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LOUIS F. POST
EDITOR

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JERRY SIMPSON'S CAREER

DELAY IN PRINTING THE PORTRAIT AND SKETCH

By reason of an imperfection in the printing of the portrait of Jerry Simpson, the sketch and portrait do not appear in this issue, as it was announced they would. They will appear next week, Nov. 18.

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LOUIS F. POST, Editor

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, NOV. 11, 1905.

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EDITORIAL

Significance of the elections.

It is not to be inferred from the elections of the 7th that a majority of the voters have agreed either irrevocably or at all upon any particular programme of reform or progress. The real significance of these elections is that the people have shattered the crystals of their partisanship.

—

This is the most hopeful kind of all political events at present possible. There can be no progress while great masses of the people are wedded to fading issues and dying parties, and follow the lead of designing bosses. In politics as in religion, conviction of sin must precede conversion to righteousness, and these elections indicate that the people are coming under conviction.

—

But there may be many ups and downs in our politics yet, before satisfactory evidence of any general conversion to righteousness appears. Therefore let no one be so jubilant over this week's results as to be dismayed when he sees the popular wave receding. What is needed in times like these is not mere enthusiasm while the tide runs high; it is level headed loyalty and unflagging zeal at all times, be the tide high or low.

—

The democracy of this country is in a gigantic struggle with its plutocracy. Democracy is many-handed, many-headed and many-hearted, and when united is irresistible. But its units are easily scattered, and when the power of democracy is thus disrupted plutocracy has a free hand until circumstances again unite the democratic units. For this reason the road of progressive democracy is a hard one. For the same reason, plutocracy does not yield though democracy overwhelm it. He is much mistaken who imagines that plutocracy can be easily conquered. Those who enlist on the side of democracy should realize that there is no royal road to victory, and be prepared not only for hard work and steady work and unselfish work, but also for those saddest of all kinds of disappointments—the shameful defeats that so often follow great victories.

Hearst's victory.

That Hearst was fairly elected mayor of New York no fair and intelligent man will think of disputing. By false voting and false counting, McClellan has been given an apparent plurality of 3,500 in 600,000 votes. It is a pitiful plurality pitifully procured. Mr. Hearst threatens to contest. The man who ought to contest is McClellan himself. His own honor demands that he require the most careful sifting of the returns, with a determination to refuse the office "Boss" Murphy offers him if it appears that the people did not intend him to have it. Whether McClellan takes this manly stand or not, and whether Hearst succeeds in a contest or not, Hearst's most irreconcilable enemy must concede the brilliancy of his victory. Without organization and against tremendous odds and enormous corruption, he has come concededly within a few votes of election, and has in public estimation been honestly elected. Both the manner of his campaign and its result, as well as his conduct now, make him loom up no longer as a self-seeker but as a genuine leader in a great cause.

—

But what is of more importance than any man's victory is the tremendous vote that was rolled up in New York distinctly for municipal ownership of municipal utilities. This is the people's answer to the pretense that the vote for municipal ownership in Chicago last Spring came from a momentary impulse and that it will not be repeated. The sentiment is as strong in Chicago to-day as it was last Spring, and as it was in New York last Tuesday. The wave has not yet begun to recede. Let the plutocrats of Chicago make no mistake about the situation. Their extension franchise ordinance will be torn in fragments by the referendum vote next Spring, and some of its aldermanic supporters will learn that there are other influences to reckon with than those that emanate from the sanctums of traction speculators. The New York election has its lessons for the politicians, the grafters, and the parlor reformers of Chicago.

Tom L. Johnson's third election.

It must be confusing to the readers of the average plutocratic newspaper to learn that Tom L.

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Johnson, whom they had become accustomed to think of as a political corpse, has just been elected mayor of Cleveland for the third time, and by double the largest plurality he had ever before received. Not only is he elected, but his whole ticket is elected with him, and this includes a body of democratic Democrats to the legislature, which will be Democratic in both houses and be supplemented with a Democratic governor who has the reputation also of being a democratic Democrat. Slow as goes the fight against plutocracy, it does go when it has leaders who are not only enthusiastic in the hour of victory, but persistent both in victory and in defeat.

The overturn in Ohio.

Ohio has been wholly overturned politically. The governor and both houses of the legislature are Democratic. Hannaism is out, Coxism is out, and it is reasonably to be hoped that a democratic brand of Democracy has taken their place. Should this prove to be true, the wretched municipal code of Ohio will be superseded by a code giving self-government to the corporation-ridden cities of that State. The Democratic party now has an opportunity to demonstrate in Ohio the genuineness of its democracy, and in no respect can it do this better than by lodging self-government with municipalities.

Mayor Jones's Successor.

The late Mayor Jones of Toledo performed political wonders at elections in that city, and now he has a worthy successor. His old friend, Brand Whitlock, who was not only his personal friend but a profound sympathizer, has been elected mayor as an independent. Whitlock is a welcome addition to the popular leaders who are springing to the front in the great fight of democracy against plutocracy for the possession of this country.

An impeachment of the Senate.

In his "Frenzied Finance" in the November Everybody's, Mr. Lawson makes a specific charge, names alone omitted, which challenges the United States Senate to defend its honor against Lawson's aspersions, if they are aspersions, or against its own internal corruption if Lawson's charge is true. His charge relates to the second election to the Senate of Clark of Montana. Clark and Rogers (Standard Oil Rogers) were then business enemies, Clark being aligned with Heinze. Rogers had a conference with him after his second election—a notoriously corrupt election—and intimated, so Lawson tells the story, that—

> as long as the Montanan remained the ally of Heinze he could not enter the Senate, that the cards were again stacked for his expulsion, and that he had better patch up with "Standard Oil" before it was too late. Clark did not believe that even the Master of "Standard Oil" could actually "deliver" the Senate of the United States, and bluntly he told Rogers that he believed he was bluffing. He was willing to put the threat to a test—if Rogers could show him a majority of the United States Senate pledged in writing to refuse him admittance, he would concede defeat, drop Heinze, and join "Standard Oil." On the other hand, if Rogers failed, "Standard Oil" should cease its opposition to his admittance to the Senate. In making this proposition Clark imagined that he had imposed an impossible condition . . . but his weasel eyes opened wide when Mr. Rogers quietly but pointedly said: "It's a bargain. If I don't give you the proof as I say one week from to-day, I will not trouble you again in connection with our Heinze affairs." At the appointed time the great manipulator of men, as calmly as though he were exhibiting a bill of sale for a carload of barreled petroleum, allowed Clark to inspect a list of two over a majority of our grave and reverend seigniors. Clark delivered his goods like the conservative business man he is, . . . has gone untroubled on his way, and from that time to this has faithfully performed his obeisances before the great Oil Throne.

Who were the Senators whose votes were thus, over their own signatures, put at Rogers's command? Or, is Lawson "lying again"? Will the Senate have any curiosity to know which?

Pharisees and hoodlums.

Munkacsy's great picture of "Christ Before Pilate," furnishes a lesson which some of the clergymen of Chicago might profitably ponder. In the foreground is a hoodlum with hand upraised, evidently shouting "Crucify him! Crucify him!" And by Pilate's right hand sits a rotund pharisee, who listens to the hoodlum and looks on the proceedings with unconcealed satisfaction. The pharisee and the hoodlum are working together, from different motives but for a common purpose. Doubtless it was not the first time that pharisee and hoodlum had pooled their issues, and it certainly was not the last. Here in Chicago to-day, a similar spectacle is presented. Because Mayor Dunne has closed the dives and gambling hells, which his predecessors left open, the hoodlums are his enemies; and because he has not closed the beer saloons on Sundays, which his predecessors left open unquestioned, some of the preachers denounce him. It is the old, old story of a certain tendency of hoodlum and pharisee to affiliate.

At the meeting of the Congregational clergymen on the 6th this pharisaical performance was rebuked by some of the clergymen in attendance. One of them was the Rev. D. D. DeLong, pastor of Fellowship church, who is reported to have sensibly said that the immediate question in Chicago is municipal ownership. "The biggest battle," he urged, "is for the city's rights to the streets;" and then he added: "If we start this fight for Sunday closing now, we may lose both Sunday closing and municipal ownership." He was supported by two or three others, but most of these gentlemen of the cloth were not to be sidetracked by municipal ownership. What they evidently really want is to have municipal ownership sidetracked. They had done nothing for Sunday saloon closing for a score of years. They had not supported the Prohibition party last Spring, the only party that demanded it. They had supported Harlan who was committed to the open Sunday policy. They are silent now about the Republican

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prosecutor whose duty it is, if there is any duty, to prosecute these violations of the law, if they are violations. Yet they rise up in holy indignation to force Mayor Dunne to assail this custom which has obtained practically unquestioned for twenty years or more. Why this sudden explosion of pharisaical indignation? Why attack Dunne because he doesn't give us an absolutely "dry" Sunday, and yet bring no pressure upon Republican officials nor say anything in approval of Dunne's closing of the dives and hells? Why this coincidence of churchly indignation with the wrath of the hoodlum element at his having closed the dives and hells? Above all why this outcry just at the time when a strong combination of hoodlums and pharisees would be most effective in embarrassing Mayor Dunne in his efforts to accomplish the principal thing for which he was elected—the rescue of the streets of the city from business grafters?

CURIOSITIES OF TAXATION.

Taxation is the collection of revenues for public purposes, though it is seldom made to serve such purposes alone. It is a practice that marks off a civilized from an uncivilized community. Taxation is a sign of the beginnings of civilization; a finally perfected system of taxation would perhaps mean a finally perfected civilization.

In the evolution of a community from barbarism to civilization the systems of taxation first to be adopted differ but little from brigandage and piracy. They partake of the nature of both, and are polite concessions to the growing dislike of violent methods for diverting wealth into the pockets of those who do not earn it. Those who earn it are too busy earning it to study methods of keeping it, and those who do not earn it have all the time there is for devising methods for extracting it. The most successful of these methods is taxation—brigandage simplified and highwaymanship translated into forms of law. It is cheap and convenient and lacks the element of personal risk. It possesses the counsel of precaution. It permits of multifarious devices ingeniously hidden from public view, and is what Turgot (or was it Colbert?) called it, "the art of plucking the goose without making it cry out."

Any system of taxation that has any other object than revenue collection is robbery "on the side." Any tax system is to be condemned that is advocated for any other purpose than the payment of public needs. This applies to all systems of taxation save one to which it is needless now to refer—viz., the suggestion to abolish all taxation and take land values or economic rent for public purposes. This is sometimes called the Single Tax, but this is a misnomer, since its object is to do away with all taxation, or rather to divert a private tax now levied by landowners into the common treasury. So it may be dismissed for the time from consideration, with the reflection that it does away not only with all taxation, but with every conceivable objection against any other known method of raising revenue.

So strong are the motives of self-interest in the classes concerned in imposing and continuing taxation, that history has been wrested from its true purpose as a faithful chronicler to blacken the characters of some of the most eminent and patriotic rebels against taxation—Watt Tyler and Jack Cade. We are taught to regard these two men as two of the most odious enemies of constituted authority. They are made to serve as examples of all that is most ignorant and dangerous in the present day demagogues, real or accused, whose reputation it is desirable should be painted in colors dark as possible. Yet what is the truth? One must dig deep into history and reject some very respectable interpretations—Shakespeare's among the rest—to arrive at a true knowledge of the causes that gave rise to these men and the characters of the men themselves.

When the taxing power passed—theoretically, at least—into the hands of the people, the masses vaguely recognized the inequality in the distribution of wealth, and sought to arrest it by divers inventions of new methods of taxation. They started out on a career of experiments, largely frustrated, to compel a partial restitution by the wealthy into the coffers of the state. These attempts were foredoomed to failure. Indeed, a great share of the missing wealth of the poor is to be sought for in the attempts to reach capital by taxing it. Whether wielded by friends or foes of the people taxation still remains the most perfect instrument of extortion, and always reacts upon those least able to pay. This is true even of taxes whose equitable enforcement would not so result, but whose practical operation makes them all that could be desired by the predatory classes, to whom evasion of taxes is an art and a science. The personal property tax belongs to this class. Practically it almost wholly exempts the rich. Widows and orphans, whose funds are in trust, pay almost to the final penny. Farmers, whose belongings are visible and known to all their neighbors, pay the most of it.

Taxation has always been aristocratic. It always takes from two to twelve times more from the poor and middle classes than from the rich. In the days of protection in England the monstrous inequality in the customs duties helped to overthrow it. The coarsest teas and the poorest tobaccos paid from 100 to 200 per per cent. more than superior grades. So with the stamp taxes of past times, which bore on the poorer classes with amazing disproportion, making their tax five per cent. against one per cent. for the rich. Even to-day in England the duty upon all grades of tea is the same; on finer grades of cigars but little more than on the poorer; and the duties on beer, spirits and wine make no distinction between the kinds consumed by the rich and poor.

It is sometimes urged that certain taxes ought not to be imposed because they cannot be shifted, and again we often hear that as a particular tax distributes itself—i. e., can be shifted—it is therefore a tax that ought to be imposed. Now what is the true recommendation of a tax—that it can or cannot be shifted? If the object is to tax certain objects of wealth it is a cowardly method that will try to do it through a third person.

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But we shall seek in vain for any agreement between authorities on the canons of taxation.

Perhaps the one most generally accepted is that taxation should be levied upon individuals in proportion to their ability to pay. Clearly, this principle cannot be carried to its final analysis, since that would mean robbery. Its application is amusingly illustrated in the instructions sent to the Commissioners of Counties by Archbishop Morton in the reign of Henry VII, to the effect that such as were sparing in their manner of living might be assumed to have saved money—therefore they were able to pay, and those that lived in a splendid style showed evidence that they were in the possession of wealth—therefore they were able to pay! In the times of the Norman kings revenue was derived from assessments for offenses against the powers. Individuals so assessed were in misericordia regis, and the same ingenuity was practiced in the invention of supposed offenses that is to-day brought into play for the invention of new tax systems. It was a kind of taxation that survives in municipal fines for drunkenness, etc., but in those days it was assessed on all those who incurred the ill-will of the king; and the suggestion of ill will was to be found in the worldly possessions of the offender. In this respect it conforms to the predatory canon of thoughtless teachers of taxation that taxes should be levied upon individuals in proportion to their ability to pay—a theory of taxation that would find unanimous approval in a community of pirates.

It is related of Edward IV of England that his methods of taxation were especially effective, owing to his handsome countenance. Thus a rich widow of whom he requested a "benevolence"—for so in delicious euphony certain taxes in those days were called—gave him £20, accompanied by a compliment on the beauty of his person, whereupon he kissed her, which so delighted the lady that she gave him another £20. It must be confessed that most of the necessary operations between the payer and the tax collector in modern times have rarely been accompanied by any such delightful civilities.

In Puritan times in England a weekly meal tax was once levied—a tax upon every person the price of one meal per week. A "hearth tax," known to the public by the less dignified term, "chimney tax," was also in vogue in England during the reign of the Stuarts. It was objected to on the ground that it "exposed every man's house to be entered into and searched by persons unknown to him." For a short time there prevailed taxes on marriage and burials—varied in amount not according to the degree of desirability of entering those states, but by the social standing of the unfortunate. Thus a duke could be buried at an expense of £50 and a plain "gentleman" at £1, which no true gentleman could object to. The same proportion was observed as to the penalty for entering the marriage state, gentlemen getting in at about the same rate. The tax on births stood in about the same relation to dukes and "gentlemen," births of dukes yielding £30 to the state and "gentlemen" in swaddling clothes getting into the kingdom at the paltry expense of £1. Certainly this was not unfair, for the dukes cost the country about 30 times as much.

Among the taxes which ruled at various times in England was one on postmasters, on persons keeping carriages, the tax increasing according to the number of carriages kept. It is interesting to note that an increase of this tax brought into existence the gig as a substitute very largely for the more expensive phaeton. There was once a tax on establishments employing men servants, which was said to be the "reduction of the proud animal man to a taxable commodity on the same humiliating level of salt, soap and candles." A tax on "establishments of women servants" lasted only six months, owing doubtless to its obvious want of gallantry toward the sex. Newspapers, which Pitt regarded as a luxury, once bore a special tax, but this was finally abolished in the early '50's, along with the tax on advertisements appearing in the public prints. A tax on shops imposed by Pitt was objected to by Fox on the ground that it was a tax on a particular class. Pitt, however, maintained that this tax was recouped by shopkeepers from their customers, and in this he was undoubtedly correct.

The ingenuity of man has been exhausted in the attempt to invent new tax devices. England once had a hat tax. At the beginning of the last century hair powder, of course greatly in demand at that time, was subjected to a tax which brought in nearly £200,000 annually. At a later period it did not yield nearly so much, and perhaps its general disuse may have been occasioned by the tax, which was one guinea a year. Watches and clocks were taxed specifically at the latter end of the eighteenth century in England, and this netted a revenue of £250,000. At this time few people carried watches, so the tax must have fallen more largely upon clocks, and therefore upon the poor and middle classes. From the first the imposition of taxes on commodities provoked remonstrance. Thus in 1610, when a tax on coals at the pit was proposed, the fear was expressed in a petition to the king that "the reason of this precedent may be extended to all commodities of this kingdom," which prophecy was fulfilled, though we cannot but wonder at the sensitiveness of our British forefathers which experience in the sons has made more callous.

About 1784, when a number of new taxes were imposed, a rhymester of that day broke forth in the following:

Should foreigners staring at English taxation
Ask why we still reckon ourselves a free nation,
We'll tell them we pay for the light of the sun,
For a horse with a saddle to trot or to run;
For writing our names—for the flash of a gun;
For the flame of a candle to cheer the dark night;
For the hole in the house, if it let in the light;
For births, weddings and deaths; for our selling and buying,
Though some think 'tis hard to pay three-pence for dying.

One of the most popular taxes in the old days of England were those upon the Jews. This department of the national revenue was one of the most flourishing under Henry II and King John. David A. Wells tells us in his "Theory and Practice of Taxation," that there is a writ of Henry III, in

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which, in payment of a debt to his brother, Richard of Cornwall, he assigns and makes over to him "all my Jews of England." Foreigners under the Plantagenets were considered a legitimate source of revenue, and were made to yield a good return.

Bacon said: "He that shall look into other countries and consider the taxes and tallages and impositions will find that the Englishman is most master of his own valuation, and the least bitten in purse of any nation in Europe." If this were truly so most wonderful indeed must have been the tax systems of the continent. Yet even this is not hard to believe. Peter of Russia levied a tax on beards, probably to get rid of a source of dirt among his not over cleanly subjects. In Weimar there was once a tax on musical parties. It is related that a musical troupe having arrived at the frontiers of Saxony with a crown of laurels awarded to them were taxed on the laurels as spice. The tax on windows was general both in England and on the continent. To escape the tax, windows were sometimes blocked up, or houses made with as few windows as possible. A ten per cent. tax on the winnings of bookmakers at the race tracks was in vogue in Austria. France derived a revenue from the same source. A tax on marriages and a tax on bachelors were two taxes once concurrently enforced in England. A tax on plum pudding even is said to have been for a short time in vogue.

We need not go to foreign countries nor to remote times for curious examples of the taxing power. Our own cities furnish many instances. The city of Chicago evidently looks upon circuses as a real injury to the population, for it imposes upon them a tax of $100 a day. Amusement licenses are in vogue in almost all our cities, but it is a mark of the greater enlightenment of Boston that its taxes of this kind are very low. San Francisco has a tax on carpet cleaners, and Worcester one on cart restaurants. Detroit imposes a special tax on wagons, and Jersey City on hand organs.

Taxes have been provocative of many great wars. They are alluded to by Boadicea before the battle with Suetonious. Spain, the proudest of monarchies, and Holland, staunchest of republics, were reduced by taxation to the position of third rate powers. David A. Wells says: "Few of those who consider themselves well read and well informed realize that the terrible decadence of Spain up to 1808 is attributable to the tax on sales (the Alvacala) more than to any other cause." The revolt of the American colonies was due to the successful efforts of a landlord parliament to transfer from themselves to the shoulders of consumers the burdens of government. The stamp tax and the tax on tea and other commodities had to be resorted to because of the reduction of the taxes on the land. Taxation has caused almost every great revolution in history. S. Baring Gould in his novel, Gabrielle Andre, has used the awful taxation preceding the French Revolution as the ground-work of his story. Harriet Martineau also wrote a novel to illustrate the evil effects of the window tax and other taxes common in her time, taxes which in England led to a less bloody but more far reaching revolution.

Let us not plume ourselves even at this late day on any notion of our superiority in tax methods. The United States is the only country in the world that taxes debts and credits. This country is the only one that ever attempted to impose a tax of over 1,000 per cent. in excess of the cost of the article. This distinction was attained by the tax on distilled spirits in 1864.

We have said there is no agreement anywhere on the true canons of taxation. Most economists teach that there is no science of taxation, just as they teach that there is no science of political economy. If it then be asked what are the economists engaged in teaching anyway, or what these professors are professors of, no satisfactory answer can be given.

Certainly taxation is the only universal practice that lacks any generally accepted axiom or principle. It is the only universal practice to which the average man pays no heed save to object strenuously to his own assessment. That taxation is susceptible of laws which would insure the maximum of revenue with the minimum of burden, never seems to suggest itself to the majority of our citizens. Every man's efforts have been made to evade his own direct taxes, in which attempt he has only saddled himself unknowingly with a greater burden of indirect taxation.

It would take more space than can be given here to enumerate the many fallacies with which this subject is surrounded. Thus it has been held that the productiveness of a source of taxation justifies the tax, yet a very light tax may permanently dry up such sources, which feed the most profitable channels of the nation's industry and commerce. So, too, it is sometimes held that "equal" taxation should be the equal taxation of all property, and that any system which provides for the exemption of any kind of property is therefore unequal. Yet this is manifestly absurd. One of the most elementary recommendations for a tax is that it should be levied but once, yet even this rule is violated constantly. The observance of this rule gained for Napoleon's marshal in Egypt, General Kleber, the name of "The Just." How does our own system accord with this principle? The contempt of our legislators for such principles as have been worked out by those who have given their lives to the study of the subject is on a par with the lofty indifference of those who draw large salaries as professors of a science which they say has no existence. Yet the history of tax reform is and will continue to be the history of the progress of nations.

Certainly no part of our system reveals greater absurdities and inconsistencies than our tariff. No one has yet begun to touch the humor of it. The argument that sustains the system—full as it is of every conceivable fallacy known to logicians—is of itself an inexhaustible chapter of humor. From the major premise that upholds it in the minds of the masses—i e., that it is needed for the protection of American labor—to the minor arguments in its defense, all form when taken together such an incongruous and contradictory jumble as to make it inconceivable how as "a body of doctrine" it could find any place outside of Bedlam.

Note, for example, how the arguments contradict themselves.

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"The tariff is paid by the foreigner," say the advocates of this system; yet we have a "drawback" on foreign importations entering into the manufacture for export. It does not raise prices, we are told, yet after the Chicago fire a Republican Congress took the duty off building materials to cheapen them. Then came the "reciprocity" proposition as a denial from the leading protectionist of his time of the good claimed for it—"free trade on the half shell," as the late Kate Field hapily called it. Thus has an anonymous scribbler lamponed the theory in doggerel:

The reciprocity proposition,
Says the farmer, suggests me to ax
Why wait to get rid of a tax by treaty.
When we might remove the tax?

"I will give you," says the protectionist to the laborer, "a system that will raise your wages; to you, the manufacturer, a system that will increase profits; and to you, the consumer, a system that will lower prices." Wages and profits are to be increased, and these are to be drawn from lower prices to the consumer. Yet cheapness, the protectionist will tell you, is not to be desired, for did you not hear long ago that "a cheap coat makes a cheap man?"

Many years ago the writer examined some of the humors of the tariff and printed the results. Some of these absurdities have been changed in subsequent revisions, but most remain:

"Wood bears a heavy duty, but burn it into charcoal and it comes in free. Earth may be sent in at a penalty of $1.50 per ton, but let it not be ochre or ochery earths, for it is then subject to a duty of one-half of one cent per pound; pour oil on it and grind it fine, and the duty is increased to one cent per pound. Whalebone comes in free, but stick it in a corset and it bears a duty. Fresh fish may be sent in free, and ice may be sent in free, but be careful not to put your fish on ice, for it is then subject to a duty as preserved fish.

"If anyone has a bell which he wishes to bring into the United States he can get it in by breaking it, since 'broken bell metal' pays no duty. If a man has a few pet birds he can get them in by killing and stuffing them.

"The importation of life-saving apparatus is to be encouraged when undertaken by societies incorporated or established for the saving of human life. Life-saving on the part of individuals is therefore to be discouraged. Sea weed, moss, and vegetables used for bedding are free; but let not the thoughtless wrap these in tick, for they are then subject to duty as mattress.

"If a vessel's cargo should be sunk and remain under water for two years, it could then be admitted duty free. This provision, if generally availed of, would certainly lower wages to the European standard.

"A necessary precaution, though not strictly protective of American industry, is that which places on the free list 'wearing apparel in actual use.' This wise provision enables the foreigner to enter our ports and walk to the nearest hotel with his nakedness entirely covered."

Truly the reason for the continued existence of all these crazy tax and tariff laws must reside in the absence of any genuine sense of humor in the American people. A people who boast of their Literature, Science and Art, and yet lay such burdens on all three; whose growth in Industry and Commerce are two causes for self-approval, who talk everywhere of "opening up new avenues of trade," yet who hamper industry and commerce by medieval restrictions, must be intellectually deficient at some point. Yet we are perhaps as intelligent as any people on earth. We should have made as much progress as the United Kingdom in tax reform, but we have not. Even Japan in 1873 abolished over 1,000 miscellaneous taxes, an exemplification of advancing civilization more important than Togo's victory in the Japan sea. Are we too busy making wealth to stop to consider the laws that conserve it, among which those of taxation are not the least important?

The abolition of all taxes whatever ought not be considered an impossible thing. In fact, the inauguration of such an era may be regarded as the dawning of the thousand years of peace, and not at all an unlikely event. Two things are said to be certain—death and taxes. But this is not so. We can really get along without taxes. To think otherwise is merely a superstition. For the state is rich in revenue from its own domain. There were no taxes in feudal times, yet all that was needed for such public purposes as were necessary, and for defense, was forthcoming. Montesquieu, who saw things clearly enough, held it as the soundest of principles that governments ought to be supported from revenues drawn from the public domain. Both theory and ancient practice make this clear. Our methods of taxation, infinite as they are confused, harsh, impolitic, extravagant, cruel, may be superseded by a mere charge by the public for the use of their valuable domain.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

NEW YORK.

Special telegram to The Public.

New York, Nov. 9.—After one of the most remarkable campaigns ever held in this excitable city, William R. Hearst must, in the belief of every unbiased person here, be adjudged elected; and the offer of Thomas W. Lawson of $10,000 at three to one that Hearst will take the mayoralty seat at the City Hall on January 1 as mayor of New York, represents a wide and intensifying feeling. Not only are all Wall street bets as to whether Hearst or McClellan is elected held up, but likewise all subordinate bets; since it is quite within the possibilities that the whole election may be thrown out by the Supreme Court on the ground of general fraud, and a new election be ordered. For, not since the mayoralty campaign of 1886, when my father was counted out by Tammany, has there been such intimidation, violence, corruption and false voting in New York.

A feeling against boss rule, a quickening perception of the evil workings of natural monopolies in private hands, a burning resentment against the Wall street powers excited by the insurance revelations, and a confused social discontent piled up behind Hearst evidences of power that threatened a political landslide and utter destruction to the Tammany Hall machine. Nothing was clearer than that with Hearst's election all patronage, the life-blood of the Tammany political feudal system, would be shut off from that machine at the City Hall for four years, the newly fixed term of the mayor. It was moreover quite evident that Hearst would at once start to reorganize the Democratic party in this city, and also through the State. The Tammany leaders were, therefore, thoroughly frightened. And back of them the great pub-

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lic franchise magnates were frightened, for in Hearst's election they saw the Municipal Ownership party established in monopoly's citadel. Hence monopoly's purse strings were loosed and money was poured into the Tammany exchequer. With this money the slugger element took command. Murphy, the nominal Tammany leader, was thrust aside by the Martin Sullivan strong-arm element, and brutal desperation undertook to carry by physical force an election which it was perceived could be carried only by extremity measures, if at all.

The Tammany candidate, McClellan, a gentleman in breeding and bearing, had raised the cry of "saving society" against Hearst and destruction. He succeeded in frightening many ultra respectable Republicans to his support and away from the very able Republican mayoralty candidate, Ivins. On the other hand, the plug-uglies and strong-arm men were conducting things for McClellan in particular districts comparable only with the worst days of Croker, Tweed and the "40 thieves." One or two ballot boxes in the Borough of Bronx were destroyed; in one instance a bunch of Hearst ballots were perforated with a knife and thrown out as defective, and in several districts the mayoralty returns were not announced until more than 20 hours after the polls had been closed, although returns for candidates for the other offices had been made known. On the East side large numbers of men known to be for Hearst were scared away from the polls by thugs, and Tammany men were coolly voted in their names. But in spite of it all, Hearst carried the Boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens, overwhelmingly electing the Municipal Ownership borough tickets there, and thereby destroyed two notorious local bosses and corruptionists—McCarren and Cassidy.

And now Mr. Hearst has set himself to the task of gathering evidence of fraud with the purpose of having ballot boxes opened and a recount made. To do this in any election district prima facie evidence of fraud has to be given and such evidence is now pouring in. The just reelected district attorney, Mr. Jerome, has declared that he will push such investigations regardless of whom it affects, while the Evening Post, which bitterly hates Hearst and loses no opportunity to denounce him, declares that "there can be no disagreement among honest men as to the duty of gathering every scrap of evidence and testing every step of the election and the count by the severest judicial process."

Tammany claims the election of McClellan over Hearst by less than 4,000 votes, a plurality that is likely to disappear quickly upon a recount of Tim Sullivan's great district, the ballot boxes of which are now in District Attorney Jerome's hands. For the returns made for that district show a strength for McClellan out of all proportion to the vote cast for him in all the neighboring districts.

Hearst applied yesterday to the Supreme Court, before Judge W. J. Gaynor, for an order commanding all ballot boxes to be sent to the Board of Elections for a recount. The order was granted, and the Board has reluctantly accepted the responsibility. In consequence Tammany is now in a panic.

Mr. Hearst not only believes himself to be elected by a considerable plurality, and that he can prove it if he can get recounts in certain election districts, but he is bent on seizing this occasion to begin the work of reorganizing the Democratic party in New York. It is evident that his hope of a political future leaves no other course open to him. He must conquer the Tammany machine or himself go down and out. If he wins he will at once become one of the most formidable powers in national politics. And he will stand against boss rule and private ownership of natural monopolies. It is one of the greatest of political opportunities, and Mr. Hearst is seizing it. He has strong chances of being successful.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

CLEVELAND.

Special telegram to The Public.

Cleveland, Nov. 8.—Sixteen years ago Ohio went Democratic. In order that there might be no misunderstanding as to the plutocratic tendencies of the Democratic party of that day, the legislature sent to the United States Senate a resident of New York, the late Calvin S. Brice. This perfidy could have but one result and that was the return of the Republican party to power at the next election. At each of the succeeding elections the Republican majority grew larger and larger. Yesterday the people of Ohio decided to go Moral, and the 255,000 Republican majority of last year was wiped out and Pattison elected by 50,000.

How was it possible for Ohio to make this big change, which, on the face of the returns, seems to be the work of one year. Because the people of Ohio are not different from the people of Missouri, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Massachusetts. They were merely waiting for a leader. Three years ago he appeared. His name is Tom L. Johnson.

Johnson recognized after his election as mayor of the city of Cleveland that the first thing to do in order to insure real democratic success in Ohio was to drive the Democratic thieves and boodlers out of the party. Being as courageous as he is wise, he set out in 1902 to capture the Democratic State convention. In this he was successful. Herbert S. Bigelow at this convention was nominated for secretary of state; and he, with "the best mayor of the best governed city in the United States," campaigned through the northern part of Ohio, preaching democratic Democracy. Although Bigelow was defeated by 90,000, a canvass of the votes showed that large gains had been made in Republican communities. The great losses came from Democratic localities. It was the boodlers' resentment at Tom L. Johnson.

In the Spring of 1903 Johnson was again elected mayor of the city of Cleveland. In the passage of the municipal code by the legislature in October, 1902, nine Democrats betrayed their trust and took the place of an equal number of respectable Republicans, who refused to vote for the "curative act." Tom Johnson left his home city and went into the communities where these black sheep were up for renomination and the Democrats, under his guidance, defeated every one of them.

He then became the candidate of the Democratic party for governor and carried his campaign into all parts of the entire State. It was a novel sight, indeed, to behold a great leader running for office denouncing the thieves within his own party and asking them not to vote for him. But it was the cause of his overwhelming defeat. Yet it was an inspiration for the honest voters of all political parties, for he convinced them that the Democracy was now standing for something other than office. His onslaught on the Democratic boodlers of Ohio in 1902-3 was crystallized into a great moral movement by Lincoln Steffins in his Ohio article, and through the great work of the independent papers of this State, Notable among these were the five Scripps-McRae papers, the Cleveland Plain Dealer, and last but not least that great champion of Democracy, the Waechter und Anzeiger published here.

Johnson's own election as mayor for the third time was a foregone conclusion. Through his influence and ability the affairs of the city of Cleveland have been administered as the affairs of no other city in the United States are administered. It was something all citizens of Cleveland took just pride in and resulted in giving him the largest majority that was ever given here to a candidate for the office of mayor—more than 12,000 plurality. This is more than his two prior pluralities put together.

His aim is to give the people of Cleveland the best administration of any city in the United States. In this he has been so far successful. He will improve upon it in the future. His very mistakes will serve him, for he knows that the greatest secret of success is to admit your mistakes and profit by them.

PETER WITT.

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NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Thursday, Nov. 9.

Reports from the elections.

From nearly all quarters the election returns (p. 490) indicate a general uprising against the manipulation of political parties by and for special interests. Party lines are shattered almost everywhere, and independent voting appears to have been the rule.

The election in New York City.

In New York City (p. 490) the returns as reported give McClellan, the Tammany candidate for mayor, a small plurality over Hearst, the Municipal Ownership candidate, with Ivins, the Republican candidate, far behind; but Hearst charges fraud on the part of Tammany Hall, both at the casting of the vote and in the count, and promises to prove frauds enough to give him the certificate of election upon the official count. Murphy, the Tammany Hall leader, is reported by the dispatches to have sent to his district leaders, at 11 o'clock election night, when Hearst's election seemed assured from the returns then in, orders commanding them to "count every Democratic vote and turn in the report without a moment's hesitation," adding that "the honor of Tamamny is at stake." Hearst's charges of fraud by Tammany are confirmed by Jerome, the independent candidate for reelection as district attorney, whose election, however, is conceded by a small plurality, and also by Ivins, the Republican candidate, who has volunteered to be one of Hearst's counsel without compensation.

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The total vote as reported is as follows:

For Mayor:

George B. McClellan, Tammany	228,651
William R. Hearst, Municipal Ownership	255,166
William M. Ivins, Republican	137,049
John C. Crawford, Prohibitionist	4,000
Algernon Lee, Socialist	10,000
John J. Kinnealy, Socialist-Labor	8,000
McClellan's plurality	3,485

For District Attorney:

William Travers Jerome, Independent	119,638
James W. Osborne, Tammany	108,188
Clarence J. Shearn, Municipal Ownership	72,492
Charles A. Flammer, Republican*	13,348
Thomas Drew Stetson, Prohibitionist	4,000
Leon A. Malkiel, Socialist	10,000
Samuel J. French, Socialist-Labor	8,000
Jerome's plurality	11,450

*Name appeared on ticket although withdrawn as a candidate.

The principal vote for mayor by boroughs is reported incomplete as follows:

Queens—McClellan, 13,002; Hearst, 13,784; Ivins, 4,501; Hearst's plurality over McClellan, 782.

Brooklyn—McClellan, 68,586; Hearst, 84,214; Ivins, 61,587; Hearst's plurality over McClellan, 15,628.

Richmond—McClellan, 6,121; Hearst, 2,966; Ivins, 4,301; McClellan's plurality over Hearst, 3,155.

Bronx—McClellan, 19,376; Hearst, 19,030; Ivins, 8,458; McClellan's plurality over Hearst, 346.

Manhattan — McClellan, 114,730; Hearst, 98,663; Ivins, 50,677; McClellan's plurality over Hearst, 16,067.

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Upon being advised of his reelection Mayor McClellan issued the following statement:

The result of the election shows me more plainly than ever my duty to the people. With God's help I will discharge it to the best of my ability. I shall keep every promise made before election.

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In an address in the form of an editorial in the New York American of the 8th Mr. Hearst says:

William Randolph Hearst has been elected Mayor of New York. When the official count has been made it will be shown that he has surpassed the Murphy candidate by a comfortable majority. The evidences of fraud, intimidation, trickery and cheating at the polls abound on all sides in every one of the Boroughs. . . . Notwithstanding every species of trickery and chicanery and frauds, that should carry their perpetrators into state prison, the vote, even on the face of the returns, has amounted to over 220,000 for Mr. Hearst . . . Affidavits have already been sworn to, documents have been procured and lawyers are at work on cases of unblushing deception, on the most impudent trickery, on criminal miscounts, on the voting of repeaters, in nearly every district. The manifest intent of the voter has been ignored in every case where the Tammany officials succeeded in getting the Republican inspectors to consent to their view of the meaning of the vote. Murphy's $1,500,000 has falsified the returns on the face of the first count. But if Murphy had three times $1,500,000, he cannot falsify the official count when the real figures will show by how much Mr. Hearst has carried the city of Greater New York. It is safe to estimate that at least 50,000 false and fraudulent votes were cast to overcome the will of the majority of the people. The fight is only begun. Not the fight for a recount of the ballot alone, but the fight for good government against grafters, bosses and the unholy combination of the financial and political powers to exploit the city for the benefit of the franchise grabbers and contract getters. . . . The crime of 1876, when Samuel J. Tilden was cheated out of the Presidency of the United States, cannot be repeated in New York. This is not Florida, nor is it Louisiana. Returning boards here cannot be packed. The battle will be fought out in every detail to the most bitter finish. Every vote that was meant to be cast for W. R. Hearst and the Municipal Ownership ticket will be inspected. . . . Even on the face of the returns Tammany has met a Waterloo. Murphy's day of power is ended and Murphy's hirelings might as well prepare to retire from the public crib, where they have fed so long. The day of Murphy's contracts is over, and the day of the trusts continuing their control of the city has also passed away. Two hundred and twenty thousand independent citizens whose votes were counted will never permit the unholy crew to continue their control of New York. The crime of 1886, when they counted out Henry George, cannot be repeated in New York; 220,000 independent citizens will not permit Murphy and his men to defeat their determination to have good government in the greater city. At that time there is no doubt that Henry George was elected, as has been confessed many times since by those who took part in defrauding his voters. This time the successors of that unholy crew will not be permitted to repeat the crime. William Randolph Hearst has been elected, and William Randolph Hearst will yet be sworn in as Mayor of New York.

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Hearst's determination has brought to his support the services of William M. Ivins, the Republican candidate, who made a brilliant campaign against the alliance of Tammany and the corporations and for municipal own-

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ership. After stating his belief that if the corrupted vote of Tammany could be eliminated Mr. Hearst would have a substantial plurality, Mr. Ivins said:

One of the most astounding revelations of the campaign is the capacity of the average politician to deceive himself. Mr. Hearst's vote is indicative of profound and very largely justifiable dissatisfaction with political managers and with lawless corporate management. It stands for a very deep conviction, and I believe that it will remain a most potent factor in the community until the law is restored to its supremacy and all men, rich and poor alike, are compelled to respect it. I am very pleased to think that Mr. Hearst is going to require a recanvass of the vote. Tammany had at its command not less than a million dollars, and I believe that every purchasable vote was purchased. More than 20 years ago I began to fight the use of money in elections. The necessity for continuing that fight seems greater now than ever. The shamelessness with which Tammany Hall taxed the civil servants and drew upon the resources of Wall street has never been surpassed. One of the marked features of yesterday's election was the breaking down through the use of money by Tammany Hall of the Hearst election machinery. If Mr. Hearst had had a good working organization behind him he would have been overwhelmingly elected. Purity of election lies at the bottom, at the very foundation, of democratic institutions. Mr. Hearst and Mr. Jerome have a great work cut out for them. The judicial investigation of this election will, I believe, prove to be one of the most interesting chapters in the history of American politics. Whether a man differs from Mr. Hearst or not is a very immaterial matter as compared with the necessity for preserving the purity of our elections, and in his efforts toward that end Mr. Hearst should have the support of every true American. If Mr. Hearst is elected he must be seated in his chair.

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True to his promise Mr. Hearst began court proceedings immediately. Upon the application on the 8th, Judge Gaynor granted a writ of mandamus requiring the Police Commissioner to turn over all the ballot boxes with their contents to the Board of Elections. This is the first step requisite for a re-count. In his legal proceedings, Mr. Hearst and the Municipal Ownership League are assisted by Wm. M. Ivins, Clarence J. Shearn, Henry de Forest Baldwin, Edward B. Whitney, Julius Henry Cohen, Wm. Allaire Shortt, and Alexander S. Bacon, all of them representative members of the New York bar. The Citizens' Union, whose only candidate was Jerome, the district attorney, has by unanimous vote of its executive committee, offered its cordial cooperation to the Municipal Ownership League.

The election in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania.

The popular impulse so emphatically expressed in New York found expression also in Philadelphia (p. 490), in a plurality against the old ring of about 43,333. And the wave of this impulse spread over the entire State of Pennsylvania, for the Democratic-Prohibition candidate for State treasurer, William H. Berry, was elected by 100,000 plurality. Mr. Berry is a Prohibitionist. He was elected mayor of Chester by a fusion of Prohibitionists and Democrats, and now holds that office. He was the Prohibition nominee for State treasurer this year, and the Democrats endorsed him.

The Ohio election.

The same impulse extended into Ohio, also, and swept that State, electing John M. Pattison, the Democratic candidate for governor (p. 406) by 50,000 plurality over Gov. Herrick. The anti-saloon element, which was hostile to Gov. Herick and campaigned against him, doubtless did much to shatter party lines; but as its influence was offset to a greater or less degree by the influence of the saloon element for Herrick, the astounding result is not to be attributed to the saloon issue. This is especially evident from the voting in New York, Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, where there was no saloon question.

The election in Toledo.

It is evident also from the result in Toledo, where Brand Whitlock (p. 440), the personal friend of the late Mayor Jones, was elected Mayor as an independent candidate by 5,000 plurality.

Retirement of "Boss" Cox.

The result in Cincinnati, where George B. Cox, known as "Boss" Cox, has long been the Republican leader, was disastrous to him. After the bitterest campaign of years, Cox's candidate for mayor, H. L. Gordon, was defeated by Edward Dempsey, the Democratic candidate, by a vote of 40,373 to 34,372, a plurality of 6,001 for Dempsey. When the result became known Cox made public the following statement signed by himself:

Now that the election is over and the people have signified their preference for city, county and State officials—and I sincerely trust they have selected wisely—I wish to announce to the public that from this day, after twenty-five years of active service in the ranks of the Republican party, my personal activity in politics shall cease. I will continue to vote the Republican ticket, but others must bear the burden of future campaigns. To the local Republican organization and the many friends that have stood with us in the past, I tender most grateful thanks for their unswerving loyalty and support. I hope for their future good will.

Re-election of Tom L. Johnson.

In Cleveland the same tidal wave of sentiment was felt, and Tom L. Johnson (p. 440) is elected mayor for the third time by a much larger plurality than ever before. His plurality is reported to be 12,000. All his associates on the Democratic ticket were elected with him.

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A remarkable feature of Johnson's campaign, in addition to the series of debates with his adversary, was this endorsement of his efficiency and sincerity by the Municipal Association, the leading civic society of Cleveland:

The Association has not heretofore supported Mayor Johnson because it was not at one time convinced of the sincerity of his expressed purpose to give Cleveland a clean, progressive administration His administration has, however, demonstrated the sincerity of his statements. The character of service rendered and of officials responsible for this service have been placed upon a higher plane than at any time in the history of our city. His administration has been businesslike, free from graft, and such as to give our city a noteworthy position when compared with other municipalities in this country. The political organization created and maintained by him must be judged by the results of its activity. These results have not been graft and corruption, but, as recognized by all observing citizens, the results have been the placing in office of clean, competent and honorable officials. Though

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we recognize the necessity of organization in any political party, we believe that the centralization of such political organization in the hands of a single leader is susceptible of grave abuse and, therefore, must be carefully watched by the people But at the present time in this city, we see no evidence of such abuse. While the association does not wish to be understood as in any way committing itself to Mr. Johnson's economic views, we believe that his administration deserves commendation and we recommend him for reelection.

(Signed) Morris A. Black, H. Black & Co.; Henry E. Bourne, Professor Western Reserve University; Eckstein Case, Secretary-Treasurer Case School of Applied Science; H. H. Hackman, Leather Dealer; Thomas L. Johnson, Attorney, White, Johnson, McCaslin & Cannon; Henry F. Lyman, Vice President The Upson-Walton Co.; Amos B. McNairy, of Amos B. McNairy & Co.; G. K. Shurtleff, General Secretary Y. M. C. A.; Charles D. Williams, Dean Trinity Cathedral.

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In his speech in Cleveland on the 3d, Gov. Folk, of Missouri, made strong declarations against special privileges, holding them responsible for the reign of graft. He is reported to have said:

When any number of individuals secure a monopoly on some necessity of life and exact from the people more than the natural price, that is a graft. Such is the trust. This graft is the outgrowth of the greater graft known as the protective tariff, by which a class are given special privileges whereby they can prey upon the rest of the people. This form of graft is not criminal, as it merely takes advantage of the special privileges the law gives. With protective privileges removed and the tariff on a revenue basis American ships would carry American products into every land. Lawful commerce needs no special privileges. It wants only freedom of opportunity to exercise its faculties and employ its resources. Labor asks no bounty from the state, but demands only freedom to work and buy and sell and enjoy the fruits of its handicraft. A special privilege is at the bottom of every graft. No one ever heard of a legislator being bribed to give equal rights to all. It is always for the purpose of obtaining some privilege or franchise for a few. To the extent that equal rights can be restored to all and the special privileges of the few taken away, just to that extent will the inducement for corruption be lessened.

The election in Chicago.

No election of general interest was held in Chicago (p. 491), the only candidacy of any political significance, and the one on which the contest was made, being that for president of the sanitary district board, covering part of the State as well as the city, for which Robert R. McCormick was the Republican and Frank Wenter the Democratic candidate. McCormick was elected by a plurality of 7,158. The forest preserve referendum (p. 465) was lost. An affirmative majority was polled, but it was not a majority of all votes cast at the election as required by the law. In ten precincts voting machines were used with general satisfaction.

The San Francisco election.

In San Francisco the Union Labor candidates, with Mayor Schmitz at the head (p. 490) are reported to have swept the city, against the fusion of the Republican and the Democratic parties. Schmitz's plurality over the fusionists is estimated at 11,000.

Other election results.

Ex-Gov. Garvin of Rhode Island (p. 490) was defeated for the governorship by George H. Utter, the Republican candidate, by a plurality of 3,000. Claude A. Swanson, the Democratic candidate for governor of Virginia, was elected by a plurality of 20,000 over the Republican candidate. The vote was light. Owing to the "lily-white" tendency of the Republican party in Virginia, the Negroes abstained from voting. The Negro-disfranchisement amendment in Maryland (p. 490) was defeated by 20,000 majority. The Republican candidate for governor of Massachusetts, Curtis Guild, Jr. (p. 441), was elected by 30,000 plurality. In Boston the independent candidate for district attorney was elected over both parties. In Nebraska the Republican candidate for associate justice of the Supreme Court was elected over the fusion candidate by a plurality of 16,000.

Progress of the Russian Revolution.

The Russian revolution (p. 488) is attended with sporadic violence. Disorder in Odessa has been rampant and there have been heavy casualties. Fatal clashes between the troops and the populace have occurred in Warsaw. Horrible massacres are reported from Kishineff. In other parts of the Empire there are terrible evidences of revolt against the old order.

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At midnight of the 2d the council of workingmen's delegates in session at St. Petersburg issued a notice pointing out the necessity of arming workers for a decisive struggle for the convocation of a constituent assembly based on universal suffrage with a view to the formation of a democratic republic. The council decided to suspend the political strike at noon of the 3d, but on the condition that it be resumed if their demands were not granted. The council decided, also, that only those newspapers may appear whose editors will entirely ignore the censorship. Compositors have refused to work except under this condition. The Union of Unions resolved also on the 2d to demand complete amnesty for political prisoners, the immediate withdrawal of troops from St. Petersburg, and their replacement by militia drawn from the people.

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On the 4th the railroad strike, which marked the beginning of the present stage of the revolution, was settled by Count Witte in behalf of the government. Following are the reported terms of settlement:

The remuneration of all railroad employes is increased and the budget of 1906 will be revised therefor; the creation of a commission on which the employes are to have elected representatives to consider questions of improvement in their condition; permission is given railroad employes and workmen to have a cooperative organization based on models of western Europe and the United States; the abolition of military regulations applying to railroads; freedom of meeting for employes of railroads to discuss questions of a strike without notice being given to the police; inviolability of the person of strikers and the reemployment of men dismissed for striking; and the canceling of all circulars limiting the employment of Poles on the Polish Southwestern and Western railroads and giving permission to use the Polish language in private.

Under this settlement all the railroads resumed work on the day of the settlement.

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On the 7th the demand for am-

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nesty was allowed by the Czar, who granted free pardon to political prisoners of various categories, which are enumerated, and to strikers and violators of contracts. All political offenses committed up to October 30 are included. Persons convicted over ten years ago are to be released and sent to the Siberian colonies. Those now in the colonies may return after four years if they wish, but for three years cannot live in St. Petersburg or Moscow. Convicts not included in these categories have their sentences reduced by half. Death sentences and life terms are reduced to fifteen years' imprisonment. Persons arrested by administrative order are freed.

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The demand for enlarged suffrage was complied with on the 7th. On that day a measure was published granting representation to the workmen on the same basis as peasants, one representative for each 250,000, and extending the suffrage of the great class of "intellectuals" possessing college degrees. Voters also will include tenants paying an annual rent of $240, petty traders except the lowest class, holders of high school diplomas, and officials of St. Petersburg and Moscow with salaries of no less than $600. Officials elsewhere with salaries not less than $450 will also be allowed to vote, as will persons owning real estate valued at $150 and upwards in towns below 25,000 inhabitants, and $500 and upwards in towns of over 25,000 inhabitants. The working classes are given twenty-five representatives in the national assembly, being an average of one to 250,000 constituents. The total number of deputies to be elected to the national assembly is raised from 500 to 600. A revision of the electoral lists will be undertaken immediately in order not to interfere with the convocation of the Douma, or national assembly, at the end of January.

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As to the demand for a constituent assembly, Count Witte was reported on the 7th as being said to be exceedingly anxious to win the support of the Zemstvoist party, whose leaders have steadily refused their allegiance except on the condition of the convocation of a constituent assembly based on universal suffrage. Count Witte has as persistently opposed the demand, insisting that the matter was for the Douma itself to decide. Finally, in the course of a long conversation with Ivan Petrunkevitch, a member of the Moscow Zemstvo and president of the Moscow Agricultural Society, the count said, as cabled on the 7th: "I give you my word of honor that if when the Douma meets one representative demands a constituent assembly I will support him."

Autonomy for Finland.

The revolution in Finland (p. 489) has secured complete autonomy for that province. Although Finland is to remain an integral part of the Russian Empire, the Czar on the 4th signed an Imperial manifesto which convokes the Diet, abolishes the dictatorship, rescinds Governor General Bobrikoff's enactments, annuls the manifesto of February 15, 1899, which provided for common legislation in the Empire, and all the laws since enacted. At the same time the resignations of the members of the Diet were accepted and it was announced that elections for the new Diet will take place immediately. According to the manifesto the extraordinary Diet now convoked is for the revision of the Diet's electoral bases. The manifesto not only places the Diet in the confrol of the budget, but gives it sweeping power to elaborate a new system of representation based on universal suffrage.

NEWS NOTES

—The president has named November 30 as Thanksgiving day.

—A new cabinet for Sweden was appointed by the King on the 7th, with Mr. Staaf as prime minister.

—On the 7th Clarence S. Darrow resigned as special counsel to the city of Chicago (p. 19) on traction questions.

—Dispatches of the 9th from Buenos Ayres report a revolution as having just broken out in Rio Janeiro against the Brazilian government.

—Lady Florence Dixie died on the 7th at her Scottish home in Dumfrieshire. She was the daughter of the Marquis of Queensberry, formulator of prize ring rules, and was 42 years old.

—The monthly statement of the United States treasury department (see p. 458) for October, 1905, shows the following for four months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1906:

Gold reserve fund	$150,660,000 00
Available cash	131,815,288.83
Total	$281,815,288.83
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1905	292,490,322.87
Decrease	$10,675,034.04

—By order of the Superintendent of Insurance of Missouri, issued on the 8th after notice (p. 441), the license allowing the New York Life Insurance company to do business in Missouri was suspended and its further transaction of business in that State forbidden. The reason for this action was the refusal of the officers of the company who have confessed embezzlement of funds of the company for political purposes to restore the same and resign.

—The monthly treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government (see p. 458) for October, 1905, shows the following for the four months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1906:

Receipts:		
Tariff	$100,637,109.10	
Internal revenue	83,616,572.49	
Miscellaneous	13,253,735.46	
		$197,507,417.05
Expenses:		
Civil and Misc.	$47,123,447.75	
War	38,271,675.46	
Navy	39,863,576.97	
Indians	4,972,[illegible]47.98	
Pensions	47,839,288.66	
Public works	24,046,692.04	
Interest	10,181,295.72	
		$212,299,004.58
Deficit		$14,791,587.53

—At a mass meeting of printers held at Brand's hall, Chicago, on the 5th, to take action on labor injunctions in connection with the printers' strike (p. 391), the following preamble and resolution was adopted: "Whereas, By means of injunctions, courts of law have gradually acquired the dangerous power to make and execute laws at will, instead of interpreting and enforcing only those of the proper legislative bodies; therefore be it resolved, That for the preservation of the rights of the people it has become imperatively necessary that steps should be taken to limit the power of judges, lest by precedents and forms of law every innocent act be made criminal and punished as such at the pleasure of any court which can be so persuaded."

PRESS OPINIONS

MAYOR JOHNSON'S PROMISES.

Cleveland Plain Dealer (ind.), Nov. 1.—In the closing days of the municipal campaign the terrible accusation is made against Mayor Johnson that he promised more than he has been able to perform. It is acknowledged that "he is indubitably strong and alert," but, it is asked, "where are the results he pledged long ago?" He is told that he "ought to be able to foresee the limits of his official acts and frank enough to tell the truth about the conditions he must face." Perhaps Mayor Johnson may have foreseen some of the obstacles that have been placed in his way and hoped to overcome them. But it must be admitted that even a "strong and alert" Executive

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is heavily handicapped when the charter of the city is nullified that he may be stopped from taking action in partial fulfillment of his ante-election promises; when an obsequious legislature forces upon Cleveland a Cox-patterned municipal code that strips the mayor of nearly all his power, just because that mayor happens to be Tom L. Johnson; and when fourteen injunctions hold up the measures through which he endeavored to fulfill the pledges he had given the people of Cleveland. But some of the most important of his promises have been kept, in spite of the frantic efforts to prevent him and the persistent misrepresentation of his acts. He has given Cleveland an efficient, enterprising and honest government. He has, to a greater degree than within the memory of his detractors, made Cleveland a clean, healthful and attractive city. He has checked schemes by which dishonest contractors have in former administrations become rich at the expense of the taxpayers and left opportunities for others at a later day to make money by repairing their bôtchwork. He has spent wisely the public money in improvements that contributed to the city's health and prosperity, and he has carried out his promise that for every dollar of public money expended the public should receive a dollar's value. Neither Cox legislatures, nor court injunctions procured by hostile corporations, succeeded in preventing the fulfillment of these promises by Mayor Johnson, if they have of others for the present.

A DEMOCRATIC TENDENCY.

Springfield Republican (ind.), Nov. 3 (weekly).—Two addresses of interest were delivered in the New York city campaign Saturday evening, one by Bourke Cockran and the other by Edward M. Shepard. Both spoke for McClellan. There was a striking difference, however, between the treatment each gave to the question of municipal ownership. Mr. Cockran, who had landed at the pier from a trip around the world only eight hours previous to the meeting, denounced municipal ownership as socialism. Mr. Shepard, from whom the conservatism of an old-school Democrat was expected, declared, on the other hand, that he believed in municipal ownership in theory. He was able to support McClellan even on this issue, because the Mayor had given the city the fullest measure of municipal ownership possible at this time. It was the glory of the McClellan administration, Mr. Shepard insisted, that this idea in practice "has never made such progress as in the last two years." The curious and interesting feature of such an address is the evidence it contains that the public utility doctrine of radicalism is making rapid headway among men of Mr. Shepard's way of thinking.

YELLOW LIFE INSURANCE.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Sept. 21.—John A. McCall is a great patriot. He says so himself and as proof of his devotion points with pride to the cancelled checks for $150,000 that he donated from moneys held in trust by him to be used in defense of the nation's imperiled honor.—(Sept. 23.) If there be no law to deal with their offenses, then New York life insurance is done for. There must be restitution and punishment and the absolute divorce of life insurance millions from frenzied finance. In no other way can the public confidence be restored.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Sept. 23.—The revelations made cannot fail to somewhat dim the splendors of McKinley's glorious reign as well as put President Roosevelt in an extremely awkward position. Roosevelt would probably be inclined to attribute his victory to his personal popularity, but it would seem that it was absolutely necessary to purchase the election of McKinley. In the recent revelations there has been little that was not known before. It seems, however, that the psychological moment was at hand and indignation has broken out against what really is an old story.

Akron (O.) Times-Democrat (Dem..), Sept. 26.—They have invented a new word, to make the mystery still deeper and to impress the public . . in New York life insurance circles. It is a "participation." If the "participants" were in the market on small margins of a dollar or so each, they would be held up by the Post Office Department under a fraud order, quick enough. But as it is, the apologists of "participations" have a complete defense. It is that their companies have never lost anything at the game. For concerns which carry "yellow dog" accounts, boast of "unreported assets," and claim immunity from accountability in dealing with trust funds, one needs better evidence than their own word to be sure that the fact is so. But, assuming that it is, does the winning card obviate the objection to gambling with widows' and orphans' money?

New York Evening Post (Ind.), Sept. 16.—A more flagrant betrayal of trust could not well be imagined. These directors . . . should be under no illusion as to what has happened. All their protests, all their technical explanations, will not avail. . . . For years, dark suspicions have prevailed; now their apparent justification has leaped to light. The news will go echoing over the country. The farmers in Nebraska, the fruit-growers of California, the lumberman, the rancher, the storekeeper—the plain man everywhere—will read of the disgraceful transactions, and will say: "There, what we told you all the time, you now see to be true. There is a malignant money power. Between the men in charge of these vast accumulations of treasure—the railroads, the banks, the life insurance companies—there is a perfect understanding. They play into each other's hands. They combine to cheat the humble consumer and producer out of his rights; and, as is now plain, they give trust funds to one political party when they fear that the people may make use of the other to thwart some of their schèmes. This is what millions of indignant Americans will be saying for weeks to comé. They do not need yellow journalism to inflame them. The facts are inflammatory enough by themselves. Yellow journalism is bad, but yellow life insurance is worse. The inquiry has brought out a disgraceful state of things, but if it is not relentlessly pressed, people will suspect that worse lies behind.

MISCELLANY

THE BREAKING DAWN.

Over the world is sweeping
a wave of righteousness,
a righteousness that exceeds
that of the scribes and pharisees,
as the sun outshines the moon,
as his rays excel in warmth
the indifferent star beams.

Stars indeed shine,
but the sun-light is life.
There is a prim morality
that is fair to look upon,
fair and foursquare and flawless,
but that has no life.
The righteousness
of the scribes and pharisees,
cold and curt and correct,
ought not to be wholly dispraised;
but its dead dull surface,
though never so smoothly polished,
gives no answering warmth
to the sun's most winsome shining.

There is a righteousness
composed of restrictions and fetters,
a code of forbidden things,
a collection of penalties,
of black and scowling virtues,
as attempt to make men better
by free use of whips and scorpions—
the lantern-jawed righteousness
of the scribes and pharisees.

Oh, we have had reforms
and reform administrations
that left but a dull gray streak
in civic history,
that made the life of the cities
not one whit brighter or better;
the cold and correct and curt
morality of the jail,
and that pseudo piety
whose only manifestation
is the pillory and the stocks
for those outside the pale
of the scribes and pharisees,
priggishly calling themselves
the better element.

Over the world is sweeping
a wave of righteousness
that exceeds the righteousness
of the scribes and pharisees—
infused by the warmth of the sun,
reflecting the sunlight's glory,
instinct with light and life.
Not forcing men to be moral
by the pillory and the stocks,
but yearning for men to be right.

A righteousness that craves justice,
desiring first to be just.
Righteousness not of the law
written on tables of stone
dreadful with, Thou shall not;
but righteousness of the heart
impressed on the inner sense,
flowering forth in the message
joy-laden, Do this and live.
Righteousness not that demands
all that the law allows,
but righteousness that concedes
all that justice would yield.

By cold morality,
the lifeless righteousness
of the scribes and pharisees,
none enter the kingdom of heaven.
By the higher righteousness,
which is kin to charity,
most excellent gift of all,
the kingdom of heaven
dawns on us here and now—
comes and is stablished on earth.

—John Stone Pardee, in Goodhue Co. News of Red Wing, Minn.

THE REFERENDUM HAS REACHED CHINA.

Even China is fast throwing off her old civilization and taking on modern ideas and policies. Her army is being drilled and armed on European models, and universities and academies have been established to educate her coming statesmen and soldiers in modern science.

There are many other evidences of

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progress in that empire, of which the most extraordinary is the fact that the Referendum has been adopted in the provinces of Kwang-tung, Hunan and Hupeh, to ratify the purchase of the Hankow-Canton railroad concession from the Morgan American-Belgian syndicate. The business men and property holders of these provinces were invited to express their opinions by vote in local public meetings on that railroad question, after the manner of the New England town meeting.

This is the first time in history that in China a matter of public policy has been submitted to a popular vote; and although the suffrage was limited to the classes above mentioned, this opening wedge for the people's sovereignty will surely lead to a democratic government in the future, as fast as the people are educated to enjoy it.

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY.

CHICAGO NEWSPAPERS, AND LABOR SPEECHES.

The following letter, addressed to the editor of the Chicago Chronicle and the editor of the Chicago Tribune, with reference to a speech delivered at a printers' meeting at Brand's hall, Chicago, November 5, 1905, is self explanatory. It appeared promptly in the Chronicle of the 9th on the editorial page. The meeting alluded to had been called to protest against government by injunction.

Nov. 6, 1905.—Dear Sir: It is my rule never to correct erroneous newspaper reports of my public utterances; but when I am reported as advocating violence in a speech in which I have distinctly condemned it, both the innocent editor of the newspaper so misrepresenting me, and its misinformed readers, are probably entitled to the benefit of my denial. For this reason I break my rule in order to notify you that in its report on the 6th of my speech at the printers' meeting of the 5th, the Tribune [in the other letter, the Chronicle] has made such a misrepresentation.

It informs its readers that I advised workingmen to resort to bullets to redress their grievances. In fact I distinctly condemned bullets. I pointed out that in this country of ballots there is no excuse for bullets. What I said was correctly reported in substance in the Record-Herald as follows:

You will have to fight this out either by trade union methods, or by bullets, or by ballots. Trade union methods will not do the work alone, and bullets are not be thought of. The ballot was given to you that you might not be forced to rise like the people of Russia, but that by peaceful exercise of your rights you might gain that which you need and deserve.

Though they varied in phrasing, the reports of the Examiner and the Inter Ocean were to the same effect.

My speech on this occasion was in harmony with what I have urged upon workingmen for 25 years. I consider it infamous for public speakers to advise resort to violence for redress of grievances in this country. Is it any less infamous for newspapers to report speeches counseling peace, in such manner as to make them appear to counsel violence? It seems to me that dangerous popular passions are no more likely to be excited by vicious speeches counseling labor violence than by vicious newspaper reports giving a false color of violence to labor speeches that counsel peace. Yours truly,

LOUIS F. POST.

HONESTY!

"I tell you what it is, Potter," said Trotter, "all your talk about taxation is all nonsense. No alteration of tax laws will make men honest. If all men were honest, there would be no trouble, and so long as they are dishonest, there will be trouble, and that's all there is to it. Make men honest, that's all you have to do."

"Trotter," said Potter, "you are talking through your hat, with, I'm afraid, a thick head in the hat. 'Honesty' is a word used in different senses. The 'honesty' of the same man varies with his surroundings. In his business office 'tis one thing, at his home another; with his customers he has a different standard from that which he measures his employes with.

"Most men think honesty is simply a rigid adherenee to the laws of the game; but what we want is an alteration of those rules.

"Let me tell you a story.

"A neighbor volunteered to teach us croquet. She was a bright, sharp, ambitious girl. Her game was to win the game, and she played that game for all 'twas worth.

"She would not be the first player, if she could help it—there were no balls to play on. If she had to play first, why she simply missed the first wicket, while we as simply played through it. When she missed her wicket, the rules, as she laid them down, entitled her to pick up her ball and start again from the scratch. Then she had three balls to play on, and we had little chance of winning.

"To remedy this, it was proposed that for that party and on that ground the rule should be 'No lifting your ball and returning to scratch. Play from where your ball is.' This stopped the sharp practice, and Miss Rivers never afterwards missed her first wicket.

"See, Trotter, 'twas a question of laws, not of honesty. No one accused Miss Rivers of dishonesty.

"Now, we argue that the laws are unfair. The shrewd, bright, sharp, ambitious ones that play the game to win anyhow, so long as they are inside the law, are exploiting the simple. No use to urge 'honesty.' They would merely say: 'What law are we breaking?'

"Alter the laws?

"No, Trotter, don't speak any more on the subject for three days. Think it over. If you speak rashly, you will imagine that consistency compels you to stick to just what you now say. Ta-ta night-night. See you in the morning, Trotter, about that real estate. Respects to Mrs. Trotter!"

T. H. POTTER.

ONLY A FACTORY GIRL.

DEDICATED TO THE MILLIONS OF SELF-SUPPORTING YOUNG WOMEN OF AMERICA.

For The Public.

Only a factory girl,
And she works in the noisy mill,
But her hands are deft and her arms are strong,
And she sings at her work the whole day long,
And she works with a right good will;
For mother at home is growing old,
And mother's house is poor and cold,
And the wintry winds are chill;
And she longs for the day to quickly come
When mother may have a better home,
And so she toils in the mill.

Only a factory girl,
And the hours of her toil are long,
But her mind is clear and her soul is free,
And her heart is glad as glad can be,
As she sings her cheerful song;
For ev'ry day in plainer view,
Comes mother's home so bright and new,
As time speeds quick along;
So again her heart leaps forth in glee,
And her good pure soul is again more free,
As she sings a sweeter song.

Only a factory girl,
Her mother's hope and stay,
But her love is strong for every one,
Like the glowing beams of the morning sun
As he ushers in the day.
Her flowers she gives to the sick and poor,
And she always keeps an open door
For all who come that way.
And for all who live by constant toil,
In mill or mine or on the soil,
She hopes for a better day.

C. J. BUELL.

Minneapolis, Minn.

The railroads of Austria-Hungary, managed by the government, kill one per 1,100 of employes; those of Germany, one to 750; those of Switzer-

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land and England, one in 1,800; and those of "Free America," one in 285. But think how rich our railway kings become, and how many of their daughters can marry foreign noblemen and pay off their gambling debts. Also, how easily they can elect (nominate) U. S. Senators and Congressmen who will vote against laws compelling adoption of safety appliances that cost money, and will recommend appointment of railroad attorneys to United States judgeships.

* * * *

"These hoggish gas companies make me tired; they are absolutely ruining business. Why, when they sold gas at five cents a month for lamps and fifty for stoves, I could rent my five-hundred-dollar houses for twenty a month. Then they advanced the price to ten for lamps and a dollar for stoves, and I could only get fifteen a month rent. Now they have run it up to twenty cents for lamps and a dollar and a half for stoves, and people are moving away, so I am glad to get ten a month. And this natural gas costs them almost nothing! It is a shame!" Such is the plaint of the robber that takes all that is left.

* * * *

"Some people," said the timid man, "are criminally reckless. Now the fellow who jumps on a moving train is a fool." "Well," replied the clumsy man, "if he's not a fool, he feels like one when the woman who owns the train glares at him."—Philadelphia Ledger.

Little Tommy Ray quarreled with his sister, and would not kiss and be friends. His aunt said: "Oh, don't you remember what papa read at family prayers this morning, that we were to forgive seventy times seven?" "Yes," replied Tommy, "but I tickerlarly noticed it was to your brother, not sister.' —Woman's Journal.

A new definition of friend was given by a schoolboy the other day. Here it is: "A friend is a person who knows all about you and likes you just the same."—Higginsville (Mo.) Advance.

"Can't see why you're so smitten with her."

"Why, because she's so deucedly pretty."

"Beauty's only skin deep."

"Well, great Scott! I'm no cannibal. That's deep enough for me!"—Cleveland Leader.

BOOKS

THE WORDS OF GARRISON.

The Words of Garrison. A Centennial Selection (1805-1905) of Characteristic Sentiments from the Writings of William Lloyd Garrison. With a biographical sketch, list of portraits, bibliography and Chronology. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company. Price, $1.25. Sold by The Public Publishing Co., Chicago.

One hundred years ago this country was cursed with the blight of chattel slavery. "People of color," men, women and children, were sold on the auction block, as if they were mere cattle. One hundred years ago on the 10th of next December, was born the man who was destined to begin, single-handed and against fearful odds, the fight to free those "people of color." It is hard to imagine the tremendous opposition William Lloyd Garrison encountered when he openly and unequivocally avowed himself in favor of "immediate and unconditional emancipation"—opposition which many times threatened his life and the lives of his fellow workers. But these noble men and women were undaunted by threats or mobs, and quietly but persistently persevered until the Negroes were freed from that "sum of all villainies"—chattel slavery. It is eminently fitting, therefore, that Mr. Garrison's sons should have issued a book containing copious extracts from his writings, a short biographical sketch, together with a bibliography and chronology. The sketch occupies but 50 pages, but it tells the story in a graphic and interesting manner which allows no pause until the end is reached.

The extracts from Mr. Garrison's writings are remarkable as being applicable not only to his time, but to our own as well. Among so many, it is difficult to choose a few; but the following may serve to show what an insight this great reformer had into fundamental principles. The preface explains that "the selection has not been designed to set forth the beauties of a writer who had little leisure or motive for rhetorical polish, and was always more concerned with contents than with style; or of a speaker who, as he used to say, 'never aimed to bring the house down, but to bring it up.'" Yet there is a force and terseness, as well as earnestness in all these selections which would have been weakened had they been polished as some hypercritical literary critics might have wished them to be.

"My country is the world; my countrymen are all mankind," is the first selection, the keynote to those which follow.

"I know that the cause of my enslaved countrymen cannot possibly be injured by my advocacy of the rights of all men, or by my opposition to all tyranny."

"I have been derisively called a 'Woman's Rights Man.' I know no such distinction I claim to be a Human's Rights Man; and wherever there is a human being, I see God-given rights inherent in that being, whatever may be the sex or complexion."

"I am accused of using hard language. I admit the charge. I have not been able to find a soft word to describe villainy, or to identify the perpetrator of it."

"The one distinction and emphatic lesson which I shall teach my children is, to take nothing upon mere authority—to dare to differ in opinion from their father and from all the world—to understand, as clearly as possible, what can be said against or in favor of, any doctrine or practice, and then to accept or reject it according to their own convictions of duty."

Those who advocate the "strenuous life," and believe in war and preparations for war, would do well to ponder the following declaration of sentiments written by Mr. Garrison for the Non-Resistance society, founded in Boston in September, 1838: "We register our testimony not only against all wars, whether offensive or defensive, but all preparations for war; against every naval ship, every arsenal, every fortification; against the militia system and a standing army; against all military chieftains and soldiers; against all monuments commemorative of victory over a fallen foe, all trophies won in battle, all celebrations in honor of military or naval exploits; against all appropriations for the defense of a nation by force and arms, on the part of any legislative body; against every edict of government requiring of its subjects military service. Hence we deem it unlawful to bear arms, or to hold a military office."

Mr. Garrison was as liberal in his religious views as he was uncompromising in his denunciation of wrong. Notice the following:

"A belief in Jesus is no evidence of Goodness."

"The right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience is inherent, inalienable, self-evident."

Mr. Garrison was an absolute free trader, and avows himself to be such, "even to the extent of desiring the abolition of all custom houses, as now constituted, throughout the world."

On the question of universal suffrage he says: "The people may err—they often do: they may be badly deceived—they often are; but the people as such are never willfully deceived, nor are they hostile to their own interests. They may be deceived, but

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they will by and by understand the deceptions and deal with the deceivers; but you cannot possibly have a broader basis for any government than that which includes all the people, with all their rights in their hands, and with equal power to maintain their rights."

He vigorously opposed the exclusion of the Chinese, on the ground that they are "our fellow men" who "are entitled to every consideration that our common humanity may justly claim."

He believed in a thorough discussion of all questions, and hated sham or pretense or narrowness. Of free speech, he says: "Who shall presume to say to another, in regard to the examination of any creed, book, ordinance, day or form of government,—of anything natural or reputedly miraculous,—'Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther'?"

Mr. Garrison was fortunate in being able to see the success of the cause to which he had devoted the greater part of his life. From being carried through the streets of Boston with a halter around his neck, he came to be respected and revered as one of the saviors of mankind. On the very spot where he was mobbed half a century or more ago, there stands a monument erected to his memory. His faith in his righteous cause was justified. Friends of freedom can do no better than not only to celebrate the 10th of next December, but also to honor his memory by devoting themselves, as far as it is possible, to freeing their fellow men from their present industrial bondage, and thus continuing the work of William Lloyd Garrison and his fellow abolitionists.

FLORENCE A. BURLEIGH

JEFFERSON'S LIFE AND WRITINGS.

The Life and Writings of Thomas Jefferson. Including all of his important Utterances on Public Questions. Complied from State Papers and from his Private Correspondence. By S. E. Forman, Ph. D., Johns Hopkins. Second edition. Indianapolis: The Bobbs - Merrill Company. Price $2.50 Postpaid. Sold by The Public Publishing Co., Chicago.

The need for a brief biography of the great father of American democracy, from a competent and sympathetic pen, has been met by Dr. Forman, whose excellent biographical essay with Jeffersonian quotations is in its second edition. It is to be regretted that the essay, 132 pages in length, was not divided into distinct chapters instead of being only typographically relieved with occasional head lines; but in other respects both the typographical and the literary work are entirely satisfactory.

An idea of the author's attitude may be got from his comment upon the Declaration of Independence, of which he says that it "has been severely criticised both for its style and for the principles it enunciates, but its place among the great papers of history is secure and criticism of it is becoming idle and uninteresting." His fairness toward Hamilton, Jefferson's great adversary, is exemplified by his comment upon Hamilton's revolt from the efforts of his own party to put Burr into the Presidential office to which Jefferson had been elected, as it afterwards put Marshall into the judicial office to which Jefferson had been chosen to make the appointment. "To his eternal honor," the author writes, "Jefferson's great rival refused to lend his countenance to a scheme to defeat the will of the people, and bitterly as he hated and distrusted Jefferson he believed him justly entitled to the office of President."

Dr. Forman's book is especially valuable for its collection of quotations from Jefferson's public and private writings. These are judiciously selected and seem to cover the whole range of Jefferson's expressed thought, and they are conveniently arranged alphabetically for reference. Many of these utterances are of course obsolete in their original application, but they embody principles that are vital at all times.

One of them, which is as vital to-day as ever, in application as well as in principle, refers to public debts. Jefferson was opposed to permanent public debts. It was his belief that a government can always borrow on reasonable interest from its own citizens, and at the same time guard against piling up debt burdens, if it will observe the fundamental rule "never to borrow a dollar without laying a tax in the same instant for paying the interest annually, and the principal within a given term, and to consider that tax as pledged to the creditors on the public faith."

His fears of the Federal judiciary that this body, "like gravity, with noiseless foot and unalarming advance, gaining ground step by step and holding what it gains," would engulf the reserved sovereignty of the States in the delegated sovereignty of the nation, having come true, the reasons for those prophetic fears are interesting: "They are construing our Constitution from a coordination of a general and special government to a general and supreme one alone. . . . After 20 years' confirmation of the federated system by the voice of the people, declared through the medium of election, we find the judiciary on every occasion still drawing us into consolidation. . . . Our judges are as honest as other men and no more so. They have with others the same passions for party, for power and the privilege of their corps. Their maxim is, 'it is the office of a good judge to enlarge his jurisdiction,' and their power is more dangerous, as they are in office for life and not responsible as the other functionaries are to the elective control. . . . When the legislative or executive functionaries act unconstitutionally they are responsible to the people in their elective capacity."

Jefferson's notions of methods regarding the land question were crude enough, as indeed in his day they might well have been; but his perception of true principles was perfectly clear. "The earth," he wrote, "is given a common stock for man to labor and live on. If for the encouragement of industry we allow it to be appropriated, we must take care that other employment be provided to those excluded from the appropriation. If we do not, the fundamental right to labor the earth returns to the unemployed."

His democratic attitude toward slavery was unconcealed. "I tremble for my country," he wrote in his "Notes on Virginia," "when I reflect that God is just." Not only did he view this evil with prophetic eye, but he saw that slavery was demoralizing to enslaver as well as enslaved, for in the same Notes he denounced "the whole commerce between master and slave" as "a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part and degrading submission on the other." These were his early sentiments on Negro slavery, but as late as 1814 he wrote: "Time has only served to give them strong root. The love of justice and the love of country plead equally the cause of these people, and it is a moral reproach to us that they should have pleaded it so long in vain."

These quotations have been gathered by Dr. Forman from many costly volumes through which they are scattered, and both the author and his publishers have rendered a good service by bringing them, through a well-constructed volume so inexpensive as the one before us, within general reach.

PILLARS OF THE TEMPLE.

Pillars of the Temple. By Minot J. Savage. Boston: American Unitarian Association. Price, 90 cents net.

When Robert Collyer was the minister of Unity Church, Chicago, he conceived a course of eight sermons on his religious faith, which he outlined as, "The God We Worship, The Christ We Love, The Heaven We Hope For, The Hell We Fear, The Bible We Accept, The Divine Inspiration, The Salvation We Believe In, and The Church We Belong To." But Dr. Collyer's good intentions never got beyond the skeleton outlines of his notebook until, at his request, Minot J. Savage put flesh upon the skeleton and breathed life into it.

In these sermons God is described, upon the basis of modern scientific demonstrations, as boundless Power, one Power, whose manifestations are orderly and are expressive of intelligence like our own, and which is always

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and everywhere good. Christ is found in the enthusiasms of youth perpetually re-born, in the loving tenderness of human brotherhood, in human capacity for temptation and human triumph over it, in outbursts of righteous wrath at iniquity, and in fidelity to truth even unto death. Heaven is equally open to all and is made by each for himself, while Hell is a result of evil and non-righteous motives. "You will never get into any more heaven in this world or any other than you first get into yourselves; and you will never escape any hell that you create yourself except as you work out of it by recreating your own thoughts and feelings and aspirations." Mr. Savage's idea of the Bible is not exactly orthodox and although inspiring, it can hardly escape the charge of superficiality in at least some

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respects. But no such charge would lie against his idea of divine inspiration, which he believes to consist in learning how to do right from wishing to do right: "he that will do his will shall know the doctrine." His central thought on salvation is that it consists in being unselfishly right; and the church he describes is the Unitarian, of which he says that it is "in a very special and profound sense the church of the living God," with the emphasis on "living."

Mr. Savage's sermons are prefaced with an introduction by Dr. Collyer

TRUSTS VERSUS THE PUBLIC WELFARE.

Trusts versus The Public Welfare. By H. C. Richie. New York: R. F. Fenno, 9 and 11 E. Sixteenth St.

What seems to be a faithful piece of work has here been spoiled as a book by dumping the results of the work into a 232-page volume without chapter divisions. Scattered through the volume are headlines suggestive of what follows in the text, and this somewhat relieves appearances; but a book is a book, and it is no more a fad of workmanship that it should be divided into chapters than that it should be divided into paragraphs. The one as well as the other are natural divisions of thought; and the neglect to make them in this case lends a heaviness to the book of which it might easily have been relieved. The omission of an index, even of a table of contents, is another important defect. Yet the book offers what is apparently a trustworthy narrative of the development of trusts. The author does not believe that these organizations are a natural result of business evolution, and he marshals the evidence to disprove that recently popular theory.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—Some Ethical Gains Through Legislation. By Florence Kelley, general secretary of the National Consumers' League. New York and London: Macmillans. Price, $1.25 net. To be reviewed.

—I've Been Thinking. By Charles Battell Loomis. New York: James Pott & Company. Price $1. A witty and sometimes humorous collection of more or less wise little stories, which you can pick up for five minutes and read "while you wait."

—Reform and Nature Verse. By William Hoffman. Johnstown, Pa.: Democrat Publishing Company. Price 35 cents. A small volume in heavy paper covers, comprising, with hitherto unpublished verse, some that originally appeared in the Johnstown Democrat, The Public, and the San Francisco Star. It is a collection of poems of democracy, interspersed with nature verse, and rhythmical in form and elevating and healthful in sentiment. Note this quotation from one of them, "Inequality": "And beneath that rich man's mansion can you see the reeking slum, With its host of human beings, blinded, atrophied and dumb, In the maddened strife and struggle for the wealth-rejected crumb?"

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October opens with a paper by Edward B. Whitney on municipal ownership in New York, following it with an account of the traction question in Chicago by Clarence S. Darrow and a description of the light and water service in New York by Robert Grier Monroe. All three articles are clear statements of local situations in which the public generally are interested, and Mr. Whitney's embodies a new and strong argument for municipal ownership.

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BY LOUIS F. POST, EDITOR OF THE PUBLIC

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MR. LOUIS F. POST,
Editor of The Public. Chicago, October 17, 1905.

Dear Sir:—I have read your article in "The Public" entitled "Open Shop" versus "Closed Shop," and will say it is the most terse, pithy and conclusive article upon the subject that has been published.

All wage earners, organized or unorganized, should read it. After doing so they will have a full understanding as to the true meaning of the open and closed shop and what it means to them.

Every Organizer or Business Agent who has the interest of Labor Organizations in charge should commit it to memory, as it furnishes an abundance of argument which will enable him to successfully combat any attack made upon the right of the workers to demand Union Shop conditions.

Yours very truly,
JOHN FITZPATRICK
Organizer Chicago Federation of Labor.

TELEPHONE MAIN 3995
P. O. BOX 420

Chicago Typographical Union No. 16
ROOM 227, GARDEN CITY BLOCK
56 FIFTH AVENUE

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To the Editor of The Public: Chicago, October 17, 1905.

I have read your article on Open Shop versus Closed Shop with a great deal of interest, and consider it a valuable contribution to the literature of the day on the subject. The logic of the article appeals with great force to every candid mind, and I sincerely hope the article will be widely read not only by working people, but also by employers and business men. At the present time a great many employers are devoting a great deal of time and energy in the effort to convince the public that their zeal for the "open shop" is based on a philanthropic interest in the non-union man, whose right to work for any kind of wages and under any sort of conditions is being jealously guarded by the employing class. Let these believers in the "open shop" prove the sincerity of their professions by endeavoring to open up to all men every avenue of employment. Yours for the union shop,

JOHN C. HARDING.

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