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EDITORIAL

Presidential slush funds.

At last the fact of plutocratic corruption in behalf of McKinley in the Presidential elections of 1896, and 1900, and of Roosevelt in 1904, is proved. It was an open secret before, but now even the fool who willingly fools himself cannot deny the depths of corruption into which Hannaism sunk the Republican party. For the complete exposure of a theft to the amount of $150,000 from the policy holders of the New York Life Insurance Company by their official trustees, for the promotion of political purposes, covered up as these thefts were by deceptive bookkeeping, is manifestly only one instance out of many others equally corrupt and criminal. As Mr. Bryan says of this predatory gang, they were "so deeply concerned for the country's honor that they neglected their own."

A modest silence.

The silence of the Republican newspapers on this harrowing disclosure is as grand in its way as the grand old party itself. There is an air of modesty about them which recalls the modesty of one of Cable's 'Cajan characters, who was "so modest he was almost shy." Nor are the managers of the party a bit more ostentatious. Observe, for example, Cornelius N. Bliss, the treasurer, who received and disbursed this boodle in behalf of the Republican Presidential candidates. He has "nothing to say to anyone at any time on any matter in connection with this subject." There you have the kind of silence that usually goes with addition and division. And Mr. Chairman Cortelyou, who succeeded to Hanna's place in the work of pointedly soliciting unlawful contributions of this character out of corporation treasurers, he too, is silent. As to Mr. Roosevelt, he is by no means as loquacious as he was before this annoying thing got found out.

The Roosevelt-Parker episode.

It was hints of just such Presidential slush funds as the New York insurance investigation has now exposed that caused Judge Parker last Fall (vol. vii, p. 486) to denounce this species of political corruption. Mr. Roosevelt was quick enough then (vol. vii, p. 503) to break silence. He denied that there was any quid pro quo bargain in connection with his campaign fund; and some of his friends think him and Cortelyou untouched by the scandalous insurance revelations at New York. They say that no bargain has been proved. But can Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Cortelyou avoid reasonable censure if they maintain silence until a bargain is proved? They certainly knew of these tainted contributions. Mr. Roosevelt's indignant letter last Fall showed that they knew that corporations were contributing. Doubtless Cortelyou—of whose transactions Mr. Roosevelt claimed knowledge enough to certify publicly to their purity—doubtless he at least knew of these very New York Life contributions. And pray, where did either of them suppose the officers of the company got authority, legal or moral, to contribute policy-holders' money to the purposes for which that money was contributed? And what did they suppose were the motives of these officers in committing this enormous breach of trust? Surely they were not so unsophisticated as to suppose that even the most hardened criminal would take such a risk with no gain in prospect.

Legalizing slush funds.

One aspect of these grafty insurance revelations calls for special consideration. It is the cool proposal of Perkins, Morgan's partner and the New York Life's official, who as a witness under cross-examination revealed the details of the New York Life's contribution to plutocratic politics, that this kind of breach of trust should be legalized. Passing over the exhibition this man made of himself on the witness stand as a moral dullard, incapable of comprehending the turpitude of diverting trust funds of policy holders in life insurance companies, think what is involved in his audacious proposition that such companies be empowered by law to assess, or, to quote his own words, to "contribute 25 or 50 or 75 cents from each policy holder" for campaign purposes. The former robberies of policy holders having been unearthed, he would have future larcenies of the same kind legalized. The policy holders of the "Big Three" insurance companies number millions, and in New York State alone probably half a million of them are Democrats. Think of the moral obliquity of

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a man who, caught redhanded in a theft of his clients' funds, coolly proposes that he and two or three others similarly situated shall hereafter be legally authorized to take the money of these half million voters to use it to defeat the candidates they intend to vote for. Following and confirming the Lawson disclosures of an utter lack of moral perception among the kings of high finance, this incident ought still further to disillusionize the people of the nation of the notion that these men are one whit better disposed toward property rights than so many Captain Kidds.

"Tainted money."

Literally, there is no such thing as "tainted money;" the taint is not in the gift itself, but in the circumstances of the giving and the taking. Money is "tainted money" only when given and taken for the purpose, or with the reasonable effect, of promoting injustice. It is this that makes the receiver "as bad as the thief." In the absence of what lawyers call "the criminal mind," there is nothing wrong in receiving money that has been stolen; it is wrong only when the receiver either knows, or reasonably ought to know, that he is thereby promoting theft. The same principle applies to gifts to churches from—well, let us say from Mr. Rockefeller.

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Such questions are tested best by resorting to extremes for illustration. Suppose a candid thief—"Good Robber Brown," for instance, of Gilbert's grimly rollicking satire on a type of piety from which none of the churches are free—suppose the existence of such a thief, and how should we judge his gifts to churches? This money would have been obtained in larcenous pursuits; shall the gifts be therefore refused? Ask any honest baker what he would do were the thief to offer some of his money for bread in regular course of trade? The baker would take the money for the bread, of course, and, equally [illegible] so, no one would condemn him for taking "tainted money." But suppose the thief were to offer extra prices for bread, in order to gain the baker's friendship, the baker being an influential member of the church, and, maybe, of the local grand jury. Wouldn't the baker deserve condemnation if he took that money? Wouldn't it be "tainted" money? For more complete similitude put the matter in another way. Suppose a fund were raised in the good thief's neighborhood for a church building or church work, and the thief contributed along with his neighbors in such manner and under such circumstances as to create no sense of special obligation. Should his contribution be rejected as "tainted money?" Hardly. Since the true owners of the money would be unknown, and there would be nothing in the circumstances calculated to effect the promotion of injustice, acceptance of the gift would be legitimate. But, suppose, on the other hand, that the good thief were to make his contribution in such manner as to make it reasonably appear that the particular contribution was the proceeds of a particular robbery, or reasonably to have the effect of exciting a sense of appreciation and gratitude or admiration tending to discourage the development of religious sentiment against his nefarious business! Wouldn't that alter the whole aspect of the affair? Wouldn't his donation thereupon become "tainted money" and its acceptance be censurable? There can be no doubt of it.

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Now apply the principle to donations to churches by Mr. Rockefeller. Though Mr. Rockefeller's fortune be tainted through and through with injustice, surely the tradesman who sells him goods in due course of trade and at regular rates cannot fairly be accused of taking "tainted money." And why should churches not take his contributions along with other contributions, in the same innocent way as the tradesman takes an honest price for goods? We fail to see any reason why they should not. But there is no such innocence if his contributions be accepted by churches under circumstances that might reasonably so affect the religious sentiment of the country as to weaken public opinion and public law with reference to the methods of injustice whereby he maintains the fortune out of which his gifts are drawn. In these circumstances the gifts become gifts of "tainted money," and their acceptance by churches has a flavor of guilt. Now, is there any reason for doubting that Mr. Rockefeller's gifts to churches are so given as to produce that effect if accepted? We think not. Gifts such as his cannot be taken by churches under the circumstances in which they are given, without influencing a pulpit tenderness not only to Mr. Rockefeller personally, of which there are notable instances, but toward the career of rapacity and the conditions of injustice on which his fortune thrives. As with the pious gifts of "Good Robber Brown," these gifts of Mr. Rockefeller's purchase of the churches a tendency not alone to condone his past depredations; the purchased tendency is also to help him secure aid and comfort in his predatory operations.

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But let no one suppose that the money of your predatious Rockefellers and your "Good Robber Browns" is the only "tainted money" that churches take. When men whose fortunes come from unjust privileges so old as to be respectable, men who have no occasion to struggle in predatory ways for a fortune because unjust institutions have through inheritance or otherwise poured fortunes smoothly and honorably into their possession—when contributions to churches from such men as these are accepted under circumstances tending to maintain or to strengthen the hoary institutional injustice which has made the fortunes, these also are gifts of "tainted money." A rapacious Rockefeller or "Good Robber Brown" might care nothing for the laws of property so long as

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he could override them, while an aristocratic Astor was scrupulously law abiding; yet if acceptance of a pious gift from the former tended so to influence religious opinion as to promote their profitable but unjust law-breaking, and acceptance of such a gift from the latter tended to perpetuate the profitable but unjust institution that gives him an unearned income, both gifts would be gifts of "tainted money."

The monopoly that takes the increasing residue.

How true it is that land monopoly confiscates all that other monopolies are forced to leave is shown in the Kansas gas belt with startling clearness. Hundreds of cities, towns and villages in southeastern Kansas now use only natural gas for fuel and lighting. They get it at a cost of 10 to 20 cents per 1,000 cubic feet, and in many places at less by a flat rate per month—10 cents a month for 30 candle power lamps and 50 to 75 cents for stoves. Is this a great blessing to the people? That depends upon whether they own the land they live on. But only about half the inhabitants do. The other half are renters and for them the landlord acts as receiver for the benefits of cheap gas. He adds the saving to their rent. Aside from the pecuniary advantage in cost of fuel and light, there is cleanliness, convenience and comfort in the use of gas, and this makes the gas towns very attractive as places of residence. But people who go there must pay a land monopolist the value of those privileges, either in purchase price or rents. "Do you expect to enjoy the benefits of cheap gas for nothing?" exclaim the land monopolists when their inflated prices are questioned.

The Chicago traction fight.

Mayor Dunne has acted wisely in responding favorably to requests to go directly to the people of Chicago with his plan (p. 369) for defeating traction graft and securing municipal ownership and operation of the traction service. Obstructed by a majority of the City Council's committee on transportation, under the leadership of pronounced opponents of municipal ownership who have succeeded for the present in pigeon-holing his plan while they try to give a franchise to the Morgan grafters, the Mayor asks the people to come again to his support for the protection of their own interests. Naturally this policy is not agreeable to aldermen and newspapers that stand for the traction ring. But it is the right and the wise course to take, and already its favorable effects are noticeable.

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Municipal ownership in Sheffield.

An example of the animus of the traction newspapers of Chicago was furnished a few days ago. Quoting from the Daily Consular report of the 16th to show that municipal ownership had failed in Sheffield, England, from neglect to charge annually for depreciation of plant, they were exceedingly lugubrious because it would now be necessary to increase fares. But they failed to make it as clear as the Daily Consular report did, that fares in Sheffield are 17 per cent. cheaper than the next cheapest in England; and that with as high a rate of fare as at Leeds—an average of less than 2¼ cents—there would be a great profit in the Sheffield system after ample allowance for depreciation. This is what the traction press of Chicago regards as failure of municipal ownership! It is a noteworthy fact that while they picked out this solitary item, they unanimously overlooked a more significant report, from Nottingham, in the very same issue of the Daily Consular report, and in a more conspicuous place. This report shows that, with an average fare of only 2 1-6 cents, the net profits for the year just closed at Nottingham exceeded $100,000. It also shows, an important fact in connection with the traction question in Chicago, that only one fatal accident occurred in connection with traction operation in Nottingham during the year, and that this was the first in three years, during which time 7,250,000 miles had been traversed by the municipally owned and operated cars, and 80,000,000 passengers carried. Other accidents have been few and trivial.

Municipal ownership in Glasgow.

The official report of traction operation in Glasgow (p. 382), Scotland, is interesting here, especially in view of the flippant criticism that the traction newspapers and other friends of traction interests made of Mr. du Pont's estimates (p. 345) of earnings for a municipal street car system in the streets of Chicago on which traction franchises have expired. Mr. du Pont estimated the gross earnings for the first year at $12,000,000. The trackage on which he estimated is 264 miles, and the population to be served is 1,100,000. Turning now to the Glasgow report we find a trackage of only 147½ miles for a city the population of which is only 800,000. Yet the receipts for passengers carried last year (196,767,519) would have amounted at a 5-cent fare to $9,788,375. Why should $12,000,000 receipts be regarded as a rash estimate for the Chicago properties, if Glasgow would have received at the same fare nearly $10,000,000 on her system, though with much shorter trackage and a smaller as well as less active population?

THE PRESIDENT'S WEAK SIDE.

It is not in a factious or partisan spirit that we may see wherein President Roosevelt, at this period of our national life, is seriously lacking. The personality of a public officer may at times be an important feature in a nation's history, and may thus become a legitimate subject of comment.

The President has gained the reputation of "doing things." He did things in the Cuban war. He was a brave officer and received his just reward of praise. He went down in the submarine boat. It was a daring act, which appealed to the sportsman spirit of the country, and was admired even by those who seemed to

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plore his daring. He has deserved the thanks of the world by his efforts for peace between Russia and Japan. He has, indeed, throughout his public career, done many good things, for all of which he has received the praise that was due.

But there is one kind of thing the President has not done.

A new life of Andrew Jackson has recently appeared, which is dedicated "to the embodiment in our times of the Jacksonian spirit, Theodore Roosevelt." Andrew Jackson was impulsive and somewhat spectacular, but the likeness between these two Presidents is purely superficial. The author of the book missed the supreme quality of Jackson's genius and the immense importance of his greatest achievement, else he could not have displayed the ignorance of his comparison. No man in American history saw distant results more clearly than Andrew Jackson. He saw the beginnings of our tremendous material development. He knew what steam and machinery and railroads would do. He saw the dangerous influences of concentrated wealth. He struck at the danger where he found it beginning to show itself. He struck and struck and struck. The United States Bank had behind it all the influences of wealth, privilege and social prestige. But Jackson kept striking, in scorn of personal consequence, until he struck it down. Where was there in his policy of curing the concentration of monopolistic power, any thought of temporizing with the evil? Nor could the monopoly have been abolished in any other way than by Jackson's persistent, uncompromising steadfastness.

Corresponding to the bank power in Jackson's day, we have in our day the tariff power, the railroad power, and other powers, all powerfully combined to resist attack anywhere along the line. The danger, the abuse, the insolence of concentrated wealth have immensely increased. Can the evil be abolished by a policy of moderation and temporizing? By bold talk one-half year, and then protesting the next half that in dealing with such large interests it is necessary to go slowly? Never can privilege be dispossessed in such wise. What if certain interests must temporarily suffer? What if the powers, as was done in Jackson's time, can increase the suffering to the point of panic—is the long gain not worth the pain? Why permit the powers of special privilege to go on counting upon the policy of postponement under the plea of moderation? The interests of true moderation demand progress through the abolition of abuses clearly seen. It is the policy of temporizing that tends to produce in the end immoderate action.

Here we see the President's unfortunate failure. Whether from lack of patience, or of persistency, or from disinclination to offend close associates and to incur the hostile criticism of dominant forces, the fact remains that he has not followed throughout any policy of reform that would tend to hamper, much less abolish, the economic abuses of concentrated wealth. A few papers have begun to call attention to this fact. Among these, one of the fairest and most judicious, the New York Journal of Commerce, in a recent editorial wrote as follows:

> Recent utterances seem to show that President Roosevelt's attitude on railway matters has been substantially modified since the adjournment of Congress. Whereas, at the last session, he called loudly, if somewhat ambiguously, for positive legislation on this subject, and was well pleased with the bill passed by the House, he now asks vaguely for an act that will merely correct railway abuses. Coupling this with the semi-official announcement that tariff revision must wait until after the next Presidential election, an almost complete reductio ad absurdum is reached in the administration plan of reform. This situation would be ridiculous if it had not so many serious aspects. It conveys an extremely important general lesson as well as a direct menace for the immediate future. The threat is found in the fact that industrial interests, desirous of blocking legislation, have now fully learned the location of the President's weak point.

The industrial interests, the writer goes on to say, have found that all they need is to get a postponement. They trust in the President's fatal fault of not pursuing throughout — through all details and complications and oppositions—the contest that is needed.

What makes the situation worse is the President's protestation of reform. The people fondly believe that he will do something in this direction of social problems. And the very fact that he has acted strenuously on some occasions and in some directions adds to the credence. Up to the present time all real evidences point to the conclusion that nothing of vital importance in our economic conditions will be done during the present administration. President Roosevelt has supplied precisely what the allied special interests needed at this time: one who would hold out the hope and seeming, without the reality, of doing something in response to clamor that was raised against them.

What is the lesson? Is it not this? That no reforms, of the kind needed by the people, can be expected until the people are converted to elect a President who shall be in truth an embodiment of the Jacksonian spirit, one who, with the highest type of bravery, and a real belief in democracy, shall persist, without temporizing, in striking down the abuses that retard, and in clearing the way for the activities that promote, a fairer apportionment of the nation's inevitable wealth. This is our great problem, which we need to face all the time. In solving it lies our highest service, not only to ourselves but to the peoples of other countries. Not by army, navy, foreign expansion, Monroe doctrine, or otherwise, can this nation so promote the progress of the world and the good of mankind as by holding its face steadily to this problem of the concentration and abuse of wealth. Whatever diverts attention from it is a delusion and a snare. And no matter what President Roosevelt may do in other directions, in failing to face this problem, after apparently seeing it, future judgment will be against him.

J. H. DILLARD.

NEWS NARRATIVE

Week ending Thursday, Sept. 21.

Poitical corruption revealed.

In the course of the insurance investigation by a legislative committee of the State of New York (p. 376), Mr. George W. Perkins has

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made revelations regarding Presidential campaign funds which have excited universal interest and no little astonishment. Mr. Perkins occupies a dual position. He is an active salaried officer of the New York Life Insurance Company, and also an active member of the banking firm of J. Pierpont Morgan, with which the company has large banking and syndicate transactions. On the 15th, while under examination as a witness before the investigating committee, Mr. Perkins was asked the following questions and made the following answers:

"I have here a check," said Mr. Hughes, the counsel to the committee, producing a bit of paper, "which I desire to read. This is a check for $48,702.50, made to the order of J. P. Morgan & Co., and signed by F. Shipman, assistant treasurer, and E. D. Randolph, treasurer of the New York Life. What was that payment for?"

Mr. Perkins replied: "That was money paid to Cornelius N. Bliss on account of the Republican national committee campaign fund of last year. We had agreed to pay him $50,000, as much as that Mr. McCall said if he wished it, but that was all Mr. Bliss called for, and it was paid in that way as cash to him. The same thing happened in 1900 and 1896. We did it in the first and second McKinley campaigns and in the last one."

"On whose account was that money paid?"

"I cannot answer that, sir, but I presume we can find out the way it was charged. I am glad you brought this matter up."

"I intended that it should be brought up."

"Yes, sir. I should like to say that these payments were made after a great deal of deliberation and not in the manner that campaign contributions are usually made. We believed the integrity of our assets was being assailed. We believed it was a legitimate thing for us to do to protect the property of those hundreds of thousands of policy holders. We made contributions of $50,000 each in the two McKinley campaigns, and when we saw the St. Louis platform we believed more than ever that our assets were endangered and we made a contribution to the Republican campaign of the same amount—$50,000. Mr. McCall, who is a Democrat, believed as I did, and he voted the Republican ticket in each campaign."

"And you charged it in this Hanover office bank account by order of the president without any mention of what it was for?"

"I don't know. Lots of items are probably entered that way. I would like to make one statement, however. The fact that these checks were drawn on J. P. Morgan & Co. had no significance. The money was ordered paid by President McCall and I paid it."

Senator Armstrong asked if any one in addition to President McCall and Mr. Perkins knew of the transaction.

"I don't recall whether or not any of the other officials knew about it other than Mr. McCall and myself."

"Do you know how the figure comes to be such an odd one?"

"No, except that we had agreed to pay over $50,000. When the accounts were made up at the end of the year it was found Mr. Bliss had not drawn the entire amount."

"Has the New York Life ever made any other campaign contributions besides these three?"

"Not that I know of."

"Were you in a position to know?"

"I don't know that I was in a position to know absolutely."

"Is there no self-restraint allowed the officers in these campaign contributions?"

"None that I know of. I think we have a right to leave the matter to the judgment of the officers."

Mr. Hughes then asked: "Is it your view that contributions by insurance companies to political campaign funds are necessary?"

"I think it is a very bad practice, and I think you could do nothing better than to draw up a law that would put an end to it. If a man is running for public office he should be made to schedule his expenditures. He should be made to say what he spends his money for. Of course, in a country like ours, there might easily arise a situation in which we should contribute a sum of money, say 25 or 50 or 75 cents from each policy-holder. But a thing like that should be made known. The only way you can protect these life insurance companies is by the utmost publicity. I believe the three contributions made by the New York Life would have been indorsed by the policy-holders."

"I would like to have you produce the accounts of these contributions," said Mr. Hughes.

"I will do it," said Mr. Perkins.

"You don't think the president should have the authority to make large payments of this kind without consulting the other officials?"

"Yes, I think it should be left to the authority of the president; but I think blanks should be filled out for the expenditures and submitted to the executive committee for approval. You have got to give men authority."

"Why was not the finance committee informed of these contributions?"

"Why, if everything was submitted to the finance committee they would have to come down to the office and sit as clerks. I think it would be a good idea for them to indorse memorandums of such expenditures."

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In view of accusations made by Alton B. Parker, the Democratic candidate for President, during the Presidential campaign (vol. vii, p. 486), Judge Parker was asked by representatives of the press if he had any comment to make upon Mr. Perkins's disclosure. Judge Parker replied on the 16th, as reported, as follows:

Yes, I believe I ought to say, now that there is no political excitement to distract the public attention, that the president of the New York Life was not the only such contributor. The officers of other great life insurance companies, such as the Equitable and the Mutual, also contributed from the policy-holders' funds for campaign purposes last year. What has been proved in the case of the New York Life will undoubtedly be proved in the other cases. The facts exist, and honest and able counsel, backed by an honest committee, will undoubtedly bring them out for the public good. Were there an investigation of railroad, manufacturing, and other corporations it would be found that these life insurance officers were not the only corporation officers who put their hands into the treasury and took out moneys belonging to widows and orphans to help secure a partisan triumph. That their acts were unlawful and their purposes corrupt goes without saying. They intended to have the money used, as it was, in corrupting the electorate. Mr. Perkins makes the point that Mr. John A. McCall, the president of the New York Life, is a Democrat. Apparently, he would have the public assume that when Mr. McCall unlawfully and wrongfully contributed these funds—the company's share probably as a member of the underwriting syndicate—it was evidence of political virtue rather than misconduct. The truth about it is, and I say it without feeling, but emphatically, that men like McCall have no political convictions that stand in the way of their personal advantage. Such men desire the triumph of that party which will better serve their personal financial interests and will—for contributions, past, present, and future—continue to protect those interests by lenient legislation and by pretense at execution of law which shall be tenderly blind to all their offenses. That party they espouse in the board room, and contribute to it of the moneys they hold in trust and, occasionally a little of their own. The underlying principles which divide the great mass of the people into parties have no effect upon such men. Their one inquiry is, Will the party organization in its hour of triumph remember our generosity and re-

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spond to our demands? Of course, the organization does remember, for it expects a similar contribution next time. And the expectation is not in vain. Last year was not the first time. Such contributions had been made before in national, State and municipal elections. The officers responsible for these raids upon the treasuries of corporations have received their reward in unfettered management of life insurance corporations; in unembarrassed raids upon the public through trusts, condemned by both common and statute law; in refusal to punish criminally the officers of railroad and other corporations for violating the laws; and in statutory permission to manufacturing corporations to levy tribute on the people. There can be no hope of checking the unlawful aggressions of officers of great corporations so long as they may thus form a quasi-partnership with the organization of the dominant political party. For in the hour when the administrative official seeks to punish the offender he is reminded by the head of the organization of the magnitude of the contributions of the corporation. There is, however, something worse, if possible, than the escape of such offenders from justice. It is the gradual demoralization of voters and the dulling of the public conscience caused by the efforts to make these vast sums of money procure the ballots they were intended to procure, corruptly and otherwise. It is not my purpose to claim that the Democratic party, subjected to the temptation which has overcome the other party during the last few years, would have acted differently. Mere party advantage should not be sought from the disclosures made in this investigation. But the facts should be diligently sought, that the people may become so aroused that they will insist upon legislation making it a criminal offense for officers to contribute corporate funds for political purposes and depriving the apparently successful candidates of their offices. Efforts in that direction have been making in different States since November last, and particularly in this State. But the Republican organization would not consent to it, so the legislatures defeated the bills. And the organization never will consent until an aroused public sentiment shall threaten legislators with political oblivion who fail to enact effective laws upon the subject.

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Subsequently, on the 20th, John A. McCall himself, the president of the New York Life, was examined before the committee, and on this point he testified:

I had knowledge of the payment of $48,000 to Mr. Bliss for the Republican national committee in 1904, and I approved of it, and I do now. I was a Democrat up to the nomination of Bryan. When they adopted the free silver platform in 1896 I made up my mind that I would do all in my power to defeat that candidate and that platform, and I did it with my heart and soul. I had no idea in my mind about politics at all, but I had a duty and a trust regarding the New York Life policy holders, and I felt that if free silver in the country was approved, and that if Bryan was elected President, we might as well close up the shutters on the New York Life Insurance company's doors. Knowing that, and believing it, in 1896 I consented to a payment to defeat free silver—not to defeat the Democratic party, but to defeat this free silver heresy, and I thank God that I did it. In 1892 the platform of both parties were gold platforms, and they satisfied me, and not a dollar of New York Life insurance money that year went to either party. In 1890 there was the same contribution as in 1896. I do not like you to characterize it "Republican compaign fund." The gold platform is what I subscribed to. It was to defeat free silver, and it was for that reason that I contributed to the gold platform. Under no other circumstances since I have been president of the New York Life Insurance company have we ever paid one dollar to any party, local, State or national, except the three contributions that I have described. In 1904, before the St. Louis convention, I was approached by several of the Democratic leaders in regard to going as a delegate. I said that my inclination was that if Cleveland were nominated in 1904 I should support him, and, therefore, I would take it under consideration in relation to that fact. In 1904, when, by a vote of 35 to 15, they rejected the gold platform at St. Louis, it brought me back to old moorings, and I thought the Republican ticket should win, with its gold platform. That is the reason I made a contribution. There was a candidate who had twice voted for Bryan, and was a candidate on a platform which rejected by a vote of two to one a gold platform. There was a man running against him on a platform advocating gold. I stood with him in behalf of our policy-holders, and for that reason I gave that contribution.

Q. Did you take occasion to ascertain how many of your policy holders agreed with your position?

A. No. And I did not care.

Q. Did you consult with any members of your board?

A. Not a soul on earth except myself and the vice president of the company, Mr. Perkins.

Q. You did not bring it to their attention in any way? A. Not at all, not for a minute.

Will you just let me make a statement along those lines? My life was made weary by the Democratic candidates chasing me for money in that campaign. Some of the very men who to-day are being interviewed in the papers and denouncing these men who contribute to campaigns—their shadows were crossing my path every step I took, looking for money. One—the candidate himself, Parker—the chairman of the Democratic State committee; if he would show up his books for that corporation money, as chairman of the Democratic committee, it would give you a fit. He never rejected a dollar in the world; he would take every dollar that was paid to him.

I do not justify the use of insurance money for campaign purposes; I justify the use of these funds for the protection of the policy holders' interest. I do not care about the Republican side or the Democratic side; it does not count at all with me; what is the best thing for the New York Life is what moves and controls me. That is a matter, which, whether it was left to my individual decision or not, I took it. I honestly and absolutely believe it was a highly eminent and proper use of the money under the circumstances. If you ask whether I think it is right to take insurance money and devote it to political campaigns, no; a thousand times, no. But this was not the question involved, to my way of thinking, of what I should do in the New York Life. When a great party abandons its principles and advances principles which would have ruined us in our business, the question was: What should I do in the New York Life? I am absolutely in favor of such power and responsibility in the executive.

Judge Parker instantly denied Mr. McCall's allegations as to him. Judge Parker said:

If Mr. McCall's answer is intended to convey the impression that in the campaign of 1904 I, either directly or indirectly, solicited from him or his corporation, or any other corporation, any money or valuable thing, his statement is absolutely false. On the contrary, I repeat now what I said before the election, that I expressly notified and directed the chairman of the executive committee of the national committee that no money should be received from corporations.

William F. Sheehan's attention being called to the testimony of Mr. McCall, he said:

I was chairman of the executive committee of the Democratic national committee. There was not a single man connected with the Democratic national campaign that solicited a dollar from Mr. McCall. If any such person made any such solicitation, Mr. McCall should name him.

Mr. McCall, referring to his testi-

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mony, explained to newspaper correspondents as follows:

The meaning I intended to convey when I mentioned Judge Parker was this: Judge Parker, when a candidate for the Presidency last year, did not personally ask me for campaign funds, but friends of his did so repeatedly. Judge Parker, as chairman of the State Democratic committee several years ago, did, however, accept proffered contributions to the campaign fund.

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Judge Parker's interpretation of the deeper significance of these campaign contributions was in some degree corroborated by the following special dispatch from Washington to the Chicago Record-Herald, a Republican paper, in which the dispatch appeared on the 17th:

Significance attaches to the admission of Mr. Perkins that the large insurance companies paid large sums to the Republicans in the year that Theodore Roosevelt was running for President. The reason for this may be shown when the insurance lobby comes here with a bill placing all insurance business under Federal control. This bill has already been drawn and introduced in the Senate. By the same token President Roosevelt has become interested in it and has started an agitation in favor of the measure. The measure was drawn by James M. Beck, former assistant attorney general, now counsel for the Mutual Life Insurance Company; and one of its most earnest supporters is Senator Dryden, of New Jersey, president of the Prudential Life Insurance Company. John A. McCall, during the national campaign of 1904, came out in favor of Roosevelt's election, although he and Alton B. Parker had been great friends. Mr. McCall was one of those who journeyed to Oyster Bay and saw the President. Since then he had been entertained at the White House. George W. Perkins is a frequent visitor at the White House, and so are important men interested in the Equitable and Mutual Life.

President Roosevelt has made no statement and Cornelius N. Bliss refuses to make any. But on the 20th it was unauthoritatively reported in the dispatches from Oyster Bay that President Roosevelt had summoned George B. Cortelyou, the chairman of the Republican campaign committee; Secretary Root, who knows intimately the machinery of the big insurance companies; Senator Lodge, his personal representative in the Senate, and Joseph H. Choate, upon whose legal knowledge he relies implicitly, to a secret conference to consider the advisability of paying back to the treasuries of life insurance companies all money contributed by them to the last campaign.

Bryan to Roosevelt on peace plans.

Apropos of the reports of President Roosevelt's services in connection with the Russian-Japanese treaty of peace (pp. 353, 357) William J. Bryan addressed him the following letter from Lincoln, Neb., on the 14th:

Circumstances have placed you in a position where, as Chief Executive of the nation, you were able to bring Russia and Japan together to effect an honorable peace. You performed your duty in a manner creditable to yourself and your country. You have been hailed as a peacemaker, and you realize how the peaceful victory thus achieved by you outshines your military exploits. Why not use your present opportunity to put on foot a movement for the establishment of permanent peace? Last winter you asked for authority to enter into agreements which would be in effect arbitration treaties, and the Senate (wisely, I believe,) refused to surrender the treaty-making power. But now, if you had been intrusted with the authority asked, you would have hesitated to submit the question involving the nation's honor, and it is not always possible to know in advance what questions may be involved. Why not ask Congress for authority to submit all international questions (when an agreement cannot be reached by the parties interested) to an impartial board for investigation and report. Investigation will, in nearly every case, reveal the cause of complaint and reconcile the parties. Questions which a nation might be unwilling to submit to arbitration in advance could be settled by investigation by an impartial international board. It was a glorious thing to end the war between Russia and Japan, but it would have been more glorious to have prevented the war and saved the frightful loss of life. The moral prestige which our nation now enjoys in all probability would enable it to lead a successful peace movement. The congratulations which you have received from the heads of European governments strengthen the chances of success. If leading nations of the world would enter into an agreement to join in the creation of such a board and pledge themselves to submit all disputes to the board, for investigation before declaring war, the danger of war would be reduced to a minimum. Few men have had it in their power to do so much for humanity. Will you improve the opportunity?

Peace conference of the Powers.

It was reported from St. Petersburg on the 18th that the Czar has issued invitations to the world Powers for a second peace conference (vol. vii, pp. 375, 475) at The Hague, and from Oyster Bay that President Roosevelt will leave to the Czar the honor of making this call; but nothing authoritative on the subject has yet been made ublic.

The printers' eight-hour day in Chicago.

According to the reports of the printers' union of Chicago, apparently confirmed by other circumstances, the printers' strike for an eight-hour day (p. 377) is virtually won. On the 15th agreements for an eight-hour day were reported by representatives of the union as having been signed by over 75 establishments. This number had risen to 168 on the 19th. Among these are several members of the Typothetae. The Employers' Association, of which F. W. Job is secretary, has been active in supporting the resisting establishments, but that these establishments are crippled in their work is evident and the reports of the Typographical union seem well founded. The latest general news on the subject is to the effect that these establishments are trying to utilize typewriter girls as operators of linotype machines.

Progress of the Chicago traction movement.

At the adjourned meeting of the local transportation committee of the City Council of Chicago on the 15th, held for the purpose of receiving proposals from the existing companies (p. 375), no progress was made. All the traction interests were represented, and Col. E. R. Bliss acted as their spokesman. Col. Bliss stated that he had a proposition to make, but refused to submit it, though he said:

Our proposition is along the same lines as the Mayor's contract plan, with four or five sections omitted. Write the name of the Chicago City Railway Company in it in place of the Mayor's five directors and we will accept it."

"Will you agree to give the city all the earnings but 5 per cent. and to exercise control," the Mayor asked.

"I won't answer that question, but we will accept it with sections 3, 4,, 5, 6 and 7 omitted."

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The sections enumerated by Col. Bliss are in substance as follows:

Section 3 provides for naming directors of a new company to establish and operate a traction plant in the interest of the city.

Sec. 4 prohibits issue of more stock than is actually necessary for construction, and provides for placing the stock in trust to secure performance of conditions of the proposed franchise.

Sec. 5 requires earnings to be distributed for (a) operation and maintenance; (b) salaries of directors, to be fixed by City Council; (c) five per cent. dividends on stock; and (d) sinking fund to be credited to the city on purchase of the plant by it.

Sec. 6 reserves to the city the right to buy and take over the plant at any time upon payment of actual cost.

Sec. 7 allows underwriting of the stock if necessary at not more than 2½ per cent.

Alderman Foreman asked Col. Bliss:

"In order that the City of Chicago may take over and own your lines at such time or times as it desires so to do, which time shall be fixed and the price at which the property shall be turned over definitely ascertained, will your company stipulate as follows. That in any settlement agreement it shall be provided that at a determined period or periods during the life of the agreement the city may take over your lines and that the price and the method of fixing the price and time of fixing the same shall be therein provided."

To this Col. Bliss replied:

"We will not say now that we will agree to sell to the city at an intermediate period. If you will substitute the Mayor's ordinance, striking out a few paragraphs, we will accept that."

Alderman Finn asked him:

"Will you agree to sell at any time the city asks you to for the cost of construction, irrespective of franchise rights?"

Col. Bliss replied:

"We will not."

Alderman Finn again asked:

"What is the earliest time you will sell to the city, irrespective of franchise rights?"

To this Col. Bliss replied:

"We cannot answer now, and will not say that we will sell at any time."

Asked if he had a plan to offer, Col. Bliss replied that he had, but would not offer it then. Aldermen Finn and Dever tried to get the plan before the committee, but were voted down, seven to five, on Alderman Foreman's motion to continue with the questions. The committee adjourned until the 26th.

It was decided by the executive committee of the Municipal Ownership League (p. 376) on the 14th to rescind the resolution for a general meeting of the League to consider Mayor Dunne's contract plan, inquiry having shown that the sentiment of the league was in favor of the plan; and on the 19th the executive committee of the Committee of One Hundred (vol. vii, p. 697) also approved the Mayor's plan.

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Ward meetings are now being organized for the purpose of inviting Mayor Dunne to come directly before the people and explain his plan. The first was held in the Twenty-sixth ward on the 19th. The hall, holding about 300, was crowded, and many people were turned away for want of room. Alderman Lipps, of the ward, a Republican accounted hostile to Mayor Dunne by the traction newspapers, presided. The meeting was addressed by Comptroller McGann and Mayor Dunne, and the Mayor's plan, as he explained it, was welcomed with the enthusiasm of a political meeting in the heat of a political campaign, notwithstanding that no political campaign is on. In the course of his speech Mayor Dunne said with reference both to his own plan and to all others:

I promise you that no ordinance will pass, except over my veto, unless it first has been submitted to the people for their approval.

Public service utilities in New Jersey.

In New Jersey the public utilities question (p. 50) is full of excitement, though it takes a different form there than in Chicago. New Jersey is so tied up with franchise interests that a movement against perpetual franchises and in favor of a twenty-five years' limitation is regarded as extremely radical. Another point of difference is the fact that the anti-franchise movement has taken a strong hold upon the Republican party. Mayor Fagan of Jersey City has stood almost alone as a Republican leader in this movement, but he is now joined by Assemblyman Colby, of Newark, whose astounding success at the Republican primaries on the 12th, and at the county convention on the 16th, puts these two men well to the front in Republican leadership in their State. Colby, a man of only 30, aided by Fagan, made a people's campaign before the Republican voters of Newark, Colby seeking the nomination for State senator. Not only was he nominated over the county boss, who is also twin-boss of the State, but he carried 70 per cent. of the county convention. This enabled him to completely smash the Republican machine, dominated by the franchise interests, and nominate a full anti-franchise ticket. On top of this it is reported that the local Democratic leaders, recognizing the popularity of Colby and the value of the platform he stands on and which the Republican county convention adopted without a dissenting vote, have agreed that they will have their convention endorse Mr. Colby and thus render his election sure by the largest vote ever given a candidate of any party in Essex county. Colby purposes leading a movement in the next legislature to pass a bill limiting all franchises for every sort of public utility in the future to a period of twenty-five years, and providing that all railroads, trolley lines, gas and electric light companies and the like shall pay a tax rate at the same ratio per thousand that the private property owner now pays. His election under these circumstances is reported by the New York Times to be regarded by New Jersey politicians "as not the forerunner, but the accomplishment, of a change in State methods and politics, of the same sweeping character as the achievements of La Follette in Wisconsin and Folk in Missouri." The Times further explains that Colby's anti-corporation and anti-boss campaign had its spring in the efforts of the Public Service Corporation, which controls all the trolley systems of the State, to induce Newark, Jersey City, and other municipalities to grant to it street franchises in perpetuity.

Philadelphia politics.

In Philadelphia Mayor Weaver's fight against the local Republican ring (p. 359) has become so bitter that he is threatened with impeachment through ring influence. The ring, frightened by the popular headway Mayor Weaver has been making, withdrew its municipal ticket, nomi-

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nated last Spring, as too disreputable for such a fight, and substituted for it a "respectable ticket." The first meeting of the municipal campaign against the ring was held on the 16th, Mayor Weaver being the principal speaker. He pledged himself and his administration in all its parts to the assistance and help of the people of Philadelphia in bringing about an overwhelming defeat for the Republican organization. On the 20th a municipal party was formally organized and a full local ticket nominated, Wilson H. Brown being the candidate for sheriff, the highest office to be filled at the election in November. The political condition is described as chaotic and bitter, and great violence is predicted before the vote in counted.

A public utilities referendum in Buffalo.

In Buffalo the Referendum League (vol. vii, p. 567) has made such satisfactory progress that at the coming November election a referendum vote is, in consequence of its work, to be taken on the subject of municipalizing public utilities. A referendum petition containing over 4,200 signatures was recently presented to the City Council and that body, by 18 to 5, ordered submission of the questions proposed, which are as follows:

1. Shall ordinances granting franchises be submitted to the people before becoming effective?
2. Shall direct primaries be established in Buffalo?
3. Shall Buffalo own and operate an electric lighting and power plant for municipal and general service?

The referendum is on the "Winnetka plan" (vol. iv, 340; vol. vii, 26, 487, 567, 689), which obtains in Detroit as well as in Winnetka and Buffalo.

NEWS NOTES

—George MacDonald, the Scottish novelist, died in London on the 8th.

—The 81st annual convention of the grand lodge of Odd Fellows opened at Philadelphia on the 18th.

—Willard O. Wylie was nominated for governor of Massachusetts on the 14th by the Prohibition party.

—The universal peace congress (vol. vii., p. 375) began its session at Lucerne, Switzerland, on the 19th.

—Mayor Patrick A. Collins, of Boston, died at Hot Springs, Va., on the 18th. The chairman of the Board of Aldermen, Daniel A. Whelton, will be acting mayor until January 1, 1906.

—The Field Columbian Museum, of Chicago, purchased last week 32 plaster casts, taken from specimens of each of the 32 tribes of Indians in Mexico by Prof. Frederick Starr. Prof. Starr immediately started upon an expedition to the interior of Africa to study the pigmy Batwas and other tribes.

—The American Society of Friends of Russian Freedom is making an appeal for funds for the relief of the political prisoners on Saghalin island, subscriptions to be sent to Rev. Dr. Alexander Kent, 26 T street, N. W., Washington, D. C., or Alice Stone Blackwell, 3 Park street, Boston.

—The Direct Legislation League of Ohio, organized two years ago, is endeavoring to secure the passage of a direct legislation amendment to the Ohio constitution. An address authorized by its third annual convention, held at Columbus on the 6th, is being extensively circulated by the press committee, of which A. R. Reed, of Akron, is chairman.

—The monthly statement of the United States treasury department (see p. 359) for August, 1905, shows the following for two months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1906:

Gold reserve fund	$150,000,000.00
Available cash	127,597,344.82
Total	$277,597,344.82
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1905	292,490,322.87
Decrease	$14,892,978.05

—The Chicago Chapter of the United States Press Writers' League was organized September 12th, with E. N Ettinger president and J. B. Beattie, Charles G. Roden, George W. Wheeler, Dr. Oscar L. Triggs and A. Wangemann as members. The first effort of the Chapter will be to enlarge its membership with good volunteer writers on economic and kindred subjects for a long campaign of propaganda work in the columns of the public press. Illinois inquirers should seek information from Mr. A. Wangemann, 2720 Ridge avenue, Edgewater, Chicago. Others should address the secretary of the general league, Mr. Levin T. Jones, 202 West Barre street, Baltimore, Md.

—The prudential committee of the American Board of Foreign Missions of the Congregational Church, decided at Seattle on the 14th to recommend that any resolution against "tainted money" presented at the annual meeting beginning there that day, be voted down. A canvas of the 300 members of the Board showed fully 90 per cent. in favor of the recommendation; and on the 15th, by a vote of 46 to 10, the Board tabled the following resolution proposed by Dr. Gladden: "Resolved, That the officers of this society should neither solicit nor invite donations to its funds from persons whose gains are generally believed to have been made by methods morally reprehensible and socially injurious."

—It is reported by the September "Land Values," of Glasgow, quoting the Berlin Deutsche Volkstimme, of July 5, that on the 24th of June Dantzic gave up the revenue tax and adopted the tax on communal values. The report proceeds: "This is nearly the last of the Prussian towns of over 100,000 inhabitants (with the exception of Hanover, Altona and Halle) which have done this. This conclusion was preceded by a struggle which for intensity exceeds everything that we have yet experienced. For months the war cries: 'Hey, communal value!' 'Hey revenue value!' divided the citizens into two hostile camps." The reform is reported in Germany as a land reform, and is a long step in the direction of what is known in English as "the single tax."

PRESS OPINIONS

THE MONEY POWER IN POLITICS.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), Sept. 17.—But in the story of this transaction George Perkins drew away the veil behind which the money power hides like a thief behind a mask and showed to the American people how this money power assassinates their votes, kills their wishes and paralyzes their efforts for what they think is right. And this same money power would change parties if it was to its benefit.

New York Times Con. Dem.), Sept. 17. —Considered from the point of view of public morality and public interest, the gift of this great sum for use in a political campaign was an act so manifestly immoral and censurable that an attempt to justify or palliate it would quickly exhaust the resources of sophistry. And this condemnation applies with just as much force to the contributions made in 1896 and 1900. It is, of course, no part of the business of life insurance companies to take a hand in politics or to attempt by any means whatever to sway the decisions of the electorate. The election of Mr. Bryan to the Presidency could not have done the New York Life Insurance company as much harm as the New York Life Insurance company has done to public morals by these gifts aggregating $150,000 for Republican campaign purposes. Insurance companies are under the protection of the law whoever may sit in the white house. It is preposterous to argue that the company's assets would not have been as safe with Judge Parker in the white house as they are with Mr. Roosevelt there. The money paid to Treasurer Cornelius N. Bliss, therefore, must have been given either because Mr. Bliss or Mr. Cortelyou, or the two together, demanded a contribution which the company did not dare refuse, or because the company's officers had favors to ask or protection to demand which they felt would be more readily accorded if this contribution were made and noted.

"TAINTED MONEY."

New Church Messenger (rel.) Aug. 23. —Everybody knows that the money handled by the church and educational institutions is in great part the gift of men

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who have accumulated it by business methods, very few of which will bear the light of heaven. The refusal of the gift of a Rockefeller, as a protest against the methods of the Standard Oil company, while accepting the small sums of less widely known individuals, acquired by cutting coupons from bonds that represent very much the same business spirit and method, is on a par with a good deal of childish reform that only makes itself conspicuous without changing the drift of things. The proper thing to do with the gift is to make it useful in educating those whom the institution influences, in the laws of use and justice and the demands of the public good, and in changing so far as possible the current notions of business honor and integrity to better ideas of the obligations of service. . . . It is the sycophantic spirit that cringes to the rich donor that is to be despised. . . . Nor is it necessary to assume that Mr. Rockefeller, or other men, who have ammassed riches by methods that are unfair to others and subversive of the public good, are in themselves worse than those who have been worsted in the nefarious game that pretty much all are playing. They are part of a system; and if they are moved to endow educational institutions, or churches, their money can be freed from taint by being used in independent investigation and exposition of the laws of social and spiritual well-being, even though these laws condemn the system.

PRIVATE FORTUNES.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Sept. 12.—It is very clear that the just limit to private fortunes is the total that men can justly acquire. It is not the amount of money that a man has that stamps him as a wrongdoer. His misdeeds are measured by the extent to which he has capitalized special privileges. The equal use of equal opportunities cannot become a menace to society. Indeed it is only upon that basis that justice can be established among men. It is not the large fortune that must be railed at. It is the fortune that counts in its holdings the wealth that belongs to other people that measures a great injustice. No one can speak special privileges and justice in the same breath.

TOLSTOY'S LAND REFORM LETTER.

(Glasgow) Land Values (s. t.), September. —In the article "A Great Iniquity" by Leo Tolstoy, he states his regret that, though Henry George is recalled to mind in a few places, including, as he puts it, "here and there in Scotland, the number of his adherents dwindles smaller and smaller." We can only assume that Tolstoy is not supplied with the news of the movement for the taxation of land values, and wonder why! Within recent years in Great Britain no other question has made greater progress than the one set forth by Henry George on our public platforms 20 years ago. Political Associations, Trades' Unions, and Co-operative Congresses have frequently declared in favor of George's proposal as a just and practical step in legislation based on a sound theory of individual and social life. In these great organizations expressing so fully the active life and struggle of the masses of the people to maintain their present economic and political status and to aim at further advances, Henry George's teaching is well remembered and continues to make progress in the public mind, notwithstanding the obstacle named by Tolstoy, "the noisy teaching of socialism." So well is Henry George's doctrine established, that even the representative Socialists, when the question of taxing land values is brought specifically before our local rating councils, are among its faithful supporters, and without any socialistic, so-called reservation or amendment. Some 500 of these rating bodies, including the most important of our city councils, are now proclaiming George's teaching, and in a way that commands the cooperation and support of the Leagues specially organized to carry his teaching to a successful issue.

MISCELLANY

SOCIAL SONNETS.

For The Public.

I.

With deep-eyed prophet-vision o'er the sea
The bearded Tolstoy muses on the form,
Gigantic looming, or in calm or storm,
Of the sublime torch-bearing "Liberty—"
Bartholdi's noble pledge of amity;
The symbol and the promise of the West,
Where men not are, but some day shall be, blest;
Where freedom is not yet, but yet shall be.
"Aye," cries the Seer of Polyana, "when
America shall know and understand
God's justice, and the equal rights of men
To live, to labor and to use the land;
Then shall she re-name Liberty as Right,
And honor George, who gave the torch its light."

J. W. BENGOUGH.

"GRAFT" IN JOHN ADAMS'S TIME.

Not an inappropriate comment on conditions in this year of grace is to be found in the following extract from a letter of John Adams (later President Adams) to his wife Abigail, of date of October 8, 1776 (Tuesday). Is not the suggested perdition even now adumbrated in fulfillment?

The spirit of venality you mention is the most dreadful and alarming enemy America has to oppose. It is as rapacious and insatiable as the grave. We are in the "faece Romuli, non republica Platonis." This predominant avarice will ruin America, if she is ever ruined. If God Almighty does not interfere to control this universal idolatry to the mammon of unrighteousness, we shall be given up to the chastisements of His judgments. I am ashamed of the age I live in.

READER.

THE "ANTI-PASS" ATTITUDE BECOMES RESPECTABLE.

Editorial in the New York Evening Post of Sept. 7.

About two years ago, a Congressman-elect from Brooklyn, received in the ordinary routine of public business a railroad pass. Regarding its proffer as insulting, he sent it back and made public a rousing statement of his views on the pass question. At once and very naturally, he was given the nickname of "Anti-Pass Baker"—but instead of a help, his sudden fame was a handicap to him, his perhaps over-vehement statements of excessively radical views were not taken seriously in Congress, and he finished his term with the pass evil as firmly entrenched as ever. These events are recalled by the fact that Gov. Folk of Missouri has just now done what the Brooklyn Congressman did in 1903—refused passes for himself and his staff, but his action is received not with ridicule, but with serious and approving comment. If the public refusal of passes was right in one case, it was certainly right in the other, and the personality of the officials who chose this course ought not to have anything to do with the case. The different attitude is traceable to our peculiar and often irrational insistence on practicality. By putting boodlers in jail, Mr. Folk earns the right to say that public officials ought not to accept passes. We are curiously afraid of listening to any one who may be thought a doctrinaire or a "crank."

THE RUSSIAN MOUJIKS' CONCEPTION OF LAND TENURE.

An extract from Stepniak's "Russian Peasantry."

The Russian popular conceptions of land tenure, though they may seem somewhat heterodox to a western lawyer or modern economist, are exactly the same as those which in past times prevailed among all European nations before they happened to fall victims to somebody's conquest. Russian peasants hold that land, being an article of universal need, made by nobody, ought not to become property in the usual sense of the word. It naturally belongs to, or, more exactly, it should remain in the undisturbed possession of, those by whom, for the time being, it is cultivated. If the husbandman discontinues the cultivation of his holding he has no more right over it than the fisher over the sea where he has fished, or the shepherd over the meadow where he has once pastured his flock.

"GEORGE'S DAY IS IN THE FUTURE."

The Public's reprint of the great letter of Tolstoy* is a notable pronouncement—a sign of the times which cannot fail to have a weighty influence.

Personally, I grow more and more convinced of the basic principle of Henry George's epoch-making work, and more and more convinced that the recognition of this principle is slowly but surely spreading among thoughtful men. George's day is in the future. When the next realignment of political parties really takes place in this country, I trust to see a plank in the platform of the reform party in some way recognizing this principle, if only in a most moderate form. The times are fast ripening for such a recognition of the principle, and the

* The Public of Aug. 19.

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logic of events will fast enough push the thin edge of the wedge home.

Curiously enough, I find a striking confirmation of Tolstoy's view of the role which Russia is to play in the restoration of the land to the people, in a noble volume of lecture-sermons by Dr. Crapsey, of Rochester, which is just out:

"The inert mass of the Russian people is moving with the slowness, it may be, of a glacier, but, like the glacier, it is moving and grinding under its dead weight ancient tyrannies and worn-out customs. There is more to hope from Russia than from any other Christian country to-day. Its reformation in the church and revolution in the state are yet to come, and when they do come they will be far more radical than the reformation and revolution in the west. In the next generation we may look to Russia for a new birth of religion and a new birth of liberty. ["Religion and Politics," pp. 139 and 140.]

R. HEBER NEWTON.

East Hampton, N. Y., Sept. 3, 1905.

WHEN LOVE IS GONE.

Here are an old man and woman who boarded the train some stations back. The man sits by himself and the woman occupies a seat in front of him. Once in awhile on the journey the woman turns and says something. The man grunts a reply. There is no sign of companionship. There are no thoughtful attentions, no tokens of affection. The romance of their life is played out. They remain together by force of law, or of habit, or of necessity; but the old love is speechless and the marriage is void.

The night has a thousand eyes,
The day but one;
Yet the light of a whole world dies
When day is done.

The mind has a thousand eyes,
The heart but one;
Yet the light of a whole life dies
When love is gone.

Last summer I lay in a boat, while the sun was going down, on a lake in the Dakotas. The west was crimson. The green bluffs arose on either side, and there was not a breath on the water. I heard the sound of oars, and, looking, saw that old, old picture, the man and the maid. The boat was run ashore beneath a leafy bower, and there in the shadow of a great tree, the hush of evening upon them, and the gold fading in the west, sat the man and the maid. And I in my boat thought of those divine stanzas of Burns to Mary in Heaven, and I uttered a silent benediction upon those young lives, and I followed them in fancy from that dreamplace to the village church, and I heard the minister speak those fateful words—"husband and wife," and I saw the man take the ring with trembling fingers, and I saw a tear on the cheek of the maid, and I said: "This is beautiful, this is holy."

But I know a more heavenly vision than that. It is when a couple with the weight of years upon them, sit in the twilight of life, as chivalrous and tender as in the days of their youth.

I honor the chivalry of gray hairs. I stand in awe of that love which grows deeper and gentler with the ripening years.

That wealth of sympathy which throws the sheen of romance about the end of life, and holds in sweet companionship hearts that have loved and labored together—that is the divinest thing on earth, that is the promise of Heaven.

May such marriages in increasing number be the blessing of the race, that love, having no need of human law, will reign supreme at last—king, by divine right, of the hearts of men.

HERBERT S. BIGELOW.

THE CANADIAN HIGH SCHOOLS ARE NOT UNLIKE OUR OWN.

A private letter from J. F. Thompson, Classical Master of the High School at Bowmanville, Ont., published by the writter's permission.

Advocacy of the principles of a pure and sturdy democracy is as much needed in Canada as in the United States; for here, as elsewhere, the birthright of the people—control of natural monopolies, and free access to nature's storehouse, the land—has been handed over by so-called popular representatives to be exploited by private greed and corporate cupidity.

Would you permit me in this connection to call your attention to a phase in the great struggle against plutocracy which is not, as a rule, emphasized.

I allude to the general tendency of public and high school teaching in attempting to inculcate the principles of loyalty and patriotism. However it may be in the United States, the schools in this country, especially since the late South African war, are being used as active instruments in an imperialistic propaganda. No effort is being spared to impress the minds of pupils with the belief that whatever is is right; that present conditions and tendencies in this grand country of ours cannot be improved; that war is a glorious thing; that the chief duty of a citizen is to support his country's quarrel, no matter what its origin; and that a nation's greatness is measured by its ability to enslave others and expropriate their possessions. Any attempt to call attention to social inequalities and economic abuses would be here regarded as rank treason, and the teacher who might venture on such a forbidden field would be taking his professional life in his hands.

Public opinion, I believe, can be more efficiently molded by work done in the public schools than by all the efforts put forth in editorial sanctums. Our first impressions are our abiding ones, and if plutocratic influences surround our children, it matters comparatively little what democratic influences may be brought to bear in later life. And right here we may see an explanation of the fact that writers with plutocratic and oligarchic tendencies are more easily able to influence popular thought than are the advocates of democracy; for the former are working along established lines of thought, while the mental attitude of the latter is strange, and consequently repellent.

Is it for advertising purposes merely that our captains of industry are endowing institutions of learning, and, consequently, cementing their control over them? No; consciously or unconsciously they are being led by the surest of class instincts along the readiest road to lasting power and dominion. The millions which plutocracy is lavishing upon education are not gifts, but investments, than which no other will bring in surer dividends.

In my opinion the most promising field for democratic work is in the direction of the public schools. Let us work for the coming of the time when democratic influences shall prevail there; when blood guiltiness will no longer be glorified under the name of patriotism, and when the youth of the land shall be taught that the true greatness of a nation is measured by the general happiness of its citizens, and the true patriot is he who works with might and main to bring about those social and economic conditions which may render that general happiness more easy of attainment.

"TAINTED MONEY."

The ballad of "Gentle Alice Brown," from "The Bab Ballads," by W. S. Gilbert, published in book form in 1876.

It was a robber's daughter, and her name was Alice Brown,
Her father was the terror of a small Italian town;
Her mother was a foolish, weak, but amiable old thing;
But it isn't of her parents that I'm going for to sing.

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As Alice was a-sitting at her window-sill
one day,
A beautiful young gentleman he chanced
to pass that way;
She cast her eyes upon him, and he looked
so good and true,
That she thought, "I could be happy with a
gentleman like you!"

And every morning passed her house that
cream of gentlemen,
She knew she might expect him at a quar-
ter unto ten;
A sorter in the Custom-house, it was his
daily road
(The Custom-house was fifteen minutes'
walk from her abode).

But Alice was a pious girl, who knew it
wasn't wise
To look at strange young sorters with ex-
pressive purple eyes;
So she sought the village priest to whom
her family confessed,
The priest by whom their little sins were
carefully assessed.

"Oh, holy father," Alice said, "'twould
grieve you, would it not,
To discover that I was a most disreputable
lot?
Of all unhappy sinners I'm the most un-
happy one!"
The padre said: "Whatever have you been
and gone and done?"

"I have helped mamma to steal a little
kiddy from its dad,
I've assisted dear papa in cutting up a lit-
tle lad,
I've planned a little burglary and forged a
little check,
And slain a little baby for the coral on its
neck!"

The worthy pastor heaved a sigh, and
dropped a silent tear,
And said: "You mustn't judge yourself too
heavily, my dear:
It's wrong to murder babies, little corals
for to fleece;
But sins like these one expiates at half-a-
crown apiece.

"Girls will be girls—you're very young, and
flighty in your mind;
Old heads upon young shoulders we must
not expect to find:
We mustn't be too hard upon these little
girlish tricks—
Let's see—five crimes at half-a-crown—
exactly twelve-and-six."

"Oh, father," little Alice cried, "your kind-
ness makes me weep;
You do these little things for me so singu-
larly cheap—
Your thoughtful liberality I never can for-
get;
But, oh! there is another crime I haven't
mentioned yet!

"A pleasant-looking gentleman, with pret-
ty purple eyes,
I've noticed at my window as I've sat a-
catching flies;
He passes by it every day as certain as
can be—
I blush to say I've winked at him and he
has winked at me!"

"For shame!" said Father Paul, "my
erring daughter! On my word
This is the most distressing news that I
have ever heard.
Why, naughty girl, your excellent papa
has pledged your hand
To a promising young robber, the lieuten-
ant of his band!

"This dreadful piece of news will pain your
worthy parents so!
They are the most remunerative customers
I know;
For many, many years they've kept starva-
tion from my doors:
I never knew so criminal a family as yours!

"The common country folk in this insipid
neighborhood
Have nothing to confess, they're so ridicu-
lously good;
And if you marry any one respectable at
all,
Why, you'll reform, and what will then
become of Father Paul?"

The worthy priest, he up and drew his cowl
upon his crown,
And started off in haste to tell the news to
Robber Brown—
To tell him how his daughter, who was now
for marriage fit,
Had winked upon a sorter, who reciprocat-
ed it.

Good Robber Brown he muffled up his
anger pretty well:
He said: "I have a notion, and that notion
I will tell;
I will nab this gay young sorter, terrify
him into fits,
And get my gentle wife to chop him into
little bits.

"I've studied human nature, and I know
a thing or two:
Though a girl may fondly love a living
gent, as many do—
A feeling of disgust upon her senses there
will fall
When she looks upon his body chopped par-
ticularly small."

He traced that gallant sorter to a still
suburban square;
He watched his opportunity, and seized
him unaware;
He took a life-preserver and he hit him on
the head,
And Mrs. Brown dissected him before she
went to bed.

And pretty little Alice grew more settled
in her mind,
She never more was guilty of a weakness
of the kind,
Until at length good Robber Brown be-
stowed her pretty hand
On the promising young robber, the lieu-
tenant of his band.

HOW NORWAY VOTED "YES" FOR DISUNION WITH SWEDEN.

A letter from Miss Margaret A. Haley, published in the Chicago Teachers' Federation Bulletin of Sept. 15. The letter was dated Christiania, Aug. 13, 1905.

I have just come from the polling places where the voters of Christiania have been voting on the question of ratifying the action of the Norwegian Storthing. It has been intensely interesting. There was no official ticket, but each voter was obliged to furnish his own before going in to vote, and the election officials gave each voter an official envelope in which he placed his ballot, first retiring to a booth as we do.

Outside, for blocks, men were standing with little boxes containing these ballots, which were given the voters as they passed by. I asked for one and got it at each polling place I visited. Over each distributor's hat was a piece of paper like an old-fashioned dunce-cap—only not sharp at the top—cylinder-shaped—on which was written "JA,"—"YES"—in large letters. In smaller letters were the words, "Vielsker dette lander" (We love this land). Nowhere was anyone to be seen with ballots marked "NEI," or "NO."

We have just come home. It is nearly four o'clock and the dining-room in the hotel is so crowded we cannot get dinner for at least half an hour. I am in the writing-room, facing the street, and at just this moment a street car is passing, decorated elaborately with flowers its entire length.

The trolley pole is entirely covered with green and everywhere that a Norwegian flag could be stuck there is one. The stores are decorated with the national colors, red, white and blue; from the royal palace floats the Norwegian flag—the Swedish color is no longer in it.

Men, women and children wear the long streamers of red, white and blue, but, except for the elaborate display of colors and crowds, crowds everywhere you go, there is no demonstration in the fashion in which we make ours.

There is no shouting, no discussion, but, after watching the voters for two hours at voting places in different parts of the city, I am struck with the silent intelligence of the voters. Everyone seems to know his mind. No one tries to find out how another voted or to persuade him. Those who know the situation best say the people are unanimously in favor of "Ja."

Later—It has taken us so long to get dinner that I can stop only to tell you a little more, for we go soon to see the national play, "Josalefer," at the theater, which opens to-night for the first time this season.

Well, voting began at eight o'clock this morning, then ceased at ten o'clock for two hours, to give people a chance to go to church, and will close at nine o'clock to-night.

It was intensely interesting to watch the men coming to the polling places, all of them, almost without exception, accompanied by ladies—their wives, mothers, sisters and others' sisters. Whole families turned out in holiday garb.

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The first voting place was in the military gymnasium which stands on the corner of a great public square, once the courtyard of a castle. From the stand in the square a military band played the national airs and the crowd stood in groups about. Whole families went up to the polling place, which was quite commodious, and there the man left them while he went in to vote. In a few minutes he was out again and they all moved off toward the music.

All the wealthy people who have been out of town at their summer places have returned to vote. But let me tell you a more practical illustration I saw of Norwegian democracy. Two university professors came into the polling place and, haughtily passing the line, walked up to the clerks, but were promptly told by the soldier in charge to return to the end of the line. Soon afterward an old man wearing a Salvation Army badge came in and started to take his place in the line when a man escorted him to the front and the guard let him vote at once.

I must not forget to tell you that this is the first time in the history of Norway that a question has been submitted to the whole people.

I saw the voting place in the working class district. It was in the gymnasium of a public schoolhouse. The ballot box was draped in the national colors and the room decorated profusely with flowers and the national colors. There was the same silence but also the same evidence of intense interest as prevailed elsewhere. A band was discoursing martial music in the park near by. The women and children were all out with the men.

The people, that is, the men, are sorry the women cannot vote on this question and so make the vote larger. The women now vote for all officers except members of parliament.

10:30 p. m.—We have just come from the theater. It was a scene never to be forgotten. All the national pride had been aroused by the play, which is a glorious one, but I shall never forget the scene at the close.

As the curtain went down the people rose and sang the national hymn, the orchestra playing. Then Bjornson, the son of the author of the play, arose and from his box announced that the latest returns from the vote were 64,360 for "ja" and 33 for "nei."

The house rose in one long shout. Women cried and so did men. The long silence of the day was broken, the pent up torrent let loose. Outside the people are assembled by the thousands in front of the parliament building where the returns are being reported.

This has been a glorious trip. But I like Norway better than Denmark. It is much more like America. They eat and drink all the time in Denmark, turning night into day and day into one continuous meal. But it is interesting. Monarchy is being absorbed in Denmark. It is not being overthrown.

AN ADDITIONAL REPORT.

Since her return to Chicago Miss Haley has informed a representative of The Public that in some instances men walked 40 miles to their polling places to cast these eventful votes, and then 40 miles back to their mountain homes. Eighty-five per cent. of the total possible vote was cast. In each locality the per cent. of the possible vote for that locality that was cast, was put up on bulletins, and in many places 100 per cent. was recorded—every man who had a vote, had cast it. This extraordinary record becomes still more impressive when it is remembered how large a number of the Norwegians are engaged in sea-faring pursuits. That the fishermen made exceptional efforts to get to the polls, is a part of Miss Haley's report.

To show the intense devotion of the people to their new nationality, Miss Haley tells of a tiny girl who slipped off her mother's back as she was being carried up to the high pastures, at a moment when the little American party were themselves climbing up the mountain by the same road. Miss Haley persuaded the baby to walk with her for a short distance, and soon the little thing was chattering vehemently in her baby Norwegian about some unknown thing, tugging meanwhile at her tiny cardigan jacket. Finally she dragged out and showed Miss Haley her little red, blue and white streamers of cheap cotton, which her elders had been teaching her to revere.

Learn that your back door opens on eternity, and there you are in the very center of things.

The man who has eternity in his garden need not worry about the street on which his house fronts.

—Ernest Crosby.

The industrious man, the plain everyday kind, we mean, gets to his work early. Three hours later the man of marked executive ability drops in to see that the industrious man keeps steadily at work. If everything is going well the man of marked executive ability leaves for the day, for there is no need for a display of his peculiar qualities. If everything is going ill, the man of marked executive ability quits at once in order that his reputation may not be compromised by his presence.—Boston Transcript.

BOOKS

BIBLE STORIES, WITH PICTURES OF BIBLE LANDS.

In these days of so-called irreverence it is no easy task to tell the Bible stories reverently and convincingly, but in an illustrated volume entitled "On Holy Ground" (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1904), the Rev. William L. Worcester has succeeded to a marked degree in avoiding common faults in a work of this kind. In very clear, simple, natural language, with no forced avoidance of long words, Mr. Worcester has introduced and explained the main narrative stories of the Old and New Testaments. The stories themselves in excellent translation are given in every case in full from the Scriptures, in a finer but very readable type. Scattered through the book on nearly every page are admirable illustrations from photographs of historic spots and monuments, and of modern oriental life typical of life in those localities in ancient times as perfectly as to-day. Interspersed with these veracious pictures are reproductions of the well-known religious pictures by Hofmann, the value of which is not so apparent. Perhaps the best that can be said of them is that they are pretty, and are not without a certain simple dignity. The volume is very satisfactorily and beautifully constructed.

If this book were designed for use with very little children only, we should not regard it as open in any respect to criticism. But as its language and illustrations are better adapted for children who have reached the age where they are beginning to ponder those great problems of life that forever have to be solved in the isolated workshop of the individual soul, one may ask, with slight suggestion of criticism: Is it wise to urge upon children in that "wild ass" state, that they be "gentle, trustful, obedient"? To be gentle is good, but ungentleness sometimes comes from the crudity of immature efforts to be sincere. Obedience is good, but not always obedience to parents, teachers and the powers that be. Many a little assertion of individual choice of action is made in response to a vague sense of the rights of justice and fairplay. The child of strong individual character is likely to accept such exhortations as classifying him as outside the fold;

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or as proof that religion is a cult, and not "the real thing." The Bible is full of intense human life. It provides meat for the strongest, as well as milk for babes. Is it not well to lead the child to believe that he cannot possibly outgrow the sustenance it has to offer?

ALICE THACHER POST.

GOOD MORALS AND HUMAN WELFARE.

In the great flood of fiction that has of recent years inundated our literature, the essay has been overwhelmed. Speculation upon the causes is hardly worth indulging in, perhaps, for one explanation comes insistently to the surface. We are all lazy by nature, and our mental laziness is greatest; wherefore we demand instinctively for our reading matter the kind that is easiest to read, and this is fiction. Other literature may be read from a sense of duty, but fiction is read for the pleasure it gives.

After all, however, isn't laziness a harsh explanation? May we not find a better one in the fact that fiction deals with life, whereas other literature seems for the most part, essays especially, to have little to do with life? At any rate, essays like those of C. Hanford Henderson on "The Children of Good Fortune," will be read without any spurring from a sense of duty, but simply for the pleasure they give. Whoever turns the pages of the prologue of this book will be pretty certain to read the book all the way through, and every paragraph with enjoyment.

From the author's economics we might easily dissent in many respects. Not because they are too artificial, like the university type, but because they are too superficial. Their errors of omission, of commission and of emphasis would distinguish them rather as of the "neighborhood settlement," than of the university, order of economics.

The defect of thought which produces this result as to economics comes from a somewhat persistent objection by the author to analytical processes. His methods, which are obtrusively inductive, lead him more in the direction of arbitrary classifications than of logical distinctions.

This defect is conspicuous in the central thought of his book, which is moral conduct. That there is a radical difference between moral conduct and spiritual purpose is obvious. The man whose conduct is moral because he selfishly wishes to keep out of jail, is essentially a different kind of person from the man whose conduct is likewise moral because he spiritually wishes to do right. The former would become immoral rather than go to jail; the latter would go to jail rather than become immoral. But Mr. Henderson insists that the attempt to distinguish between morality and spirituality is barren.

We are not sure that this ignoring of vital differences has not got the author into other fog banks than those with which his economics are beclouded. If so, it would be not because he denies the difference between the moral and the spiritual, but because he refuses to distinguish them verbally. While he refuses to make the verbal distinction, he does recognize the essential difference. It could not be better done than when, on page 397, he concedes that if we draw any line we may profitably consider "morality to be the science of right conduct," and spirituality to be "the will bent on putting morality into action."

If Mr. Henderson had built his essays upon an unqualified declaration of that vital difference, he would have strengthened their foundations without diminishing their interest. This might have interfered, however, with his plans for unfolding an inductive science of morality; and he has done that work so well, with so much enthusiasm and good judgment, with such a wealth of optimistic thought incidentally, and in a literary style so simple and lucid in form yet elevated in diction, that we hesitate to criticise.

The essential thought of Mr. Henderson's essays is that there is no real conflict between individual happiness and morality—the idea of social as well as individual welfare, and of purpose as well as conduct, being included in the term "morality." In his ideal, the subject matter of morals includes the sum total of human action. The moral law is treated as a law of nature—as truly so as the law of gravitation; and the author studies it as the phenomena of the law of gravitation are studied by experts, that is, by what is known as the scientific, empirical, or experimental method.

He is formally as fanatical in respect to that method as its devotees usually are. At one place (p. 56) he distinctly asserts that "one cannot say a priori, just what conduct will promote or hinder welfare; it is possible to judge only by observing the results of conduct," no act, however simple, being in itself either right or wrong. If this attitude toward questions of right and wrong were truly scientific, Mr. Henderson would have found difficulty enough in reaching his conclusions; for who, by observing the results of conduct with all their complications, can tell whether the conduct promotes or hinders welfare, either individual welfare or social welfare? That every act does promote or hinder general welfare, and that the act which promotes it is right and the act which hinders it is wrong, is of course freely conceded; but if the human mind could determine questions of right and wrong only experimentally, the proverbially impossible search for a needle in a haystack would be simple in comparison with the search for the moral law.

The usual error of this philosophy is in the assumption that moral science rests, like physical science, upon physical facts alone. Mr. Henderson does not rest it there, if we read him aright. While he adopts the method of the physical scientist, he steps over the boundaries of the physical for his facts. Yet he attributes this higher or broader range of fact to physical causes; and, while he speaks of morality as a law of nature his devotion to the "scientific" method in its narrow conventional outline leads him to consider nature as if the only natural universe were merely physical, which is another instance of the dangers of confusing differences by neglecting distinctions.

However, Mr. Henderson probably scores an important point by thus keeping in touch with the materialistic scientists. At all events, inasmuch as his empirical search for morality is interesting in its progress, and on the whole satisfactory in its outcome, his work is a welcome contribution to the tendency away from materialism, which has assuredly set in. It is not for us to find fault with him for making intuitional leaps here and there across chasms too wide and too deep for utilitarian bridging.

There is, of course, the usual reference to "race experience" in explanation of intuitions; and this is carried far enough at times to make the critical reader wonder why, if race experience transmitted physiologically has created race habits with reference to morality, it should have failed so signally to create even an indication of race habit with reference to speech. The intuitional theory of conscience—not of conduct, of course, for that is a matter of education and reflection; but of that faculty of the will which advises for or against such action as we have come to regard as right or wrong—is certainly quite as plausible, up-to-date, as the theory, at least equally speculative, that race experience, proceeding from lower to higher, has developed the moral faculty through hereditary transmission. However, Mr. Henderson has managed, through fifteen delightful and morally invigorating chapters, to trace empirical morality up to the highest levels of the intuitional, and really to identify the two, though he does not say so, as different aspects of the same verity. He has reached the identical conclusion that the Jewish seers and the Nazarene Carpenter pronounced—that the essence of the moral law is love of one's neighbor equally with oneself. Although his form of statement differs, Mr. Henderson really does lead up to this prin-

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ciple of righteousness in his attempt at unfolding an empirical moral philosophy with human welfare as its objective. ("The Children of Good Fortune." C. Hanford Henderson. Boston and New York: By Houghton, Mifflin & Company. Price $1.30 net.)

BOOKS RECEIVED.

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

—Constructive Democracy: The Economics of a Square Deal. By William E. Smythe. New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. Price, $1.50. To be reviewed.

—Fourteen Lessons in Yogi Philosophy and Oriental Occultism. By Yogi Ramacharaka, author of "Science of Breath," "Hatha Yoga," etc. Oak Park, Ill.: The Yogi Publication Society. To be reviewed.

—Floyds Flowers; or Duty and Beauty for Colored Children. By Prof. Silas X. Floyd, A. M., D. D. Illustrated by John Henry Adams. Chicago, Boston and Atlanta: Hertel, Jenkins & Co. No. 110 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago. Price, $1. To be reviewed.

—Libraries of the City of Chicago, with an Historical Sketch of the Chicago Library Club. Chicago: The Chicago Library Club—An extended notice of five Chicago libraries: the Ryerson, the Historical Society's, the Crerar, the Newberry, and the Public library, together with a brief statement regarding all the public libraries of the city.

PERIODICALS

Thirty-Seventh Annual Insurance Report of the Insurance Superintendent of the State of Illinois. Part II. —Life, Casualty and Assessment Insurance and Fraternal Societies. Springfield, Ill.: Wm. R. Vredenburgh, Insurance Superintendent.

The Single Tax News, a monthly publication of which the first number has just been issued, is the organ of the Central Single Tax Club of Philadelphia. Its office is 205 Odd Fellows' Temple. While the paper is small, its matter is varied and its style bright.

In the September issue of Recreation, the editor, Dan Beard—a story-teller as well as an illustrator—begins a continued story which is interesting at the start and full of promise. Its very title, "The Mystery of the Blue Goose," is an invitation to read it.

The World-Wide Friend (St. Louis) for September, an interesting magazine of miscellany (25 cents a year) has added to its departments one on sociology and political economy, which is conducted by L. P. Custer. Mr. Custer's broadening out into the advocacy of municipal trading regardless of the principle of public in contradistinction to individual functions, will surprise those who have been familiar with his views, but he invites criticism.

The conscientious American citizen who reads in the Railroad Trainman's Journal for September the speech of A. W. Sullivan on scarcity of profitable employment in the United States, and in the same excellent labor magazine Jose Gros's explanation of the reason why, will see a great light. It is strange that Mr. Sullivan himself should not have wondered why there should be no room for immigrants in a country with boundless natural resources unworked, and limitless human wants unsatisfied.

The leading article in the August Munsey's is the "Story of Temperance," by Herbert N. Casson. It shows a wonderful growth of prohibition—not through the national party, but by local-option elections. A valuable map is given, showing the progress of the movement against the sale of liquor. The condition in the South is particularly surprising — even Kentucky showing 47 prohibition counties. "Out of 27,000,000 people in the South," it is said, "17,000,000 are under prohibition." Another interesting article in this number is the one on "Famous American Duels," by Cyrus Townsend Brady.—J. H. D.

The Philadelphia Public Ledger praises Miss Tarbell for her work "in calling the attention of all thoughtful and patriotic citizens to the serious conditions existing in this country." The Ledger thinks that a widespread crusade against graft has begun, and that this awakening conscience is the hopeful feature of the situation. It is, indeed, the hopeful feature; and the situation will be still more hopeful, if the public conscience can be kept aroused to the point of removing the conditions that do so much to promote and foster graft. Exposure and punishment of grafters is not enough. —J. H. D.

One of the clearest and most thoughtful articles to be found in current literature is the essay by A. C. Pigou, republished in the Living Age, of August 12, from the Independent Review. Mr. Pigou's subject is the optimism of Browning and Meredith, and in a searching analysis of their philosophy he proves that they do not solve the riddle of the universe. "Browning," he says, "has long been, and Meredith is now becoming the center of a cult. But the hope to find a stable view of the universe in the writings of either of them is a delusion of dilettantism." The article is well worth reading and pondering.—J. H. D.

In the August number of Sanitary Progress (St. Louis) Mr. N. O. Nelson gives in a brief article the best estimate of Golden Rule Jones that has appeared. Naturally so, for perhaps no one knew him so well as Mr. Nelson. "The love of comrades," writes Mr. Nelson, "was his religious creed and this love knew no distinction of class or condition or race. Impatient of delay and formalities, he had nothing in common with the conventions and machinery of institutions and factions. The joys and sorrows of the common people were more to him than the victories of field or forum. Literally he wept over the mass of injustice and sin, wept because his hand could not stay them."—J. H. D.

The Nebraska Independent of Aug. 10 has a brief editorial, admirably terse and pointed, in favor of the Initiative and Referendum. "The majority," says the editor, "would still rule, but the minority would not be submerged. While true democracy requires that the majority shall rule, there is always grave danger in giving the minority too little power. In this respect the initiative and referendum would have a corrective influence. A minority is frequently the saving element in society, and a system which permits the minority to make itself heard cannot but improve political conditions in any democracy." This educational value of the system, by which an advanced minority could force the public consideration of some measure, is one of the strong points in its favor.—J. H. D.

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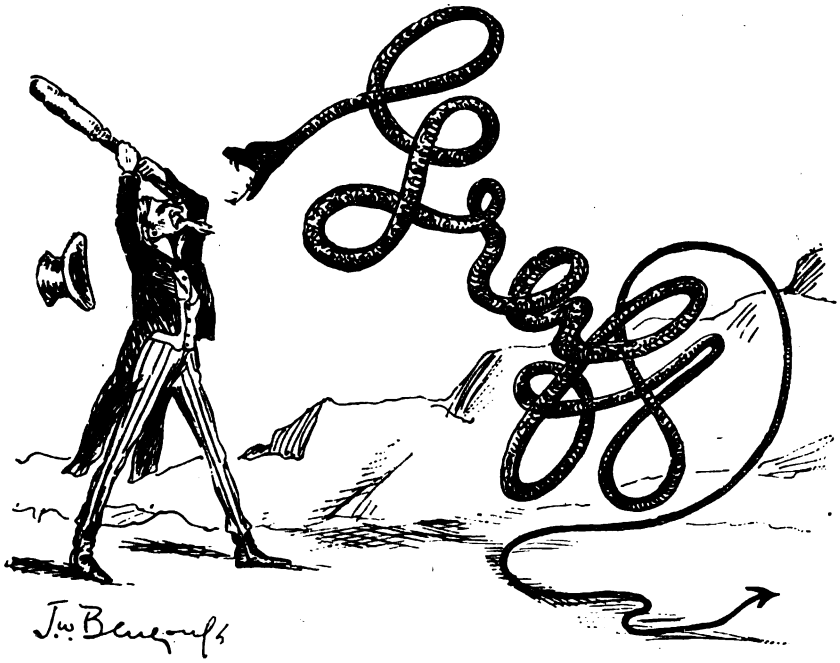

"GRAFT."

Will the Modern Hercules Conquer?

[The above cartoon, which appeared in THE PUBLIC of November 26, 1904, is now reproduced because the disclosures in the Insurance investigation at New York make it again peculiarly appropriate.]

The Public

is a weekly review which prints in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value. It is also an editorial paper. Though it abstains from mingling editorial opinions with its news accounts, it has opinions of a pronounced character, based upon the principles of radical democracy, which, in the columns reserved for editorial comment, it expresses fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without hope of discreditable reward. Yet it makes no pretensions to infallibility, either in opinions or in statements of fact; it simply aspires to a deserved reputation for intelligence and honesty in both. Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department of original and selected miscellany, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest. Familiarity with THE PUBLIC will commend it as a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

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Widespread interest was aroused, both in Europe and the United States, by Leo Tolstoy's impressive letter to the London Times on the subject of property in land, the more especially as Tolstoy therein explicitly approved the single tax theory of Henry George.

This letter, entitled "A Great Inquity," written by Tolstoy expressly for the Times, at his home at Yasnaia Poliana, in July, 1905, and translated from the Russian by V. Tchertkoff, Editor of the Free Age Press, Christchurch, Hants, England, and I. F. M., appeared in the issue of the Times of August 1, 1905. The Times announced it, doubtless in accordance with Tolstoy's wishes, as being free of copyright.

Brief summaries of the letter were cabled from London at the time of its publication there, and these were published, still further condensed in many instances, in the American newspapers. But in no American paper was the letter published in full, nor with any approach to fullness, until it was reproduced from the text of the London Times in the issue of The Public of August 19, 1905. It has now been printed as a pamphlet, by The Public Publishing Company.

A cheap edition of this pamphlet, 48 pages, size of page 5⅞x3, convenient for small envelope or the pocket, is sold for four cents a copy, postpaid; 100 copies of this edition are sent to one address, carriage prepaid, for $2.25; the same number to varying addresses for $3.50.

A better edition is printed on better paper, size of page 8½x3½, with handsome paper cover. Accompanying this edition of the letter is presented a portrait of Tolstoy which there is every reason to believe has never before been published in this country. The original was received from Moscow by Miss Jane Addams, of Hull-House, Chicago, by whose courteous permission a half-tone reproduction has been made for this especial use. The likeness is regarded by Miss Addams, who has visited Tolstoy at his home, as exceptionally faithful. Miss Addams understands that the circulation of this portrait is interdicted in Russia, presumably on the ground that its simple peasant dress and pose might inflame the minds of the peasantry. This edition of the pamphlet is sold for ten cents a copy, postpaid; 12 copies for $1.00, postpaid.

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