action instead of mere action in modern life. "The country," he said, "needs men of thought and men of learning and needs them badly. We have deified action at the expense of thought. The good old motto, 'Act in haste, repent at leisure,' no longer stands at the top of our copy books. We have preached so persistently the doctrine of action that we are almost convinced that any action is better than none. We suffer from the spirit of unrest, which frequently prompts us to ill considered, immature and thoughtless action, often merely for the sake of doing something. We are inclined to applaud the man who does, not so much because he accomplishes anything useful as because he accomplishes something—be it good, bad, or indifferent. The spirit of unrest permeates our whole national life, political, social, educational. Contentment bids fair to be banished from our existence. He who is content is sneered at as being without ambition; and yet ambition and hysterics are different things. Were our ambitions laudable, our state of mind would be most commendable; but unfortunately we scarcely know what we are striving for. We have forgotten that deeds are merely a means to an end. Having no particular end in view, we treat the deeds themselves as the summum bonum, the ultimate object of attainment." That is a well deserved rebuke to President Roosevelt, whose popularity hinges upon his activity in doing things, regardless of whether they are things worth doing or not. But it is more than a rebuke to any one man. It is a rebuke to the spirit of an era which, happily, is fading away. We are now coming upon times, and it is gratifying to find men like McClellan recognizing it, when thought will be esteemed as highly as action, and hysterics will no more pass for ambition than accumulations of lucre will stand for success.

"Put yourself in his place."

A just criticism of very wide application is made by a correspondent of the New York Age, an able (though in the political sense somewhat narrowly partisan) Negro weekly. The criticism is applied by the Age to the newspaper fashion of sending correspondents to "write up" conditions among peoples and classes of which the correspondents know nothing except from the outside. This might be a service of general enlightenment, as the writer in the Age truly remarks, if the correspondents "would put themselves to the trouble of actually investigating, instead of spending their time in discussing matters with chance acquaintances in hotel lobbies and sample rooms." Referring to one of these correspondents who had unintelligently "written up" the Negro of the South, the Age writer pointedly asks what that correspondent could know "of the home life of the Negro, since he cannot enter those homes," and as pointedly answers: "Absolutely nothing except what he is told by people who themselves do not enter them." We say that this criticism is of wide application, because it explains the real cause of all national, racial and sectarian alienations and hatreds.

—

We hate and despise, because we do not know those whom we hate and despise, no matter how earnestly we may protest that we do know them. The Negromaniac of our Southern States, for instance, insists that he knows the Negro. He does not know the Negro. He may know the Negro slave, but not the Negro man. No one can know the Negro without in imagination sincerely putting himself in the Negro's place and looking out upon the world from the Negro's point of view. Until he knows the Negro as an equal, and not as a menial, he does not know him as a man at all; and this simply because Negroes no more than other people permit themselves to be known to those who keep their distance and look down upon them. It is the grossest assumption for any class to profess to understand another class with which they refuse to associate upon terms of equality. Although everyone has been a child, no one can understand children if he holds aloof from them. How much more impossible, then, to understand classes with which we have never mingled upon terms of equality and mutual respect.

—

If we would know any class, any nationality, any race, we must become as one of them, thinking their thoughts, uniting in their sympathies, appreciating their aspirations. Until we have done this, all that we report of them has but little more real value than travelers' tales. It is because he studiously does this, that Prof. Frederick Starr's anthropological work is of special value. He studied the street urchin by becoming a real newsboy; he studied the Indian as a naturalized member of an Indian tribe; he studied the Ainus, the survivors of the aboriginal race of Japan, by associating with them upon terms of friendship; he studied the Mexican in the same way; and now he proposes studying the pigmies of Africa and their neighbors by joining their community and living their life. Only so can men come to know one another. No one knows his butler, though of his own race and nationality. No one knows

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his casual acquaintances, though of the same social grade. How absurd, then, for any man to pretend to know individuals, classes or races with whom he has never associated except in the relation of master and servant, or patrician and plebeian, or civilized man and barbarian? Anyone who is honest with himself may realize the truth of this by a simple but effective mental process: "Put yourself in his place."

SOCIALISM AND PLUTOCRACY.

When the real conflict of socialism occurs, in our country at any rate, it will not be between socialism and plutocracy. Yet certain plutocratic organizations and publications imagine that this will be its character. One of these organizations is the hybrid that calls itself the National Civic Federation, to the presidency of which August Belmont has succeeded Mark Hanna, and with which certain trade unionists affiliate; and one of these publications is the official organ of that federation, which has recently published an editorial denunciatory of an effort to form an Intercollegiate Socialist Society in order to interest college students in socialism.

The editorial in question is characteristically empty of argument and full of abuse. It is important only because it emphasizes the fears of plutocracy at the growth of opinions which its organs are pleased to denounce as socialistic. Plutocrats dread having such opinions brought to the attention of the rising generation.

Their dread is not due to their fears of anything evil in socialism; for well they know that study of any subject tends to eliminate its evils. But they also know that the same study of so-called socialism which would tend to eliminate its evils, would tend to make the good in it stand out in bold relief. This is what plutocracy fears, and this is the reason that plutocratic organizations and publications are trying to discredit everything to which they can attach the epithet "socialism."

They are wasting their energy. In any conflict between plutocracy and socialism plutocracy will go to the wall, as it ought to.

What is the difference between plutocracy and socialism? The one difference essentially is that socialism is in its methods democratic and plutocracy is not; while both stand for abolishing competition, plutocracy offers as a substitute for competition the corporation trust, while socialism proposes a commonwealth. Probably neither would be democratic in the final outcome, for the abolition of competition involves abolition, sooner or later, of democracy; but the aspirations of socialism at any rate are democratic. Between plutocracy and socialism, therefore, the only question would be whether the monopoly that drives out competition shall be controlled by corporation stockholders or by all the people.

On that question intelligent democrats could hardly hesitate, even though they knew that the people of the cooperative commonwealth of socialism would eventually fall under the dominion of officials, just as the stockholders of the plutocratic trusts fall under the dominion of inside rings of boards of directors. Nor would most of the people hesitate. Plutocracy has made itself so repulsive that no crusade against socialism can succeed if it falls under plutocratic leadership or coincides with plutocratic sympathies.

The crusade against socialism that can succeed and deserves to succeed, is one which, while rejecting the bad in it, adopts the good. Socialists who demand public ownership and management of business in which competition is inherently impossible, are in the right. To the extent that this may be socialistic, socialism is to be welcomed. In so far, however, as it proposes to abolish competition regardless of whether it is inherently impossible or not, socialism is wrong and can be and ought to be rejected.

Here, then, is the issue on which the real conflict with socialism must turn, and the more generally and sympathetically socialism is studied, the better will that issue be understood and the stronger will the genuinely individualistic side of it become.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

GERMANY.

Freiburg, June 20.—Friends of the movement in favor of the municipal ownership of public utilities or of government ownership of the railways, express and telegraph business should organize some kind of system for gathering pertinent news or statistics here for publication.

Hardly a day passes during which some little item that might be used to create sentiment for public ownership, does not force itself upon my attention. Is it a special evening train run at a low rate for bathers in the Rhine, one-fourth fare for school children's excursions, extensive precaution for making travel safe with the result that 20 times less accidents occur on German railroads than in the United States, or a parcel of 11 pounds that I can send to the remotest end of Germany for 12 cents—all these contrast with conditions at home. Here one sends a ten-word telegram anywhere within the Empire for 12 cents, and the annual reports of the municipalities are full of facts and figures showing the superiority of the municipal ownership of such utilities. They only need to be gathered and brought to the public attention at home.

It is a mistake to rely on the casual reports of American travelers abroad; for, as I have observed, not one in 500 has the least interest in such things. Tourists hasten to see the great old wine keg in the Heidelberger Schloss, but fail to notice that they are making use of street cars owned to 60 per cent. by the city. They admire a beautiful school or a handsome bridge here in Freiburg, but fail to learn that such things are paid for by the "unearned increment," the value of the land, namely, which the municipality owns within its own limits. This value increased from $2,000,000 in 1870 to $30,000,000 in 1904.

EDWARD RUMELY.

NEWS NARRATIVE

Week ending Thursday, July 6.

Possible revolution in Russia.

Although the reports from Odessa continue to be very vague regarding the extension to the Black Sea fleet of what seems to be a revolution (pp. 166,199), the fact that the crew of one battleship, the Kniaz Potemkine, has revolted and under the red flag still resists the Czar's government is evident, while the indications are numerous that this revolt ramifies and has paralyzed the whole fleet.

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Press dispatches of the 30th reported that the Potemkine has fired on the city of Odessa the previous evening, and that some of her crew had landed with machine guns and were fighting with the populace behind barricades; also that the battleship Georgi Pobiedonosetz, with the cruiser Griden, had left Sevastopol for Odessa to give battle to the mutinous Potemkine. A few hours later on the same day the American consul at Odessa advised the Washington authorities that the Potemkine had surrendered without firing a shot; but on the 1st she was reported through London news agencies as having been joined by the Georgi Pobieodonosetz, whose crew also had mutinied. This report was more than confirmed by the American ambassador to St. Petersburg who, on the 1st, advised the Washington authorities that three battleships were then flying the red flag of the revolution off Odessa. A hopeless condition for the Czar's government must have been revealed when the remainder of the Black Sea squadron assembled at Sevastopol, upon its return from Odessa, where it had been sent to subdue or sink the Potemkine, for on the 2d, at a council of admirals and captains at Sevastopol, Vice-Admiral Kruger presiding, it was decided, according to press dispatches of that day and since, to ungear the machinery of the squadron and allow the officers and crews to go ashore. This action, together with the fact that the squadron had failed in its Odessa expedition, was regarded as an official recognition of a mutinous condition throughout the fleet. There were also definite reports that the crews of the other vessels had refused to fire on the Potemkine.

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On the 2d the Kniaz Potemkine was reported from Odessa as having disappeared seaward the night before. On the 3d, also from Odessa, the surrender of the Georgi Pobiedonosetz by her mutinous crew to the Imperial authorities was circumstantially reported as having occurred. She was reported on the 5th as having rejoined the squadron at Sevastopol, and her mutineers as having been imprisoned at Odessa. The Potemkine was next heard of at the Roumanian port of Kustenji, where a delegation from her crew delivered a proclamation addressed to the representatives of the Powers in Roumania, formally declaring war on all Russian vessels which refuse to join the mutineers, and pledging respect for neutral territory and foreign shipping. The delegation requested that the proclamation be forwarded to the Powers. She was last heard of at Theodosia, on the Crimean coast near the entrance to the Sea of Azov. Here her crew formally made the following proclamtaion:

The crew of the Kniaz Potemkine notify the foreign Powers that the decisive struggle has begun against the Russian government. We consider it to be our duty to declare that we guarantee the complete inviolability of foreign ships navigating the Black Sea, as well as the inviolability of foreign ports.

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The body of Omiltchuk, the sailor whose murder by his superior officer was the immediate occasion of the revolt on the Potemkine (p. 199), was buried with military honors on the 29th. A procession of many thousands of persons followed the body from the harbor to the military cemetery. The coffin, which was covered with the St. Andrew's flag and on which there were many wreaths, was carried by eight sailors. The procession was headed by priests, and neither police nor troops were stationed along the route to the cemetery.

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Similar mutinies to that of the Black Sea have likewise been meagerly reported from other parts of Russia during the week. Russian sailors at Libau were said to have risen against the Czar's government on the 29th, and on the 1st this uprising was reported to have been stamped out at the cost of more than 1,000 lives. Another naval revolt was reported on the 3d. This was said to have occurred on the cruiser Minine, at Kronstadt, on the Gulf of Finland, near St. Petersburg, where a strike was in progress. Both the strike and the naval revolt are reported to have been put down.

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At Odessa, martial law has been declared, and some 40,000 troops are reported to be in possession of the city. Business there is at a standstill, and the sea front is cut off by the troops. Over 6,000 strikers are reported to have been killed by the troops, and a considerable part of the business section to have been destroyed or injured by fire. The surrounding country is also reported as disturbed by peasant uprisings. Lodz (p. 199) was reported as ablaze on the 1st, and Warsaw (p. 199) as in open revolution. One St. Petersburg correspondent regards the reported outbreaks as "evidences of a prearranged revolutionary movement." He writes (see Chicago Tribune of 2d):

Behind the mutiny on board the Black Sea warship, the insurrection in the naval yards at Libau and Cronstadt, and in the arms factory at Kolpino; behind the uprising in Warsaw and Lodz; behind the agrarian disturbances in every province; and behind the steady pressure of the zemstvos at Moscow, it is beginning to be realized that there is a clear-headed directing force, emanating from a central revolutionary authority.

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Veracious accounts of the situation are evidently held in check by the government as much as possible, and little but guesses and dispatches manifestly inspired by government agents is telegraphed. In consequence, a cloud of mystery hangs about the whole affair.

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Russian-Japanese peace envoys.

Official announcement was made through President Roosevelt on the 2d, of the names of the Russian and the Japanese envoys who are to meet at Washington (p. 199) to confer regarding terms of peace between Russia and Japan. For Russia the envoys are Muravieff, formerly minister of justice and now ambassador to Italy, and Rosen, recently appointed ambassador to the United States to succeed Count Cassini; for Japan they are Komura, minister of foreign affairs, and Kogoro Takahira, minister to the United States. In making this announcement by direction of the President, the President's secretary, Mr. Loeb, added the following formal statement:

The President announces that the Russian and Japanese governments have notified him that they have appointed the plenipotentiaries to meet here (Washington) as soon after the

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1st of August as possible. It is possible that each side may send one or more additional representatives. The plenipotentiaries of both Russia and Japan will be intrusted with full power to negotiate and conclude a treaty of peace, subject, of course, to ratification by their respective home governments.

A woodworkers' strike.

What is likely to develop into a strike of considerable proportions in the woodworkers' trade began at Chicago on the 3d over a question of wages. The wages agreement heretofore existing between the employers' and the workers' unions in the office and bar fixtures branches of this trade in Chicago expired on the 1st. It had fixed the minimum of wages at 28 cents an hour, which rate has obtained for three years. In contemplation of the expiration of the agreement the workers demanded an increase to 30 cents an hour, but the employers refused an increase on the ground that their profits are small and that the workers' unions assent to rates as low as 25 cents in other cities. A referendum in the workers' union of the affected branches resulted in a full vote with a majority of 3 to 1 for a strike, whereupon the employers declared a lockout. The workmen in these branches number about 2,200. In the two other branches—the planing mill and the sash, door and blind workers—they number about 4,500. It is reported that the latter have signed contracts. The employers' union against which the strike was declared, announced at first that its members would close down and make no effort to employ non-unionists; but some of the members have since intimated that they will try to bring in non-unionists from other cities. In any event they all declare that they will abandon the "closed shop" policy, and that hereafter their establishments will be "open shops."

The Chicago teamsters' strike.

Relative to the strike of teamsters at Chicago (p. 201) nothing important has occurred. Two propositions were to have been brought before the Teamsters' Joint Council on the 5th—namely, (1) Shall a general strike of all teamsters in Chicago be called? and (2) Shall the present strike be called off?—for the purpose of submitting them to referendum; but this step was postponed pending the result of renewed efforts to raise strike funds.

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For placing policemen on the wagons of concerns against which this strike is waged, in order to protect non-union drivers, Mayor Dunne has been criticized by organized workingmen, and on the 2d an attempt to give official sanction to these criticisms was made at the regular meeting of the Federation of Labor, by resolutions of condemnation; but when the resolutions were offered, the meeting voted to lay them on the table.

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A new method of fighting the teamsters' strike has been introduced by the employers' union. It is a recent proceeding for injunctions against local express companies which have refused to carry goods for houses involved in the strike. The reason given for their refusal by these companies is that their teamsters would strike rather than carry for those houses, and that they could not afford to fill their places with strike breakers because the wages of strike breakers are too high to leave a profit. Applications for injunctions to compel the local express companies to make these deliveries, regardless of thereby involving themselves in the strike, were made before Judge Holdom, who has granted temporary restraining orders and is now hearing arguments for injunctions.

Labor indictments in Chicago.

Indictments (pp. 151, 168) against a large number of labor leaders were returned by the grand jury at Chicago on the 1st, for conspiracy. Along with these were indictments against two officials of a brick trust for instigating strikes against a rival concern. A general presentment was also made, in the course of which the grand jury declared:

> It is the belief of this body that a number of witnesses, some of them moving in high financial circles, who appeared before this body, not only came reluctantly under the call of a summons issued in the name of the court, but that the little evidence given by them was only given to disguise their guilty knowledge at least of the wrong-doing of others, if not their own. That trusts and combinations have been created and fostered through the medium of unscrupulous men and methods and that many small dealers have thus been forced to the wall or compelled to join forces with the mightier power, evidence before this body has proven. That business men of honor have mistakenly paid tribute to the fostering of blackmail in paying moneys to unworthy men and causes that they might avoid strikes to be settled, is undoubtedly true.

The industrial union convention.

The delegates to the convention at Chicago for the organization of labor on general industrial lines (p. 200) have not yet completed their work of formulating a constitution. They have decided, however, to affiliate with the International Industrial Union, the headquarters of which is at Berlin, Germany, and to adopt May 1st as the international labor day. The name chosen for the new organization is "The Industrial Workers of the World." Among the resolutions reported is one "condemning militarism in all its forms and functions which are jeopardizing our constitutional rights in the struggle between capitalists and laborers," and therefore debarring from membership all persons "joining the militia or occupying positions under the sheriff or police power or who are members of detective agencies or employers' hirelings in times of industrial disturbances."

The traction question in Chicago.

Another stage in the movement for municipalizing the traction service of Chicago (p. 200) was reached at the meeting of the City Council on the 5th, when Mayor Dunne in a message submitted proposed plans of procedure for the action of the Council.

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Prior to submitting these plans, Mayor Dunne had secured the withdrawal by the Council of proposals (p. 200) made by the Harrison administration for a ten-mile municipal ownership experiment which had been so planned as to make the experiment too costly for any possibility of succeeding either under public or private ownership; he had discontinued a cumbersome and dilatory chancery suit begun by Mayor Harrison to test the title of the traction companies to the streets, and sub-

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stituted for it an expeditious and simple quo warranto proceeding; and he had applied to the local transportation committee for authority to employ A. B. du Pont of Detroit, an experienced traction manager, as a traction expert to advise him regarding the business as well as the technical possibilities of the available lines for a municipal system. Although the question of compensation for du Pont was not involved, the committee postponed consideration of the Mayor's request until the 5th, and then again postponed it until the 11th. The prominent objectors were Aldermen Foreman and Bennett, Republicans (who are sponsors for the so-called "tentative ordinance" which was specifically rejected on referendum (p. 8) by the people at the recent municipal election), and Aldermen Maypole and Carey, Harrison Democrats.

On the 5th, after the local transportation committee had for the second time postponed consideration of Mayor Dunne's application for authority to employ Mr. du Pont, the Mayor submitted to the Council his message mentioned above. With this message he laid before the Council two plans for municipal ownership. The first, which he distinguished as "the city plan," was a method for direct financing by the city in accordance with the Mueller law; the second, which he distinguished as "the contract plan," was a method for financing by contract with a trustee corporation authorized to acquire, construct and operate, under a franchise from the Council, and to turn over to the city whenever the city demands it; this corporation to be under the constant supervision of the Council and to be limited in its profits to 5 per cent. dividends upon actual investment Mayor Dunne recommended the latter plan in preference to the former, subject to referendum at the next general election, and submitted a draft ordinance for giving it effect. The message and its accompanying documents were forthwith referred to the local transportation committee as Mayor Dunne requested.

The plan so recommended is described by Mayor Dunne in exhibit B of his message as follows:

This plan, to be known for convenience of reference as the "contract plan," contemplates the construction and operation of a municipal street car system for the city of Chicago, through the instrumentality of a private corporation acting in the city's interest.

Pursuant to the "contract plan," the City Council would build, acquire and operate street railroads through the instrumentality (for financing, acquiring, contructing and operating) of a private company composed of five men who command the confidence of the people of Chicago for their personal integrity, their business ability and their pronounced sympathy with the policy of municipal ownership of street car service, such corporation to be bound by contracts insuring the performance of their undertaking wholly in the public interest. The principal steps which I regard as necessary to the most effective execution of this plan are as follows:

First.—The incorporation of a company under the laws of Illinois by five persons well known to the people of Chicago as possessing the necessary qualifications noted above. This company to be incorporated for the express purpose of building, acquiring and operating street railroad lines in Chicago in the interest of the city, and to have the power to issue capital stock to secure the money necessary to build, acquire and operate such property. The capital stock to constitute the only incumbrance upon the property, and its amount to be limited to the actual cost of the property. Dividends upon the capital stock to be limited to five per cent. per annum.

Second.—The granting by the City Council to such company of duly guarded franchises to acquire, build and operate street railroads on designated streets between fixed termini for a period of 20 years, at five cents car fare, with appropriate transfers, and with a reservation on the part of the city of the right to take over all or any part of such road, at any time, at the price and upon the terms to be contractually specified in execuion of this plan.

Third.—The directors, president and manager of the said company to be compensated, until the city takes over the property, with salaries to be approved by the City Council.

Fourth.—All expenditures, contracts and specifications for the building or other acquisition of street railroad properties by said company to be approved by the City Council before being incurred or executed by the company.

Fifth.—During the operation of the lines by this company the City Council to have the right at any and all times fully to inspect its business, and also to reduce fares below the franchise rate to the extent of one-half the net earnings of the property, in excess of operating expenses and dividends; all the net earnings to be set aside as a purchase fund for the acquisition of the property for the city, or to be used in the betterment of the property, as the City Council may from time to time direct.

Sixth.—In order to secure the directors the control of the property and to preserve to the city the unobstructed right at any time to acquire such property in accordance with this plan, the capital stock of the company should be issued in trust to a trust company to be selected by the directors with the approval of he City Council, which trust company should issue on the basis thereof an equal amount of marketable trust certificates to the company for the purpose of obtaining capital by sale thereof, and hold the capital stock in trust to preserve the control of the aforesaid trustees for the management of the said street car lines and the consummation of this plan for securing municipal ownership and operation. The said trust company should be required to sell the stock of the said company as represented by said certificates by public subscription duly advertised. In the event of oversubscription it should be required to make allotments in the order of the receipt of subscriptions. In the event of undersubscription, the directors should be authorized to contract for the underwriting of the entire offering at a cost not to exceed two and one-half per cent. and the chosen trust company and any of the directors should be at liberty to become underwriters.

Seventh.—Upon the payment to the aforesaid trust company by the city of Chicago of an amount equal to the cost of the property, less the accumulated amount of the sinking fund herein above provided for, the said trust company should be required by the preliminary contracts to use said sum so paid, together with said sinking fund, in such way as to redeem all outstanding certificates issued by it upon the security of the capital stock of said proposed street car company, and to use the said capital stock held by it in trust in such way as to transfer all the street railroad property of the said street railroad company immediately to the city of Chicago for direct municipal ownership and operation.

The superiority of this plan over the "city plan," herewith attached for comparison, is manifest. It requires the passage of only one ordinance by the City Council; it provides for supervision and control by the City Council from beginning to end; it precludes excessive profits by making the company and its directors trustees of all profits over five per cent. for the city, and it obviates the necessity for delay in rehabilitation while referendums are taken and the validity of the street railway certificates is tested in the courts.

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Yet, while establishing virtual immediate municipal ownership and operation, it secures the right of the city to actual municipal ownership and operation as soon as the validity of the certificates shall have been tested and the people shall by the referendum required by the Mueller law have decided to act. By means of this plan the municipal street car system can be put into condition for first-class service on the lowest level of cost during the time when the various legal preliminaries to actual acquisition and operation by the city are being perfected, and yet without prejudice to that acquisition immediately upon the completion of those preliminaries. With such a plan available, it seems to me quite impossible to recommend the "city plan" in preference without stultifying my sincere and often expressed desire to secure good service and municipal ownership and operation at the earliest practicable moment. I am confident that the people may rely upon the City Council also to prefer the "contract plan."

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Mayor Dunne's message was as follows in full:

The people of Chicago having plainly manifested their desire for municipal ownership of street railroads with the least possible delay, I have diligently sought since my inauguration as mayor for the best information and the best advice regarding the subject and have carefully considered all suggested plans. I now submit to you the results of this preliminary work. Asking your cooperation in further executing the duty with which we have been jointly charged by the people in this connection, I cordially offer you all the additional assistance it is in my power to give.

As I am advised, there are about 700 miles of street railroad track now in operation in our city. The operative rights of private companies with reference to a considerable proportion of this trackage have incontestably expired. Their expiration as to the Adams street line has been actually adjudicated by the Circuit Court of the United States, and in harmony with the reasoning of that adjudication more than 100 miles of homogeneous trackage, most of which runs through densely populated portions of the city, is already free from corporation control, and 240 miles in all of like character will be free within the next two years. At varying intervals there will be further additions to this system, and within six or seven years a great majority of all the 700 miles of trackage now in operation will be incontestably subject to municipal ownership.

But that is not all. My legal advisers are confident, and this confidence is shared by me, that a rule more favorable to the city than that adopted by the Circuit Court will be established by the court of last resort. In this event the 240 miles of trackage incontestably at the free disposal of the city now and within the next two years will be greatly increased within that time. Confident of this increase as we are, we must nevertheless expect strong and persistent opposition and be ready to cope with much dilatory litigation and other vexatious obstructions. The financial interests at stake are so vast and aggressive that public interests are in jeopardy, and at this critical juncture the rights of the city may depend upon the fidelity of your honorable body. To the patriotic devotion of every member in this behalf I am sure the citizens of Chicago may look with confidence.

While in litigation we vigorously oppose the rights of the city to the claims of corporations that have been and continue to be persistently indifferent to their franchise obligations, we have official duties that cannot be ignored regarding the trackage over which corporation rights have incontestably expired. This trackage being already available for municipal ownership, our duty is plain to bring it speedily within the scope of that policy.

We are occasionally referred in this connection to the so-called "tentative ordinance." But that ordinance cannot be further considered without flagrantly disregarding public opinion lawfully expressed. Alike by advisory referendum and the mandate of a decisive municipal election, the people have distinctly and emphatically condemned it both as to form and principle.

Turning, then, to their demand for municipal ownership, I submit for your consideration two plans to secure this result. One of these plans, attached hereto and marked A, may be briefly identified as "the city plan;" the other, also attached and marked B, may be distinguished as "the contract plan." These are the only plans of which I am advised that commend themselves to my judgment; and of the two, I prefer the second. The reason for this preference is its manifest superiority as a means of accomplishing the object in view, namely, the earliest possible installation of good service and the establishment of municipal ownership of the entire street car system of Chicago.

In view of the extreme need for immediate improvement in our street railway lines, reduced to the lowest level of bad service by the system of private ownership and operation which has prevailed, every element of delay in rehabilitation is to be avoided as far as possible with due regard for the street railroad policy that the people demand and for which the Mueller law provides. Under the "city plan" there are many elements of delay which may possibly be magnified by factious opposition. But under the "contract plan," which is equally consistent with the Mueller law and the policy of municipal ownership and operation, all elements of delay are eliminated.

Financially as well as legally this plan would be immediately practicable. It would consequently enable us to proceed at once with reconstruction under circumstances assuring as good service and at as early a day as the best conceivable system for private profit could provide. Yet the rights of the city to take over, and even to operate, would be neither impaired nor postponed. As soon as a market for the Mueller certificates had been secured the city could acquire the system in its own right and its own name; as soon as the people had by referendum under the Mueller law so decided, the city could proceed to operate by its own employes. Most of the advantages of municipal ownership and operation would thus be immediately secured. There would, therefore, be no delay in realizing that policy in substance even while such judicial, financial, legislative and referendum proceedings were being taken as might be necessary to perfect it in form or to guard it by business adjustments against encroachments of the spoils system. The contract plan provides in effect for what the Mueller law contemplates and the people have demanded—immediate municipal ownership of the street car service. It provides for this system of street car service under the management of a board of directors in its preliminary steps and without the intervention of such board as soon as the city raises the necessary capital and complies with the statutory requirements.

In furtherance of this superior plan I present herewith for your consideration and action a draft ordinance, bound hereto and marked "C," and recommend the appropriate proceedings by your honorable body for referring it to your committee on local transportation. I further recommend public hearings before your committee for the purpose of considering objections to the proposed ordinance and the fullest explanation and exposition of its purpose and provisions and the consideration of such amendments not in conflict with its essential features as may be deemed proper and necessary for the interests of the city of Chicago. I also recommend that pending final action upon this ordinance the Council provide for securing the submission to the voters of Chicago at the next general election, under the advisory referendum statute, of the "contract plan" for the execution of which the proposed ordinance has been drafted.

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NEWS NOTES

—The 22d annual international Christian Endeavor convention opened in Baltimore on the 5th.

—The 44th annual convention of the National Educational association met at Asbury Park, N. J., on the 3d.

—On the 4th Susan B. Anthony was elected president of the National Woman Suffrage association, then in convention at Portland, Ore.

—John F. Stephens was appointed on the 30th as chief engineer of the Panama canal, in place of John L. Wallace (p. 202), who recently resigned.

—The Wholesale Grocers' association of the United States was organized at Milwaukee on the 29th with William Judson, of Michigan, as permanent chairman.

—The 10th anniversary of the birth of Joseph Mazzini, will be celebrated July 7 in the Women's club of Hull-House. Jane Addams will be the principal speaker.

—U. S. Senator John H. Mitchell, of Oregon, was convicted on the 3d in the Federal court at Portland, of using for private gain his office as Senator in connection with public land frauds in Oregon.

—At the municipal elections in Rome, Italy, on the 3d the Clericals and the Moderates united against the divided Liberals, whom they defeated. For the first time since 1870 the clergy participated actively in the election.

—The woman suffrage association of Oregon, assisted by the national association, are preparing to open a campaign for woman suffrage in Oregon under the initiative and referendum clause of the constitution of that State.

—Jacques Elisee Reclus, the famous geographer and anarchist, died at Brussels on the 4th, at the age of 75. He was associated with Prince Krapotkin and was exiled from France during the last commune.

—Charles J. Bonaparte, of Maryland, became secretary of the navy of the United States on the 1st, in place of Paul Morton, who on the same day assumed the full management of the Equitable insurance company.

—John Hay, Secretary of State of the United States, died at his summer home at Sunopee Lake, N. H., on the 1st. The body was buried at Cleveland, Ohio, on the 5th. The funeral ceremonies were under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce of Cleveland.

—Indictments against 21 officials of five packing establishments connected with the beef trust (vol. vii. pp. 742. 778) were found on the 1st by the Federal grand jury at Chicago. Among the persons indicted were J. Ogden Armour, Edward Morris, Louis F. Swift and Edward Cudahy.

—At the recent Cooperative Congress at Paisley, a resolution favoring "the taxation of all land, whether occupied or unoccupied, according to its value as an article for sale," was adopted by an overwhelming majority. The significance of this lies in the fact that the resolution is a demand for what is known in the United States as the single tax, coupled with the further fact that the Congress adopting it is the representative body of the great cooperation interests of Great Britain.

—The bill for the separation of church and state, which has been under discussion in the French Chamber of Deputies for several weeks (vol. vii. p. 731), was passed by that body on the 3d by the vote of 341 to 233. The general principle of the bill is reported as follows: "The Republic assures liberty of conscience and guarantees the free exercise of religion, subject to the restrictions of public order. The Republic neither recognizes, pays stipends to, nor subsidizes any sect, but provides funds for college, hospital, and asylum chaplains. Otherwise the public worship budget is abolished and public establishments connected with religion are suppressed."

PRESS OPINIONS

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S DISCRIMINATIONS.

St. Louis Mirror (ind.), June 29.—Regretfully, one must say that President Roosevelt's "roast" of Bowen, his "letting down" of Loomis and his panegyric upon Morton make a series of performances likely to go down to history as his greatest mistakes of administration, as his most astonishing deviation from ideals of rectitude and responsibility and duty, as his most significant demonstration that a personal predilection as a man for men whom he likes and with whom he associates sways him, however unconsciously, in his functions as President. In spending his strength to spare and save Loomis and Morton, the President has lost something which he may never retrieve in public opinion.

The Congregationalist (rel.), July 4.—The distinction which the President and the Attorney General draw between acts of the corporation as such and acts of the officials of the corporation, and their differentiation betwen the evidence needed for prosecution of the one and prosecution of the other, do not commend themselves to the people of the country, and the silence or open approval of the Republican press of the country indicates how much the President has erred. Nothing has been more baneful in our recent social development than differentiation between what men do as officials of corporations and what they may do as private individuals; and nothing is more needed now than strict dealing as men with officials of corporations who defy law.

The Commoner (Dem.), June 30.—To say that the President has blundered in the Santa Fe case is to express but mildly what might with propriety be expressed more harshly. . . . The President does not hesitate to punish petty criminals; why should he be so tender with large ones? When a man sells a gallon of whisky without a license, the President does not enjoin him from doing so any more, he prosecutes him and makes him feel the penalty of the law; why does he hesitate to prosecute the big men who trample upon the statutes and the orders of the courts? The President has used a good deal of high-sounding language about the enforcement of the law, and no one doubts that he means it when he applies the language to small offenders, but does he mean it when the offenders are prominent and when millions instead of hundreds are involved? He seems inclined to so amend the commandment as to make it read: "Thou shalt not steal"—on a small scale.

Public Opinion (ind.), July 1.—We should be glad of a closer official analysis of the difference between the indiscretion of Mr. Loomis and the indiscretion of Mr. Bowen. Is a man who fails to "keep his skirts especially clear of personal participation in any business which might bring him into contact with the government" a safer official than the man who bases upon the gossip of a Latin capital serious charges against his predecessor and gives them to the press? We wish that the government would enable us to look into this distinction a little deeper. . . . It can hardly be said that popular confidence in Paul Morton, the Equitable's new chairman, has been increased by President Roosevelt's defense of the former violator of the anti-rebate law. . . . Enjoining orders of the Federal court in 1902 forbade the continuance of the rebate payments by the Santa Fe, Mr. Morton being, for part of the period that followed, in charge of the road's freight traffic. The rebate payments continued. Mr. Morton says that he gave verbal instructions that the injunctions be obeyed, but that in the case at issue these injunctions were overlooked by subordinates. The Department of Justice's special counsel, Messrs. Harmon and Judson, desired to bring proceedings in contempt, in order to place the responsibility. Attorney General Moody and the President would not permit the proceedings, which would have involved Mr. Morton. To protect Mr. Morton, who, since he is declared innocent by executive decree, should have nothing to fear from an investigation, all the wrong-doers are permitted to go scot-free.

CORRUPTING LABOR LEADERS.

Chicago Commons (Soc'l), July.—An organization of employers has confessedly kept in its employ the most notoriously corrupt agent that ever disgraced and disturbed the industrial relationships of Chicago. This man was taken into its employ not from the ranks of organized labor, with which he was never identified. But he was allowed by those who employed and paid him to call himself their "labor commissioner," and testifies under oath that he was furnished with funds to fix labor leaders and control strikes. Although it is claimed that he was paid only to call strikes off and never on, it is difficult to see how his calling them off did not put a premium upon calling them on. Was not blackmail the inevitable consequence of bribery? Were not those who paid the bribe accomplices with those who levied the blackmail?

WOMEN ON THE CHICAGO SCHOOL BOARD.

(Chicago) Unity (rel.), June 29.—Mayor Dunne has shown his independency as well as good sense in the appointment of three conspicuous women to positions on the Board of Education. These women have demonstrated their power of leadership and will at once take position and influence in the direction of the public schools of Chicago. The appointment of Jane Addams, Mrs. Emmons Blaine and Dr. Cornelia De Bey represents in an exceptional degree the discrimination that puts the right man in the right place. Now that it is done one wonders why it was not done long ago.

Springfield Republican (ind.), June 30 (weekly ed.).—The three women appointed on the Chicago Board of Education by

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Mayor Dunne are remarkable public workers. They are Mrs. Emmons Blaine, Miss Jane Addams and Dr. Cornelia De Bey. There is no greater educational force in our country than Miss Addams, of Hull house. Dr. De Bey, like her, knows the whole people closely, so that she could settle the stockyard strike last year by personal conference with employers and workers; she was formerly a teacher and now a noted doctor of medicine, and has done much in bettering child labor conditions and furthering kindergartens, and in this last matter Mrs. Blaine has been most active and influential. Mrs. Blaine has given a million dollars for the professional training of teachers.

TOM L. JOHNSON.

Cleveland Daily Recorder (Dem.), June 28.—Mayor Tom L. Johnson has been abused and derided and hated by the crooks and grafters in Cleveland and in the State of Ohio worse than any other man who has ever figured in public life. But he has not changed or turned aside in the least from the course he has marked out for himself to follow. . . . In public affairs Johnson has always seen further than the end of his nose. To-day, with him, has been useful only as a portion of time in which to do something for to-morrow. He has always held that it is very important to start right and that this cannot be done so long as it is apparent to everybody that there are thieves and boodlers shielded in one's own party, while the party is ostensibly fighting the boodlers and crooks in another party. Johnson killed off his own party crooks so far as he was able. He made some enemies in this way, but they are enemies of whom any man might be proud. Johnson is building for the future. The article of Mr. Steffens, published in the July McClure can be taken as a fair and impartial history.

Springfield Republican (Ind.), June 30 (weekly ed.).—The Ohio State Democratic convention has been a rather meek affair, but the appearances indicate that Tom Johnson's ideas rather than those of John R. McLean dominated it.

THE UNIVERSAL TAX DODGER.

Schnectady (N. Y.) Daily Gazette (Ind.), June 26.—If the vacant, speculative property of this city were assessed at its full value, the taxes of the poor man would be decreased. There is plenty of such property within the limits of this city. It is a well known fact that the price at which much of it is held by the owners, if made the basis of assessment by the assessors, would produce to the city more than double the amount that it now does. Just because this property is unimproved, and is a matter of no expense to the owner, the assessors have taken a lenient view, made the assessed valuation low enough to keep the owner from protesting, and the city is the loser thereby.

CHICAGO TRACTION QUESTION.

Chicago Daily News (Ind.).—Dalrymple was all right in his way, but when the Mayor wants advice with the union label of the Advisers' union stamped on it he calls in Tom Johnson.

An English parson was lamenting the stormy weather to an old woman, and remarked that another hurricane was predicted from America. So he thought of offering up the prayer for fine weather. "Ah," exclaimed the old lady, "it would be a good thing if the Lord took the weather out of the hands of those Americans."—Christian Life.

MISCELLANY

LIBERTY.

What man is there so bold that he should say:
"Thus, and thus only, would I have the Sea?"
For whether lying calm and beautiful,
Clasping the earth in love, and throwing back
The smile of Heaven from waves of amethyst;
Or whether, freshened by the busy winds,
It bears the trade and navies of the world
To ends of use or stern activity;
Or whether, lashed by tempests, it gives way
To elemental fury, howls and roars
At all its rocky barriers, in wild lust
Of ruin drinks the blood of living things,
And strews its wrecks o'er leagues of desolate shore—
Always it is the Sea, and men bow down
Before its vast and varied majesty.

So all in vain will timorous ones essay
To set the metes and bounds of Liberty.
For Freedom is its own eternal law;
It makes its own conditions, and in storm
Or calm alike fulfills the unerring Will.
Let us not then despise it when it lies
Still as a sleeping lion, while a swarm
Of gnat-like evils hover round its head;
Nor doubt it when in mad, disjointed times
It shakes the torch of terror, and its cry
Shrills o'er the quaking earth, and in the flame
Of riot and war we see its awful form
Rise by the scaffold, where the crimson ax
Rings down its grooves the knell of shuddering kings.
For ever in thine eyes, O Liberty,
Shines that high light whereby the world is saved,
And though thou slay us, we will trust in thee!

—John Hay.

A BIT OF HISTORY IN REGARD TO A POEM BY THE LATE SECRETARY OF STATE.

In The Public of January 11, 1902, appeared an article from the pen of Mrs. Celia B. Whitehead, under the title: "Are England and America Doing God's Will?" The article contrasted the ideals of an early poem by John Hay, in which Mr. Hay prays—

Wherever man oppresses man
Beneath thy liberal sun,
O God! be there thine arm made bare,
Thy righteous will be done—

with Mr. Hay's acquiescence in the Filipino subjugation and his support of the British conquest of the Boer republics.

Before printing the article, for the purpose of verifying the punctuation of the poem, a representative of The Public searched for it in all the editions of Mr. Hay's poems to be found in the public libraries of Chicago. As he was not able to find it, a letter was written to Mrs. Whitehead asking for an authentication of the poem. Mrs. Whitehead had no printed copy of the poem; she had committed it to memory from a magazine in 1891. She therefore forwarded the letter of inquiry, with one of her own, to Mr. Hay, then secretary of state at Washington, explaining in her own letter that the person who lent her the magazine which contained the poem told her that Mr. Hay was "an eminent lawyer, as well as a gifted poet." Mrs. Whitehead continued:

It never occurred to me that there could be another lawyer-poet named John Hay till I received the letter herewith inclosed, though it is true that since you have been in your present position I have wondered how you reconciled your seeming friendliness toward England with the spirit of the poem. But I let the thought drop as one of the unsolvable mysteries.

Mrs. Whitehead received a reply from Mr. Hay's private secretary, which we printed in connection with her article at the time, and which we now reprint here as a bit of interesting history, following it with the poem itself.

Department of State—Washington, Dec. 26, 1901.—Dear Madam: The Secretary of State asks me to return both these letters, as the copy of the poem you refer to seems correct in your letter. The poem was published in the Independent some years ago, and has been since copied in Dr. Lyman Abbott's volume of hymns.

The Secretary is unable to relieve the confusion of mind you seem to be in in regard to the contradiction you see between his words and his acts. Very respectfully,

(Signed) E. J. BABCOCK,
Private Secretary.

Mrs. Celia B. Whitehead, 1501 E. Sixteenth avenue, Denver, Col.

THY WILL BE DONE.

Not in dumb resignation
We lift our hands on high;
Not like the nerveless fatalist,
Content to trust and die.
Our faith springs like the eagle
That soars to meet the sun,
And cries exulting unto thee:
"O Lord! thy will be done!"

When tyrant feet are trampling
Upon the common weal,
Thou dost not bid us cringe and writhe
Beneath the iron heel;
In thy name we assert our rights
With sword and tongue and pen,
And e'en the headsman's ax may flash
Thy message unto men.

Thy will! it bids the weak be strong,
It bids the strong be just;
No lip to fawn, no hand to beg,
No brow to seek the dust.
Wherever man oppresses man
Beneath thy liberal sun,
O God! be there thine arm made bare,
Thy righteous will be done.

UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

Dear John: June is your time for daisies, and I suppose you've had 'em, and mighty pretty they are, too—just as if

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somebody had scattered white quarter-dollars and red quarter-dollars all over the greenest grass in the world. Lookin' down at 'em 'minds a feller of the old English folksong aheraldin' of summer:

Zoomer ist a goomin' in,

and he feels fine in anticipation of good times a comin'.

But if you want a flower jist a little ahead of the daisy, John—a flower for all purposes, up and a comin' and early on deck, affordin' joy and delight all around, and a jewelry store and chain works for the children—take my dandelion. In the first place, it's a better contrast with the grass. The only objection I ever had to paradise was that there wasn't any green among the golden streets. My dandelion is gold among the green. There's a whole lot of people that'll never get nearer Heaven than in seein' a green field a-laughin' with dandelions in spring; and some are satisfied to go no further in experimentin', but just stay right there, time and eternity.

After all, a feller likes the country. You mind old Horace, John. I don't know his other name. Wrote verses along about 40 and 10 B. C. Didn't know any English, and he had to write 'em all out in Latin. Well, Horace said some mighty nice things about the country. He had been out with Brutus in the battle of Philippi—Horace had—and got licked, and when he reached home the Romans had jumped his ranch, and they now laughed at him as a beaten and impoverished man. Well, he got a little place up in the mountains, and wrote verses about the country and country things. Listen to the old heathen, how dainty he did it two thousand years ago:

And Tibur's groves and orchards, dewed by rills,
That dance their glad way down from Tibur's wooded hills.

Ain't that rather neat for a chap who never heard of Harvard College, or Oxford, or Cambridge, or Dan Chaucer? Nineteen hundred years ago, and better, John, if it's a week, and the rills ran then as they do now, and men admired 'em! Nature keeps on a repeatin' herself. Blamed if I don't turn up Tories now and then that I licked hard and fast in the Revolution, just as I used to turn up Indian flints with the plow! Seems to me my whole Republican party has turned tory and imperialistic. There's my boy, Taft, home from the Philippines. He's been lecturin' the law class down at Yale. On liberty, you guess? Nay, Sarah! Against the jury system. It's amazin' how popular the king business is with the kings, and a judge who can hang a man on his own sayso is no slouch of a king.

"Now, I ain't a sayin', John, that the cadi system don't have its advantages. The cadi sees that the man ought to be executed, so what's the use of gettin' the consent of 12 other men, the jury of his peers, required under the Charter of John, which is your Charter and mine, and our protection?

Taft says there wouldn't be so many lynchings, if men who commit crime were promptly arrested and convicted; an' I guess that's so. Likewise, two times two is four; but what's that got to do with the jury system? It's the judges that let out the rich and powerful criminals, not the juries. Do the juries quash indictments, and grant new trials, and impose light sentences? Nixie! The jury system is not perfect, but it's the best the world's got up to date; and it keeps fellows like Taft from doin' things without proper meditation and reference to the Charter rules. Why, they tell me the "English State Trials" are big books full of trials after some rebellion or uprisin', when bloodthirsty British judges traveled circuit and murdered people right and left by abusin' the jury system. When the jury wouldn't bring a man in guilty, the judge sent 'em back till they did. No, the jury system is all right, and I'm a-thinkin' of extendin' it to women. Why should a woman be hanged without a jury of her peers? Why should a woman be hanged at all? Think of it! I'm ashamed of my boys in some things.

UNCLE SAM.

THE REVIVAL OF THE TOWN MEETING.

In his pulpit at the Vine Street Congregational church, Cincinnati, O., May 28, 1905, the pastor, Herbert S. Bigelow, discussed a plan for the revival of the old New England town meeting.

Before our ancestors conquered old England they had their home in the forests of Germany. Each clan dwelt in a community by itself, which was called the mark or the town. Each town had its folk-mote. This was an assembly of all the people, which met once a year or oftener. All laws were proposed, discussed and passed by this assembly. Each citizen had voice and vote, and the folk-mote was a pure democracy.

This system of popular government was transplanted into England. The English township corresponded to the mark, and each township had its popular assembly, or folk-mote, through which the people governed themselves directly.

In the course of time the liberties of the English townships were encroached upon, but when the Pilgrim fathers arrived in the New World, they reestablished township government in its purity under the name of the town meeting.

In New England the township was the political unit. The people elected no law-makers. They came together in their town meetings and made their own laws. Each town was a little republic. Popular sovereignty was not merely a theory; it was a fact. The power to make laws was not delegated, as now, to a few. In New England the town council included all the citizens, and each man had a vote on the laws he was expected to obey.

John Fiske declared the New England town meeting to be "the most complete democracy in the world," and "the best political training school in existence." Thomas Jefferson said it was "the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government, and for its preservation."

In the course of time these towns elected delegates to a general assembly, but, unlike our present State representatives, these delegates were under the direct control of their constituents. We petition our representatives. They instructed theirs. Speaking for the town meeting of Boston, in 1764, Samuel Adams delivered an address to the newly elected delegates to the Massachusetts legislature, informing them that the townsmen "have delegated to you the power of acting in their public concerns in general as your own prudence shall direct you," "always reserving to themselves the constitutional right of expressing their mind and giving you such instruction upon particular matters as they at any time shall judge proper."

Obviously, however, the town meeting was destined to disappear as population increased and voters became too numerous to be assembled in a legislative body. Thus direct legislation by the people gave way to the present representative system. Now the question is how to revive and adapt to the changed conditions the virtues of the old town meeting.

Unquestionably the initiative and referendum do this. The State of Oregon has solved the problem. A petition of five per cent. of the voters is sufficient to force a popular referendum upon any act of the legislature.

A petition of eight per cent. is sufficient to propose a new measure, and if a majority of the people vote for it, the measure is law. Thus the people of Oregon have the power to veto the

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acts of their representatives, and also to pass laws independently of their representatives. They have as much control over their public servants as the New England town meetings. Moreover, the Oregon plan is an improvement on the other. The people of Oregon do not attempt to make laws in an emotional or unwieldy mass meeting. They secure the right to vote upon any measure by petition. Then they may discuss it in their clubs and homes, and read about it in their papers, and go to the polls and vote with deliberation.

The phenomenal progress of this principle of direct legislation by the initiative and referendum is the most hopeful sign of the times.

PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY.

Portions of a speech delivered by Thomas M. Osborne, Mayor of Auburn, N. Y., at a banquet given by the Democratic Club of Brooklyn on May 4, 1905, as reported in the Auburn Bulletin.

Democracy means a love for, and a trust in the people; a belief that the unobstructed rule of the people is the only safe and sound political system which has ever been devised; the only one founded on the eternal verities; the only one that is the political embodiment of the golden rule. All other systems—the imperial, founded in its essence on the brutal relation between master and slave; the feudal, founded on the unnatural relation between lord and vassal; the paternal, founded on the absurd relation between claimant to divine right and his servant; the aristocratic, founded on the false relations between an assumed knowledge and an assumed ignorance—all these systems have been tested and have been found wanting; and from the soil enriched by the ashes of these dead and dying systems and watered by the tears of their victims throughout the ages, has sprung the flower of modern democracy which is now unfolding.

It was to guard this precious growth that our ancestors crossed the ocean to breathe a purer, fresher air, where natural development could be untrammeled; and it is because I believe that the Democratic party with all its faults is truer to the cause of democracy than its rival that I am a Democrat.

Democracy is no perfect system—it is by no means so superficially impressive as imperialism; it is certainly not so severely logical as feudalism; it is not so simple as paternalism; nor so satisfying—to the aristocrats—as aristocracy. Its results are often crude and unlovely, as has been often noted; but it is a living system—living in all its parts. Liberty often tends to license, as is only natural; but it is only through mistakes that we learn the truth. And those mistakes come about more often because we do not live up to our democratic ideals, than because we indulge them too freely. Sometimes men who call themselves Democrats fear to trust democracy because they fear it is not practical. Every day I meet men who will not trust the Golden Rule because they fear it is not practical; while every day's experience of life tells us if we are not deaf, that it is the only social guide that is practical.

What is true and progressive democracy as applied to the City, the State and the Nation?

The democratic doctrine as applied to the city is the clear understanding that the city is a municipal corporation to be run along the lines of honest business—not politics; that the model of its government should be not a diminished state but an enlarged business system; that the real problem of the city lies not in legislation but administration, that there is perhaps less for a Common Council to do than for a Mayor; that responsibility for its government should be concentrated so far as possible, and its system made as simple as possible; that the people should understand and know its home affairs first of all, as there is the source of good government, or the source of corruption.

Progressive democracy in the State—what is that?

As compared with the city, political considerations in the State are somewhat reversed. In the city the most important questions are administrative, in the State the most important are legislative. I hope you will pardon my presumption if I refer briefly to some that from my point of view are amongst the most important State problems which progressive democracy must assist in solving.

First and foremost—Home rule for cities. I am one of those up-State Democrats who believe that you here in New York know your own needs better than we do, and that you can manage them better than we can. I even go so far as to deny that New York City should be ruled from Albany. But New York is not the only sufferer. When I came into office as Mayor of Auburn the city could not make a $25 raise in the salary of the State Superintendent; we could not spend in the fire department more than a specified sum each year; we could not build a new schoolhouse; we could not add an officer to the police force; we could not borrow a dollar on the city's credit without running to the Legislature for permission. Talk of home rule for New York! The cities of the third class have needed it as well as those of the first.

Second—A better and more equitable tax system. I fear that upon this matter I am a radical. I am so impressed with the ills we have that I am almost ready to fly to those that we know not of. I should not even be afraid to give serious consideration to the Single Tax, that theory which gives some of my neighbors and friends such shivers of fear; (although I have almost invariably found that those who are most fearful are those who have carefully refrained from reading or learning anything about the subject.)

But of one thing I am certain—that our present system is vicious because inequitable, and that some system must be found which will be fair and even in its distribution. I believe, moreover, that the Republican party is so weighted down by "special privilege" in one form or another that it is wholly unable to handle the question of taxation with fairness to the people. A righteous system of taxation must be the work of a progressive democracy.

Third—We must have an enlightened system of prison discipline. There must be places to send the unfortunate men whose conduct shows that they cannot get along in organized society, where they can learn how to adapt themselves to society; where they will be taught to earn an honest living not by being forced to work by brute force, but through choice; where they will learn the essential nature and the meaning of the laws which they have broken, and which they must understand before they can obey; where they will acquire a sense of citizenship before they are again turned loose on society. Had our prison system been designed expressly to prevent such reformation it could hardly have been better done.

And if our prisons need reform, what shall be said of our county jails, where tramps and vagabonds loaf in idleness through the winter months, only to prey upon society during warm weather and return again to jail in the Autumn; where the young boy arrested for his first offense spends months of degrading idleness in the associations of the loafer, the drunkard, the thief, and the gambler?

Here is a problem well worthy of progressive democracy, to build up the State by strengthening the weakest

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parts. To ennoble citizenship by turning the criminal into a free and honest citizen.

And what of the nation?

Here, of course, democracy has many duties, but one seems to me supreme—to urge and insist upon a return to the nation's true path, to the development of our democratic system, abandoning this wretched experiment in imperialism into which the reactionary spirit dominating the latter years of the Nineteenth century has betrayed us. Democracy bids us make friends with all mankind; with all peoples in any event, with their rulers if we can. It bids us keep our sympathies always alert for freedom in any guise—as it was in the past with Greece, with Poland, with Hungary, with Italy; as it still is with Ireland; as it should be with Cuba and the Philippines. "This is a world of compensations," said Lincoln; "and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and, under a just God, cannot long retain it."

"If we say we must postpone the question," wrote Mr. Gladstone about Ireland, "till the state of the country be more fit for it, I should answer that the least danger is in going forward at once. It is liberty alone which fits men for liberty."

It is democracy's task to turn the Filipinos from subjects into friends. To help them and all other nations by the force of a great and glorious example, the example of a powerful nation loving liberty itself and insisting upon it always quietly but firmly for others; law abiding in the community of nations; peaceful and upright; protecting every weak people struggling for freedom; loving its neighbor as itself; and loving righteousness above all.

And if the democracy demands in the city, as a necessity in any business system, a strong executive head who shall have a pretty free hand in dealing with municipal affairs so long as he is responsible to the people; on the other hand it demands in the nation's executive a man willing and able to be bound by the restraints of the law. I for one, do not cry for a President who will "do things." I want one who will have the patience to spend sufficient time in determining the right thing to do, and the wisdom to delay when the right course is not yet clear. I want a man who can not only preach the beauty of holiness but whose conscience is in sufficiently good training to permit him at all times to follow his own preaching.

The Democratic party has, as I believe, still a sacred mission to perform, but it must gain success by deserving it. If genuine democracy—the rule of the people—is to be perfected the successive steps can only be gained by a party which believes firmly in itself and its cause.

THE LOST LEADER.

Just for a handful of silver he left us,
Just for a riband to stick in his coat—
Found the one gift of which fortune bereft us,
Lost all the others, she lets us devote;
They, with the gold to give, doled him out silver,
So much was theirs who so little allowed;
How all our copper had gone for his service!
Rags—were they purple, his heart had been proud!
We that had loved him so, followed him, honored him,
Lived in his mild and magnificent eye,
Learned his great language, caught his clear accents,
Made him our pattern to live and to die!
Shakespeare was of us, Milton was for us,
Burns, Shelley, were with us—they watch from their graves!
He alone breaks from the van and the freemen,
He alone sinks to the rear and the slaves!

We shall march prospering—not through his presence;
Songs may inspirit us—not from his lyre;
Deeds will be done—while he boasts his quiescence,
Still bidding crouch whom the rest bade aspire.

Blot out his name, then, record one lost soul more,
One task more declined, one more footpath untrod,
One more devil's triumph and sorrow for angels,
One wrong more to man, one more insult to God!
Life's night begins; let him never come back to us!
There would be doubt, hesitation and pain,
Forced praise on our part—the glimmer of twilight,
Never glad confident morning again!
Best fight on well, for we taught him—strike gallantly,
Menace our heart ere we master his own;
Then let him receive the new knowledge and wait us,
Pardoned in heaven, the first by the throne!

—Robert Browning.

Withers: Oh, yes, I guess Fettle is pretty well posted on turf matters, but he's not a safe man to take tips from; he's color blind.

Mame: Never heard that before,

Withers: It's so, just the same. He told me a dark horse was going to win, and I put up all I had on a black mare; it was a white horse that came under the wire 'way ahead of all the others.—Boston Transcript.

BOOKS

A BOOK ABOUT ISAIAH.

We have in our day many books about books. There is hardly a book that can be called a classic that has not been much bewritten during the past quarter of a century. It may be that we have got the habit of reading more about classics than we read the classics themselves. If this be true it is a pity; for, in spite of Mark Twain's saying—that classics are books we admire but do not read—, it remains true that classics are books we ought to read. And when we do read a really great book not only do we admire it, but we have a feeling that only such books are worth reading. After such reading we are apt to form a resolution not to waste time on trifles, but to read only what bears the mark of approved reality and sincerity.

Evidently the best books about books are those that lead us to read the great originals. These great originals are not often easy reading. They are loaded with thought; they may be loaded with local and temporary allusions. They may require notes and expositions and commentaries. Thus it is that there may be a real need for a book that will not only lead us to the reading and study of the great original, but will help us to a clear understanding and appreciation of the master's thought and setting.

Rarely has there appeared a book about a book, which is in itself so great a book and at the same time so fully expository of its theme, as George Adam Smith's Isaiah (A. C. Armstrong and Son, New York, 2 vols.). The first volume deals with the chapters through the thirty-ninth; the second volume deals with the chapters from the fortieth to the end—the second Isaiah of the new criticism.

We have two great poems that go by the name of Homer. They are both wonderfully great, great in the knowledge of human hearts and in the description of life and action. There are men who have thought it worth while to spend their time in proving that there was one Homer, or that there were two Homers, or that there was no Homer at all. These men have their fun and get some pay for it; but they do not necessarily touch the real Homer. And the Iliad and Odyssey still live. A modern critic has proved that Paul's Epistle to the Romans is not by Paul, is not an Epistle, and was not addressed to the Romans; yet the sixteen great chapters still live. So there may be one Isaiah, two Isaiahs, a dozen Isaiahs, or no Isaiah, yet there

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remains the great book called by that name. And whoever wishes to understand the thoughts and allusions contained in this book of Isaiah cannot do better than to read and ponder this commentary by the distinguished Scotch scholar and preacher, George Adam Smith. Whatever else may have been the thought of the prophets of Israel, there is no doubt that they were the great social reformers or preachers of reform in their day. This fact is abundantly developed in the present work, as a single illustration will show. This illustration will also show the author's happy methods of pointing to the universal and modern application of the prophet's themes. This is, indeed, the essential value of a genuine classic, that it is for all time and places—that its truths are universal; and it is the best service of a commentary like the present to show this universality of the truths presented in the original.

In dealing with two large volumes it is necessary to take a definite illustration, and in such a work on Isaiah the illustration that may naturally suggest itself is that of the land question. The book of Isaiah contains a number of classic expressions on this problem. "Isaiah," writes the author, "says nothing about the peculiar land laws of his people. He lays down principles, and these are principles valid in every civilization. God has made the land, not to feed the pride of the few, but the natural hunger of the many, and it is his will that the most be got out of a country's soil for the people of the country. Whatever be the system of land tenure—and while all are more or less liable to abuse, it is the duty of a people to agitate for that which will be least liable—if it is taken advantage of by individuals to satisfy their own cupidity, then God will take account of them." Again: "The land question is untimately a religious question. For the management of their land the whole nation is responsible to God." And again: "Every civilized community develops sooner or later its land-question. . . . Isaiah has nothing to tell us of what he considers the best system of land tenure, but he enforces the principle that in the ease with which land may be absorbed by one person the natural covetousness of the human heart has a terrible opportunity for working ruin upon society. Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no room, and ye be made to dwell alone in the midst of the land." And again, speaking of such questions the author says: "Questions they are called by the superficial opinion that all difficulties may be overcome by the cleverness of men; yet problems through which there cries for remedy so vast a proportion of our poverty, crime and madness, are something worse than questions. They are huge sins, and require not merely the statesman's wit, but all the penitence and zeal of which a nation's conscience is capable. It is in this that the force of Isaiah's treatment lies."

So, with whatever subject this greatest of the Hebrew books may deal, this commentary treats it in a way that brings it home to modern thought. The author writes both freely and reverently. He is both scholar and preacher. He knows the learning of the critics, and retains his reverence for the book. Furthermore, he has historical insight, and can project himself into the life and times of the people. Best of all, he has spiritual insight, and can think the thoughts of the great prophet along the deep problems that affect individual and national life both in the present and in the future. He is thus a representative of the best type of critical interpretation—one who enters into and partakes of the great thoughts of his subject.

J. H. DILLARD.

READY MONEY.

This book, by George H. Knox (Des Moines, Ia.: Personal Help Publishing company), is at once one of the best and one of the worst to put into the hands of a young man. It is one of the best because it is genuinely stimulating to the sluggish or despairing; it is one of the worst because it carries the suggestion that what is commonly called success is the true goal of human life and that industry infallibly achieves it.

Without commenting on the low standard of success which alone the reader is apt to see in the book whether the author so intends or not, we venture a word about the impression which clearly is intended, that intelligent industry will certainly win success.

For the great majority who accept that doctrine, disappointment is sure to come. It is like assuring an athlete that he will certainly win the prize if he trains thoroughly and strives hard. It isn't true. Only when the competing athletes do not train thoroughly and strive hard can he surely win who does. What is true about it is this, that the athlete who trains thoroughly and strives hard will be the better athlete for it whether he wins the prize or not.

So it is in business, which, unhappily and unnaturally, is a struggle for prizes. He who trains and strives will be a better business man than if he does not, but there is no certainty that he will win any prizes. That will depend upon how well his competitors train and strive.

It may be that the author of "Ready Money" knows this; but if he does, his false idea of optimism has prevented his making it clear to his readers.

NATIONAL ADMIMNISTRATION.

No comprehensive and systematic work on the administration of national affairs in the United States seems ever to have been published until the appearance this year of "The National Administration of the United States of America," by John A. Fairlie, Ph. D., assistant professor of administrative law at the University of Michigan (New York: The Macmillan Company). Noticing this neglect, Dr. Fairlie undertook to present a general survey of the whole field of national administration, wholly apart from any reference to the legislative and the judicial branches, except as they might be directly related to the executive. The real value of such a book can be determined only after considerable use; but the work appears to have been faithfully done.

Beginning with an exposition of the general and special administrative powers of the President this book proceeds to those of the Senate with reference to appointments and treaties, and of Congress through resolutions, statutes and impeachments. Continuing, it considers in succession the cabinet and its members, administrative organization, and the various departments and bureaus. Every subject is introduced with a paragraph of appropriate references.

The book is much more than a careful classification and explanation of administrative functions and powers. It rises almost to the level of a treatise. While serviceable for reference, it may also be strongly recommended as a text book for studying the executive structure of our national government.

A SOUL'S LOVE LETTER.

But for a formula of scientific socialism, thrust into a bit of prose poetry, with no appropriate background but as if the author knew it by heart without understanding it and couldn't resist the temptation to put it into print when the chance offered.—but for this literary incongruity, "A Soul's Love Letter (Westwood, Mass.: The Ariel Press. Price, $1.00) would be a delightful specimen of that most interesting of all essay writing, the essay which is kept alive with the pulsations of a story. It is the story of a poor farmer's daughter with aspirations; not so much a story of her experiences, although enough of these are told to keep her in touch with earth, as of her mental and moral development. The ample opportunities for reflective comment which such a story offers are not neglected, and many of the author's observations are well worth quoting; for example: "While I hope my father was right, I was in hell, but I didn't know; I didn't recognize the place because I thought blisters were only made

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THE RISING TIDE IN GREAT BRITAIN.

by literal fire." As might be inferred from this quotation, there is a good spiritual quality to her book. Another instance of it is when she recognizes the principle of doing right for right's sake, which is startlingly out of harmony with her subsequent formula from a social philosophy that rejects the idea of moral right and grounds itself in materialistic fatalism. A few light touches of humor, a good deal of wholesome sentiment, and bits of genuine pathos and wise reflections make this volume very readable. It is candid and intensely human.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—"Connectives of English Speech. The Correct Usage of Prepositions, Conjunctions, Relative Pronouns and Adverbs Explained and Illustrated." By James C. Fernald, editor of "The Students' Standard Dictionary," "English Synonyms and Antonyms," etc. New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls Company. Price, $1.50 net. A comprehensive, well-indexed and instructive handbook on the subject described in the title.

PAMPHLETS

The proceedings at the memorial meeting to the late George S. Boutwell, which was held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, April 18, 1905, are published in pamphlet. This meeting, with its simple ceremonies, was a touching tribute to one of the great men of this country, a man whose greatness lay in his character as a citizen, and not alone in the accidents of official service. Among the speakers were William Lloyd Garrison, Gen. Miles and A. A. Putnam. We should have better citizenship, if it could be as truly written of more of our statesmen what Thomas Wentworth Higginson has written for Boutwell's epitaph: "One who obeyed throughout his life the words of old tradition, "Speak the truth, though every man be a liar;" who in advanced years set the example of courage and order to boys; who was hopeful when victorious, and yet more so when defeated. It is easy for a strong man to resist his opponents, but this man stood a harder test, for when conscience bade him he could withstand even friends."

PERIODICALS

An instructive inside view of the parish school system of the Roman Catholic church will be found in the International Journal of Ethics (Philadelphia) for July. It is presented in a paper read before the Ethical Society of Philadelphia, by Philip R. McDevitt, superintendent of parochial schools at Philadelphia.

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