

# The Public

A Journal of Fundamental Democracy and  
A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

8th Year. No. 394

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1905

Price 5 Cents

**LOUIS F. POST**  
EDITOR

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Entered at the Chicago, Illinois, Postoffice as  
Second Class Matter

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Yearly . . . . .	\$2.00
Half Yearly . . . . .	1.00
Quarterly . . . . .	.50
Single Copy . . . . .	.05

Extra Copies, \$3.00 per 100, in lots of 50 and upward; if addressed to individuals, \$4.00 per 100

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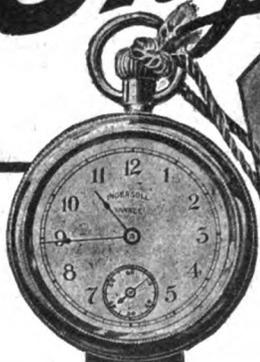
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# The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

Volume VIII Number 394

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, OCT. 21, 1905.

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## EDITORIAL

### Business is business.

Marshall Field, the Chicago millionaire, announces his conviction that municipal ownership is an ephemeral fad which will soon give way to the business man's ideal of private ownership. Where some of a man's treasure is, there also are some of his civic convictions.

### Bribing newspapers.

In probing the legal expense ac-

count of the Mutual Life, Mr. Hughes has unearthed documentary evidence of the payment of money by the officers of that company to a newspaper correspondent for "services." If a general "show down" of evidence of this character were possible, there would doubtless be a better understanding of the editorial policy of more than one highly respectable newspaper; and some huge grafting schemes of the business type which are now in process of journalistic lubrication, might encounter unexpected friction.

### The Chicago parks job.

Confused by the similarity of names and political characteristics of two Chicago politicians, we fell into the error of fact two weeks ago (p. 419) of attributing to Milton J. Foreman, of the City Council of Chicago, a piece of political jobbery which should have been attributed to Henry G. Foreman, recently president of the Board of Commissioners of Cook County. This error, however, does not affect the substance of our comment on that job otherwise than in the substitution of one Foreman for another. The park system referendum, now before the people of Chicago, calls for an adverse vote; not because there is an objection to the proposed system of parks, but because the present plan would saddle the city with another State House ring.

### Franklin K. Lane for Interstate Commerce commissioner.

It is reported from Washington that the President has offered Franklin K. Lane the place on the Inter-State Commerce Commission which Gov. Fifer is to vacate at the beginning of the year. Lane is the radical Democrat who came within 2,500 of carrying California for governor (vol. v, pp. 345, 483, 724) when his party lost the State by pluralities varying from 20,000 to 60,000. No better appointment could be made. Not only is Lane a fundamental Demo-

crat, but he is a strong, broad, acutely intelligent and incorruptible man, who understands railroad grafting to its bottom principle. The fact that his appointment would give the majority of the commission to the Democrats should count as evidence of Roosevelt's good faith in his railroad policy.

### Norway and republicanism.

Press dispatches have appeared in many papers alleging that Norway does not desire a republic. You may see such headings as this: The Movement in Norway Meeting with No Support. But if you will read through the dispatch, you will find as follows: "The commercial and industrial interests appear to desire no disturbance of the existing order of things. At an important meeting at Christiania of representatives of the commercial and shipping interests it was unanimously resolved to present an address to the Storting declaring that the submission of the question of a change in the constitution to a plebiscite would greatly injure the country's economic interests." What is the real meaning of this? Simply that a set of men, the saviors of society, the everlasting conservatives—who claim to represent the industrial interests of the country, but who represent only their own profits and dividends—are afraid to submit the question to a referendum vote of the people. It is an old story.

### The New York campaign.

From present appearances the municipal campaign in New York will culminate in the reelection of Mayor McClellan. This is to be regretted. Although Mr. McClellan has within him the possibilities of democratic leadership, his democratic impulses have found little or no expression outside of a venture or two in literature. As a public man he has been and still is absolutely under the dominion of parasitical private interests. On more than one occasion his fealty to those interests has been

disclosed by his official acts, and his greatest strength at the coming election, apart from purblind partisanship, will be the support they are giving him. Through Mr. Murphy, the Tammany leader to whom Mayor McClellan is as obedient as a dog to his master, these interests are assured protection and further plunder. Tammany Hall, which, under the Murphy-McClellan regime is reported to have turned away from protecting and fattening upon vulgar vice, has become to the franchise grabber what it was aforetime to dens and dives. Though the lid be on in the "red light district," it is off in the prowling places of the great business grafter.

That the Republican machine is in sympathy with this situation is evident from the nomination it has made for mayor. William M. Ivins would never have been nominated by the Republicans except for a sacrifice in a losing fight in aid of Tammany Hall and the combine of great business grafters. To read Mr. Ivins's speech of acceptance is to see that an administration which he dominated would strike with panic all those business interests that are generally under Republican guardianship and which control or are allied with those that do control private ownership of public property. That this is so may be inferred from the way in which his nomination impresses the Chicago Record-Herald, which cautiously but truly said of it on the 15th that—

those who are familiar with Mr. Ivins's reform affiliations and activities in the past will find his present position on municipal issues natural and consistent. He has not only declared for municipal acquisition of every lapsed or forfeited franchise, and the relentless prosecution of franchise grabbers guilty of fraud, but he has avowed his belief in the general principle that "the wealth created by the community should be held in perpetuity for the benefit of the community." This broad phrase is used by single taxers and applies to land values generally, and not merely to franchises. Mr. Ivins may still be a disciple of George, a social radical. That he

is the candidate of the Republican party of conservative New York is certainly a remarkable circumstance.

But a heavy vote for Ivins, as the Republican candidate, would doubtless be, in spite of his ringing declaration, less effective against the franchise-grabbing interests of New York and elsewhere, than such a vote for Hearst. For Hearst's nomination sprang from sources and is supported by influences which depend upon no official for their persistence. Such a vote for Ivins would not be significant; for Hearst it would be significant. It is not lightly that we say this. We realize as keenly as anyone the embarrassments of trying to rally to Hearst's support the truly democratic influences in New York. When it is remembered that after helping to foster the movement which nominated Henry George eight years ago, his paper not only abandoned that movement and turned to the support of Tammany Hall, but also opened its columns for abusive attacks upon George personally, it is impossible to expect undampened enthusiasm for Hearst's candidacy. The record of his San Francisco paper in serving the railroad ring by defeating Franklin K. Lane, a democratic-Democrat, for governor of California, is not calculated to add to his genuinely democratic strength. His favorable attitude toward imperialism, his leaning toward protectionism, his desire for a big navy, all manifested editorially in his papers, will be a handicap. The bad character of his papers in some respects will be another handicap, notwithstanding their good character in others. His confirmed policy of making his papers so largely a medium for the fulsome advertising of his own personal vanities and political ambitions, cannot but operate as a check upon many who sympathize with the movement his candidacy represents. His linking with his own personality of every popular cause his papers advocate—as a condition at times, almost if not quite, of

their advocacy—must inevitably burden the movement with suspicions of the sincerity of its leader. But after these and all other adverse considerations are given full weight, a controlling fact remains which counts the other way. Hearst's papers in New York and Chicago have made possible such political victories as have thus far been won over plutocracy in those cities. But for Hearst's papers the Chicago referendums would have been impossible, and the traction companies would already have owned the streets practically in perpetuity. But for Hearst's papers there would be no such sentiment as now exists, both in Chicago and New York, in favor of municipal ownership—a sentiment so strong that all parties in both cities are obliged to profess belief in it, and no candidate of any party dare oppose it except in ways that are dark and by tricks that we trust may be vain. In view of this record of service to the public interest and of the political situation in New York, where Mr. Hearst is the spontaneously chosen candidate of the municipal ownership movement, much of the past should be overlooked and forgotten for the sake of what is now involved. A large vote for Hearst means added strength to the movement for municipal ownership, in Chicago as well as in New York; a small vote for him would have a tendency to check that movement in both cities. By his vote, and only by his vote, will the public opinion of New York be gauged for perhaps four years to come, on the subject of municipal ownership of municipal utilities. For this reason alone it is important that he should have the support of every voter who believes in that policy.

#### Lining up Chicago aldermen.

Mayor Dunne has now succeeded in making a fairly complete segregation (p. 433) of aldermanic goats on the traction question. Some goats may yet be herding on the hither side of the line, and there may still be one or two strays

among the goats; but for all practical purposes, Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan's aldermanic collection is now sufficiently distinguishable for public inspection. As the record stands there are 37 Morgan aldermen out of a total of 69, the Democrats contributing 7 and the Republicans 30. The vote test was taken on the 16th upon an official recommendation by Mayor Dunne that the local transportation committee be directed by the Council to obey the popular referendum forbidding the extension of franchises, by "ceasing forthwith all negotiations with existing private companies except as to the purchase of their properties by the city of Chicago." On this proposition an evasive vote was impossible. A negative vote distinctly meant approval of the policy of extending Pierpont Morgan's franchises, and was therefore flat in the face of the popular mandate against that extension. At least 10 of the aldermen who voted for the Morgan policy are under written pledges to their constituents, on the faith of which they were elected, to vote against that policy. With this lining up and identification of the traction ring aldermen, the contest between the people of Chicago and Mr. Morgan for control of the streets of Chicago revives in a manner little calculated to encourage the Morgan combine. There is every reasonable indication now that unless the rough and ready bribery faction of the combine overrule the gentler referendum faction of the combine, the present proposed extension ordinance will die the death of the tentative ordinance.

Among the aldermen who lined up with the goats in this collection was R. R. McCormick, a young Republican who is the candidate of his party at the approaching election for president of the sanitary board. As the local Republican organization is committed to the Morgan policy, whether in return for campaign contributions or from sentiments of congeniality, it

is wielding the party whip in behalf of the Morgan traction ordinance. This might account for young McCormick. But if the Record-Herald correctly reported a public speech of his last June, nothing but the sentiment of that speech is necessary to account for him. Judged by his speech he doesn't believe in popular government, for according to the report in the Record-Herald of June 3 he described the Referendum League and other organizations as —

vigilance committees, organized to have their matters of opinion prevail, and they do it by lynching methods, not with nooses but with ballots. There is no question in anybody's mind that this is wrong. We can condone a vigilance committee for hanging a horse thief, but not for hanging a man because he differs in opinion from them. They come up to the aldermen with an ordinance and say: "You've got to pass it. If you don't we'll skin you. Surrender your judgment or we'll beat you at the polls." I believe in reform associations of all kinds, but all on proper lines. They should do educational work and should not go out to lynch men politically.

That speech, which exhibits a queer notion of the principles of popular government, may very well account for Alderman McCormick's voting for Morgan's interests against the people's declaration of their estimate of their own interests. It may also be accounted for by Mr. McCormick's fear of the party whip; for in the same speech he said, according to the Record-Herald's report:

I would advise no one to take to politics as a profession. The tenure of office is uncertain, and there are temptations. I don't mean money temptations, but the temptation that comes when you see your position in jeopardy. It is a terrible sight to see a man with a good record approached by a boss who says: "Vote for that, or I'll take your scalp." It is pretty hard to resist that, if there is nothing else in sight.

Mr. McCormick spoke then with deep feeling and evidently from exasperating experience. Has a Republican boss again approached him, this time on the Morgan ordinance, saying "Vote for that or I'll take your scalp"? And was there so little in sight for Mr. McCormick that he found it impossible to resist?

#### Municipal politics in Auburn.

A peculiar and gratifying movement has developed in the municipal politics of Auburn, N. Y., under the leadership of Thomas Mott Osborne, who for two terms has been mayor of that city and is now a candidate for reelection. In the past campaigns, he and his associates have appealed to men of all parties on national issues but at one with them on local issues, to accept the Democratic local nominations as non-partisan national, for the purification of the city and the realization locally of genuinely democratic ideals. This movement having proved successful, Mayor Osborne has now induced his party to demonstrate its sincerity by nominating for local office men who are Republicans in national politics but in sympathy with the purified Democracy locally; and pursuant to that wise policy the local Democratic party has this year, in renewing its appeals for non-partisanship, divided its nominations between Democrats and Republicans. It is now in another vigorous fight with the Republican machine, which, until the advent of Mayor Osborne, had had things its own way in Auburn. In promotion of this new movement in municipal politics for which the Democratic party of Auburn stands, an old paper, the Auburn Bulletin, has been secured and under the name of the Auburn Citizen has been made a clean, attractive, and honest though militant daily newspaper; putting public and private morality above business, and standing for local issues in local politics. This paper, controlled by Mayor Osborne as president of the company publishing it, and the rejuvenating political movement it represents, are not of the goody-goody "good government" order. They are now engaging the people of Auburn in city house cleaning, but as a necessary first step in municipal progress. With them house cleaning is not an end, it is the means to an end. The impulse of the movement is essentially democratic.

The Cleveland mayoralty elections  
The friends of the Republican

candidate for mayor of Cleveland (p. 440) boasted of his victory in debate with Mayor Johnson somewhat too soon. As the battle has gone on the Republican candidate has been unhorsed at every charge. Similar boasting had been done before and with similar results. Every time the boasters were sorely disappointed. Johnson's first public speaking was in debate with a distinguished orator who was his adversary for Congress, and the tradition of his victory has not died out in Cleveland yet. Mark Hanna was shrewd enough to do his debating with Johnson at long range; he never dared accept a challenge. But Hanna's candidate for the mayoralty in 1903 did accept, and his followers soon wished he hadn't. The Republican candidate this year has the debating mettle his friends claimed for him, but he has not measured up to Johnson, and his friends are evidently growing weary of the contest. It is believed that Johnson will be re-elected by an emphatic majority.

The following sensible observations about this debate are made by the Cleveland Plain Dealer of the 13th:

Behind it, and through it, is the spirit of the city of Cleveland manifesting itself unmistakably as the political genius of a genuine municipal democracy. . . . The local campaign has concentrated itself in these debates between Mr. Johnson and Mr. Boyd. And there is a sharp line of demarcation between city issues on the one hand and State and national issues on the other. Cleveland is settling its own affairs for itself, and the champions of the two parties are focusing the attention of an intelligent citizenship on the real issues. The conduct of the debate is characteristic of a city that has been said to have a good administration because its citizens are good. The speeches are couched in a spirit of fairness, and the audiences insist on fairness. "It is not a campaign of personality, but of issues," say the candidates. It is not a noise of brass, but of brains, might be added. In a city where nomination on any ticket never insures election, where public opinion of any shade finds respectful hearing in the press, on the Public square—Cleveland's "Forum"—on the platform or in the pulpit, such a campaign occasions little comment. In Cincinnati

or Philadelphia, or even in Boston, it might arouse astonishment that any large city of the American democracy should be so oddly democratic.

That allusion to the "public square—Cleveland's forum,"—is especially significant. Cleveland's public square has been for years a place for public meeting and debate, where any orderly crowd could gather, and any peaceable orator could preach any doctrine. Frequent efforts to abolish this forum have been made, but all have failed. The result is the "odd democracy" of which the Plain Dealer justly boasts.

#### Ohio politics.

It is not impossible that Ohio (p. 200) next month will elect a Democratic governor. At any rate the conditions are unusually favorable. Gov. Herrick himself, Mr. Hanna's protege, has paved the way. Last winter the Anti-Saloon League sought restrictive saloon legislation through a bill known now as the Brannock law. The bill was bitterly fought by the Liquor Dealers' Association, and Gov. Herrick aided the latter by insisting upon destructive amendments. The Anti-Saloon League resent this attitude of the Governor, and are supported very largely in their revolt by church sentiment. This antagonism to Herrick's reelection is favored by the Democratic nomination of John M. Pattison, a temperance advocate. The depth of feeling in church circles may be inferred from the attitude of the Western Christian Advocate (Methodist), published at Cincinnati, which in its issue of September 13 took occasion to say editorially that—

there are scores of thousands of Republicans in Ohio who believe that the interest of their party and the interests of the State will be promoted by the election of Mr. Pattison, and they are publicly, as well as privately, announcing their intention to vote for him.

That feeling is deeply intensified by the fact that George B. Cox, the Republican boss of Cincinnati, whose power in the Democratic party Tom L. Johnson and Herbert S. Bigelow have been for four years trying to dislodge, has extended his dominion from Hamil-

ton county to the Republican party of the entire State. Of this factor the Advocate says, in the editorial already quoted from:

Mr. Cox was for many years a saloon-keeper, and owed his political power and prominence to that fact. For some years he has held Cincinnati in his grip like a vise. Since the death of Senator Hanna, he is reported to have become the political boss of the State. His methods and ideals are those of the saloon, and the million or more of Christian citizens of Ohio are unwilling to support politicians and public officials who are dominated by Mr. Cox. The revolt of the Republicans is a protest against Mr. Cox, as well as against Gov. Herrick.

Mr. Pattison, the Democratic candidate for governor, is reputed to be an advocate of Mayor Johnson's policy of taxing corporations equally with farmers and householders, and also to be not merely a party Democrat but one of democratic proclivities.

#### Herbert S. Bigelow's choice.

The probable uprooting of Coxism in Cincinnati began with the campaign of Herbert S. Bigelow (vol. v, pp. 323, 335, 343, 346, 349, 353, 361, 472, 482, 485, 497) for Secretary of State in 1902. Mr. Bigelow was, as he still is, the pastor of a historic Congregational church in Cincinnati, a man of strong convictions and of patient and courageous character. At the earnest solicitation of Mayor Johnson of Cleveland he accepted the Democratic nomination for secretary of state, tendered in spite of the opposition of the Democratic ring of Cincinnati which then did and doubtless still does cooperate with Cox, the Republican boss. Mayor Johnson urged this duty upon Mr. Bigelow, and the latter accepted, with a view of breaking up the domination of Cox. It was a hopeless, thankless fight, for the people had yet to be awakened. But the seed of that sowing is now bearing fruit. Just at this hopeful time Mr. Bigelow is invited to leave the scenes of a painful political struggle in Cincinnati for the comforts of a placid pulpit service in Minneapolis. The temptation was no doubt great, but here is his reply:

The civic independence of Minneapo-

lis and the progressive character of her people seemed alluring to me, especially after ten years of labor in a city which probably deserves its reputation of being the worst governed in the United States. What Lincoln J. Steffens said of us is the solemn truth. Coarse thieves fill our courthouse and city hall. The hired bosses of two political machines and newspapers, silenced by subsidies, have brought us to such depths of dishonor as you could hardly believe possible. This vulgar terrorism would not be tolerated—not yet, at least—in that fighting fair city of yours. The awakening of Philadelphia and other signs of a new civic spirit that are blazing forth in so many places encourage me to believe that the day of reckoning for Cincinnati is near at hand. Therefore I have determined to remain and see the fight through, hoping that there may soon be awakened here a civic pride and patriotism worthy of these generous people and their glorious hills.

#### A civil service problem.

The report for last year of the Chicago Civil Service Commission outlines what this Commission understands to be the legal principle under which it is required to act with reference to the removal of public employes. On that point the report reads:

A law providing for discharge without a hearing before a commission, or some other body created for that purpose, would presumably contain a provision that the head of the department shall have the right to discharge for cause. The question would therefore remain absolutely in his hands as to what constituted cause; or, if the courts in our State should do as those in New York have done, they might feel inclined to review every case to determine whether the cause had been sufficient. On the one hand we have the exercise of the power of discharge by the head of the department, who in that way is constituted both administrator of the work of his department and sole judge in the matter of discharge, or we may have the spectacle of a court far removed from the immediate and practical problems of administration, passing upon a case strictly and solely from the standpoint of the legal question involved. Does not the provision of our city law providing for the bringing of charges by the head of the department, and the approval of the Civil Service Commission in the matter of discharge, afford a most happy solution of the questions involved? Here is a body standing apart from the direct administration of the city's work, and yet, as it were, within the atmosphere of said work; sufficiently independent

to constitute a body for hearing the facts, and yet from its every day experience and from the duties imposed upon it under the law, sufficiently near to the questions of practical administration to understand what ought and what ought not to be done.

This seems to us to be the correct view regarding removals under the merit system (p. 195). If the regular courts review in cases of removals, they will incline to treat the office as a property right, and this is detrimental to the public service; if heads of departments remove, merit employes will feel, often correctly so, that their retention depends not upon official fidelity to their trust but upon political or other loyalty to their superior or some one with a "pull" upon him. But a commission within the atmosphere of administration but not of it, reviewing removals with reference neither to the personal wishes of heads of departments on the one hand, nor to proprietary interests in an office on the other, but solely with reference to the good of the service, would go as far as possible toward making the merit system effective. Should the Chicago Civil Service Commission distinguish itself by a faithful execution of the theory outlined in its last year's report, and quoted above, it would appear in pleasing contrast to the State administration with reference to merit as applied to spoils in the civil service, besides reflecting somewhat upon a national administration which has but recently abolished all barriers to arbitrary departmental removals.

#### An appropriate and deserved rebuke.

Thomas Dixon's play of "The Clansman"—Dixon of "Leopard's Spot" notoriety—was most justly and sensibly condemned by the Columbia, S. C., audience upon which he tried the play last week. The audience, a large one and composed almost exclusively of white people, roundly hissed the play, which was evidently an adaptation of Dixon's book of the same title. That book, though it professes, and honestly no doubt, to portray the white man's side of the race question in the Ku Klux

period, is a gross libel on Southern white men and women. Of course it is a libel on the Negro, also, but that is by intention. The libel on the whites is attributable to mental and moral obtuseness. Happily Southern white men generally are not constructed on Mr. Dixon's mental and moral lines. The resentment of a Richmond audience goes to show that the Columbia audience expressed a general Southern sentiment.

#### MAXIMUM SALARIES.

We have become accustomed of late years to the contemplation of enormous salaries.

The payment of such salaries is sanctioned upon the pretext of the equivalent value of the recipient's services. If a protest against the payment of a hundred thousand dollars a year to the president of a mutual insurance company is offered, the answer is made that the rare qualifications demanded in the manager of such an enormous and complex business not only justify but necessitate the payment of such a salary. "The office demands the highest ability, and a hundred thousand dollars is none too much for that."

Defenders of the high salary sometimes make comparisons between a particular salary in question and certain other salaries of equal value, or salaries somewhat less but attaching to positions of less responsibility, under the impression that such citations establish the equity of their cause. And what is of vastly greater and more portentous significance—the general public, though perhaps doubting, yet not knowing how to answer, suffers the case to go by default.

Yet to the clear thinking man who has a comprehensive knowledge of fundamental economic law, the question presents no difficulties, and the verdict will be promptly and emphatically adverse.

In the common field of wage labor, so called, the arbitrament of competition, though it does not indicate the absolute value of the service rendered, nevertheless does determine, with some approach to equity, the relative values.

True, competition is not free even here; some wages are artificially advanced. But the discrepancy is insignificant in comparison with the difference between, say, the \$8,000 salary of a judge and the \$150,000 salary of the president of an insurance company. Some carpenters may receive 30 per cent. higher wages than some other carpenters of equal capacity; but some salaried men receive 1800 per cent. more than others of equal capacity!

Yet the claim that such enormous salaries are necessary in order to secure the services required, is equivalent to asserting that the salaries are competitive. A very little reflection should expose the absurdity of that claim.

President Alexander, of the Equitable Assurance Society, received a salary of \$100,000. With whom was he in competition? Did he ever have a chance to get such a salary in any other connection? Will he ever have another chance?

Mr. Paul Morton has succeeded Mr. Alexander, as being fitter for the place, at a reduction of \$20,000 in salary. But if the salary were competitive, Mr. Morton being conceded to be much the better man for the place, would have received an advance, instead of a cut.

Of course, in this particular case, the real reason of Mr. Morton's voluntary acceptance of the reduced salary was that the United States public was in no mood to be trifled with at the moment. Mr. Morton, and everybody else, knew perfectly well that a considerable part of the \$100,000 salary was graft, pure and simple, and as the ostensible purpose of his selection for president of the company was the elimination of its scandalous excess of graft, he wisely began where the permanent graft was greatest—in the president's salary.

But the salary still is \$80,000. Is it an equitable salary? Or (to get away from this particular case, which I have cited only as a means of illustration), are the notoriously large salaries justified by the services rendered by their recipients?

No. And that they are not is easily demonstrated.

If any individual is entitled to

higher pay than another, it is because he renders greater service to society than that other. The interposition of the employer between the workman, for instance, and the public does not alter the case. The most efficient group, including employer and employes, will outstrip the less efficient in the competition—that is, in service to the public—and will, as a group, receive commensurately a greater reward.

The law holds, either as to the individual or the group of individuals. The question of reward does not depend upon the amount of an individual's product, but on the amount that he imparts. He must get his reward by exchanging his product for the product of others; and therefore in order to get more than his competitors he must impart more.

That would be the case if the principle of competition were universally free to act. And the moment that you exempt an individual from the law of competition you thereby concede his inability to command an increased reward without such exemption. Else why exempt him? By exempting him you help him to an increased income; an increase which he could not get without such help, and which, therefore, he does not earn, but receives by special privilege.

Since, then, naturally—that is, under purely competitive conditions—increased reward comes only from increased service to society, it follows that under such conditions an exceptionally high salary would indicate a general rise in the level of social conditions; and that a large number of very high and frequently advancing salaries would indicate a very much improved and frequently rising general standard of living, reaching down to the lowest level of wage-earners.

I repeat that the rapidly rising standard of living would embrace the common laborer. This is the most important fact of the whole problem. The laborer's wage is the criterion of general service value. All advance in income starts from the wage-level of Common Labor. All advance in service-value, therefore, starts from the service-value of Common Labor. The test of alleged exceptionally high service-value, is,

therefore, the condition of the Common Laborer.

It follows that if the exceptionally large incomes now prevailing (whether these incomes are in the form of \$100,000 salaries or of \$1,000,000 profits), are earned, then the condition of Common Laborers generally has risen by leaps and bounds within the last few years.

But statistics prove that in the United States the cost of living has increased beyond any advance in wages. The conclusion is inevitable, therefore, that large incomes exceed the recipients' earnings.

How much do these incomes exceed earnings? No one can tell. The fact of paramount importance for our consideration in this connection is that the great incomes are indisputably beyond the effective influence of those natural laws which tend toward social equity.

The individual laborer's wages are modified by the wages that his fellow consents to work for. The wages of the mechanic bear a manifest competitive relation to the wages of common labor. The profits of the green-grocer, the draper, the teacher, etc., all are competitively related to the wage rate of common labor. Only through exceptional service to those below, can those above maintain their positions in the competitive field.

But there is no comparison whatever between the common-laborer wage and the hundred-thousand-dollar salary. There is no natural relation between them. The wages of the common laborer are the just compensation for valuable service rendered—minus the laborer's enforced contribution to the incomes outside the influence of competition. The great incomes are, at best, in small part compensation for valuable service rendered—plus the maximum of graft that special privilege is able to extort from the occupants of the competitive field; and, at the worst, they are, in their entirety, Graft, pure and simple.

What should be the maximum salary, or the individual income of whatsoever name?

It should be just what a man can get, under conditions of universal freedom of competition, in

a world where natural opportunities are free to all men. Abolish all special privilege, and the man of high abilities would earn his greater compensation as the just reward of benefits imparted to the whole body of society.

Under such conditions all society, including the humblest servitor, would rise in affluence in proportion to the increase in productivity. Which is to say that if our productivity should increase as fast in the next 40 years as it has in the last 40, the poorest class would be ten times as affluent as now, plus its hitherto withheld equity in the current product of to-day.

To-day, the difference between the extremes of income measures the difference between the opportunities of individuals. Abolish all forms of special privilege, and the difference between the extremes of income would measure the difference in the social service of the individual recipients, and the maximum income would be the just reward of the largest contributor to the sum of human welfare.

EDWARD HOWELL PUTNAM.

## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

### MUNICIPAL OPERATION IN NEW YORK.

New York, Oct. 10.—The inauguration of the municipal ferry between Manhattan and Richmond boroughs—that is, from New York city proper to Staten Island—which has been announced for the 25th of this month, is an event most interesting and significant in the progress toward public control of public utilities. It is not quite correct to speak of this as New York's first essay in municipal operation of transportation facilities, since for a number of years the railway on the Brooklyn bridge was so operated; and, incidentally, gave far more satisfactory service than since it has been turned over to the trolley corporations. But this is the first experiment in New York of the city in managing a means of transport essentially complete in itself.

For many years the facilities for reaching Staten Island have been inadequate in the extreme; and as a result, the progress of the island has been retarded, although the nearest of all the suburbs to the great business centers, and nearer to the financial heart of Wall street than any place even in the city proper, where a family could live at less than \$1,200 a year rental, unless they lived in a tenement house. The ferry service of about five miles was maintained with

comparative freedom from accident, and with rather extraordinary regularity, but grew steadily slower and less and less comfortable as time went on. Demands for improvement, however angry, were met by the ferry company, of which the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, notorious for its penuriousness, was chief owner, with the reply that unless they were granted a practically unlimited franchise, they could not afford to give any improvement.

The steady insistence of this assertion was telling on public sentiment, and if the acute stage had been reached a few years earlier, the result would probably have been the same as with the establishment of a traction system throughout the more thickly settled part of the island about a dozen years ago. Then a feeble cry was set up for municipal ownership (or, rather, ownership by the county, since it had not been absorbed by the city at the time), but public sentiment was not ripe, and two private corporations were allowed to monopolize the franchises under conditions of most flagrant corruption, whereby such an excessive capitalization was distributed in the way of bribes among the various town and village officials, that although the lines have had a tremendous traffic, they have been losing enterprises from the start.

Meanwhile the ferry service was steadily growing more and more unbearable; the boats were becoming absolutely unsafe, and the company obstinately refusing to take any steps toward procuring better ones, when the Low administration came into power—the island having then been "consolidated" as part of the city—and the single tax element, which really furnished the chief vital leaven of the Low movement, began to instill its virus at once into official life and public thought. Neither Mayor Low nor his most influential advisers probably ever knew how much they were indebted for their ideas to the energetic band of single taxers who formed so active a part of their following, although sedulously kept in the background so far as positions of authority were concerned. But the leaven worked and seethed, until the administration, distracted by a fierce conflict for control of the ferry franchise, renewal of which was under discussion, finally declared in favor of taking it over by the city itself.

Then followed a long period of incompetent scheming, which lasted nearly a year, and culminated just as Mayor Low was defeated for reelection, in plans which were totally impracticable, and had to be set aside by the new Tammany administration. Coming on the scene with the city definitely committed to the principle of municipal ownership, these men, who would almost certainly have never thought it

out for themselves, promptly accepted the situation, took it up in a businesslike way, put under construction a fleet of boats, the finest in the harbor, and went ahead with reconstruction of the entire plant on a basis which is admittedly better than anything that even the great railroad ferries have ever furnished for public convenience. Partly as a result of the personal influence exerted by a considerable body of men to retain their jobs, a bill was passed to give first preference for employment to the staff which had been operating the ferry, and thus quite innocently a reply was made in advance to the common objection that the city would sacrifice efficiency of employes to political considerations, because precisely the same men were to be employed that the presumably strong incentive of private interest had previously engaged.

As we are just at the threshold of the experiment, its detailed results cannot yet be predicted; though it is beginning to dawn on people that the city, even with its limited system of taxing land values, can better afford than any private owner, to operate a means of transit without direct profit for sake of the incidental benefits in building up the suburb. There are those who still prophesy disaster, chiefly among the class which, of very moderate means itself, delights in aping the rich; but by the great majority it has come to be accepted as a matter of course that this is the right way for a ferry to be run, and the enthusiastic salute which the harbor craft have given the boats whenever they have appeared, is significant of the sentiment of the masses. Most valuable of all, however, is perhaps the illustration given of how reforms of the sort come about, to cheer earnest men who sometimes lose heart because an agitation seems to make so little ground along the lines that it is first projected. We reap not where we sow, and those who have been preaching for so many years that we should render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, that the people should retain for themselves what is naturally their own property—whether it be land values or franchises—have had no direct hand whatever in this most important step in the direction at which they aimed. But their ideas have been bearing fruit in all sorts of unexpected places.

E. J. SHRIVER.

It does not, we admit, necessarily signify a satisfactory economic state to show that 88 per cent. of the Negro males over ten years of age in the 11 largest cities of the North are engaged in gainful occupations, in comparison with the 83 per cent. of all males of the same age, but it suffices to dispose of the charge that as a race they are idlers.—New York Nation.

## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Thursday, Oct. 19.

### The Chicago traction issue.

Having submitted to the City Council a recommendation (p. 438) that it order the local transportation committee (1) to cease further consideration of the extension franchise ordinance now before it, and (2) to report to the Council at its next meeting the Dunne "contract plan," and the Council having voted down this recommendation, 45 to 18 (p. 439), Mayor Dunne presented to the Council on the 16th the following message in which he proposed a single specific test question on the issue of extending or not extending the expired and expiring franchises of the existing companies:

In view of the fact that the people of Chicago, by a majority vote of 2½ to 1, last April declared that no private company should obtain a street railway franchise from the City of Chicago, and that this vote was a logical sequence to two previous votes declaring that the City of Chicago should undertake municipal ownership of the street railways, and in further view of the fact that the local transportation committee is now negotiating with the private companies for twenty-year extension franchises, I respectfully submit to this honorable body that the said transportation committee is not acting in accordance with the vote of the electors of Chicago. I, therefore, recommend that the local transportation committee be directed by your honorable body, in accordance with such expressed will of the people, to cease forthwith all negotiations with present existing private companies except as to the purchase of their properties by the City of Chicago.

Accompanying Mayor Dunne's message was a proposed order commanding the local transportation committee in accordance with the recommendation of the message. Alderman Kohout, a municipal ownership Democrat, moved its passage. This motion was checked by a motion of Alderman Maypole, a franchise extension Democrat, that the order be referred to the committee whose action it was de-

signed to direct. Thereupon Alderman Kohout moved suspension of the rules for the purpose of passing the order. Although the vote was taken upon the motion to suspend the rules, it involved the question of franchise extension. The result, which disclosed the attitude of the Council on that question, was as follows, the vote favorable to municipal ownership being "yea," and the vote favorable to franchise extension being "nay":

Yeas—Republicans: Harding, Harris Uhlir, Beilfuss, Smith—5; Democrats: Coughlin, Kenna, Richert, McCormick (5), Fick, Hurt, Scully, Hoffman, Zimmer, Considine, Riley, Norwick, Dever, Ryan, Finn, Dougherty, Sullivan, Werno, Reinberg, Bradley, O'Connell, Kohout—22. Total, 27.

Nays—Republicans: Dixon, Pringle, Foreman, Potter, Young, Bennett, Jones, Moynihan, Sitts, McCormick (21), Reese, Schmidt (23), Schmidt (24), Hahne, Williston, Dunn, Lipps, Butler, Stewert, Raymer, Larson, Wendling, Roberts, Badenoch, Eidmann, Bihl, Hunt, Ruxton, Hunter, Race—30; Democrats: Martin, Cullerton, Maypole, Harkin, Conlon, Powers, Carey—7. Total, 37.

As the extension franchise Democrats voted no, derisive cries of "woof, woof," in imitation of a wolf's bark, came from the crowded gallery.

### The Chicago Council's traction referendum.

At the same meeting of the Council the referendum substitute of Alderman Foreman, a franchise extension Republican (p. 439), amended by Aldermen Werno and Dever, municipal ownership Democrats, was adopted. Following is the text of the resolution, the Werno and Dever amendments being distinguished by enclosure in brackets:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this Council that the procedure in dealing with any ordinance or ordinances for the settlement of the Chicago Street Railway question shall be as follows:

The ordinance or ordinances shall be framed up for passage and voted on in committee of the whole without final action by the City Council. Thereupon such ordinance or ordinances as shall receive a majority of votes taken by roll call in the committee of the whole shall be published and the City Council shall take steps to have the question whether it or they shall be passed by the City Council placed on the ballot to be voted on by the people. The form of the proposition or the propositions to be placed on the ballot shall be formulated by the

committee on local transportation and approved by the City Council. [Provided, only one proposition shall be submitted to the vote of the people on any one ordinance that may be recommended for passage to the City Council by the Committee on local transportation, and that the Council hereby pledges itself not to recommend the submission of any proposition or propositions other than those herein provided for.] The City Council pledges itself not to pass any ordinance or ordinances that shall not receive a majority of the votes cast by the people upon the proposition or propositions, [provided, however, that before any such ordinance is submitted to the people for their approval or disapproval it and all ordinances purporting to grant franchises proposed on or before the same time shall first be submitted to the grantees named in said ordinances, for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not said grantees will accept such ordinances if favorably acted upon by the people. The answer of said grantees to be made in writing within a certain time.]

### Chicago traction litigation.

A move has been made by the Chicago traction companies to secure a decision on their 99-year claims, from the United States Supreme Court before the Illinois Supreme Court can pass upon the same claims. The case in the State court is on quo warranto proceedings (pp. 264, 345) brought by the State against the companies; the case in the United States court is on appeal from Judge Grosscup's decision (vol. vii, p. 778) in a suit by New York creditors of one of the traction companies. The reason the companies seek a Federal decision first, is because it is the established practice of the United States Supreme Court to adopt the rulings of State courts on local questions, and they fear the State court decision will not be favorable to them. Consequently they have moved to advance the hearing in the United States Supreme Court, doing so on the ground that great public interests affecting the city of Chicago are involved. Although the official representatives of the public interests of the city of Chicago opposed the motion to advance, it was granted and the Federal case was set for hearing at Washington on the 2d of January next, a date so early as to preclude the possibility of a hearing before the Supreme Court of Illinois prior to that before the United States Supreme Court.

The hearing of this action by the Federal Supreme Court may be better understood from the following report in the Chicago Record-Herald (a franchise extension paper) in its issue of October 17:

The United States Supreme Court yesterday advanced the hearing of the Chicago cases relating to traction matters, as appealed from Judge Grosscup's decree, to January 2, 1906. This early date of hearing will have an important bearing on the ninety-nine-year rights in Chicago, and may result in a decision by the Federal court of last resort, before the Spring election in Chicago, at which the ordinances proposed by the traction companies will go before the people. It may be possible also to get a decision by the Federal Supreme Court before the final hearing by the Illinois Supreme Court, which has been counted on by the city's attorneys to give a decision that would form a precedent for the Federal Supreme Court. The action of the United States Supreme Court caused much satisfaction in New York and Chicago yesterday, so far as traction officials and financiers interested in ninety-nine-year rights were concerned.

A New York dispatch published in the same paper of October 18, contributes still further to an understanding of the significance of this action by the Federal court, while indicating also the policy of the companies with reference to franchise extension:

A reorganization and consolidation of the Chicago City Railway company and the Chicago Union Traction company will take place, according to financiers interested in the companies, as soon as new franchises shall have been secured from the Chicago City Council and confirmed by a referendum vote. Since the ruling of the United States Supreme court, advancing the hearing of the traction cases to January 2, bankers identified with the controlling financial interests of the two companies have discussed frankly the plans that are under way to bring about the reorganization, which, it is said, will be accomplished within six months. The traction financiers are confident that the Federal Supreme Court will give the companies much more in the way of 99-year rights than Judge Grosscup gave them, and that a decision by the court will be given before the city election next Spring, when the voters are to pass upon the ordinances. In the event of a favorable decision, it is figured, the rights of the companies will be so apparent to the public that there will be no question about an overwhelming vote in favor of the franchises.

Officials of the City Railway company denied on the 18th the correctness of the foregoing report,

attributing it to stock-jobbing interests in New York.

The municipal campaign in Cleveland.

One more debate between Mayor Johnson and his adversary, Mr. Boyd (p. 440) has taken place in Cleveland. This came off on the 14th and is reported to have been attended by a far greater crowd than either of the other two. Apart from the debates, the excitement has intensified with the holding of ward meetings on both sides, and the calling into service of Mayor Johnson's large circus tent within which Mayor Johnson and his supporters have done much of their effective campaign speaking heretofore.

New York city Republican politics.

The substitution of Frank Moss for Charles E. Hughes as the Republican candidate for mayor of New York (p. 440) was not carried through, and on the 16th this nomination was offered to William M. Ivins. Mr. Ivins was formerly a partner in business and adviser in politics of Mayor Grace, under whom he once held a high financial office in the New York municipal government. A leader in the movement for the Australian ballot in the late '80s, which was opposed by the Democrats under the leadership of Gov. Hill, and supported by some of the stronger Republicans, Mr. Ivins gradually transferred his political allegiance to the Republican party. Upon accepting the present nomination of that party for Mayor Mr. Ivins made this statement of his position on the question of municipal ownership:

On the question of municipal ownership I wish to make clear my position. I believe that every franchise that has lapsed should at once be acquired by the city. I believe that every franchise that has been forfeited should be at once put into the way of acquisition by the most relentless pursuit of the parties who acquired that franchise unrighteously. I believe that there should be no new grants of franchises in perpetuity whatsoever. I believe that all the wealth created by our community should be held in perpetuity by the community and for the use and benefit of our community, and not for the aggrandizement of large numbers of individuals.

Nomination of Hearst for mayor of New York.

The formal nomination of Wil-

liam Randolph Hearst as the candidate for mayor of the Municipal Ownership League for mayor of New York (p. 440) was made on the 12th at Carnegie Hall. In accepting the nomination he briefly summarized the principles of the movement as follows:

Honesty and efficiency in office.

Prosperity and progress for the people of this city.

Public ownership of public utilities to the end that taxes may be reduced, the service improved, and the conditions of employes bettered.

To this Mr. Hearst added:

I am running for Mayor of this city and not for Governor or any other position. If I have any business ability I shall devote it all to the conduct of the business of the city. If I have any other qualities that may be of use they shall be placed entirely at the service of the people of this city.

Following is the platform upon which Mr. Hearst was nominated:

The platform upon which the Municipal Ownership League appeals to the public is honesty. Honesty in politics, which means government in the interest of the people that cast the votes and pay the taxes. Honesty in administration, which means expenditure of the city's revenue for the benefit of the citizens and not for the benefit of trusts or private interests. Honesty in administration of all matters affecting the welfare of the people, and especially honesty in the administration of life insurance, that most sacred of all trusts. This platform is put before the people because honesty is now lacking in practically every department in the city's affairs.

The Municipal Ownership League is absolutely and permanently committed to the advocacy of municipal ownership. Public necessities and public values created by the people should be owned by the people. We demand the immediate establishment and operation by the city of a plant for the sale and distribution of gas to all citizens. We denounce the signing of the dishonorably planned and passed Remsen Gas bill, which would have put the city permanently and hopelessly at the mercy of the Gas Trust. We demand for the people gas at half the price now charged, at a price that will make heating by gas in the humblest homes cheaper than heating with coal at the present extortionate coal prices. In the coming mayoralty term of four years the city will grant subway franchises, the value of which is so great that it can scarcely be estimated. It runs into hundreds of millions of dollars. All of this should remain the property of the people. We demand the construction of these subways by the city, and their operation by the city, as soon as the

city shall be legally and financially able to undertake their operation. We protest against the impertinence of that bossism which has actually nominated for re-election the man who signed the Remsen Gas bill. Municipal ownership of public franchises would mean a benefit to all honest citizens and a menace to none. We demand the nomination of candidates for city and state offices directly by the people instead of by party convention controlled by political parties. We recognize the supply of water as one of the principal duties of the municipality. We demand that no citizen of Greater New York be left longer in the hands of private water companies. We pledge ourselves to the expenditure of all money required by the Board of Education for the benefit of pupils and teachers in the public schools. We demand home rule for New York city, protection against abuse of power by the legislature. We denounce the present administration.

All parties have refused to nominate District Attorney Jerome for reelection, and an independent campaign is being carried on in his behalf by the Citizens' Union (p. 440).

**Gubernatorial campaign in Rhode Island.**

At the Democratic convention of Rhode Island, held in Providence on the 12th, ex-Gov. L. C. F. Garvin was nominated for governor by acclamation. Gov. Garvin has been twice elected, in 1902 and 1903, while in 1904 he was but barely defeated. The platform on which he is nominated this year deals with national, as well as local questions. On the tariff question it places the Democrats of Rhode Island in line with those of Massachusetts "in demanding freer trade for natural markets of sale and purchase across the Canadian border."

**The question of international peace.**

The rumors of last month (p. 391) of a reconvening of The Hague conference were confirmed from Washington on the 14th, when the State Department disclosed the notes that had been exchanged on the subject between the Czar of Russia and President Roosevelt. After acknowledging the Czar's note of September 13, intimating a desire to reconvene the Powers, and outlining previous diplomatic interchanges on the subject, the President's note declares that—the President most gladly welcomes the offer of his Imperial Majesty to

again take upon himself the initiation of the steps requisite to convene a second international peace conference, as the necessary sequence to the first conference, brought about through his Majesty's efforts.

So far, then, as the United States is concerned, the conference now awaits only the naming of time and place by the Czar.

**Dissolution of the Norway-Sweden union.**

The statement of last week (pp. 442-43) that the Swedish Riksdag had ratified the Karlstad agreement for dissolution was erroneous in that only one house had then ratified. But on the 16th the other house voted for ratification, and Norway is now recognized by Sweden "as a State separate from the union with Sweden."

With her independence Norway immediately confronts the question of monarchy or republic. The republicans believe that public sentiment is opposed to monarchy and are struggling for a referendum on the issue. The monarchists, who appear to be of the same opinion, are determined to prevent a referendum. As they are in the majority in the Storting they may use their power to establish a monarchy without consulting the people, but it is hinted that if the republican minority in the Storting is strong no acceptable prince will consent to take the throne. The republican strength in the Storting is estimated at 30 in a membership of 117.

**NEWS NOTES**

—President Roosevelt began a tour of the Southern States on the 18th. His first important stop was at Richmond, where he spoke on the 18th.

—The organizing officials of the Protestant inter-church conference (p. 346), which is to meet in New York next month, have decided to exclude the Unitarians.

—Mrs. W. Fleming of Cambridge, Mass., is reported by the New York Herald to have discovered more stars than any other astronomer in the history of the world.

—John Edward Taylor, proprietor of the Manchester Guardian and son of its founder, died at Eastbourne, England, on the 5th, at the age of 75. He had been connected with the Guardian for 50 years.

—All Souls church of Iowa City, Ia. (Duren J. H. Ward, chairman commit-

tee of arrangements) is unique in one respect. It concedes to each of its members the right of coincident membership in any other church.

—Sir Henry Irving, the British actor, died suddenly at Bradford, England, early in the morning of the 7th, after having played before a large audience the night before, as Becket in his own stage adaptation of Lord Tennyson's play of that name. The body was cremated on the 18th.

—Edmund James James was formally installed on the 17th as president of the University of Illinois at Champaign. The ceremonies were imposing but democratic. The democracy of President James's speech was pronounced and significant. Among the scholars upon whom the degree of LL. D. was conferred were Frank A. Vanderlip, Daniel H. Burnham, Edwin G. Cooley and David Felmy.

—Bryan's Commoner announces that William J. Bryan, on his trip around the world, intends writing to his paper letters, interesting to men and women regardless of political prejudice, from Hawaii, China, the Philippine islands, India, Australia, New Zealand, Egypt, Palestine, Greece, Turkey, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Germany, France, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, Holland and the British Isles.

—The monthly statement of the United States treasury department (see p. 393) for September, 1905, shows the following for three months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1906:

Gold reserve fund.....	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash .....	138,823,692.85
Total .....	\$288,823,692.85
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1905.....	292,490,322.87
Decrease .....	\$5,666,630.02

—The monthly treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government (see p. 428) for September, 1905, shows the following for the three months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1906:

Receipts:	
Tariff .....	\$75,015,578.10
Internal revenues .....	61,442,792.92
Miscellaneous .....	10,556,354.08
	\$147,014,725.10
Expenses:	
Civil and Misc.....	\$33,373,843.60
War .....	28,231,635.39
Navy .....	30,176,442.11
Indians .....	3,919,201.23
Pensions .....	37,515,852.93
Public works .....	17,485,593.75
Interest .....	5,886,397.65
	\$156,588,966.66

Deficit .....

—An injunction was granted by Judge Holdom in connection with the printers' demand for an eight-hour day in Chicago (p. 391), on the 17th, restraining Typographical Union No. 16, from "picketing" printing firms belonging to the Typothetae, from hiring strike breakers to quit, and from sending boycotting circulars to customers. In granting the injunction,

Judge Holdom said: "The foundation of the strike in this case is the union contract demanding a closed shop and an eight-hour day. Both the closed shop and the eight-hour day are unlawful when it is attempted to coerce the employer to enter into them against his will. . . . Many of the actions enjoined in themselves might be harmless. But when used even in the slightest degree to carry out the unlawful scheme upon which the defendants have embarked, they become in themselves unlawful within the legal definition of a conspiracy."

### PRESS OPINIONS

#### HEARST'S CANDIDACY.

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (Ind.), Oct. 13 (weekly).—The candidacy of Mr. Hearst, who has accepted the mayoralty nomination of the New York Municipal Ownership League, will evidently furnish the only feature of interest to the city campaign. Mr. Hearst is ill-adapted to work on the stump, but he can hire carts without limit for the numerous cart-tail orators who are eager to work for the municipal ownership cause. Neither the Henry George campaign in 1886 nor the recent Judge Dunne campaign in Chicago can be repeated with Mr. Hearst as the leader, but everyone who sympathizes with this movement will have a chance to vote for it, and thus its aggressive political strength in New York city should be revealed. Mr. Hearst's total vote is likely to surprise many people. Certain conditions, such as the insurance revelations, are favorable to him; on the other hand, Mayor McClellan seems likely to draw a heavy support from conservative republicans, if the Hearst candidacy should prove threatening as a rallying point for all phases of discontent.

Chicago American (Dem.), Oct. 16.—There comes a time in the history of every State or city when some man must forget self enough to take the leadership of what the fearful and the doubting, the timid and the despondent citizen looks upon as a desperate battle or forlorn chance. The time has come in New York when some man must offer himself as a candidate for the mayoralty of this city for the single purpose of changing the municipal government from mere supine servility to the public service corporations and of making it a government by, of and for the the people. . . . But it is not a forlorn chance.

Mr. Hearst's candidacy is that of a man who believes that this battle can be won; that the teachings, the lessons of the past years will not be without result; that it is a time for progress, for a step forward. He believes in certain well-defined principles, he believes in the municipal ownership of gas and electric lighting plants, not merely in this city, but in the nation, and has worked for and has preached the doctrine of public ownership. In permitting his name to be used as the candidate against George B. McClellan he has offered himself as a leader of the working people of this city, a leader of the citizens who are being plundered and despoiled by the McClellan administration, a leader of the plain, ordinary, common people to whom the Murphy, McCarren and McClellan combination offers nothing, and who owe nothing to gangsters.

#### OHIO POLITICS.

Western Christian Advocate (rel.), Sept. 27.—The real issue is that between the Public and the Bosses. The worm is really beginning to turn. Here in Ohio, as in other States East and West, it is showing signs

of weariness in being trampled on. The moral and respectable people especially, who after all constitute the bulk of the citizenship of a great State historically conspicuous for leadership in moral questions, are getting slightly tired of having their wishes and earnest protests ignored so lordly in nominating conventions and elsewhere. They are not taking kindly to being bulldozed by threats of Executive vetoes. They feel the yoke of bossism galling their necks, and they are growing restive.

Samuel E. Moffett, in Collier's (Ind.), Oct. 14.—The Republican leaders say that the question to be decided is whether Ohio is going to stand by Roosevelt or not, and then they proceed to knife the tariff revision and railroad rate policies to which Roosevelt is devoted. Treachery is in the air on both sides. Are Cox, Dick and Herrick going to betray Foraker, or are Dick, Foraker and Herrick going to betray Cox? Is John R. McLean conspiring with Cox to count out Pattison, as Tom Johnson believes, or are Pattison and McLean plotting to cut Johnson's throat, as others say who profess to know? All that is certain is that somebody is going to be distressingly fooled. But not in Cleveland. There Johnson stands in the open. "The man who stands behind an organization and refuses to be voted for," he said in opening the campaign, "is usually a boss, depending on graft and patronage to keep him in power. The leader is not afraid to submit his work to the judgment of the people at the polls." Whatever knives may lurk in Cincinnati jungles, Tom Johnson and Cleveland seem to understand each other.

#### THE CHICAGO TRACTION CONSPIRACY.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), Oct. 17.—The people are tired of seeing pothouse politicians and cheap lawyers come from the slums and graft their way into riches and erect mansions in swell sections, and getting themselves into decent clubs by spending money they have been parties to stealing. The man who wants honest government and wants no more Council barter in franchises need not despair. All he has to do is to move forward, to organize and to declare himself. The grafter is always a bully, but always a grafter. Graft is marked by bulldozing, but, hard-pressed, it slinks to the rear, nerveless and whimpering like a sheep-stealing dog. Do not permit the franchise seekers to wear out your patience. That is their only chance. Make them lose, and make Mr. Morgan know that, while he can manipulate life insurance companies, float corporations watered to the rim, that he cannot, through his strikers, steal the streets of Chicago.

### MISCELLANY

#### SHADOW-CONQUERING DAY.

For The Public.

This is not written for mean men. It is written for those who have made their own that anti-poverty cause whose very unpopularity calls out the God in a man, and breathes upon him the divinity of heroism, so that he becomes a living soul.

Came a Spirit unto mine,  
Spake, and bade my soul obey;  
"Wake and work," he said; "no longer  
Dream the idle hours away;  
Pass from night of wishful dreaming  
To the striving, toiling, scheming,  
Shadow-conquering day.

"I will hide my choicest gift  
In a bitter husk of pain,  
Make your friends seem chilled in hatred,  
And your fondest methods vain;  
But at last in triumph glorious

You shall find a faith victorious,  
In my purpose plain.

"You shall stumble as you go;  
Men shall call you wrong and frail;  
In the place called Go'gotha  
All the world shall see you fall;  
But the power which in you travails  
Shall, when mystery unraveils,  
Mightily prevail.

"Life with passing griefs is yours,  
But for death you cannot pray,  
For the Lord has breathed upon you  
And you are no longer clay;  
And you wake from night of dreaming  
To the striving, toiling, scheming,  
Shadow-conquering day."

CHARLES HOWARD FITCH.

#### CONVICTIONS MUST BE GIVEN EXPRESSION.

Every man born into the world owes it to himself to express, in some way, his deepest convictions.—"Ethics of Force," by H. E. Warner.

To this sentiment I should add that every man owes the expression of his deepest convictions to others, as well as to himself.

Were this suggestion acted on, what a changed world this would become!

Our deepest convictions are measured and controlled by a sense of justice and right which God has implanted in every human heart:—a Golden Rule, infallible, till perverted by selfish, or other mischievous influences.

Unfortunately "Inertia, the strongest force in human affairs," prevails—the good and needed word and deed are left unsaid and undone; the wrong and injurious multiply their influence as surely as weeds grow where grain is not planted.—Susan Look Avery, in Wyoming (N. Y.) Reporter.

#### ART FOR MORE THAN ART'S SAKE.

From a letter written by James Russell Lowell when he was twenty-seven years of age.

My calling is clear to me. I am never lifted up to any peak of vision—and moments of almost fearful inward illumination I have sometimes—but that when I look down in hope to see some valley of the Beautiful Mountains, I behold nothing but blackened ruins; and the moans of the down-trodden the world over—but chiefly here in our own land—come up to my ear, instead of the happy songs of husbandmen reaping and bringing the sheaves of light; yet these, too, I hear not seldom. Then I feel how great is the office of poet could I but even dare to hope to fill it. Then it seems as if my heart would break in pouring out one glorious song that should be the gospel of Reform, full of consolation and strength to the oppressed, yet falling gently and restoringly on the

withered youth-flowers of the oppressor.

#### A MARRIAGE REFERENDUM.

Allowing the people to settle who is to be your wife, by a Referendum vote, would hardly be possible anywhere else than in Spain. The Spanish people very generally admire their young King and are quite anxious he shall marry the most eligible young woman in Europe. "An enterprising illustrated magazine in Madrid," says the Chicago Post, "recently instituted a vote to show the preference of its readers for a wife for King Alfonso. In the voting Princess Ena of Battenberg was a strong favorite, emerging from the test with 30,128 votes. Princess Patricia of Connaught was favored by 21,236 voters and Princess Louise of Orleans by 3,002."

What could be more practical than this mode of settling a question? The *Diario Ilustrado* in a spirit of patriotism presents a page of magnificent half-tone portraits of the eligible princesses of Europe, with a succinct statement of their merits, political and personal. It calls upon the public to express its choice. The public—or that part of it that reads the *Diario* and has time to vote—sends in its preference. The *Diario* notified the ministry:

The People have Spoken, and by the glorious and infallible test of the Referendum the Princess Ena is selected to be Queen of Spain.

Postscript: Please inform the king at your early convenience.

It is to be hoped the young woman will not veto this Referendum vote in her favor.

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY.

#### SOME "PROBLEMS" HAVE BEEN OUTGROWN.

From Thomas Wentworth Higginson's Introduction to "The Aftermath of Slavery; A Study of the Condition and Environment of the American Negro." By William A. Sinclair, A. M., M. D. (Financial Secretary of Howard University). Small, Maynard & Co., 1905.

One who . . . has seen the strong effort made by so many of the Southern whites to do justice to the Negro . . . must needs feel an impulse to take a hand when a colored writer enters on a manly and courageous argument for his own side, such as may be found in the volume which follows. . . .

Reading the book with some care, I could point out a few passages with which I disagree, but surprisingly few; and in some of these cases the disagreement proceeds from the fact that

I am a man old enough to recall a time when there existed all around us at the North instances of the same kind of injustice of which we now properly complain when we see it in the South. It seems like a bit of Egyptian darkness to Dr. Sinclair for those States to have entirely separate schools for the two races, but that does not seem so hopeless an evil to me, who more than 50 years ago in two different cities in New England took a hand in abolishing just such schools. The first great step is to have public schools at all, either for white or black. In the same way men justly complain of the "Jim Crow" cars, . . . but I, who can remember the time in my childhood when a colored woman was taken out of a stage coach opposite what is now Cambridge common, because other passengers objected to her color, cannot feel the evil to be so hopeless as he does. The South is merely passing through a period such as Massachusetts passed through long ago, and the great fact of importance is that it is being passed through, and men will get beyond it sooner or later.

#### HOW TO BE CLEVER, THOUGH A BLOCKHEAD.

Once upon a time there was a blockhead.

For a long time he lived happy and content, until at last a report reached him that everybody considered him a brainless fool.

This roused the blockhead and made him sorrowful. He considered what would be the best way to confute this statement. Suddenly an idea burst upon his wretched mind, and without delay he put it into execution.

One day an acquaintance met him in the street and began to praise a celebrated painter.

"Good God!" cried the blockhead, "do you not know that this man's works have long since been banished to the lumber room? You must be aware of the fact. You are far behindhand in culture."

The friend was alarmed and immediately concurred with the blockhead's opinion.

"That is a clever book that I have read to-day!" said another of his acquaintances to him.

"God have mercy!" cried the blockhead, "are you not ashamed to say so? That book is utterly worthless; there can only be one idea concerning it, and did you not know that? Oh, culture has left you far behind."

And this acquaintance also was

alarmed, and he agreed with the blockhead.

"What a splendid fellow my friend N— N— is," said a third acquaintance to the blockhead. "He is truly a noble man."

"Good heavens!" shrieked the blockhead. "N— N— is a notorious scamp. He has already plundered all his relations. Who does not know that? You are sadly wanting in culture."

And the third acquaintance was also alarmed and instantly accepted the blockhead's opinion. Whatever was praised in the blockhead's presence he had always the same answer. And in every case he added reproachfully: "And you still believe that authority?"

"A spiteful, venomous man." That was how the blockhead was now known among his acquaintances. "But what a head!" "And what language!" added others. "What talent!"

And the end of it all was, the editor of a newspaper intrusted the blockhead with the writing of the critiques in his journal.

The blockhead criticised everything, and everyone, in his well-known style, and with his customary abuse.

And now, he, the former enemy of every authority, is himself an authority, and the rising generation show him respect, and tremble before him.

And how can the poor youths do otherwise? Certainly, to show him respect is an astonishing notion; but woe to you if you would take his measure or try to make him appear as he really was, you would immediately be criticised without mercy.

Blockheads have a brilliant life amongst cowards.—Turgenief, as rendered in the *Conservator*, of Philadelphia.

#### THE ONE THING THAT STANDS IN THE WAY OF LABOR'S WELFARE.

Ernest H. Crosby, in the *New York Daily News* of Sept. 4, 1905.

I am asked to write on the subject, "Some Things That Stand in the Way of Labor's Prosperity," but I will only touch on one thing, and that the most important and fundamental. The chief fault of the labor movement is its failure to take a wide and scientific view of the situation.

The world is monopolized in various ways. The labor man, having no natural monopoly, tries to set up a counter-monopoly of labor. This is perfectly natural, but it is only a fighting measure. He feels the wrong of monopoly, and fights the devil with fire, but devils and fire will never make a paradise.

I have always been a strong friend of the trade union movement, but I cannot overlook the fact that it is only a temporary makeshift necessitated by intolerable conditions. So long as monopoly lasts it must last, but its final end should be the death of monopoly, and not an eternal series of bickering and coquetting with it.

I am not arguing for the introduction of politics into the unions, for I believe that the policy of Mr. Gompers in that respect has been altogether right, but I am arguing for the recognition by union men of the fact that there is no promise of finality in their campaign.

The one thing needful to enable labor to claim its own is the abolition of monopoly, and chiefly of the great underlying monopoly of land, including urban sites, rights of way of railways, the rights exercised in the use of streets by rails, pipes and wires, terminal facilities, etc.

And this land question must be settled first, or else all our other reform work will merely play into the hands of the landlords.

A great movement is on foot to secure municipal ownership of public utilities, an excellent thing as far as it goes, but if it is secured first, without also putting an end to all monopoly in land, it will simply help the landlords in the end and no one else.

If fares are reduced, up go the rents uptown and in Brooklyn. And it is so of every reform. If trades unionism succeeded in obtaining high wages for all workers (which it cannot do) it would merely increase the demand for better apartments and enable landlords to raise their rents, and thus collect the increase of wages received by the men.

The method of putting an end to land monopoly was pointed out with the greatest force and clearness by Henry George 25 years ago, and nothing need be added to what he said. His plan is simple, scientific and practicable, and can be introduced either immediately or as gradually as we please.

Nineteen years ago, in the election of 1886, it did seem as if organized labor understood the problem and was ready to tackle it. If they had followed up that brilliant skirmish, we should have been by this time well on the way to economic justice. But alas! the enthusiasm did not last, and to-day of those who try to look beyond the end of their noses, most are led away by the vague generalities and impracticable programmes of socialism.

The one thing that stands in the way of labor's prosperity to-day is its failure to follow the teachings of Henry George.

#### THE ROOT OF ALL GOOD.

Editorial in New York Nation of Oct. 5.

Our blood boiled when we read that a country clergyman had had the effrontery to offer at a religious meeting here in New York a resolution declaring that "no talent for high finance, no useful service to the community, no benefaction to the church or to objects of philanthropy, can excuse or atone for dereliction in trust, contempt for the rights of others, or disregard of the rules of common honesty." Bishop Potter, who was presiding, very properly frowned, and passed over the matter in a paternal manner. If he and the Episcopal church do not make stand against this reckless abuse of our best citizens and most devout worshipers, no one will; and the tongue of slander will run on unchecked. Just because a few officers and directors of insurance companies have been "caught with the goods on," there is a wild howl about a frantic and unscrupulous scramble for gain. A day or two ago the Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst joined the chorus; William Allen White has an article about it in the *October Atlantic*; President Nicholas Murray Butler has been solemnly warning his boys at Columbia; and at a little social gathering in Cleveland, John D. Rockefeller has been lamenting that more of his dear friends do not choose the higher things of life in preference to filthy money. Of these four men only one is qualified to testify as an expert. Dr. Parkhurst is a minister, and of course wholly ignorant of business; Mr. White is a Kansas editor, who probably has not to-day a paltry half-million of unencumbered property; and Dr. Butler is nothing but a college president, pegging along on \$10,000 or so a year. Mr. Rockefeller ought to know whether it is worth while to get rich. Whatever he may say when speaking for publication, his real feelings are expressed by his actual choice of good things.

The intimation that he has not chosen wisely should be resented by every loyal New Yorker. What are we here for, if not for money? Is Wall street a health resort? Is Broadway a golf links? Are the roofs of our sky-scrapers breezy mountain tops? Are the corridors of the Waldorf-Astoria the echoing aisles of a primeval forest? Does Manhattan Island lift its fringed palms in air? Dr. Butler is no backwoods deacon that he should chatter about reputations melting like snow before the sun of publicity. Apparently, he alludes to such men as James W. Alexander, James Hazen Hyde, and Chauncey Mitchell Depew; but they are not making any

complaint. They got what they wanted, and they are not crying because they have lost what they didn't need. Your professional thief must reckon upon spending at least a quarter of his time behind prison bars, at hard labor, with poor food. But all three of the men we have mentioned made off with more than the most skillful cracksman could hope for; they are at large, with comfortable houses and well-cooked dinners; and one of them is a member of the United States Senate. They are not beggarly school-teachers and preachers whose stock in trade is reputation; they are not butlers or coachmen on \$50 a month that they must have letters from their last employers. They are high financiers; and if you don't admire them, you can do the other thing.

The people who work in the money mill have taken the job with their eyes open. Walk through Wall street and look at them. Listen to their talk at the bars and in the restaurants of the financial district. They are not fools, as Dr. Butler and Mr. White would have us believe. They are getting the objects that are worth having in this troubled and transitory life. They acquire power. When a man has piled up enough millions he can make existence a burden for his enemies on the Stock Exchange. John W. Gates and James R. Keene are as happy every day as a bulldog killing a cat; but Dr. Parkhurst doesn't enjoy a thrill like that once a decade. If you have enough money, you can always see your name and your picture in the papers. Your slightest cold in the head throws the yellow journals into hysterics of red and green ink. Your wife and children run a gantlet of photographers while daylight lasts. Your house is pointed out to the people who are seeing New York. The wages you pay your servants, the price of your cigars and of the underclothing of your whole family, the food you eat, and your last divorce suit are matters of public discussion. It's much better than being President or even a popular actress.

After all, however, these are only intellectual pleasures. It is to the real man, the physical, that money caters as nothing else can. We do not observe that Dr. Butler and other apocryphic moralists are living very high. They cannot afford private cars, private yachts, and automobiles. They have to work so hard that they cannot indulge in ten-course dinners, nervous prostration, and other things which the wealthy and well-bred now reckon among the bare necessities. William Allen White is not opening champagne every night at the club; his purse couldn't stand that pace for a single month. Let us free our minds,

then, from hypocrisy. Everybody can't be rich. Society could not exist without its submerged tenth of bootblacks, college professors, car conductors, artists, street-sweepers, musicians and small tradesmen. But these are occupations for the dull and unambitious. Any one who has red blood in his veins will get out and hustle for the stuff that will procure him the choicest viands, the richest wines and the most refined society.

## BOOKS

### ROMAN SOCIETY.

Modern thought has brought nothing better in the way of education than a revolution in the idea as to what is history. Nowhere else has the growth of the democratic spirit made itself more subtly felt. We are beginning to learn that history does not consist mainly of the glories of wars or the achievements of princes and statesmen. The people are beginning to count. The historian is beginning to inquire what the masses have thought, suffered and done. As yet there is only a beginning of the revolution, but it is a beginning that will grow. Many readers of Tolstoy's greatest novel, *War and Peace*, have probably wondered at, and some perhaps have hardly understood, the long essay at the close. This essay sounds the death-knell of the old conception of history. History can never again be the record of the ways and doings of the few, regardless of the many. It is too much to expect of conservatism that the change of view should be immediate and universal. Text-books and seats of learning are still infused with the old spirit, but it is certain that the new spirit is beginning to show itself even in the schools.

Prof. Samuel Dill, of Queens college, Belfast, has contributed greatly to the new movement in history. His latest work, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius* (Macmillan, 639 pp., 8vo., \$4.60), is a book of great learning, going behind the deeds of emperors and officials to the lives of the people of all classes. It is far more a history of the time it covers than the books that call themselves such. It tells, so far as meager records will permit, how people lived and made a living; how they thought and acted; what were their social ideals and religious beliefs.

Not even the poorest workers and slaves are overlooked. "The usual fashion," says Dill, "of writing Roman history has concentrated attention on the doings of the emperor, the life of the noble class in the capital, or on the stations of the legions and the political organization of the provinces. It is a stately and magnificent pano-

rama. But it is apt to throw the life of the masses into even deeper shadow than that in which time has generally enwrapped them. We are prone to forget that, behind all this stately life, there was a quiet yet extraordinarily busy industrial activity which was its necessary basis and which catered for all its caprices." In the third chapter of the second book the author attempts to give a view of the life of the industrial classes in the period covered. The chapter is entitled the *Colleges and Plebeian Life*, and it must be understood that the word colleges, which is the literal translation of the Latin word *collegia*, means, generally, labor unions. The author shows how these unions dated back to remotest times, how they persisted in spite of times of suppression, how they seemed to grow in importance as slave labor for various reasons declined, and how they may have added to the welfare of the masses and helped to lighten the dull routine of their existence.

"The plebeian crowd," says Prof. Dill, "recruited from the ranks of slavery, and ever growing in numbers and, in their higher ranks, in wealth, did not indeed dream of breaking down the barriers of exclusiveness; but they claimed, and quietly asserted, the right to organize a society of their own, for protection against oppression, for mutual sympathy and support, for relief from the deadly dullness of an obscure and sordid life."

It must not be forgotten that our means of knowing the life and thought of the masses, until very recent times, are exceedingly meager. "Roman literature," says Prof. Dill, "which was the product of the aristocratic class or of their dependents, generally pays but little attention to the despised mass engaged in menial services or petty trades." And he makes the gruesome statement that "the common people are now as a rule chiefly known to us from the inscriptions on their tombs." It seems, too, that at some periods the workingmen's only legitimate union was an association for the purpose of burying themselves. "Sepulture and religion," says the author, "being admitted by the government as legitimate objects for association, any college, however secular in its tone, might, and probably would, screen itself under sacred names."

From various sources, mainly inscriptions, we get glimpses of awful cruelty, of dire poverty, of "bloody riots at Nuceria and Pompeii," of "serious troubles in the reign of Aurelian, when 7,000 people were killed in the organized outbreak of the workmen," of "fierce conflicts with the higher orders, as at Puteoli in the reign of Nero, when the discord was so menacing as to call for the

presence of a praetorian cohort." Of all such events we get mere glimpses, and these from one point of view. Last Sunday the *New York Tribune*, in order to prepare public opinion for a possible renewal of conflict with Pennsylvania miners next Spring, devoted a page to telling the prosperity of these miners, and how the only poverty that existed was self-inflicted, for the sake of savings-bank deposits. To-day we are able to read the other side. In former times the miners' side was never told.

And yet, by putting together stray bits of information, and, in the light of modern thought, permitting ourselves to read between the lines, we may see that throughout Roman history there were not lacking constant efforts on the part of workingmen, more or less organized, to improve their social and economic condition. Did they accomplish very much? It seems not. Nor did many of them perhaps have any conception of a solid and permanent improvement. Like too many in the unions to-day, who, in the light of the present, have less excuse, the great majority probably had no thought beyond the immediate gain of some personal assistance, or of some occasional concession to their particular trade.

A large part of Prof. Dill's book is devoted to the religious movements under the empire. Nowhere else can the student find a clearer account of this most interesting period, during which Christianity was slowly making its way. The author brings out well how impossible it was that the coldness and negativeness of stoicism, even in its most humanitarian form in the writings of Seneca, or in its most gracious development in the teachings of Marcus Aurelius, could ever make an effective appeal to the heart of the world. He shows the rise of the worship of the Great Mother, and of Isis and Serapis, and last, not least, of Mithra. He shows how these Eastern cults, so inferior in some ways to the ethical purposes of stoicism, were able to spread far beyond the reach of stoic philosophy, just because they recognize, however imperfectly, the mystical and spiritual side of humanity. It was Mithraism, before Christianity, that came nearest to possessing the religious mind of Europe in the early centuries. Its spread was rapid and marvelous. It was, as Prof. Dill says, "perhaps the highest and most striking example of the last efforts of paganism to reconcile itself to the great moral and spiritual movement which was setting steadily, and with growing momentum, towards purer conceptions of God, of man's relations to Him, and of the life to come."

There is little in the present volume concerning the rise of Christian-

ity. "The pagan world of that age," says Prof. Dill in his preface, "seems to have had little communication with the loftier faith which, within a century and a half from the death of Marcus Aurelius, was destined to seize the scepter."

J. H. DILLARD.

#### THE SUPREMACY OF JESUS.

Joseph H. Crooker's book, "The Supremacy of Jesus" (American Unitarian Association. Price, 80 cents net), is a strong plea for placing Jesus on the very highest human plane. Indeed it is sometimes not easy to distinguish clearly between the ideas here presented of the Man and the God-Man, especially if we take in the poetical argument, upon which great stress is laid. One is struck with the calm, reverent spirit with which the author handles what has been a perplexing subject to many since the battle between the homoousians and the homoiousians over the adoption of what is known as the Nicene Creed in the first Ecumenical Council held in 325. But as Dr. Crooker deals only with the gospels, it is not pertinent here to enter into acts of ecumenical councils.

Concerning the "Message of Jesus" we are told: Jesus "found much of the material of his message at hand, but reshaped the material that he used;" "he gave it the touch of genius, he breathed into it the breath of life." Again, "his power was not so much in what he said, but in what he was." He speaks of Jesus' personal power independent of deed or word; "a personal presence building himself into the lives of men." These expressions and many others strike us as not far from an acceptance of the idea of divinity in the most extreme sense of the term.

The fourth gospel comes in for a large share of attention, as this gospel has always been a subject of contention; but the treatment is fair, in a candid and conciliatory spirit, and should be read at first hand.

The chapter entitled "A New Appreciation of Jesus" predicts the coming of a new interest in the church. Precisely what this "new interest" is is not stated in definite terms; but it may be inferred from the following expressions: Not until the church "takes a more scientific attitude toward the gospels," . . . "not until a more rational attitude is taken toward Jesus," will it appear; "then the rebirth of Christianity will come."

Let us hope that this rebirth, this restoration of Christianity, is even now coming, in a growing appreciation and a fuller understanding of the teachings of Jesus in their application to the common affairs of everyday life of the people as a whole.

JOSIAH EDSON.

#### "JOHNNY APPLESEED."

One of the traditional characters of the Ohio Valley, a strange man whose certainly known, was Jonathan Chapman, a waif of a century ago from Boston, who earned the gratitude of his wondering fellow pioneers, and the nickname that preserves his memory, by planting appleseeds through the Valley. Most of the older apple orchards of Ohio are said to owe their origin to the child-like generosity of "Johnny Appleseed."

He roamed the Valley, clad in the extreme of primitive fashion, carrying appleseeds to plant, and pages from Swedenborg for distribution. A welcome visitor in every settler's cabin, he was accustomed to read from his New Testament and Swedenborg to the gathered household and by the light of the hearthfire, what he called the "latest news from heaven." The leaves of Swedenborg which he distributed were without connection, for he would tear out from a book one leaf for one family, the next for the next, and so on to the last, and then at his next appearance would redistribute by taking from one family and giving to another, doing this repeatedly until the whole book had gone the rounds piecemeal. It could not have been a very satisfactory study arrangement for the settlers; but there are said to be Swedenborgian families in southern Ohio to-day who trace their religion, as they do their apple orchards, back to "Johnny Appleseed."

He and his work were characterized by Alice Archer Sewall James, the poet, in her ode for the hundredth anniversary of Champaign County, Ohio, in these lines:

Pilgrim and Palmer of the Lord,  
Planting His orchards and spreading His  
Word;  
Barefoot and tender, was never so quaint  
Or charming a vision of hermit or saint.

A distinguished clergyman and writer, who has been attracted to the traditions of this strange character, has written a novel ("The Quest of John Chapman," by Newell Dwight Hillis. New York: the Macmillan Company.) with "Johnny Appleseed" for its central character. Simply as a story, this novel is an interesting narrative in a picturesque historical setting, and, of course, is brilliantly told; but it is doubtful if Mr. Hillis has revealed anything about the real "Johnny Appleseed." Haley's account of this strange man, in Harper's Magazine for November, 1871 (vol. 43, p. 830), is much more full of what assumes to be historical detail. Mr. Hillis seems either to have rejected Mr. Haley's story as apocryphal, or else never to have seen it; for he doesn't mention it in his preface in connection with other sources of authority for the historicity of his hero, nor include some of its most picturesque incidents, although they are excellent material,

whether historically true or not, for a work of fiction like Mr. Hillis's novel.

Readers of Swedenborg will be a little dazed at Mr. Hillis's interpretations, and some Ohioans may resent his cavalier treatment of their cherished "Johnny Appleseed" traditions; but in unfolding a tragical love plot he tells a story of Eastern migration into the old Ohio country, and describes a picture of the frontier life of a century ago where American civilization is now at the highest, with a degree of eloquence that can hardly fail to please American readers.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

—The Reign of Gilt. By David Graham Phillips. New York: James Pott & Co. Price \$1 net. To be reviewed.

—The Creed of Christ. London and New York: John Lane, the Bodley Head. Pronounced by Campbell, the successor to Spurgeon, to be "as remarkable in its way as was Ecce Homo." To be reviewed.

—The City the Hope of Democracy. By Frederic C. Howe, Ph. D., author of "Taxation and Taxes in the United States Under the Internal Revenue System." New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price \$1.50 net. To be reviewed.

#### PAMPHLETS

Kelly Miller's open letter (Howard University, Washington, D. C., price 15 cents) to Thomas Dixon, Jr., as to "The Leopard's Spots," is a pamphlet to be read reflectively by whoever is interested in the race question. Mr. Miller is a Negro. He may, therefore, be presumed to know the Negro, at least as well as those boastful whites who, because they think they know the Negro slave, arrogate to themselves all knowledge of the Negro man. And because he is a Negro, fair-minded white men must wince a little when he says: "Your race has inflicted accumulated injury and wrong upon mine; mine has borne yours only service and good will." Even the vituperative author of "The Leopard's Spots" ought to wince when Mr. Miller says: "The traditional method of your class in dealing with adverse opinion was 'a word and a blow;' with you it is a word and an epithet." It is one of the encouraging signs of the progress of an outraged and ostracized race to find men of that race rising up to fight its battles with ability so notably superior to that of its rabid assailants.

#### PERIODICALS

More than usually interesting is Lawson's story in Everybody's Magazine for October. In connection with it the reader should take the article in Watson's Magazine on the Montana Copper War. It is a great fight—far more important in its various issues to the average American than the late war in the East. The ultimate basis of the conflict seems to depend upon the law that a vein of ore can be followed under another's land.



A BIRD OF AN ALDERMAN. "HE EATS OUT OF MY HAND."

[Reproduced from the Chicago Examiner of October 15th, with the permission of the editor.]

But out of this have come a long series of fierce conflicts, and the end is not yet.—J. H. D.

It would be a good thing if every university professor and all his graduate students would read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest, a recent article of the London Speaker on "Research" in America. In the cleverest way the writer shows how this business has been run into the ground in our higher education, how we imitators have outgermaned the Germans. This research mania, it is well said, "is hindering instead of promoting the effective contribution of America to productive scholarship." But a reaction must inevitably come. President Hyde, of Bowdoin college, has been bold enough to say that "the twentieth century finds us just a bit tired of the German's peculiar type of scholarship," and the New York Evening Post has likewise spoken out wisely against the unprofitableness, and even silliness, of so much of the research work that is undertaken in our universities. We are glad to note that the article of the Speaker has been reprinted in the Living Age of Sept. 30.—J. H. D.

Under the inspiring editorship of William Lloyd Garrison, the "Free Trade Broadside" (6 Beacon street, Boston), of which the third issue has just appeared, appeals to the best side

of human nature, for economic freedom. This issue is devoted largely to the late Arthur Latham Perry, the famous political economy professor of Williams College. Prof. Perry believed that it was in the largest degree degrading to say there are no fixed principles, and he was among the first to sound the warning that "the rules of arithmetic are superseding the canons of inductive reasoning, till the true course of investigation has been well-nigh forgotten."

In Watson's Magazine for September Hon. Samuel Seabury has a very clearly written article on Municipal Ownership in New York, which contains a number of interesting facts. It is a paper that will be found worth referring to during the inevitable conflict in the metropolis. What Judge Seabury says as to the hopelessness of regulating private corporations by means of government commissions is especially worth noting at this time. He cites the following instance: "The Massachusetts Gas Commission," he says, "has made many futile attempts to regulate the Boston gas companies. Notwithstanding the strict provisions of the law and ample powers conferred upon the Commission, the gas companies have done as they pleased. Stock watering, extortionate charges and inferior gas—the usual and inevitable accidents of private

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operation—have all survived the efforts of the Massachusetts Gas Commission. The conditions in Massachusetts were certainly as favorable to the successful exercise of public control as will probably be found in any other state of the Union."—J. H. D.

The Outlook, in its magazine number for September, has an article by Owen R. Lovejoy, assistant secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, describing, under fictitious names, the condition of the children in a certain mining town. After showing the abominable state of the case, the writer closes with three if's which are to change all that: If the sentiment of the people can be aroused, if school systems can be adapted to the needs, if parents can be led to place the coming years above the material advantage of the passing day. The chief trouble seems to lie in the last if. For even where public sentiment has passed laws as to age limit, and required sworn statements, it may often be found that more than half the child workers in a given place are clearly below the age limit. Is it possible that so many parents would swear to a lie, but for material necessity? Where Mr. Lovejoy writes "material advantage," would it not be nearer the truth to say material necessity of the passing day. If the father could make enough to support the family even in half decency, would he send his boy into the mine rather than to school?—J. H. D.

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