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LOUIS F. POST
EDITOR

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LOUIS F. POST, Editor

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CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:
Educated citizenship 519
Independent voting in Boston....519
Municipal progress in Ohio.....519
Mayor Johnson's programme.....519
Senator Howe and city development 519
"Snubbing" Mayor Dunne.....520
Public spirit in New York.....520
Oh, those pharisees!.....521
Newspaper grafters 521
Treachery of the Democratic machine in Chicago.....521
Jerry Simpson 522

NEWS NARRATIVE:
Election results 525
Next Spring's election in Chicago.526
Chicago's traction question.....527
Mayor Dunne's movement against gas monopoly 528
Charter convention for Chicago...528
A Cuban secession.....530
The Russian revolution.....530
Norwegian politics 530
British municipal elections.....530
News Notes 530
Press Opinions 530

MISCELLANY:
The Sleepy Song (verse).....531
Jerry Simpson's Ready Wit.....531
Censorship in Moliere's Time.....531
Mayor Johnson's Way.....532
The Chinese Minister Speaks in cago (Starr) 532

BOOKS:
Religion and Politics.....533
Books Received 534
Periodicals 535

CARTOON.—
The Cunning Men (Bengough)....534

For terms and other particulars of publication see cartoon page

EDITORIAL

Educated citizenship.

"Our safety lies in an educated citizenship," said Vice President Fairbanks in a speech at Indianapolis on the 12th. True enough. But education in what? As an academic education doesn't make a good blacksmith of a man who is uneducated in blacksmithing, nor a good business man if he is uneducated in business, neither will academic education make a good democratic citizen of a man who is uneducated in the rights and duties of democracy.

Independent voting in Boston.

In John B. Moran, Boston has elected an independent candidate for District Attorney against all parties, all the papers, and the Bar Association, and with no organization at all to support him. This is another and a most satisfactory instance of the potency of independent voting. It is to be observed, however, that the ballot law in Massachusetts favors independent voting. There are no straight tickets there, no voting in the circle at the top of the list. Every candidate's name appears in alphabetical order, and the voter must designate each candidate for whom he intends to vote. All balloting should be done in this way. It may be really desirable on high civic grounds to vote a straight ticket, but it is never desirable to arrange the ballots in such a manner that this may be done by a single designation. The "straight" voter, as well as the "scratcher," should be obliged by the form of the ballot to think about each candidate as he votes for him.

Municipal progress in Ohio.

It is reported from Ohio that Mayor-elect Whitlock of Toledo is in accord with Mayor Johnson of Cleveland on municipal questions, and that Mayor-elect Badger of Columbus and Mayor-elect Dempsey of Cincinnati, are in substantial accord with the other two. According to the same report these four are to meet and formulate plans for promoting municipal home rule, the principle for which Mayor Johnson has been struggling almost alone since his first election in 1901. Mayor-elect Whitlock, who was the personal friend as he is the sympathetic successor of the late Mayor Jones, was reported on the 14th as having said with reference to the reported combination of the four mayors: "While, so far as I know, no definite arrangements have been made for a meeting of the mayors-elect of the four big cities in Ohio, I am inclined to regard such a suggestion favorably. I certainly will be willing to work with them, and with everybody whose purpose it is to place the bosses out of control and to give home rule to the cities and to provide the best administration for the whole people. I heartily indorse Mayor Johnson's ideas, and will do all in my power to bring them about."

Mayor Johnson's programme.

Tom L. Johnson, the man whom Lincoln Steffens described in McClure's as "the best mayor of the best governed city in the United States," and whom the people of Cleveland have elected for the third time by a plurality larger than both his previous pluralities together, large as they were, has publicly outlined the programme of his administration in this brief form:

Fight graft and corruption and seek efficient public service.

Seek to secure the passage of a law permitting municipal ownership of street railways.

Seek the passage of a law permitting Cleveland people to settle all their own civic problems without State interference.

Extend the direct labor system in public works.

Extend the humane work inaugurated in the charities and correction department.

Push the street railroad litigation and continue the fight for low fares.

Continue to keep open all doors and books in the City Hall. No secrets from the people.

This has, indeed, been Mayor Johnson's programme all along; and Steffens's characterization and the vote of last week testify to the faithfulness with which it has been pursued. If further testimony were needed, it was given by Gov. Folk, who said in his Cleveland speech on the 3d:

To-day Cleveland stands to the forefront as one of the best governed cities in the world. And to one man should be given the credit for this enviable state of affairs, and that man is your mayor, Tom L. Johnson. He has been an inspiration to me in my work and an inspiration to every man to walk in the path of civic virtue.

Senator Howe and city development.

The City Club of Chicago listened last Saturday to a most in-

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teresting and instructive address on city development by Senator-elect Frederick C. Howe, of Cleveland. Mr. Howe is one of the young Republicans whom Tom L. Johnson found in the Council of Cleveland when he first became mayor and whom he recognized as democratic Republicans. Mr. Howe is now one of the splendid legislative delegation of democratic Democrats—the best delegation the county has ever elected—from Cuyahoga county to the Ohio legislature. He is widely known among civic students as a publicist and author, and his recent book, "The City the Hope of Democracy," is a work of extraordinary merit. In his address before the City Club of Chicago Senator Howe told of the things that have been done and are being done in Cleveland in the way of municipal progress. Not the least interesting and important was his description of Boyville, the successful self-governing community of boys who in other cities, and formerly in Cleveland, would have been sent as convicts to the workhouse; and of the larger city farm with its diversified employments, to which adults are sent, who would elsewhere, and previously in Cleveland, have been confined as criminals and monotonously employed. These two experiments go far to prove the contention of the Golden Rule penologists, that criminals are restrained and crime lessened better by the Christian methods of the Master than by the pagan methods of the pharisee.

"Snubbing" Mayor Dunne.

The local organs of the traction ring of Chicago are making merry over what they are pleased to call another "snub" by the City Council (controlled by traction ring aldermen) to Mayor Dunne, who has for six months been trying to get them to take action in obedience to the referendum votes for the establishment of municipal ownership. The day is not far distant when these servants of plutocracy will realize that it was not Mayor Dunne but the people of Chicago whom the Morganized aldermen have been snubbing, and that the people do not take kindly to snubs of that sort.

—

For the first time since the election of last Spring the decks are now cleared for action in the Chicago traction fight. Mayor Dunne first proposed his "contract" plan for the purpose of taking away from the traction companies their tactical advantages. At the same time he proceeded to draft a complete municipalizing ordinance. Meanwhile he endeavored to induce the Council to take action on the "contract" plan, but they shelved this and took up in its place an extension plan proposed by the Morgan traction crowd. How completely the Council have acted under the influence and authority of that crowd is indicated by the fact that one day last week Morgan's lawyer, who was in the committee room giving professional advice to the committee, insulted the committee's counsel for presuming to interpose his advice, and the committee supinely submitted without a word of rebuke.

—

When Mayor Dunne was assured of the intention of the committee to shelve municipal ownership and promote stock-jobbing ownership, he brought his municipalizing ordinance to completion and presented it, together with an ordinance for municipal operation. The whole subject is now in the hands of the Council. They are confronted with the alternative of obeying the referendum edict of the people or the stock-jobbing edict of J. Pierpont Morgan, and the people will pass judgment upon their decision.

Public spirit in New York.

We look with peculiar satisfaction upon the manifestation of public spirit in New York in connection with Hearst's contest for the seat to which a plurality of the people of New York have evidently elected him. The Republican candidate, Mr. Ivins, did all he could to defeat Hearst; the Citizens' Union threw its influence almost wholly against Hearst. If they had been consulted about the selection of a mayor, both would doubtless have chosen McClellan in preference to Hearst; but after the people had spoken, and Hearst proved to be their choice, both Ivins and the Citizens' Union rallied to Hearst's support when McClellan's party tried to count Hearst out. These men have put public duty above personal interest and prejudice. It is to be regretted that this spirit is not more usual. In Chicago it has been almost wholly absent. Although at the recent election Mayor Dunne was plainly elected and distinctly charged with the duty of divesting the traction companies of their greedy grasp upon the street rights of the city, and although he has done all in his power to perform that duty, against the opposition of a hostile and more or less corrupt Council, but few prominent men who supported his adversary have exhibited any generosity in publicly aiding his contest with the corporate enemies of the city. We recall no others than Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Graham Taylor, William Kent and Raymond Robins. Harlan is silent while the corporations struggle for privileges which he has been professedly opposed to giving them; and Harlan's supporters are for the most part using their influence in aid of those corporations, although they also professed opposition during the municipal campaign, and although the people voted the corporations down. This mean and narrow-spirited hostility to Dunne was carried so far by his campaign adversaries, with a few honorable exceptions, that they were willing and eager during the strike (notwithstanding that Dunne managed it more fairly and effectively than ever such an emergency was managed in Chicago before), to suppress civil government, and without reason to subject the city to a military regime. Have the Republicans of Chicago less public spirit, then, than the Republicans of New

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York, or is the public spirit of Chicago less adequately represented?

Oh, those pharisees!

Victor F. Lawson's evening paper, the Chicago News, now discovers that "Mayor Dunne has attempted to give the city thus far a superior administration in many ways." No one would have gathered this from the editorial columns of the News heretofore. Most of Mayor Dunne's best efforts at superior administration by way of non-partisan appointments of citizens of high character to public office, have been totally ignored by Mr. Lawson's paper. And the reason its belated acknowledgment is made now, is from no sense of fairness, but for purposes of contrast. For it suspects that Mayor Dunne is about to build a machine to secure a municipal ownership Council next Spring. The object of making the contrast is not to serve the interests of good government, but to create further prejudice among good-government people against Dunne, to the end that Mr. Lawson's friends in traction circles may get their franchises renewed. Mr. Lawson sees Gov. Deneen at work creating a machine of "the old familiar type," and his paper is silent, for he and Deneen pull together. He sees ex-Mayor Harrison busy as a bee with the machine he created by City Hall patronage and which exists now upon that same patronage, and Mr. Lawson's paper is silent, for he and Harrison pull together. But the faintest whisper that Dunne may be contemplating the destruction of Harrison's machine stirs Mr. Lawson's good-government piety to the depths, and with uplifted hands and upturned eyeballs he protests. For well does Mr. Lawson know that Dunne's machine, were he to make one, would be used against the traction companies to whose interests Mr. Lawson has devoted his newspapers and is sacrificing his good-government friends.

Newspaper grafters.

After reading the testimony before the insurance investigating committee in New York, one must feel some hesitation in accepting for gospel, or even as well intentioned, any of the special newspaper correspondence which puffs corporation management. This testimony has developed the fact, by confession of the newspaper correspondent himself, that a well-known correspondent has been employed for years as a puffer by the Mutual and also by the Equitable life insurance companies. Since 1899 he has drawn over $19,000 from the Mutual, which charged the amount to "legal expenses." No one needs to be told why this newspaper correspondent was employed by those companies. A year or more ago it might have been said that such highly respectable institutions, managed by citizens of such high standing in the community, must not be suspected of anything wrong in the matter. But that "bluff has been called," and the highest card in the "show down" is a knave.

Treachery of the Democratic machine in Chicago.

We welcome the impressive exposure of one of the legislative tricks of the Democratic machine of Chicago, to which George E. Cole, president of the Legislative Voters' League, is calling attention. The facts cannot be better stated than in Mr. Cole's own language. They should interest democratic Democrats everywhere. To make the point clearer to readers in other States, it must be explained that in elections for members of the lower house in Illinois a system of minority representation exists, under which in Democratic districts two Democrats and one Republican, and in Republican districts two Republicans and one Democrat may be elected. Mr. Cole says:

> The Democratic party has been playing very stupid politics for years in connection with Chicago's representation in the State legislature. When the legislature reapportioned the State at the 1901 session, Cook county was divided into 19 senatorial districts, one district being wholly outside of the city, giving Chicago and its suburbs 18 districts. By a cunningly-arranged gerrymander, the Democrats were massed into five and the Republicans were given 14 districts—at least that is what was intended. The Democratic leaders very stupidly accepted this conclusion, and have for two elections so limited their nominations as to make success impossible. Last Fall they presented but 26 candidates to fill 57 positions; yet Mayor Dunne carried 12 of the 18 Chicago districts.
>
> I could enlarge upon this with proof after proof that the men who control the nominations have deliberately thrown away chances to win. I will give one or two isolated instances, hoping and believing that Democrats will be convinced to the point of exerting their influence for more nominations.
>
> In the Third district, comprising the Third and part of the Fourth and Sixth wards, the Democrats in 1902 refused to nominate more than one man for the lower house (three to be elected), and yet the Democratic candidate for State senator was elected by 1.166. For the lower house 22.603½ votes elected two Republicans, and 28,233 votes elected one Democrat.
>
> In the First district, made up of the First and Second wards, which Mayor Dunne carried by a majority of 3.049, the Democratic leaders refused only a few months before a request to nominate two candidates to compete with the two Republican nominees for the three positions.
>
> In the Second district they threw away a chance to elect a representative in about the same way.
>
> To sum up, Chicago cannot be called either a Republican or a Democratic city. It should rather be divided into three camps, Democratic, Republican and Independent, in about equal proportions. Therefore, I say, for the Democratic party leaders to deliberately concede the legislative representatives of the city to the Republicans, by failure to contest the elections, is very stupid politics, as well as bad citizenship. I appeal to those of them who are good government as well as party men, to exert all their influence to the end that in each of the 19 senatorial districts of Cook county, their party present at least two candidates for the three offices. Let them bear in mind when they talk to their party leaders on the subject that the voters will not always accept disfranchisement, but will turn for relief to minor parties and independent candidates.

In saying that the Democratic party of Chicago has in this way "been playing very stupid politics," Mr. Cole is mistaken. The party has not been playing stupid politics, not in this way; but the local machine has been playing tricky politics, and it has been aided and abetted by the Republican machine. In urging at least

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two Democratic nominations for the lower house in every district, Mr. Cole is right. This would have a marked effect in curbing the power of both machines.

JERRY SIMPSON.

Since the death of Jerry Simpson (p. 465), of whom an excellent portrait accompanies this sketch,* his baptismal name has been widely published as Jeremiah Socrates. But that was never his name. It was an invention intended to afford the ingenious inventor an opportunity to contrast Simpson's original reputation as a Populist "calamity howler," with the quality of keen-sighted, hard-headed wisdom he was afterward discovered to possess. His baptismal name was Jeremiah, neither more nor less. The name of his own adoption, however, was simply Jerry. He always signed it so himself, and so it appears by his authority in the Congressional biographies.

Jerry Simpson was born in Westmoreland county, Province of New Brunswick, March 31, 1842. His father was a descendant of William Simpson, a Scotch emigrant to Prince Edward Island in 1772; his mother was a Washburn of Welsh ancestry. In his seventh year his parents moved to Oneida county, New York, where they lived for three years and then returned to New Brunswick. Of their large family only one child was born in the United States — Mrs. Lucy S. Clarke, now of Westville, Ind. Some of the others as well as Jerry were born before the family came into the United States, and the rest after its return to the British province.

At an early age Jerry Simpson began the serious business of his life. When not yet in his teens he hired himself out to a neighbor for six dollars a month. But this did not last long. At the end of three months he took a cow in settlement and quit.

His next employment, while he was still a boy, was as cook—not cabin boy, as some of his biographies have it—on board a small vessel trading between Port Huron and Detroit. He remained in this employment until his fourteenth year, when, having got his "sea legs" he shipped on a larger vessel of the Great Lakes as able-bodied seaman. For twenty-three years thereafter, he was a hard worker on these inland seas.

It might be inferred from this account of his childhood and youth that Jerry Simpson had received no schooling; and, indeed, his illiteracy has been generally assumed. But in fact he was neither without schooling nor illiterate. Although his pronunciation sometimes lacked scholarly polish and his spelling may not always have been conventional, he was better educated than many a man of faultless speech and spelling. His crudities were less noticeable as errors of illiteracy than as the quaint idiosyncrasies of a man of strong individuality. Simpson's father had tried to provide him with a school education, and in a measure had succeeded. But other employments were more attractive to Jerry than the tasks of school, and he was far from a regular attendant. He did, however, progress to higher school grades than he is commonly credited with having done; and in reading to his father, a man of dim eyesight, whose choice of literature was of a high order, Jerry early acquired a taste for good books and a faculty for straight thinking. His range of reading, beginning in his boyhood and continuing through life, included Shakespeare, Milton, John Stuart Mill, Longfellow, Blackstone, Kent's Commentaries, Henry George, and the newspapers. "I was always a great newspaper reader," he once assured a friend of his later life.

That he was by no means an ignorant man, is evident not alone from the testimony of his public career but also from his service on the Great Lakes. Service on those lakes in Simpson's day, in the capacities in which he served, called for educational accomplishments which, though not of the kind to give polish, were of a kind to foster intellectual strength. The qualifications of a sea captain as well as those of able seaman must have been possessed by Simpson for his service on the water, and as a lake captain he needed the abilities of a business man for his service in port.

Along in the '50s, while Simpson was serving as first mate on board a vessel lying at the dock in Chicago and ready to sail for Buffalo, he got himself involved in a charge of mutiny. His compassion having been excited by the brutal conduct of the intoxicated captain toward a young boy of the crew, Mr. Simpson interfered. The captain drew a revolver and began firing. From drunkenness his aim was so bad that he hit no one, but the noise of the pistol shots alarmed the police, and when they appeared they arrested Mr. Simpson for mutiny, taking the captain with them as a witness. At the hearing, the vessel's owners learned the circumstances, and upon Mr. Simpson's acquittal they dismissed the captain and promoted the mate to his place. The voyage of this vessel to Buffalo was Capt. Simpson's first in command, but in that capacity he served for many years.

In his long service as a lake captain he commanded other vessels and larger ones, and some of his experiences on those stormy inland seas were thrilling enough. The great salt seas have little more of terror to offer than these fresh water lakes, which are said to be at times terrifying even to the most hardened of salt water sailors.

One of Simpson's thrilling experiences occurred just before he abandoned the sailor's life for the farmer's. The "J. H. Rutter," under his command, was towing the steam barge "Ketchum" when a furious storm of wind and snow arose. The painter parted and the two ships were separated in the fury of the storm and the darkness of the night. Then the "Rutter" broke her steering apparatus and was at the mercy of the wind. At daybreak she ran aground off Ludington, Mich. The wind dying down, Capt. Simpson undertook to save the vessel by bringing help from shore and unloading her. Going ashore with small boats he brought back about 30 landsmen, whom he set at work. When the unloading had been only partly done, the wind again arose and with greater fury than before. Capt. Simp-

* Mr. Simpson's portrait is furnished as a supplement with the present issue of The Public.

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son's landsmen were utterly incapable of caring for themselves in this dreadful and unaccustomed environment, and he and his brother James had to force them into the rigging, actually carrying some of them and lashing them fast. The storm raged all day and when the sun went down Capt. Simpson and his crew had given up hope. But they were soon discovered in this hopeless predicament by a United States gunboat which came to the wreck and took them ashore.

After that disaster Cap. Simpson had no expectation of getting another vessel to command. But the next season he was offered a better one with better pay. Although he accepted the offer, he did not remain on the lakes beyond the year, and in 1878 he drifted to Kansas.

Early in the period of Simpson's service on the lakes, the Civil War had broken out, and he enlisted as a private in Co. A, of the Twelfth Illinois Infantry. His army service was short. In a few months after his enlistment he was forced out of it by ill health. It was in connection with his enlistment that he became an American citizen. The newspaper statements that he became a citizen in virtue of his father's naturalization are erroneous. Even if his father had remained in this country long enough to become a citizen himself, his return with his son Jerry to British territory and resumption of his British allegiance, when the boy was only 9 years old, would have prevented the naturalization of the son in virtue of the father's naturalization. Simpson's naturalization was undoubtedly accomplished through his enlistment as a soldier.

Upon going to Kansas, Simpson set up a sawmill in Jackson county. But he did not remain long there, for a sad experience drove him to decide upon leaving the place. One day a workman had started a log rolling from the top of a hillock near the mill, just as Simpson's little daughter, a child of four, was running to the mill to meet her father. She saw the log rolling toward her, and turned to run from it; but her movements were not quick enough. The log overtook her and knocking her down rolled over her body and crushed out her life.

To get away from this sorrowful memory, Simpson sold his mill and bought a farm in Barber county. On this farm, about six miles from Medicine Lodge, which is in the same county with Wichita, he engaged in farming and stock raising. It was there that the events occurred which brought him into national prominence.

In politics Jerry Simpson had been a Republican. He was a Republican in party affiliation because he was a democrat in political principle. His father's essential democracy had made the son an Abolitionist, and in 1864 he cast his first Presidential vote for Abraham Lincoln.

So long as the Republican party stood true to democratic principles, Jerry Simpson remained a Republican. But its drift toward the maelstrom of plutocracy in which it is now whirling became evident to open-minded observers as early as 1872, and Simpson's essential democracy was soon disturbed by this tendency. Such a man could not long remain in such a party. But the Democratic party, with its proslavery traditions, was not an acceptable alternative at that early day. He voted for Horace Greeley in 1872, but as a Liberal Republican, not as a Democrat, and in 1876 he voted for Peter Cooper, having by that time become a Greenbacker.

As a member of the Greenback party and its successor in Kansas, the Union Labor party, Simpson was twice a candidate for the Kansas legislature. Though each time defeated, it was by only a small plurality. The local prominence that these campaigns brought him led to his appointment in the Spring of 1890 as city marshal of Medicine Lodge, into which he had recently moved from his farm. It was his first public office and in it he instantly proved his capability as a public servant.

Medicine Lodge is a frontier town of a Prohibition State, and so it was then. Such towns are notorious for their evasions of the prohibitory laws, and Medicine Lodge was like the rest. At one of the local elections a law-enforcing ticket was put into the field and elected. As a rule the law-enforcing spirit subsides when the votes are counted; but not so here, for Jerry Simpson was city marshal. His first step was to call upon the proprietor of the most respectable hotel in the place and affably request him to close his bar. The proprietor protested that the people had intended to suppress the dives and not to interfere with business men of his respectability. To this protest Jerry Simpson replied: "I intend to close the dives, but I can't order them to close while your bar is open. All bars must close—the respectable ones first."

Further expostulation proved useless. The "lid" was put on and it staid on while Jerry Simpson remained city marshal. That happy mixture of democratic uprightness of purpose and affable shrewdness in execution, was Simpson's dominant characteristic in public life.

When the People's party movement rose like a tidal wave in Kansas it found Simpson almost in the middle of its path. For two years it had been quietly organizing, and in his own county Jerry Simpson was one of the leaders. It had not been organized as a political movement, but was distinctly a farmers' movement. The Farmers' Alliance had organized as trade unions do. They had held meetings fortnightly in every schoolhouse in Kansas, and discussed "the way out" of the economic trap in which they knew they were caught. Gradually these meetings became economic schools and debating societies; and when the farmers realized, as soon they did, that politics had undone them, they decided that politics must rescue them. Then came their conventions and after these the triumphant elections of 1890. The Republicans had carried Kansas in 1888 by 80,000; but in 1890, although they elected their gubernatorial candidate by 8,000, the Populist candidate for attorney general, endorsed by the Democrats, was elected by 50,000, and the Populists elected five out of the seven Congressmen.

In that campaign Jerry Simpson was the People's party candidate for Congress from the 7th Congressional district of Kansas. At the Congressional convention

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each aspirant for the nomination was required to make a speech and answer questions. Simpson made his speech with the rest. He answered questions, too, and as satisfactorily as the rest—all but one question. This was about pensions. To question a pension law was at that time and in that home of the G. A. R. akin to treason. But when the pension question was propounded to Jerry Simpson he declared himself as opposed to reckless pensioning. It was not a popular answer, but it was evidently an honest one. As Simpson left the platform a friend told him his pension answer had killed his nomination. But the delegates to that convention were puritanical in their devotion to ideas. They argued that if this candidate were brave and honest enough to stand up for his principles there, with the nomination at stake, he could be depended on to stand up for their principles in Congress. So his unpopular answer, instead of losing him the nomination won it for him.

On that July night he began his campaign. His district was as large territorially as the State of Pennsylvania; and in buggies, on horseback, on foot, in farmers' wagons, and on railroad cars when possible, he campaigned it thoroughly, speaking at least once a day, frequently twice and sometimes oftener, for four long months. He slept and ate in hotels, in farm houses, in sod houses, as opportunity offered. Like all the other Populist candidates in Kansas in that memorable year, he was paid $2 a day for his campaign work.

To embarrass him the Republicans issued a debating challenge. Their candidate, James R. Hallowell, was one of the most popular men and the best stump speaker in the State. If Simpson refused the challenge he could be laughed at; if he accepted, he would be flayed in the debate. That was the notion. Simpson accepted and Hallowell met him once. But only once. Said the editor of the Wichita Eagle, a few weeks after the election: "We expected our man to wipe the floor with Simpson, but Simpson wiped the floor with him, and after the first meeting our man wouldn't come to time." Simpson discounted all Hallowell's advantage as a trained and skillful orator with his opening words: "I can't make you as good a speech as Col. Hallowell will, because thirty years of hard work as a sailor and a farmer don't make very good actors of men." To this day Col. Hallowell's reputation in Kansas is less secure as an orator than as the man with whom Jerry Simpson "wiped the floor" in joint debate.

It was in his speech at this debate with Hallowell that Simpson laid the foundation for his fame as the "sockless statesman." Many absurd stories in explanation of this epithet have been told in print. The true one, also, has often been told, but it must be told again. The term "silk stocking" had been applied by the Populists to the Republicans. Alluding to this in his debate, Simpson said in substance: "Mr. Hallowell talks for silk stocking folks, but I am talking for farmers, and they've been made so poor by silk stocking laws that they can't afford even socks."

In some versions of this explanation, Simpson is said to have exhibited to his audience his own sockless foot, but that is not true. No gesture was necessary. There was something in the rhetorical antithesis that caught the humor of the crowd, and the newspapers did the rest. From that moment Simpson was "the sockless statesman of Medicine Lodge."

Too good natured to resent the epithet, he was too shrewd to reject it, and it served an excellent purpose in introducing him to the American people. If commonplace Congressmen thought they were to have in the "sockless statesman" a "butt" for their wit, they soon learned their mistake—from Speaker Reed down to the "rusty old Cannon from Illinois" they all learned it.

Jerry Simpson left Washington universally respected alike for his sterling honesty and his rugged intellectual abilities. Elected in 1890 as a Populist candidate, he was reelected in 1892 as the Populist and Democratic candidate. The Republican landslide of 1894 carried him down, but as the Democratic candidate he was again elected in 1896. After the expiration of his term in 1898 he held no public office. Nor did he long remain active in Kansas politics. An opportunity offering to dispose of his Kansas property to advantage he removed to Roswell, New Mexico, In the politics of this Territory he soon took an active interest, and would doubtless have played a prominent part in its future history had he retained his health. But last Summer his fatal illness, due to an aneurism of the aorta, attacked him. With faint hopes of recovery he went back to Wichita for treatment, and in the Catholic hospital there he died on the 23d day of October, 1905. His body was buried at Wichita with the rites of the order of Free Masons.

In describing Simpson after his death, the Associated Press dispatch from Washington spoke of him as "in many respects one of the most unique characters who has adorned the history of Congress," and credited him with having turned "popular Eastern sentiment regarding Populism from ridicule to respectful consideration." Continuing it said:

> There was not a question of Congressional action on which Jerry Simpson did not think and on which his conclusions were not strikingly and entirely different from those of anyone else. His language and manner of speech were quaint in the highest degree. Simpson always tried to make his adversaries look ridiculous, always threw new light on every subject, made a personal friend of every member of the House, and his political opponents declared never changed a vote on any question of legislation.

If Simpson never changed a vote in Congress, it must be remembered that his qualities were not of the kind that are most effective in changing votes where money "talks" so much louder than men.

Jerry Simpson didn't know how to make money in politics. One newspaper has ungenerously said of him that he remained a Populist, "because he really had learned to believe in Populism, and because it was personally profitable to him to do so." The falsity of that last clause is proved by Simpson's record. The little fortune he had was made not in or by his connection with politics but in spite of it. His personal fortunes would have been better served had he returned to the Republican party, or kept out of politics alto-

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gether; but his honest instincts would have been outraged, and this determined him. Nor was it a sacrifice. Though by no means so rich in money as he might have been had he placed his shrewdness and his conscience at the disposal of the rich and powerful, as so many men of our own day do, his honesty made him richer in better things than money. One of these, which he valued very highly, was the personal confidence of Henry George; and that was something which no money could have bought.

Simpson's friendship with George was a result, not the cause, of Simpson's becoming a thoroughgoing believer in and active promoter of George's single tax ideas. He had become a single tax man before his first election to Congress; and his first speech in the East, at Cooper Union, New York city, in the Spring of 1891, was before a free trade meeting assembled under single tax auspices.

At the second session of the Fifty-third Congress, on the 31st day of January, 1894, he made one of the six members of the lower House who voted for the single tax substitute for the income tax. This substitute had been offered by Congressman James G. Maguire, of California. Among the six who voted for it was Charles Tracey, of New York, who was not a single tax man but took this method of registering his opposition to the income tax. Another was Michael D. Harter, of Ohio, who, though he believed in concentrating taxes on real estate, did not accept George's idea of exempting improvements. But the other four were pronounced believers in George's plan for exempting everything from taxation except the market value of land. They were James G. Maguire of California, Tom L. Johnson of Ohio, John De Witt Warner of New York, and Jerry Simpson of Kansas.

Being a single tax man, Simpson was of course an absolute free trader. He was no more secretive of his opinions on this subject than on any other subject affecting personal liberty. Although his Congressional district was honeycombed with protectionism, he was an outspoken free trader even in the heat of campaigns. One of his favorite methods of ridiculing protectionists was to ask them why we should spend money in deepening harbors to promote foreign trade, if it is a good thing to levy tariff taxes to obstruct foreign trade?

Jerry Simpson was manifestly a man of religious purposes and motives; but of his particular opinions on religious subjects he thought more than he spoke. That natural law is universal and immutable, as inviolable in the domain of morals as in that of matter, he was firmly convinced. Further than this he was probably agnostic, except that he held superstition in contempt. But in loving his neighbor as himself, in holding aloft as his ideal the principle of justice, he made his life in the highest sense a religious example.

Until within half an hour of his death, he was in full possession of his mental faculties, and notwithstanding the spasms of pain that afflicted him at intervals, his sunny temper never passed under a cloud. After the last of these spasms, he whispered to Dr. Galloway: "Doctor, this is the real demon; all the rest have been a joke." For days he had entertained Dr. Galloway, his personal physician to whom he had become deeply attached, with stories of his political career and jokes about his experiences, and these were his last words. They were spoken in the dark of the morning. As the day dawned Jerry Simpson died.

This remarkable man was a democratic nobleman, who never forgot a friend nor failed to forgive an enemy. He was a republican citizen, who knew no distinctive rights of station or wealth or race or color or sex. He was an honest man, whose honesty towered so far above policy as to be his guiding principle of thought and action regardless of personal consequences. Like Garrison, he was a patriot with the world for his country and all mankind for countrymen.

The Czar—Count, what shall I give out?

Witte—Oh, that you have given in.

And thus the Czar's inflexible will became a flexible constitution.—Minneapolis Journal.

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. 16.

Election results.

Until the official canvasses of the recent elections (p. 508) are complete, nothing positive can be asserted of any of the results that were close enough to be in doubt last week.

The most important and interesting of the doubtful results is that of New York, where William Randolph Hearst is contesting the reported re-election by a small plurality of Mayor George B. McClellan (pp. 506, 508). McClellan claimed his re-election on the 9th, two days after the voting by 4,180, and announced that—

> these returns are the results of procedure prescribed by law and they are expressly declared by the law to be presumptively correct. I believe they are correct. Therefore, I shall take all legitimate means to protect my rights, as well as those of voters. If my adversary appeals to the law to overthrow what are now the legal returns of the results of the election I shall meet him fully prepared to vindicate these results. To the courts, where these differences must be passed upon, every candidate and every citizen should readily submit.

Mayor McClellan's leading counsel is Alton B. Parker, lately Democratic candidate for President, who said in court on the 15th that—

> Mayor McClellan would never keep to his count nor to his majority one single illegal or dishonest ballot. Whatever be the truth, Mayor McClellan wants it, and it is my duty as his counsel to ask the court to make no order that would give him one technical advantage. If he would willingly take advantage of any trick to secure a ballot which did not belong to him, I would not be here representing him.

An official opinion of the Attorney General of the State indicates a victory for Hearst. It is based on the fact that several thousand voters who declared their intention of voting the Hearst ticket en-

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tire, with the exception of Jerome for district attorney, did so by putting a cross in the circle at the top of both the Hearst column and the Jerome column Because they did not vote for Jerome by putting their cross opposite his name instead of at the top of his column, the election inspectors decided that their ballots were ambiguous and threw them out as defective. But inasmuch as Jerome's was the only name in his whole column, the Attorney General holds that the voters' intentions were clear and the ballots not defective. The board of canvassers met on the 14th. Owing to the disposition to hold indignation meetings in behalf of the Hearst contest, several of which of great magnitude and regardles of party had been held, Mr. Hearst issued on the 12th an address in which he advised—

against the further holding of meetings of protest and indignation in the present excited state of the public mind. Of course I have no control over such popular meetings and I cannot and do not attempt to deny any right of assemblage, but I can and do advise my friends as to the judicious and effective manner of procedure at this time. Meetings are merely expressions of sentiment and the time is now at hand for legal action. Moreover, in the excitement of a mass meeting some one may be led to make extravagant declarations, or Mr. Murphy may endeavor to introduce some of the incendiary literature or some of the violent orators or some of the red flags that have been left over to him from the campaign. If my friends have confidence in me and my co-workers they must realize that no meetings are necessary to urge us to our utmost effort in their behalf. The ablest lawyers in New York have been retained, the most competent collectors of evidence have been employed, ample rewards have been offered and the results to date are most encouraging. The Attorney General has already secured many indictments and many more will follow within the next few days. I fully believe that not only will many of the perpetrators of the recent election outrages be sent to jail, but also that adequate election laws will be enacted that will prevent the recurrence of such election crimes.

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A great thanksgiving and jubilee meeting over local election results in Philadelphia (p. 509) was held at the Acadamey of Music on the 10th. The keynote of the meeting as expressed by the chairman, Francis B. Reeves, was—

Forward until the ballot box is restored to its sacred function as the emblem of our liberty! Forward until every councilman shall represent all the people and not a boss! Forward until our representation in the legislature stands not for a Durham or a Penrose, but for the best interests of an honest constituency. Forward for the election of a true, untrammeled man to the governorship of Pennsylvania!

One effect of this election has been the calling on the 11th of a special session of the legislature for January 15, by Gov. Pennypacker—

to provide for consolidation of contiguous cities in the same counties; to regulate the custody of and interest on public monies; to district legislative constituencies; to provide for the personal registration of voters; to reform the governmental powers of cities of the first class; to regulate cost, etc., of county bridges; and to abolish the fee system in the office of the secretary of State and the insurance commissioner.

While approving this action by the Governor, as far as it goes, the leading counsel for Mayor Weaver, Judge James Gay Gordon, expresses—

regret that the Governor has not included ballot reform in the list of subjects to be considered.

As this was one of the chief demands of the City party at the recent election in Philadelphia, its omission is regarded as objectionably significant. Gov. Pennypacker explained himself in an interview on the subject on the 12th, in which he said:

I do not think ballot reform is needed now. The form of the ballot might be improved upon, but I think it is better to let the matter alone, as too many changes only confuse the voters. They have become accustomed to the present ballot now, and most of the voters can mark it without error. The number of ballots thrown out because improperly marked is becoming less every year. Frequent changes in any system lead to confusion. In this case the public would have to learn all over again. It is true the object of the author of the present ballot, Mr. Dinney, has not been fully realized. His idea was that the voter in the booth, with the present form of ballot before him, would be able to see all the names to be voted upon, and could make his selections without interference from anybody. The ease, however, of voting a straight party ticket as compared with picking out candidates on different tickets has been so apparent that voters generally have preferred to vote the party ticket, and the possibility of party organization being strengthened has thus been increased.

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In Ohio (p. 509) the result, except as to Pattison for governor, is claimed by the Republicans to be in doubt. Pattison's plurality is conceded to be over 40,000. Whether the legislature will be Democratic or Republican cannot at present be positively stated. Cincinnati's election results (p. 509) may be inferred from the following public statement by Mayor Johnson of Cleveland, in explanation of his visit of the 11th to Cincinnati:

I merely want to see the man who has won a greater victory than Weaver in Philadelphia, Folk in St. Louis or myself in Cleveland. In fact, I regard the overthrow of the Cox-McLean machine in Cincinnati as the greatest victory for good government in the country. This machine seemed invincible. It had gathered to itself so many elements of apparent strength that many despaired of ever beating it. Judge Dempsey and the people have beaten it.

The election of Brand Whitlock as Mayor of Toledo (p. 509) was celebrated on the 8th by a parade of independent voters led by young Samuel Jones, a grandson of the late Mayor Jones, who rode at the head of the procession seated upon his father's shoulders. In Cleveland (p. 509) Mayor Johnson is reelected by a pluralitly, unofficially reported, of 12,169. He carried every ward but one, and came within a few votes of carrying that, although it is a strong Republican ward. The City Council, half of which was chosen at the previous municipal election, is now evenly divided; but the vice-mayor, elected with Mayor Johnson, and one of his staunch supporters, has the casting vote.

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Next Spring's election in Chicago.

Preparations for the next municipal election in Chicago are now attracting local attention, and the questions involved are of national importance. Several referendum votes are probable. The majority of the City Council are pledged to submit to referendum any traction franchise ordinance they may formulate (p. 456), and other traction questions will doubtless appear upon the referendum ballot, as well as the ques-

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tion of reducing the price of gas to 75 cents. But what are regarded by the municipal ownership advocates as of transcendent importance are the aldermanic elections to take place at the same time, the terms of one-half of the aldermen being now about to expire. In the light of past experience, it is feared that a perpetuation of the elements in the Council which are hostile to Mayor Dunne's municipal ownership programme would result again in reversing by aldermanic votes favorable to the corporations, any referendum votes of the people favorable to municipal ownership. The issue of the aldermanic elections has therefore stirred the Democratic political organizations into activity. The regular Democratic organization, under the leadership of ex-Mayor Harrison, is organizing to control aldermanic nominations at the primaries. This movement is supported by the present Democratic aldermen who act with the Republicans in opposing the municipal ownership policy of Mayor Dunne. On the other side, the County Democracy, which is under the leadership of Robert E. Burke, is organizing to oppose the Harrison movement. There is a third Democratic organization, which is under the leadership of ex-Mayor Hopkins; but inasmuch as Mayor Dunne is opposing the gas franchise interests, in which Mr. Hopkins is interested, it is believed that the Hopkins organization will cooperate with the Harrison organization in influencing the complexion of the next City Council in favor of franchise extensions.

Chicago's traction question.

At the meeting of the Chicago City Council on the 13th, the traction policy of Mayor Dunne (p. 491) was rounded out and his final recommendations submitted. This was done in two messages.

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Mayor Dunne's first message related to municipal ownership regardless of municipal operation. In submitting a carefully drawn ordinance for securing complete municipal ownership under the Mueller law, he said:

During the first three months of my administration, I learned that of the 700 miles of street car trackage in the entire city, at least 240 miles were or within two years thereafter would be, incontestably at the disposal of the city, freed from all franchise claims. This part of the trackage, now reported to me to aggregate 274 miles, is exceptionally advantageous for the beginning of a municipal system under the Mueller law, and if so used it would at an early day give to the city advantages that would force the traction companies to assent to fair terms of sale for complete municipalization. But as the traction companies, being in actual possession, held advantages of position which made delays serviceable to them and prejudicial to the interests of the people of the city, it seemed to me that the most important first step for your honorable body to take, in obedience to the declared will of the people with reference to municipal ownership, was to shift these advantages of position from the companies to the city. To that end I submitted to your honorable body an ordinance for a construction company. This company was designed to acquire the expired and expiring trackage and to rehabilitate the lines, under your supervision. It was also to have authority under your supervision to operate the system it should acquire and construct, until its stockholders had been paid in full, with five per cent. interest, for their actual and necessary investment, out of the sinking fund provided for, or the sale of Mueller law certificates, or both. Thereupon the system was to be the exclusive property of the city. In describing that ordinance in my message of transmittal, I said:

> Yet the rights of the city to take over and even to operate would be neither impaired nor postponed. As soon as a market for the Mueller certificates had been secured the city could acquire the system in its own right and its own name; as soon as the people had by referendum, under the Mueller law, so decided the city could proceed to operate by its own employes. Most of the advantages of municipal ownership and operation would thus be immediately secured. There would, therefore, be no delay in realizing that policy in substance even while such judicial, financial, legislative and referendum proceedings were being taken as might be necessary to perfect it in form or to guard it by business adjustments against encroachments of the spoils system. . . . Yet while establishing virtual immediate municipal ownership and operation, it secures the right of the city to actual municipal ownership and operation as soon as the validity of the certificates shall have been tested and the people shall, by the referendum required by the Mueller law, have decided to act. By means of this plan the municipal street car system can be put into condition for first-class service on the lowest level of cost during the time when the various legal preliminaries to actual acquisition and operation by the city are being perfected, and yet without prejudice to that acquisition immediately upon the completion of those preliminaries.

My recommendations in that message of transmittal were, first, appropiate proceedings by your honorable body for referring the proposed ordinance to your committee on local transportation; second, public hearings before that committee for the purpose of considering objections to the ordinance, together with the fullest explanation and exposition of its purpose and provisions, and the consideration of such amendments not in conflict with its essential features as might be deemed proper and necessary for the interests of the City of Chicago; and, third, that pending final action the Council provide for securing the submission to the voters of Chicago, at the then next general election, under the advisory referendum statute, of the plan for the execution of which the proposed ordinance had been drafted. In order also that there might be no unnecessary delay in proceeding concurrently under the Mueller law to establish municipal ownership, I instructed counsel for the city to prepare, as carefully and expeditiously as possible, an ordinance for such proceedings. The counsel for the city did thereupon immediately proceed to draft such an ordinance and have been diligently at work thereon until the present time. Your honorable body referred the first proposed ordinance to your committee on local transportation. But that committee, having voted to defer action thereon, has entered upon the consideration of ordinances extending the franchises of the traction companies. The principle of these ordinances has already been condemned by the people by referendum vote. The ordinances themselves, without having been referred to your committee by your honorable body, have been introduced directly into that committee by representatives of the traction companies. It seems evident to me, therefore, that the advantages of position which I had hoped your honorable body might decide to secure for the people of the city, preliminary to proceeding to establish municipal ownership under the Mueller law, are not likely to be taken from the traction companies in time to be immediately effective. And inasmuch as further delay can but operate favorably to the interests of those companies and unfavorably to the interests of the people of the city, and as the counsel for the city have now completed their proposed ordinance for proceeding under the Mueller law for the establishment of municipal ownership, I am of the opinion that such proceedings on our part ought to begin at once. The advisory votes under the public policy statute having clearly instructed every member of your honorable body, regardless of party politics and every other consideration, to proceed without delay to acquire municipal ownership under the Mueller law, respectfully submit to your good judgment that it has now become the

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duty of your honorable body to provide for the necessary mandatory referendum under the Mueller law. Similar instructions having been given to me as mayor, both by advisory referendum and the circumstances of my election, I have no doubt of my own duty to do all in my power to accomplish that result. I therefore advise your honorable body to proceed without further delay to establish municipal ownership of the traction service under and pursuant to the Mueller law. To facilitate your action in this respect I submit to your consideration the accompanying draft of the ordinance which has been prepared under my direction by the special traction counsel of the city. As I am advised and believe, this ordinance lays the proper legal basis for a complete, speedy and final judicial test of the validity of the Mueller law certificates, by providing in detail and full legal form for acquiring and equipping, under the Mueller law, a first-class municipal street railway system for the entire City of Chicago. While I still believe that pending the necessary proceedings under, and adjudications of, the provisions of the Mueller law, a construction and temporary operating company, properly safeguarded, would be the most effective first step for securing municipal control, I am satisfied that this advantage should not be purchased at the cost of postponing proceedings under the Mueller law indefinitely. Accordingly I hereby recommend that the accompanying proposed ordinance be submitted by your honorable body to the people at the next municipal election, in due form, in accordance with the provisions of the Mueller law.

The council referred the message and proposed ordinance to the committee on local transportation.

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Mayor Dunne's message relative to municipal operation, which followed the other, was as follows:

The Mueller law provides as well for municipal operation of the street car system of Chicago as for municipal ownership. But under that law municipal operation cannot be adopted by the city authorities until it has been authorized by a three-fifths vote of the people on referendum submitted to them by your honorable body. It is important that the will of the people on this phase of the traction question be speedily and authoritatively ascertained. I, therefore, advise the submission by your honorable body to the people at the next municipal election of the question of authorizing the adoption of municipal operation of street cars. Herewith I transmit to you an ordinance for that purpose, which has been drafted under my direction by counsel for the city. Respectfully submitting it to your good judgment, I advise its prompt passage by your honorable body.

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Mayor Dunne's movement against gas monopoly.

At the same meeting of the Chicago City Council, at which he submitted his traction recommendations, Mayor Dunne also submitted an ordinance to compel the gas companies to reduce their price to 75 cents per thousand cubic feet. In 1900 the City Council adopted an ordinance fixing the price of gas at 75 cents. A Federal injunction was interposed by proceedings of the gas company, but this was finally dissolved by the Supreme Court of the United States. Meantime, D. O. Mills, of California, brought suit in the Federal Court as a non-resident stockholder against the gas company; and as he procured an injunction, the dissolution of the other injunction did not set the city free to enforce its ordinance. The city administration preceding Mayor Dunne's neglected to press the demands of the city in the Mills suit, and for that reason Judge Grosscup has recently denied the motion of the special counsel for the city appointed by Mayor Dunne, Henry M. Ashton, to compel Mr. Mills to give security for the accumulated excessive charges, now amounting to over $13,000,000, which gas consumers would be entitled to at once if the Mills injunction were dissolved. While Mr. Mills's suit was pending one of his claims being that the city has no legal power to reduce the price of gas without legislative assent, the legislature of Illinois (pp. 73, 99) passed an act conferring "upon the city of Chicago the power and authority to sell surplus electricity and to fix the rates and charges for the supply of gas and electricity for power, heating and lighting, furnished by any individual, company or corporation, to said city of Chicago and the inhabitants thereof," provided such rates are reasonable and provided the act is adopted by local referendum. At the recent election the act was adopted by local referendum. It was in execution of this authority that Mayor Dunne proposed his 75-cent gas ordinance at the last meeting of the Council. In his message submitting his draft of this ordinance, he recited the history of the subject and said:

The Mills suit is now pending. The city is contending that the stockholder, Mills, is in collusion with the gas company. I am advised that the city can establish its contention in this regard and that there is strong probability of the city's being able to maintain the validity of the 75-cent ordinance of 1900. The excess above 75 cents charged by the gas company since January 1, 1901, amounts to more than $13,700,000. As there are in round numbers 300,000 customers of the gas company in this city it follows that these people are interested to an average amount of $49.69 each. In view of this enormous sum that the city contends has been collected wrongfully and that must be paid back to the gas users in case the city is successful in the pending litigation, I am advised by counsel for the city that the rights of the people might be seriously jeopardized if your honorable body should take any action which could be interpreted as calling into question the reasonableness of the 75-cent rate fixed by the ordinance of October 15, 1900. From data which I have collected, I find that there are a number of cities in the United States where the cost of material, wages, etc., are as high as in this city, in which artificial gas is being profitably furnished by privately owned companies for 75 cents. Being convinced, as I am, that nothing should be done that would impair the rights of the people under the old ordinance, and that 75 cents is in fact a reasonable rate, as demonstrated from the actual experience of many large cities, I herewith transmit an ordinance for such rate.

This message and ordinance were referred to the committee on gas, oil and electric light.

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Charter convention for Chicago.

Upon the call of Mayor Dunne, issued on the 10th, pursuant to a resolution of the City Council of June 19 last, a convention to frame a charter for Chicago for recommendation to the Illinois legislature to meet in 1907, is to assemble in Chicago on the 12th of December next.

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The movement resulting in this call took shape in 1902. In October of that year a conference composed of delegates from various civic bodies of Chicago assembled to consider the question of revising the State Constitution in order to secure release for Chicago from oppressive Constitu-

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tional restrictions, decided in favor of revision by special amendment (vol. v, p. 473) instead of general revision. At the meeting of this body on November 14, 1902, the executive committee accordingly reported an additional section to Article IV. of the Constitution, to be known as Section 34, and Judge Dunne (now Mayor Dunne), one of the delegates, offered as a sustitute for the report a provision for home rule and referendum voting, the executive committee having ignored that subject. In consequence of the ensuing discussion, the whole matter was referred back to the committee (vol. v, p. 586). When the committee reported on the 18th its report was adverse to Judge Dunne's substitute, and the substitute was accordingly defeated in the conference, as was an amendment then offered by Judge Dunne authorizing municipal ownership (vol. v, p. 600). At the next meeting of the conference (vol. v, p. 600), the proposed amendment of Article IV. of the Constitution by adding section 34 was adopted and the conference resolved itself into a permanent body for securing its passage and approval by the people. The proposed amendment was introduced into the legislature on the 20th of January, 1903 (vol. v, p. 664); it was adopted by both houses on the 22d of April, of the same year (vol. vi, pp. 40, 457); at the election in the Fall of 1904 it was adopted by the people by a small majority over a negative vote of about 104,000 (vol. vii, pp. 435, 466, 483, 505, 521, 529). Steps were subsequently taken in the legislature for legislation under this amendment (vol. vii, p. 683), and on the 28th of May, 1900, a bill for a Chicago charter convention, partly appointive and partly elective, was passed by the lower house of the legislature (vol. viii, p. 73); but this was subsequently killed (pp. 89, 90).

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Having been thus defeated by the legislature (Republican), the subject of a charter convention was taken up by the Republican leader of the Chicago City Council, Milton J. Foreman, who proposed in the Council a charter convention wholly appointive. The Foreman plan was adopted, June 19, 1905, by viva voce vote, after the following record vote for the previous question on amendments had cut them off:

Yeas—Dixon, Pringle, Foreman, Young, Snow, Bennett, Jones, Moynihan, Uhlir, Beilfuss, Smith, Sitts, McCormick, Reese, Schmidt, Schmidt, Hahne, Williston, Dunn, Lipps, Siewert, Raymer, Wendling, Burns, Roberts, Badenoch, Eidmann, Bihl, Hunter—Republicans; Maypole, Harkin, Finn, Werno, Heinberg, Carey, Bradley, O'Connell—Democrats; and Potter, independent.

Nays—Rundon — Republican; and Coughlin, Kenna, Richert, Dailey, McCormick (J. J.), Martin, Hunt, Scully, Hoffman, Cullerton, Zimmer, Considine, Riley, Kunz, Nowiciki, Dever, Conlon, Brennan, Ryan, Powers, Dougherty, Sullivan, Kohout—Democrats.

The resolution then adopted provided for a charter convention to be constituted as follows:

Appointments by City Council from their own body (Republican).....15
Appointments by the presiding officers of the two houses of the legislature jointly from that body (Republican).....15
Appointments of citizens of Chicago by the Mayor (Democrat).....15
Appointments of citizens of Chicago by the Governor (Republican)....15
Appointments by presiding officer of Cook County Commissioners (R.) 2
Appointments by presiding officer of Sanitary Board (R.)..... 2
Appointments by presiding officer of Board of Education (R.)..... 2
Appointments by presiding officer of Library Board (R.)..... 2
Appointments by presiding officer of South Park Board (R.)..... 2
Appointments by presiding officer of West Park Board (R.)..... 2
Appointments by presiding officer of Lincoln Park Board (R.)..... 2

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The delegates appointed are as follows:

Council appointees—Milton J. Foreman, Frank I. Bennett, R. R. McCormick, H. F. Eidmann, B. W. Snow, Walter J. Raymer, A. W. Beilfuss, Thomas J. Dixon, Thomas M. Hunter, Charles Werno, Thomas Carey, John Powers, Michael Zimmer, William E. Dever, Joseph Badenoch—Republicans 10, Democrats 6.

Legislative appointees—Francis W. Parker, William M. Brown, Carl Lundberg, Joseph F. Haas, George W. Dixon, R. E. Pendarvis, Walter E. Beebe, John W. Hill, M. L. McKinley, D. E. Shanahan, Chester W. Church, James M. Kittleman, F. E. Erickson, B. F. Clettenberg, Lewis Rinaker—Republicans 14, Democrats 1.

Governor Deneen's appointees—B. A. Eckhart, Carter H. Harrison, George B. Swift, John P. Wilson, H. A. Haugan, Francis Lackner, Lessing Rosenthal, Walter L. Fisher, Graham Taylor, John G. Shedd, Frank C. Hoyne, Edward C. Young, George W. Perkins, C. E. Merriam, A. H. Revell—Republicans 12, Democrats 2, Labor 1.

Sanitary Board's appointees—William H. Baker, A. J. Jones—Democrat 1, Republican 1.

Board of Education's appointees—C. O. Sethness, R. A. White—Democrats.

County Commissioners' appointees—E. J. Brundage, Edwin K. Walker—Republicans.

Library Board's appointees—Z. P. Brosseau, John W. Eckhart—Democrat 1, Republican 1.

Lincoln Park Board's appointees—Bryan Lathrop, F. H. Gansbergen—Republicans.

South Park Board's appointees—E. J. Rainey, Daniel F. Crilly—Democrat 1, Republican 1.

West Park Board's appointees—John F. Smulski, Judge O. N. Carter—Republicans.

Mayor Dunne's appointees—Judge Murray F. Tuley, John J. Fitzpatrick, Theodore Oehne, John P. McGoorty, John E. Owens, Dr. John Guerin, Daniel L. Cruice, Rev. D. R. Wilkins, C. J. Vopicka, Louis F. Post, J. J. Linehan, Raymond Robins, J. M. Patterson, Joseph A. O'Donnell, A. J. Graham—Democrats, 11, Republican 1, Labor 2, Negro 1.

The Chicago Tribune of the 11th (Republican) reported the convention to be "Republican by a large majority" (p. 466). Only 10 of Mayor Dunne's appointments, together with 3 of the 6 Democrats from the City Council, and one of the Governor's appointees, are distinctly representative of the views in furtherance of which Mayor Dunne was elected. Mayor Dunne's appointments were the last to be made, and when announcing them he said:

> I believe the majority of them are favorable to municipal ownership, but I do not know if all are. I made the selections to represent the various classes. The judiciary, the bar, the legislature, the medical profession, the labor unions, the social settlements, the clergy, and the colored people are represented on the delegation I selected.

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Upon the formulation of a charter by this convention, it must be submitted to the legislature and whatever charter that body may adopt must be submitted to the people of Chicago on referendum before becoming operative.

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A Cuban secession.

Cuban politics (p. 378) has afforded an opportunity, apparently, for the American colony of the Isle of Pines to instigate secession and solicit annexation to the United States. One third of those living in the island are said to be American citizens. The secession movement was organized by the American Club, an organization which is described as "including most of the substantial citizens of the island." The new government was organized on the 13th by sixty members of this club who, say the dispatches, "declared themselves a territorial convention and took steps to organize a government." They have taken a recess until the 18th, after electing the following Territorial officers:

Secretary of State, T. B. Anderson; treasurer, James M. Steere; delegate to Congress, M. C. Ryan; chief justice, A. T. Friese; and sheriff, David B. Wall. The proceedings were officially reported to the United States on the 14th in this address:

Nueva Gerona, Isle of Pines, Nov 14.—Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, President, Washington—Dear Sir: The people of this island, having purchased homes under the treaty of Paris, believing it was United States territory, and having waited more than three years for recognition of their rights as American citizens, fearing a continuation of these conditions and feeling alarm at the condition of Cuba during the coming election, have taken preliminary steps for the establishment of a territorial government under the Constitution of the United States. We believe this the proper step for us to take and the most effective way to receive justice and equity from our national lawmaking body. We also rely upon you, our President, for a square deal. We trust our action will meet your approval. T. B. Anderson, Chairman Territorial Convention.

The Russian revolution.

All Russia appears from the dispatches to be in revolutionary turmoil (p. 510), the particular items of information relating especially to Poland, Kronstadt, and the probabilities of another general strike On the 10th representatives of all political parties in Poland met at Warsaw and requested of the Czar full autonomy for Russian Poland with its own parliament. The response was a proclamation of martial law in all of Russian Poland. On the 8th a naval mutiny had broken out at Kronstadt, which lasted several days and involved great loss of life, and many of the mutineers have been condemned to death. The reports of these events are followed by dispatches of the 15th from St. Petersburg stating that in view of the condemnation of the mutineers the delay in carrying out the reforms outlined in the Imperial manifesto, the proclamation of martial law in Poland, and other repressive acts, the council of workingmen's delegates have decided to proclaim a general strike throughout Russia.

Norwegian politics.

In reorganizing the general government in Norway (p. 458) the Storthing did not submit the question of monarchy or republic to referendum, but did order a plebiscite for and against Prince Charles of Denmark as king. The voting began on the 12th, and on the 14th, though the returns were incomplete, the election of Charles was assured. In 418 constituencies there were 233,935 affirmative and 62,739 negative votes.

British municipal elections.

News by mail of the 2d from the municipal elections of the 1st in England and Wales showed the results in 116 boroughs. In these Liberal gains were 61, Labor gains 38, Conservative gains 36, Liberal Unionist gains, 1, and Socialist gains 5. Imperial party politics was in many places disregarded, but the local Progressives are clearly and strongly in the lead.

NEWS NOTES

—The national convention of the Citizens' Industrial Association met at St. Louis on the 15th.

—The American Federation of Labor began its 25th annual convention at Pittsburg on the 13th.

—Stephen M. Merrill, for 32 years a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church, died at Keyport, N. J., on the 12th, of heart paralysis, at the age of 80.

—The evangelical Inter-Church Conference (p. 458) held its first session on the 15th at New York. All non-evangelical denominations were excluded.

—An injunction against W. D. Vandiver, superintendent of insurance for Missouri, was granted in the Federal court at St. Louis on the 9th to restrain him from enforcing his order (p. 571) excluding the New York Life Insurance company from doing business in his State.

—Criminal proceedings for libel against Thomas W. Lawson were begun in Boston on the 14th by Clarence W. Barron for alleged misstatements in the October "Everybody's."

—The world's production of gold in the year 1904 is now reported as $347,325,644, partly in consequence of discoveries of new deposits and partly as the result of improved methods of treating ores.

—James E. Eagle, father of H. R. Eagle, the Chicago merchant, and father-in-law of Judge Edward Osgood Brown, died on the 9th at the age of 76. Mr. Eagle's widow is the sister of the Rev. Walter Elliott, head of the Paulist House in Washington.

—Alarmed at the report that there have been 86 suicides in Cleveland in the past nine months, Mayor Tom L. Johnson appointed on the 9th a commission, whose duty it is to try to dissuade would-be suicides from their purpose. The commission consists of Harris R. Cooley, director of charities; W. A. Greenlund, a member of the charity bureau, and Frederick C. Howe, a State senator-elect.

PRESS OPINIONS

THE NEXT CHICAGO ELECTION.

Chicago American (Dem.), Nov. 7.—The people have elected a municipal ownership mayor. Next April they must elect 35 municipal ownership aldermen. The people's battles are progressive. When a great city like Chicago adopts a municipal policy it cannot be swerved from its course by a handful of traitorous aldermen. . . . On the result of next April's election hinges Mayor Dunne's fulfillment of the people's policy during his present term. The deadlock in the Council on the municipal ownership issue is caused by the franchise plotters. . . . As the April election approaches so will approach the bringing of the two coordinate branches together. If Chicago elects 35 municipal ownership aldermen next Spring the battle is won.

TOM L. JOHNSON.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Nov. 13.—Mayor Johnson's attitude toward individual suicide will set people thinking who have not realized the prevalence of this evil.

Cleveland Plain Dealer (ind. Dem.), Nov. 8.—The overwhelming victory of Mayor Johnson and his tried and efficient associates by a majority about equal to the Mayor's combined margins over Akers and Goulder four and two years ago, respectively, is a conspicuous personal triumph, and, what is more important, conclusive evidence of the fact that the people of Cleveland know a clean, efficient administration when they see it and can be depended upon to retain in office public servants who have been found faithful to their trust.

Chicago Record-Herald (ind. Rep.), Nov. 11.—It is true that every charity organization, every municipal lodging house, every social settlement, every "home" maintained by private or public beneficence is an anti-suicide agency. Anyone who thinks himself or herself driven to commit suicide would be sympathtically received by those in charge of such establishments

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and helped or put in the way of help. Still, Mayor Johnson and his coworkers may be right in believing that a special commission definitely charged with the duty of preventing suicide, and so named and described as to attract the attention of the class in question, will supply a real want and find a place in our modern social organization.

The Auburn (N. Y.) Citizen (ind. Dem.), Nov. 10.—The difference between a boss and a leader is illustrated in the case of Mayor Tom L. Johnson, of Cleveland, O. In a year when political machines were marked for smashing, Johnson, with a splendid and loyal organization under his personal control, wins by 5,000 or more. That tells the story. Given a man with a sound heart and a level head, with no ambition to promote except the welfare of his fellow citizens, surround him with a loyal organization from every ward and precinct, and he is no more dangerous than a sucking dove. Yet what wonders can he do for such a constituency. That is leadership. Mayor Johnson will strive to make his title read clear as "The best mayor of the best governed city in America."

Cleveland Recorder (Dem.), Nov. 9.—In the Spring of 1901 Johnson came into active prominence in Ohio politics by being elected mayor of Cleveland. That same Fall he was successful in placing a ticket in the field for the legislature which was elected. He had all sorts of fights on his hands, principally against boodlers and grafters in his own party. He boldly announced that the proper course for Democracy to pursue was to drive the crooks out of its ranks. Taking an active interest in the doings of the legislature, he soon found that there were a considerable number of so-called Democrats in that body who could always be counted on to vote with Cox and the other big boodlers for a price. At the next contest for the legislature he went into the various counties where these grafters resided and denounced them and defeated them for reelection. He held that it was better to have Republicans in the legislature than crooked Democrats who could not be counted on to do as they had pledged themselves. As Johnson was running for governor that year all the McLean strength together with the friends of the grafters who had been killed in various parts of the State, joined forces with Dick and Hanna to help defeat him. This was only what was to have been expected. But the one great thing which Johnson was trying to do was done. The crooks and grafters in the Democratic party were thinned out, and the party was placed on a plane which it had been impossible for it ever to attain so long as it was being run by the McLeans, the Bernards, the Doc Nortons, Bill Gears and Harry Wilsons, who had had it in charge and regularly sold it out to the opposition for their own personal and private gain. This action on the part of Johnson did exactly in the State what his extermination of the councilmen who had been elected by the Democrats and did not live up to their pledges did in Cleveland. It gave the people confidence in the Democratic party under Johnson's direction.

MISCELLANY

THE SLEEPY SONG.

As soon as the fire burns red and low
And the house upstairs is still,
She sings me a queer little sleepy song,
Of sheep that go over the hill.

The good little sheep run quick and soft,
Their colors are gray and white;
They follow their leader nose to tail,
For they must be home by night.

And one slips over, and one comes next,
And one runs after behind;
The gray one's nose at the white one's tail,
The top of the hill they find.

And when they get to the top of the hill
They quietly slip away,
But one runs over and one comes next—
Their colors are white and gray.

And over they go, and over they go,
And over the top of the hill
The good little sheep run quick and soft,
And the house upstairs is still.

And one slips over and one comes next,
The good little, gray little sheep!
I watch how the fire burns red and low,
And she says that I fall asleep.
—Josephine Dodge Daskam.

JERRY SIMPSON'S READY WIT.

A contemporary recalls that when the Philippines were under discussion, the late Congressman Jerry Simpson made an extreme speech against our course in the islands, which "went to the last limit and roused the Republican side to a red rage." The reply, says our contemporary, was made by Cannon, of Illinois, now Speaker of the House. He spared no words in denouncing the Kansan. In his peroration he said that if Simpson's speech had been made in Manila he would have been tried by drumhead court-martial and shot to death as a traitor. The situation became intense and the sensation acute. Instantly Simpson took the floor and said: "I would much prefer being decently shot to death like a soldier in the Philippines, to being fired at on this floor by an old muzzle-loading, rusty cannon from Illinois."—San Francisco Star.

CENSORSHIP IN MOLIERE'S TIME.

An Editorial in the Manchester (England) Guardian of Nov. 3, 1905.

A man, or rather a demon clothed in the flesh and dressed as a man, and the most notorious profaner and libertine the world has seen, has been so impious as to send forth from his diabolical brain a play now ready to be shown in public on the stage, scoffing at the whole Church. He jeers at its most sacred character and its most divine function . . . the leading and directing of souls and families by wise guides and holy conductors.

This is not, as might be thought, a remark passed by one of the enraged New York papers on Mr. Bernard Shaw's play, "Mrs. Warren's Profession." It was said by one of the equally positive critics who were equally successful in getting Moliere's "Tartuffe" prohibited after a single performance at Paris in 1664. "Mrs. Warren's Profession" is not so fine a play as "Tartuffe," but in other respects the parallel is curiously close. Both plays are not merely moral; they are supermoral, searchingly and disquietingly moral; like "Romola," "The Egoist" and "A Doll's House," they leave you ruefully considering your ways; your old complacency is gone, and in its stead there is a dismal suspicion that after all it may not be a mere form of words when you call yourself in church a miserable sinner. Moliere's play showed that a special kind of lying and hypocrisy, then much in use, was a deadly intellectual poison; Mr. Shaw's showed that none of us is wholly free from responsibility for public vice as long as we acquiesce in industrial practices which reduce many of our countrywomen to the choice between dishonor and destitution. He has stated his own aim in writing the play:

I believe that any society which desires to found itself on a high standard of integrity of character in its units should organize itself in such a fashion as to make it possible for all men and all women to maintain themselves in reasonable comfort by their industry, without selling their affections and their convictions. . . . I must, however, warn my readers that my attacks are directed against themselves, not against my stage figures. They cannot too thoroughly understand that the guilt of defective social organization does not lie alone on the people who actually work the commercial makeshifts which the defects make inevitable, . . . but with the whole body of citizens.

"My comedy," Moliere said 237 years ago, and Mr. Shaw may say to-day, "had no sooner appeared than it was struck as with a thunderbolt by a power that should command respect." In both cases the protest against a play moral beyond the common run of plays was raised in the name of morality, religion and family life. In both cases point is given to the spectacle by the toleration which the enraged persons extend at the same time to the real immoralities of the contemporary theater. Moliere tells a little story:

A week after it ["Tartuffe"] was forbidden, a play called "Scaramouche Ermite" was acted at Court, and the King, as he left the theater, said to the Prince [Conde]: "I should like to know why people who are so greatly scandalized at Moliere's comedy say nothing about 'Scaramouche.'" The Prince answered: "The reason is that 'Scaramouche' laughs at heaven and at religion, about which these gentlemen care nothing, and that Moliere's comedy laughs at the men themselves, and this they will not tolerate."

If you look, another day, you will see many of those who find the work of Mr. Shaw "immoral" smacking their lips at the lubricities of some winking and leering "musical comedy," or tittering at some indecent tit-bit of music hall innuendo or pantomime gag. What they dread is the advent of a dramatic revival that would make men's stomachs turn at entering this

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reeking under-world of the theater of to-day.

MAYOR JOHNSON'S WAY.

CAMPAIGNING WITH A CAMERA.

A feature of the Democratic campaign in this city this year is Peter Witt's picture talk. It is declared by the Democrats to be better than ever. Witt is always the last speaker and the scene in last night's tent is typical of practically every meeting.

It is nearing 9:45. Mayor Johnson is speaking. He makes mention of the fact that in a few minutes the lights will be lowered, the tent darkened, and Peter Witt will give his illustrated talk. A few more moments of talk and the time is at hand. The lights are out; the tent is in darkness, and all that can be seen is a stream of light from the stereopticon in the center of the tent to the screen at the back of the platform.

Peter Witt mounts the platform, and out of the darkness comes a voice, and he tells his audience that before putting upon the screen the many pictures illustrating the work of the present administration he will give them a few lessons in the subject of taxation.

He refers to the board of review—a board, he says, that instead of spending its time correcting the thousands of inequalities of the appraisals made on land and buildings, whiles away its time in trying to place upon the tax duplicate personal property. He then shows that in the entire state of Ohio on the tax duplicate there is one watch to 56 people, and its value is $14, and that according to the same tax duplicate we have more pianos than watches, for the records show one to every 38 people. The operator then puts in two or three slides showing the most valuable property in Cleveland and giving the figure at which it is appraised, also its real value. Then comes the first series of pictures.

It is the farm colony at Warrensville on the Kinsman road. A picture is displayed showing 50 acres of the farm under cultivation and the men working. Then comes the forest; men blazing their way through it, building a road that leads to the quarries on the farm where there is sufficient stone to provide for all the buildings that the city may need for years to come. The men at work in the quarry are workhouse prisoners. Three hundred had been out there during the past summer; only four have escaped, and the only thing that prevented the balance from running away was an old rail fence. And then the farmhouse showing 15 or 20 men who had lost in the race for life, instead of whiling away the idle hours at the City Infirmary put on the farm where in a few years all the inmates of the infirmary will be. Fifteen in a cottage. Each cottage with its plot of ground, where all can apply their labor to the soil and in a large measure make their own livelihood.

Next come the pictures of the garbage plant, and public improvements are then shown. The street cleaning department comes next. The pictures show the condition of the streets six and seven years ago when the people, after paying their good money in taxes, organized private squads that with shovels and hoes raked the mud on the pavement into little mounds and then stuck little flags into them, and the picture of a horse and hose and three men paid for by the merchants downtown, washing Superior street.

Then follow the pictures showing the modern machinery employed by the city with its direct labor plan, and closing with a magnificent picture of Superior street showing its cleanliness.

From street cleaning Witt jumps to the workhouse where the audience sees a picture of 130 men in the schoolroom, many of them receiving their first rudiments of education. Not a face looked at the camera when the picture was taken and Witt concludes by saying "although those men are in the workhouse, the fact that they turned their backs on the camera shows conclusively that self-respect has not left them; all that they want is a chance which the present administration has given them. The pencil has taken the place of the club; dungeons have given way to schoolrooms."

From pictures he reverts to lessons and he gives a story in illustrated form of the Miami & Erie canal, and concludes this part of his programme by comparing the eminent financiers who manipulated that deal to the "Queen of Finance," who is now spending her time in the Cuyahoga county jail.

The health department next receives his attention, and on the screen appears the tuberculosis hospital at the infirmary grounds, where 100 consumptives are being treated daily, showing how they live and the veranda where they receive fresh air instead of medicine. And then comes a beautiful picture of 60 nurses who take care of the city's unfortunates at the city hospital.

The comfort station in the public square is next flashed on the screen. Witt then takes his audience through the parks and shows the many things accomplished by the administration—from 51 baseball diamonds and 20 playgrounds to the Orange street bathhouse.

Next appears the bad saloon and the way the present administration handles that problem. A policeman is shown at the door. This is followed by another picture, showing the same saloon five days after. The place is deserted, the windows are filled with advertising matter. Then comes a picture of the different kinds of slot machines that were in the city. This is followed by a picture of gamblers' row, and Witt says:

"Go into any saloon in this row and you will find the gambler now has a lot of time on his hands; and if you find one of them that will vote for Tom Johnson I will agree to shoot a white blackbird."

One more picture and the concert after the show is over. "The best mayor of the best governed city," comes a voice from the darkness, and then appears the portrait of Mayor Johnson.—Cleveland Plain Dealer of Nov. 2, 1905.

THE CHINESE MINISTER SPEAKS IN CHICAGO.

For The Public.

The Merchants' Club of Chicago tendered a reception and banquet to Sir Chentung Liang-Cheng, the Chinese representative at Washington, on the evening of November 11, at the Auditorium, in Chicago.

His Excellency, Sir Chentung, delivered a note-worthy address on that occasion on the subject of the Commercial Relations between the United States and China. Notwithstanding the direct, yet dignified statesmanship of this address, it was not more note-worthy than was its reception by the highly representative company before which it was delivered.

The representative of Chinese opinion made a most scholarly, and at the same time a plain declaration that there could be no extension or enlargement of such commercial relations as now exist between the two peoples, until the people of the United States should be able to restore Chinese confidence in American administration of our treaties with China and our exclusion laws; until laws that were passed to exclude coolies and laborers only, are applied to coolies and laborers only; until treaties are applied as expressed.

The address was a most effective demand for fair play and a square deal as a basis for any such extension of the commercial relations between the two peoples.

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The address was received with marked attention and with every indication of hearty approval. Bankers, merchants, professional men expressed general satisfaction in the opportunity afforded by the address to "see ourselves as others see us," in hearing a polite statement of the "frozen truth."

President Wacker, of the Club, impressively assured the speaker, in the name of the Club, that his utterances would "bear fruit."

During an interlude in the programme the guest of the evening was asked with regard to the basis of the ancient social order among the Chinese. A prelude to the question asked was a statement that an American who had lived for a score or more years in China, as a Christian Missionary and a practicing physician, and who had translated the great work of Henry George and other similar works into the Chinese language, had referred to the teaching of Mencius as authority for a belief that the social order among the Chinese of the time of Abraham was based upon a system of land tenure equivalent to that developed in the Henry George philosophy, and which was substantially the same as that now in force in Kiao Chow, under German rule, and with which Sir Chentung professed to be entirely familiar.

His Excellency confirmed the statement as to the ancient practice, with a suggestion that the ancient social philosophy was based upon the distribution of land. He further said that the teachings of Confucius, as expounded by Mencius, were the basis of the present social order among the Chinese, and that the practical question of the distribution of land is a subject which must absorb more attention than is at present being given to it.

The confirmation by his Excellency of the statement made by Dr. W. E. Macklin, who is well known to all single taxers, leads to a reexamination of the pamphlet, printed in the Journal of the Chinese branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XXXIII, on the subject of "Mencius, and Some Other Reformers of China," by Dr. W. E. Macklin. In this little pamphlet, on page seven, is the following description of Mencius's land system:

> Mencius makes the proper division of the land form a very important plank in his platform. He says: "A benevolent policy starts with a proper division of the fields. If the fields are not properly divided according to the character *tsing* (a well) the public wealth is unevenly distributed. A square *li* (a *li* is one-third of a mile) by two strokes across two strokes, is divided into nine equal squares. Eight families each received a square, 100 *mu* or 15 acres; and in company first cultivated the center square, whose crop paid the tax or socage. Afterwards, the people cared for their own private squares. In the residence part of towns and villages, each citizen had five *mu* in which he planted his mulberry grove, and the women cultivated the silkworm, and at 50 years of age silk was worn. They had pigs and poultry. With this allotment the people were well fed, contented and happy, like the ancient Romans before the growth of *Lati-fundia*. In the towns, from Chu Hi we learn that the division was also according to the character *tsing*. The center square was for the palace; the one in front of it for the temples and public buildings; the one behind for the market, and the three squares in each side for the residence of the people. In the market, a ground rent was charged, and there was no tax on goods. The Cheu Li says: "There was no taxing of houses, goods or persons." It was evidently a ground-rent tax commended by so many of our ablest political economist. King Wu, Mencius' hero, "had no starvelings in his dominion." As the result of this land policy, Mencius says: "The ancient sages so ruled that they made foodstuffs as cheap as fire and water," and I have not much doubt but that if Mencius' plan were adopted it would have this effect. If in a community every one is a worker, either with brain or hand, if there is absolute freedom of exchange, and there are no appropriators, the market can be considered a pool. No one takes out of the pool without putting in something of equal value. How can there be exhaustion? In such a state of society, we would as freely give out of our physical wealth as we now give out of our moral and intellectual wealth, and with as little fear of exhaustion. Mencius says: "By charging only a ground rent and no taxes on goods and houses, the merchants of the world would desire to do business in such a market." In this saying he anticipated the methods of some of our home cities that offer remission of taxes on goods, plant and buildings, for terms of years, to encourage business and manufacture.

When Dr. Macklin was in Chicago recently, he said that many of the men in conspicuous official positions in China were sincere believers in the philosophy of Henry George. Among these he mentioned Sir Chentung as one; and the confirmation of Dr. Macklin's statement by the eminent representative of the Chinese Empire, now in America, is an encouraging "sign of the times."

With Tolstoy in Russia and such men as Sir Chentung in China, there may be ground for the belief "that the removal of the sin of landed property is nearer than we think," and that it is to be effected first by those people whom we are accustomed to regard as most backward in the scale of human progress. There may be a measure of justice in this; that they are the most backward, may be because of the greater burden upon them under the "great iniquity."

WESTERN STARR.

In modern speculation
Your language you must choose,
If you win it is investing,
But it's gambling if you lose.
—Washington Star.

BOOKS

RELIGION AND POLITICS.

Religion and Politics. By Algernon Sidney Crapsey. New York: Thomas Whittaker 2 and 3 Bible House. Price $1.25 net.

Algernon Sidney Crapsey has recently caused an uplifting of hands in holy horror in certain quarters, and no wonder. His book on Religion and Politics sounds much the same note that startled the pharisees of old and produced the crucifixion.

Dr. Crapsey places Jesus in an attitude of hostility to the state. In Jesus's estimation "man, not the state, was the thing divine." The state exists in great degree to protect property rights, "and for property rights Jesus had very little respect." He would not acknowledge the state when he appeared before Pilate, but stood mute. Considering him historically, his was "a reactionary movement against existing conditions." He was therefore a dangerous man. "So thought the men of his day, and they crucified him; so think the vast majority of men in our day, and they despise him."

The real contribution of Jesus to the moral wisdom of the world was passive resistance to evil. Not passive obedience, "not a cowardly surrender to unrighteousness, a fearful cringing to wickedness in high places;" but as a method of rebellion. "Jesus's method is to fight evil, not by active resistance, but by passive endurance; he was ready, not to kill, but if need were, to be killed."

In the development of this religion the office of bishop was at first a place of bodily danger; but with prosperity in the church it became instead a post of honor to which men aspired selfishly, and the religion of Christ grew into a religion of ambitions and hatred instead of love. Upon the union of the church with the imperial political power of Rome, "the church surrendered to the Emperor as truly as the Emperor submitted to the church." Though "the Empire became in a measure Christianized, the church became to an equal degree imperialized."

And the Reformation when it came was not a reformation. It did not restore the religion of Jesus. Luther fought the battle not of the people, but of the kings. "When we calmly consider the history of the Reformation we see that it was not the people at large who profited by that movement, but it was in the main the upper classes, the princes and the nobility, who reaped the benefit. The princes succeeded to the power of the Pope, and the nobility to the wealth of the clergy."

And so a union of church and state has come down to our own day and country; and since the Civil War both

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THE CUNNING MEN.

Taft—Bryan and Johnson, two very dangerous men, my friend: they are devoting themselves to setting the poor against the rich!

Graft—Worse than that, Brother! they are preventing the rich from exploiting the poor!

church and state have been dominated by a corrupt commercialism. The man of the purse has assumed leadership." We need a "moral and spiritual reformation, and we need it at once."

The kind of religion toward which Dr. Crapsey would have this reformation turn, is indicated when he says: "When the people of the United States decreed by Constitutional amendment that the government should never by law establish any religion, they did actually establish the only religion that could comprehend in its membership the whole common people; a religion having as its basis the principles of individual liberty and obedience to righteous law is really the religion of the golden rule."

Usually when complaints of established orders of religion come from within an establishment, they are concerned about creeds and forms and ceremonies. But Dr. Crapsey strikes a higher note. His complaint is concerned about the alliance of Christianity with the very institutions against which its Founder rebelled, and the substance of his cry is, Back to Jesus! "The Kingdom of God, which Jesus lived and died to establish, was to be all that the Roman empire was not—a kingdom of peace instead of war, a kingdom of righteousness instead of injustice, of mercy instead of cruelty." But the churches of to-day, do they stand for peace, for justice, for mercy? Do they not stand rather essentially for those conditions for which the Roman empire stood? "We are at the beginning," says Dr. Crapsey—"we are at the beginning, not at the end, of the Christian era."

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—The Divine Philosophy. By G. J. Fercken, A. M., Ph. D. Philadelphia and London: The Nunc Licet Press. To be reviewed.

—The Indian Dispossessed. By Seth K. Humphrey. With 16 full-page illustrations from photographs. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. To be reviewed.

—The Hindered Hand; or, the Reign of the Repressionist. By Sutton E. Griggs. Nashville, Tenn.: The Orion Publishing Co. Price, $1.00. To be reviewed.

—The Bible: Its True Character and Spiritual Meaning. By Rev. L. P. Mercer.

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All who have not already done so are urged to note carefully the announcement (on the first cover page of this issue) of our new circular of **Clubbing Offers for the Season of 1905-06,** to write at once (by postal card) for copies of this circular, and to place them in the hands of neighbors, acquaintances, and others who do not now read THE PUBLIC but ought to. We shall be glad to send this circular to any addresses on request.

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Third Edition, Rewritten and enlarged. Philadelphia: The Nunc Licet Press. To be reviewed.

—The Brothers' War. By John C. Reed, author of "American Law Studies" and "Conduct of Law Studies." Boston: Little, Brown & Company. Price, $2 net. To be reviewed.

—Trade Unionism and Labor Problems. Edited with an Introduction by John R. Commons, Professor of Political Economy University of Wisconsin. Boston, New York, Chicago and London: Ginn & Company. To be reviewed.

—The Freethinker's Catechism. From the French of Edgar Montell. Translated by Frederic W. Mitchell. New York: The Truth Seeker Company, 62 Vesey street. Price, 25 cents. First published in Antwerp in 1877, because it was then unlawful to publish such a work in France, this little catechism lays bare the Freethinker's philosophy of life and the universe. Controversially it is a reply to that species of church paganism which conceives of God as a being standing outside of all other beings; philosophically it belongs to that order of materialistic literature which imagines that idea or mind, instead of being the motor force of the universe, is a chemical product of physical brain matter. It purports to be the work of the author only as to arrangement, being essentially a compilation in catechism form of the condensed views of all the rationalistic and scientific men of a generation ago.

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PERIODICALS

J. Warner Mills's "Economic Struggle in Colorado" is continued in the November Arena. Though local in its data, this is no local story in its interest and importance. The village experience of Mr. George Cadbury at Bourneville, England, presents a subject for thoughtful study on the "housing" question; and in an entirely different field, a strange psychological instance, vouched for as true, is startlingly narrated under the title of "Two Souls in One Body."

An unusually interesting example of personal narrative begins in the November number of the Pacific Monthly. It is Homer Davenport's own story of his career and the illustrations are copies of some of the cartoons that brought him fame. The new Salton sea, which has submerged the California desert, is another article of special interest. Col. C. E. S. Wood's always interesting "Im-

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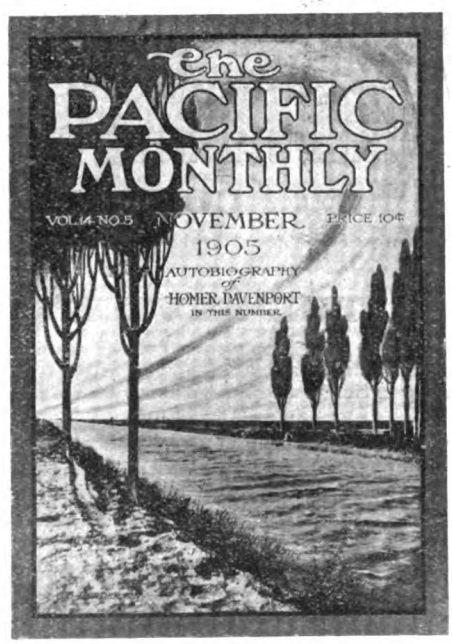

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