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EDITORIAL

The Paper Trust and Its Customers.

The Republicans in Congress are between the devil of the paper trust and the deep sea of newspaper indignation. The newspapers demand repeal of the tariff on wood pulp and print paper, and the trust needs this tariff in its business. How to satisfy the newspapers without offending the trust, is the problem. But the Republican machine is as usual equal to the emergency. It decides to retain the tariff for the benefit of the trust, and to prosecute the trust for the amusement of the newspapers.

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The Crusade Against Free Speech.

Encouraged by the growing number of despotic interferences with freedom of speech and the press (pp. 26, 37), the new Mayor of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, has drawn the line against Socialists. When the local Socialists advertised a political meeting at the City Square, the Mayor ordered them away; but when the Republicans advertised a meeting at the same place, the Mayor permitted the meeting. Thus with steady tread does despotism advance.

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Presidential Despotism.

The most menacing act in the direction of despotic interference with speech and press is that of President Roosevelt, who announces his intention of prohibiting "the use of the mails for the

advocacy of murder, arson, and treason." We trust in all humility that a protest against this reckless purpose may be made without incurring accusations of defending crimes like murder and arson, to say nothing of treason. For the question which President Roosevelt raises is not whether anybody shall be permitted to advocate murder, arson, and treason; it is whether the President of the United States shall decide what constitutes advocacy of murder, arson, and treason, and whether he himself or a clerk in one of his bureaus shall determine guilt or innocence. Shall publishers have their property confiscated without due process of law? Shall the American Bill of Rights be nullified? Shall the American system of personal liberty and equality before the law be ruthlessly overturned by Presidential edicts?

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Let it be noticed, too, that advocacy of murder and arson, as the President may from time to time understand that offense, is not the only crime for which periodicals are to be suppressed by Presidential ukase. Advocacy of treason, as the President understands that, is also under the ban. He implies that advocacy of the abolition of coercive government, however peaceable the method proposed, is advocacy of treason; but he gives no other notice of the limitations he places upon this offense which he calls "advocacy of treason." So far as is yet known the limitations are only the President's personal will and his arbitrary power. But the safety of American institutions should depend upon no one's personal will and power. It should depend upon Constitutional principles of universal application, alike in their restraint upon the strongest and in their protection of the weakest. It does so depend, unless President Roosevelt's "big stick," like the New York policeman's club, is "bigger than the Constitution." Friends of Mr. Roosevelt might do him a salutary favor and render his party a substantial service by inducing him to read the sedition law episode which culminated in the death of the Federal party something more than a hundred years ago. History has a way of repeating itself.

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Postal Revelations.

Edwin C. Madden, formerly Third Assistant Postmaster General, has made an exposure of Secretary Cortelyou's administration of the Postoffice Department which may prove to be the beginning of the end of a great abuse of postal authority. This exposure refers especially to the attack of the Department upon the newspaper and banking business of E. G. Lewis of St. Louis, upon which we commented (vol. ix, p. 3) at length at the time. Lewis's business was broken up by a "fraud order," ruthlessly and despotically as was evident, and lawlessly as Mr. Madden now distinctly charges. Mr. Madden implies, moreover, that this was not without a certain sort of corrupt purpose, for he shows that the express companies and certain banks had an enormous financial interest in suppressing Lewis's bank. In our comment at the time, we suggested that this "fraud order" system —whereby the Postmaster General makes postal outlaws of any victims he may pitch upon, denying them the use of the mails for any purpose whatsoever, by orders which the courts refuse to investigate—would enable an unscrupulous Administration to repay campaign contributions by destroying the business of persons in competition with contributors. Mr. Madden's exposure indicates that Mr. Lewis may have been the first victim of that novelty in the way of raising campaign funds. It seems that Mr. Madden's resignation was requested because he refused to carry out the programme in the Lewis case.

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Who are the Dangerous Anarchists?

In the din of all this outcry about "anarchists," is there not one question which may be overlooked? Who are the dangerous anarchists? May they not be those sordid rich men who murder their hundreds and their thousands in mines and factories and on railroads for the sake of dividends? May they not be those business men who reject safety appliances in dangerous occupations because it is cheaper to hire new employes in place of the injured than to buy safety devices? May they not be the rich rascals who ruin banks, corrupt legislators, taint the judiciary, and perpetuate economic systems that divert the products of toil from industrious earners to cunning idlers? Or is it true that the dangerous anarchist is the unfortunate madman whose sympathetic passions are inflamed by his consciousness of hunger and cold among the industrious, by the side of luxury for the cunning? May the dangerous anarchist not be he who fosters this insanity among sympathizers with the industrious and plundered poor, by defending or excusing the conditions that cause it? Or is it rather he who may possibly foster it by denouncing the conditions? In our opinion the most dangerous anarchist is not the man made murderously mad by industrial injustice, nor the man whose denunciations of this injustice may incidentally inflame that madness. The most

dangerous anarchist is he who, profiting by industrial injustice, selfishly insists upon its perpetuation. Your really dangerous anarchists are to be found not among the poor and frenzied who are being hunted down as "anarchists," but among those cold and calculating parasites upon industry who join vociferously in the hunt.

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We live in the richest country on the globe. Its possibilities have been but barely touched upon, and the labor power of its population is incalculable. Yet the masses of its people are either abjectly poor, or are in a daily struggle with poverty, or are on the edge of industrial disaster. Why? The answer is plain. We let our natural opportunities lie fallow, and thereby allow our labor power to go to waste through unemployment. And then, when ominous discontent naturally results, we are aghast at the appearance of "anarchy"! If anarchy is indeed inhuman, what better explanation of it could we ask for than our familiar condition of involuntary unemployment? Unemployment is demoralizing. Among those who live by employment, it is dehumanizing. Involuntary unemployment is the first step downward from human dignity, downward from a vitalizing sense of manhood. It is a school that graduates loafers, drunkards, and criminals. Prior to this stage, the unemployed want work. They detest charity and abhor crime. But after opportunity for work fails them, they are apt to become social pests. Whose is the fault? Not theirs. Having asked for work and been denied it, they have followed the line of least resistance into crime or beggary. The school is ours; they are but the graduates. And what a school, in its magnitude!

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Doesn't this indicate the incompetency with which the people of this country are served by their public servants? Could industrial conditions possibly be worse if the professed anarchist had his way and all coercive government were abolished? Think of it. In one single State of the Union—the State of Texas—all the inhabitants of this whole country could be accommodated with two acres or more apiece. Many is the acre there would be for each, if all the unused land of the country were open to use. And when you consider that in social environments the utility of land is measured by its value rather than its acreage, and consider further that a city acre is equal in value to a good sized farm—often to hundreds of good sized farms,—you realize that there is land enough for limitless employment of all kinds of labor power, in all kinds of useful occupations, and all the time. Why then have we the dehumanizing conditions of involuntary unemployment which every one is now forced to acknowledge?

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Most obtrusive among our industrial phenomena are production, consumption and wages. Yet our public servants seem incapable of grasping the significance of the fact that large production depends upon liberal consumption, and that liberal consumption is dependent upon high wages. The involuntary unemployment of many is attributable to the restricted wages of all. And if we trace this fact to its cause, we shall find low wages due to the barriers between the labor power of our population, and the locations where labor power can be most profitably exerted. Those who hold the golden key to these locations create a glutted labor market, and a glutted labor market maintains low wages. We are all responsible—morally, politically, almost criminally—for this condition. Yet we have the temerity to denounce as dangerous anarchists those among us who rise up and say that governments which grow such dead-sea fruit are worse than no government at all—that this "archy" is worse than "anarchy."

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Polish Priests and American Politics.

The report from Milwaukee that Polish priests of that city abused their spiritual influence on the eve of the recent municipal election by instructing their parishioners to vote against the Socialist party, is a serious matter. That the object of their opposition was a political party whose doctrines most of us do not accept, makes no difference. The principle is the same and the danger as great as if it were the party of Lincoln or the party of Jefferson. And that the Milwaukee report is substantially true, there is good reason to believe. In Chicago, at any rate, it is understood that Polish and Italian priests frequently take advantage of their spiritual authority to influence elections by commanding pliant parishioners in the use of their vote. It is this sort of thing that feeds the fires of anti-Catholic prejudice in this country; and American Catholics who recognize the importance of keeping church and state apart, ought to be alert in discouraging it. As important to them as to the rest of us, is it that priestly intervention in politics be frowned upon. When Daniel O'Connell said for Ireland, "All the religion you please from Rome, but no politics!" he phrased the American as well as the Irish idea. We of this country believe in

religious freedom for all churches; but it is reasonably expected that churches will reciprocate by at least refraining from coercive interference with the freedom of voters at elections.

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The Campaign for Governor Johnson.

As we suspected it might, the single tax endorsement of Governor Johnson by the "Pennsylvania State Single Tax League" (p. 27) turns out to have been a "fake." There is no "Pennsylvania State Single Tax League." Nor is this the only "fake" which Eastern engineers of the Johnson campaign have launched. One of the others, first published in the Boston Herald and then scattered through the West from the Johnson headquarters at Chicago, purports to be a letter from a New Hampshire friend of Bryan's. It was addressed to Mr. Bryan, and expansively promised, on condition of his refusal to allow the use of his name as a candidate, that the electoral vote of New Hampshire should go into the Democratic column!

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The "faking" of which these are specimens is not to be attributed to Governor Johnson personally. He is an honest and courteous gentleman, who wouldn't tolerate even the comprehensive "fake" of his candidacy, if he understood it. That he does not understand it is evident from his resenting the implication that he is a political protegé of James J. Hill. That the Interests, symbolized by "Yim Hill" in the Northwest as they are by "Wall Street" in the East, have hit upon Governor Johnson as their most available instrument for baffling democracy in the Democratic party, does not appear to have occurred to the courteous Governor. Oblivious to this "faking," he is so of course to the incidental and petty "faking" in which agents of the Interests have engaged in his behalf.

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Naturally.

"Bryan's name was put on ice" at the Jefferson day banquet of the Democratic Club in New York, say the plutocratic newspapers. What else was there at that banquet to put it on?

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Mayor Johnson and National Politics.

When the Interests were on a still-hunt for a popular Democrat to use for baffling the pronounced Bryan movement, they turned at first not to Governor John A. Johnson of Minnesota but to Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland. This was clearly the wiser choice of the two. For Mayor Johnson is a democratic Democrat, and Governor Johnson is not yet known to be anything better than a traditional Democrat—hardly that, for he was a Republican on the question of imperialism. In behalf of Mayor Johnson, therefore, a diversion of magnitude might have been made; one of sufficient magnitude at any rate to alienate Mayor Johnson's friends from Mr. Bryan's, and thereby enable the plutocratic Democrats to ride in between the two, which was their object. But Mayor Johnson, free from the purblind ambitions which have made Governor Johnson an easy prey to the Interests, promptly declared himself for Bryan (vol. x, p. 985) in a manner so direct and emphatic as to preclude all reasonable question of his sincerity. It was hard for the plutocratic press to believe that the Cleveland Mayor could not be used as the Minnesota Governor has been. But after the action of the Cuyahoga county convention last week, which Mayor Johnson is reported to have controlled, even the plutocratic press must concede that Mayor Johnson's refusal to be a candidate is sincere. For the Cuyahoga Democratic convention has given uncompromising instructions for Bryan.

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Doubtless the Ohio convention, in which Mayor Johnson will have influence, will also instruct for Bryan. As Ohio is a State in which Democratic victory this year is regarded as at least a possibility, and Minnesota is one in which the Democrats have as little chance of a victory as they have in Pennsylvania, the appearance of a delegation for Governor Johnson from Minnesota and of one for Bryan from Ohio, would make an interesting contrast. But it would be a contrast in which the friends of Governor Johnson are not likely to find the reasons for honorable pride of which the friends of Mayor Johnson could boast.

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Mr. Hearst's Independence League.

The first test of the strength of the Independence League since it decided to become a national side party (vol. x, p. 1138) occurred at the aldermanic election in Chicago last week, and resulted disastrously. The entire vote for the League candidates was less than 15,000. In percentages this vote was less than 6 per cent of the entire city vote, and less than 9 per cent of the entire vote in the 23 wards out of 35 in which the League nominated candidates and made a campaign. As the aggregate Democratic vote in the wards in question was nearly 33 per cent of the

entire vote of those wards, almost four times that of the League vote, the outlook for Mr. Hearst's Independence League in the national election is not especially bright.

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Not only does the Chicago vote itself suggest inherent weakness in the Hearst movement, but the suggestion is intensified upon a comparison with the vote the League cast a year ago last Fall and with the expectations of its managers even after the close of the polls last week. Its vote last Fall was 40,000 in round numbers; and so confident were the Hearst papers and the League leaders of a repetition of this substantial result that they actually claimed the election of some of their candidates in their earlier election bulletins. The difference between 40,000 and 15,000 is significant.

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Since the election the Hearst papers have boasted that the defeat of certain corporation candidates for re-election in both parties was due to the Independence League. But the facts hardly warrant the boast. The candidates named are Considine (Dem.), against whom the League made no campaign; Maypole (Dem.), Herlihy (Dem.), and Williston (Rep.), none of whom would have been elected if he had got every League vote in his ward; Badenoch (Rep.), who would have had a bare plurality of 77, if every one of the 462 League votes had been united to his 3,990; and Dougherty (ind.), who didn't come within 2,500 of election in a total of 6,000, and against whom the League made no campaign anyhow.

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With such a showing in this first and fairly significant test, what reasonable expectation can Mr. Hearst have of gratifying his animosity toward Mr. Bryan by thrusting an Independence League candidate into the Presidential field? If the voters of Chicago not only refuse to respond to his call, but actually abandon the Independence League to the extent of 25,000 out of 40,000 polled a year and a half ago,—if this is so when conditions are more favorable to revolt against old parties than they will probably be in the Presidential contest next Fall, the people of the country are not likely to vote for its Presidential candidate in sufficient numbers to affect the election. The expectation, therefore, that Hearst's Independence League will be an obstacle to Bryan's election, is dispelled. But if Bryan should be defeated for the nomination, and a reactionary policy adopted by either or both parties, what figure would the Independence League cut then? In all probability none at all. If a vigorous third party movement did not spring spontaneously out of the situation, the Independence League would fare no better than manufactured side parties usually do; and if such a movement did spring out of the situation, it would not take up with any side party, but would organize itself.

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The manifest weakness of the Independence League, as exhibited this Spring in Chicago and last Fall in New York, is easy enough to understand. The League has been discovered to be under the control of one man in whose integrity of purpose the masses, from whom votes must come, have lost confidence. This is at any rate the explanation of the wreck of the League in Chicago. As a democratic movement within the Democratic party, the Independence League would have had great strength, and possibilities of a splendid triumph, which Mr. Hearst would have shared in spite of the disagreeable personal "boosting" his papers do for him. Had the League been disinterestedly devoted to securing control of the Democratic party and making it truly democratic, it would today doubtless control Democratic politics in Chicago and be well on the way to controlling the party in this and other States. But the League appears to be only a personal agency of Mr. Hearst, to whose aims every larger consideration is subordinated. Mayor Dunne's election and administration in Chicago, for instance, meant nothing to Mr. Hearst and his immediate lieutenants, but another rung in the ladder to the gratification of his own ambitions. It was nothing to them except as it might help, regardless of the interests of the people of Chicago, in getting national "delegates for Hearst." Through a multiplication of indications of this character, for which the Independence League has become responsible in the public mind, that organization is now a negligible factor in Chicago politics. Similar considerations dating farther back burden it in San Francisco, and later ones in New York. It is consequently a reasonable inference that long before the Presidential vote is counted next November, the Independence League will consist principally of Mr. Hearst's personal representatives, if indeed it should then have even a nominal existence.

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Election Contributions.

What the exact facts may be is not yet quite clear, but that the Republican committee which

defeated Bryan in 1900 had much more tainted money in its campaign fund than the insurance companies have yet accounted for, is an easy guess from Thomas F. Ryan's recent testimony before a New York grand jury. The amount disclosed by Mr. Ryan was $500,000. It appears to have been paid by William C. Whitney (President Cleveland's aforetime Secretary of the Navy) and the Elkins-Widener crowd of Philadelphia. But not "for keeps." These delectable gentlemen of the "safe and sane" cult were to get it back with interest, and they did get it back, so Mr. Ryan testifies, very much as George W. Perkins got the $48,000 contribution back from the New York Life.

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According to the New York Evening Post's report of Mr. Ryan's testimony, "the Metropolitan Street Railway Company was on the lookout early in 1900 for a storage battery for use on the surface street car lines in this city, and George J. Huhn & Sons of Philadelphia, brokers, were handling the matter for the company. This was the year of the second McKinley campaign. The five capitalists also wanted to make a big contribution to the political campaign fund, and decided to do it through Huhn & Sons. Accordingly each drew his check for $100,000, payable to Huhn & Sons. The checks were then turned over to the Philadelphia firm with the understanding that the Huhns were to pass the checks along to the political managers of the party designated. It was also understood, according to Ryan's explanation, that Ryan, Whitney, Dolan, Widener, and Elkins were to be reimbursed for their contributions, with 5 per cent interest, by the Metropolitan Street Railway Company. It was not until May 22, 1902, that the opportunity to repay the capitalists came around. Then the deal for the sale of the Wall and Cortlandt Ferries Railway Company's franchise to the Metropolitan was put through. In making the payment to Brady, by the simple method of adding five times $100,000, with interest thereon at 5 per cent for a little over two years, Ryan, Elkins, Widener, Dolan, and Whitney got back their campaign contributions of 1900. The amount each received was, according to Mr. Ryan's explanation, $111,000." Evidently we are not yet at the bottom of the corruption which defeated Bryan in 1896, and again in 1900. The whole wretched truth may never be known, nor all the rascals ever be exposed. But enough of the facts are leaking out to serve as a warning to honest folk against allowing Bryan to be again defeated by similar methods.

Aldermanic Non-Partisanship.

Non-partisanship in the Chicago Council, of which much has been printed all over the country, has become a joke. The report of the non-partisan committee on reorganization of the new Council gives 16 of the 23 chairmanships, and a majority of the members of all committees, to the Republicans. The most ingenuous feature of this illustrious example of non-partisanship, consisted in filling with Republicans the five chairmanship vacancies that were caused by the defeat of their Democratic incumbents at the polls. In a certain nonpartisanship view, however, this is probably not open to criticism. To have divided the vacancies between the parties would have been to recognize party lines; to give them all to one party is to ignore party lines.

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Fundamental Democracy in Springfield.

Our readers will remember the election of Frank H. Bode as a Democrat to the City Council of Springfield, Ill. (vol. ix, p. 7), and his subsequent campaign as an independent candidate for mayor (vol. x, p. 8), as well as the excellent record he made in the Council (vol. ix, p. 1064). He is one of a coterie of young men in Springfield who are democratic Democrats, and alive with the principles with which Henry George has inspired so many young men throughout the country. Another of this Springfield coterie, a business man of labor union proclivities and a brilliant as well as forceful speaker, is Joseph Farris, who was defeated for the Council at the time of Bode's election. But his defeat then did not cool his ardor in the struggle for the public interests against corporate aggression, and at the municipal election last week he was elected to the Council as a Democrat from a Republican district. The issue was the street franchise question. Alderman Farris's platform declared that street franchises, "just like our real estate, continually increase in value with the growth of population," and promised his service to secure franchise adjustments by figuring their "yearly value in the same way that we figure yearly rent on real estate" and returning "that value to the people either in low fares or annual rent." Farris, Bode and their associates are revolutionizing political sentiment in Springfield.

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Criminal Policemanship.

A woman arrested in Chicago last week and held by a magistrate to await the action of the

grand jury, was taken by the policemen who had her in custody to the police "identification" bureau, and there minutely measured and photographed against her will. We refer to the particular case only to illustrate a criminal practice which the police of our cities pursue with impunity. Whether this woman is a criminal or not is immaterial. The material fact is that she had not been convicted of crime by due process of law. The police had the right and it was their duty to deliver her to the proper custodian at the proper house of detention. She was a prisoner but not a convict. To take her measurements and secure her photograph for their "rogues' gallery," before a jury had condemned her as a rogue, was as much an invasion of her rights and a violation of their duty as it would have been an invasion of the rights of a person not under arrest to seize upon and photograph him for a "rogues' gallery." How soon will our Americanism again become vital enough to prompt us to insist upon obedience to the law by our police?

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Police Confessions.

"Sweatbox" confessions are going out of fashion in Detroit, juries refusing to accept them as a basis for verdicts. In the most recent instance the judge scolded the jury for acquitting in the face of a "sweatbox" confession. But it was the judge and not the jury who was derelict. Confessions extorted from prisoners under arrest are not legal evidence. They have been found from long experience to be untrustworthy. Under the influence of fear and hope, men have confessed to capital crimes they had not committed—even to those that nobody had committed. And confessions are properly regarded as having been extorted if obtained from a prisoner under arrest for the crime, unless made before a magistrate and after admonition to the prisoner that whatever he may say may be used against him at his trial. This is not in the special interest of individual prisoners, but in the interest of truth. "Sweatbox" confessions are not likely to be true. The police proceed by breaking down the will power of prisoners through nervous torture, and then treat as a confession what is drawn from them in their irresponsible condition. As a mode of getting at the truth, "sweating" is absurd; as a practice, it is unlawful. Any policeman who practices it ought to be dismissed; any judge who encourages it ought to be impeached; any jury that refuses to believe these confessions ought to be commended for intelligence and public spirit.

SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS AND ANARCHY.*

A month has passed since the assassination of Father Heinrichs in Denver, and three weeks since the tragedy in the house of the Chief of Police in this city. The community has been profoundly disturbed. The disturbance has not been caused by the mere fact that one man has shot a priest in a distant city, nor that another man has been shot down in the presumable attempt to assassinate a police officer. Unfortunately events of such desperate and criminal character are only too frequent in this city and the country. Almost every day murders with revolting details are spread before us in the daily press. They appear to us as isolated events. As a rule no one assumes that the study of their details would inform our minds or enlarge our hearts. But these two crimes have taken hold upon the public mind because they seemed to stand for organized murderous assault upon the church and the state. The revolutionist of Russia seemed to have domesticated himself among us. The priest trembled as he went to the altar, and the Chief of Police nervously awaited the consummation of some plot against his life. The public demanded that this strange, un-American, unforgivable cult of anarchy be rooted out.

But all the investigations of the police here and in Denver have failed to make these anything but isolated and individual acts. No associates, no fellow plotters have been found for Guiseppa or Averbuch. And there remains only a somewhat mournful interest in noting against whom the confused public sentiment has been directed.

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First of all comes the Giordano Bruno society, an Italian group that fosters national sentiment, and is anti-clerical in the sense of favoring separation of church and state. It represents the sentiment which is so powerful, and for that matter so respectable, in Italy; which has been responsible for the recent anti-clerical legislation in France; and even in Spain in earlier days dispossessed the monastic orders of their lands. That the members of this society here have not always been careful in the choice of their expressions in attacking the clergy is true; but not a scintilla of proof has been or probably could be offered that the society could in any manner be associated with

*The disposition of the Chicago newspapers to suppress rational discussion—even temperately defensive discussion—when the mad-dog cry of "Anarchy" is raised, may be inferred from the fact that this paper, written about three weeks ago by a leading educator of Chicago, connected with the University, was refused publication in the Record-Herald.—Editors of The Public.

the murder of Father Heinrichs in Denver, or could prepare the way for similar outrageous crimes in this city. And yet the public has been left with the vague feeling that out of this and similar organizations arise premeditated brutal murders.

The second group in the city that has suffered in an unwarranted way through these events is the Russian Jewish population that in the public mind has to bear the sins of Averbuch. Those that come in contact with them openly charge them with dealing in bombs. The police and street-car conductors do not hesitate to summarily accuse them of revolutionary doctrines and designs, and we see the beginnings of an anti-semitic movement threatening a peaceable and law-abiding population because the public does not distinguish in its uncertainty and uneasiness between the individual, whose act we are still at a loss to understand, and the social group of which he was a member. Many of the families in this harmless folk are straining every nerve to gain the passage money for the members who have not yet been able to join them in supposedly free America. They are terrified by the threats of legislation and drastic and unintelligent execution of our present exclusion acts, that may forever divide families in cases where there is not a particle of reason for such division.

Finally the Settlements have come in for the most unmerited abuse that could well be imagined. Both members high up in the police force, and notably the Inter Ocean and the official organ of the Catholic Archbishop—in less degree other sheets, either in their editorial columns or in the presentation of the news—have outrageously misinterpreted, misquoted, and maligned one of the few means which the city has of comprehending, interpreting, and speaking for the great masses of foreign born people who make up so large a part of our community.

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There is a peculiar fatuousness about this assault on the Settlements. That we have unjustifiably assailed the Italians and the Russian Jews is due to our ignorance of these people in our midst. We have invited these people to come to us. We have opened our doors to them in the name of political freedom. We have enticed them with the cunning and frequently lying advertisements of the steamships and railway companies. They alone have made possible our enormous expansion of industry, have provided the countless multitudes of hands which have built up this great Babylon of ours. They are crying for them in the South. Even the ships that brought the dearly bought gold to stay the late financial crash have not brought in such cargoes of wealth as the liners that have dropped week by week the living parts of the machines which have quadrupled our foreign trade in so short a time, and the muscle and nerve which have driven our railways forward and opened up the riches of farm and mine.

With the inherited carelessness of our neighbors, which we have still from the pioneer life which has set its stamp on the American community, we have given these people no thought. An abstract political freedom that could have but little positive meaning to them, the schooling for their children, have been our only provisions for their assimilation. Their strangeness, their homesickness, their misery, and their humanity have been made into the debased political currency of ward politics.

Among these people have sprung up the Settlements, which have first and foremost aimed to understand, to comprehend, and so to mediate, to be the ambassadors, between the business, the politics, the industry which is too eager and onrushing to give a second thought to the means it has used, and the patient, ill-used men and women and children who have made the second city in the country possible.

It is to the Settlements that we should have turned to comprehend these communities which we have so improperly attacked. It is they which could have made clear the possible connections between these tragedies and the foreign-born peoples whom we know so little. The charity, the immediate assistance in suffering which has proceeded from the Settlements, have been the smallest part of the mission which they have fulfilled. The crying need which we have been too preoccupied to hear, has been for comprehension, the understanding which is dearer to the human heart than bread, the comprehension which could adapt stereotyped ways and institutions to do their duty under new conditions, for the democratic intelligence which realizes that God has made of one blood all nations of men.

The Settlements have been too few, too inadequately manned and endowed to fulfil this task which they almost alone have taken up. But it certainly ill becomes the community to attack those who have understood and who have attempted to make us understand what is involved in the task of making American citizens of those who have been called in to help make American wealth.

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Chicago is responsible for its police and for its

press, as a community it is not responsible for its Settlements, but that is certainly no reason why the police and the press should attack the Settlements and the people whom they are trying to interpret. What one must regret the most is that so profound a stirring of the emotion of the city should have taken place with so hapless and seemingly hopeless a result. Perhaps it has served to make us feel that we need light—more light if we are to advance securely to the critical task of community-building.

GEO. H. MEAD.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE "DES MOINES PLAN" IN OPERATION.

Des Moines, April 6.—Before the primary election two weeks earlier than the municipal election (p. 27), there were 43 candidates for commissioner and nine for mayor, all independent excepting a whole ticket (mayor and four commissioners)put up for the people's acceptance by two newspapers.

This ticket was nominated by means of a so-called representative committee of 500, which selected 25, who in turn selected 5 to put upon the ticket. These five were called the Citizens' Ticket, or the "Des Moines plan" ticket, implying that this ticket business was a part of the "Des Moines plan," while in fact every precaution had been taken in the law to avoid such a thing as a "ticket." Again, this ticket of five men was referred to as "Des Moines plan" candidates in contradistinction to the other 47 supposably not in favor of the "plan," the facts being that two of the five didn't know what plan they were for till put on the "ticket," while many of the other candidates were pronouncedly for the plan. Well, the primary election knocked out one of the five entirely, the other four just coming in "under the rope." The three having the highest number of votes of all were not on the "ticket."

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Last Monday, the five elected had from 3,000 to 4,000 votes over those on the "ticket." Its promoters reported the "defeat" of the "Des Moines plan" candidates, and "the success of the City Hall gang," or something to that effect, while the facts are that the old "City Hall gang" was as completely eliminated as was the "ticket."

Four of the commissioners were certainly the very best choice of all; and the fifth, Wesley Ash, a coal miner four years ago, and a labor union man little known, polled an unexpectedly large vote, giving a little color to the rumor that he was a corporation candidate as well as a "labor" candidate. But he may turn out all right.

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The main opposition in the first place to the "Des Moines plan" was its origin, which had been in rather plutocratic circles. Then, when practically the same men set up a "ticket," all the old suspicions were naturally aroused, as well as those of many who had faith in the plan itself. So it was snowed under. But the result may be called a victory for labor unionism. Mr. Hamery is a painter belonging to the union; Mr. Mathis favors unions, and believes in municipal ownership of public utilities, as of course does Mr. MacVicar; and Mr. Schramm is an honest German, good to have charge of accounts, taxes and finance. Had it not been for D, M. Parry's work here against unionism, organizing his "Business Men's Association," which made such a mess a few years ago in trying to break up unionism, the labor men would never have tried to break into politics; but now that they have broken in and have won, they will not go to sleep again here.

LONA I. ROBINSON.

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THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

London, March 31.—The political situation in all countries is the outcome of the prevailing social and economic conditions. From this standpoint the present political situation in Great Britain is a specially interesting one, full of lessons to the political student, and revealing even to the uninitiated the enormous difficulties in the path of radical social reform.

Despite the glowing records of the Board of Trade returns, indicating as they do the enormous natural resources and productive power of the country as a whole, the economic conditions of the masses of our industrial population is such as to arouse serious misgivings in the minds of all attentive to anything beyond the range of their own individual or class interests. To give but one well authenticated illustration. According to an investigation undertaken by Mr. B. Seebohm Rowntree (see his book "Poverty: A Study of Town Life") in the ancient and interesting city of York—where things are certainly not worse, probably a little better, than those prevailing in other towns and industrial centers—"it was found that families comprising 20,302 persons, equal to 43.4 per cent of the wage-earning class, and to 27.84 per cent of the total population of the city, were living in poverty." And what is even worse, though far more suggestive, of this poverty only some 25 per cent could be attributed to temporary or accidental causes, such as irregularity of employment, unemployment, old age, illness or death of the chief wage-earner; some 22 per cent only to "largeness of family," more than four children; and over 50 per cent to the chronic permanent cause of low wages, to the fact that those enjoying the boon of regular work did not earn sufficient "for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency."

Though minimized by the journalistic press, it was facts such as these that had brought home to the people the necessity for some far-reaching social or economic changes. Even the Tory party were swift to realize this fact. The most reactionary amongst them have always looked back to "the good old days of Protection," and have seen in Protective duties the best means of advancing the class interests of the owners of Great Britain. Their chance had at length arrived. Suddenly, as it appeared to super-

ficial observers, the man mainly responsible for the "inevitable" Boer war, became their mouth-piece, and advocated the people taxing themselves through customs duties as the one means of holding the Empire together, and as a sovereign remedy against unemployment and low wages.

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Whatever his merits or demerits, Mr. Chamberlain was undoubtedly one of the most brilliant, as well as the most unscrupulous, platform speakers with which this country has ever been blessed—or cursed; and he entered upon his new campaign with a zeal and vigor worthy of a better cause.

The predatory instinct of the adventurous amongst the privileged classes was aroused; they rallied to his support as one man, and practically inexhaustible financial resources were placed at his disposal, as they still are to-day at the disposal of those who have followed in his footsteps.

At first it appeared as if his giant effort had been made in vain, and had only forced the hands of the Liberal party to pronounce for radical Land Reform as the one possible remedy against the prevailing social ills, as the one alternative to the return to Protection. The general election was held; and the Liberals were returned with an almost unwieldy majority, under the leadership of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the most radical and democratic prime minister Great Britain has ever possessed.

Those attentive to politics realized that after many years Liberalism had now its final chance of proving itself competent to grapple with the many social problems confronting the nation. Much was hoped for; much, too much, was expected; much, far too much, was attempted; but little, indeed, has yet been accomplished, or seems to-day within measurable distance of being accomplished.

Who is to blame? What is to blame? These are the questions to-day forcing themselves upon the attention of the community as a whole. But before these questions can be answered some further analysis of the real political situation is requisite.

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In Great Britain, as everywhere else, the real political struggle is ever between the supporters, beneficiaries and parasites, of established privilege, and those consciously or unconsciously striving for a greater meed of social justice and economic freedom. In other words, it is between those striving to maintain, and where possible to strengthen and to extend, the legalized power of privilege, disguised though this always is as "the rights of property," and those contending for the sacred rights of men.

The former are always the most articulate, the most powerful and influential, as well as the most homogeneous and therefore most easily organized class in the community. They know what they want, and they have abundant means of enforcing their will upon the community as a whole.

The latter are far more heterogeneous; they represent and voice the general dissatisfaction with things as they are, the immortal democratic aspirations towards something better and more worthy of the opportunities within our reach. But they represent and voice also the prevailing ignorance as to the first steps necessary to secure any far-reaching economic or social reform. They may know what they want, but not the steps necessary to its attainment. Hence their comparative helplessness when confronting the entrenched hosts of privilege and monopoly.

In Great Britain what is known as the Tory party, since 1886 disguised as the Unionist party, has ever been the party of established privilege and monopoly. Its main fortress is the House of Lords, which is almost exclusively composed of representatives of every established privilege, but mainly, of course, of the landocracy. So long as the Tory party is in power, little or nothing is heard of the House of Lords, which contents itself with endorsing the legislation sent up to it from the predominant party in the House of Commons. But as soon as a Liberal party attains office, all this is changed, and the House of Lords, with its everlasting Tory majority, is galvanized into activity, and revels in the congenial task of rejecting or mutilating any legislation that may possibly be injurious to the vested interests they represent, and which give them their power and influence, as well as the revenues they individually and collectively enjoy.

Here, then, we have the main cause of the present manifest impotence of the Liberal party in Great Britain, despite its enormous majority in the House of Commons.

And yet it must be admitted that those responsible for Liberal policies cannot entirely be exempted from blame. Though in the main conservative and very tender of "the sacred rights of privilege," there is yet more than enough sturdy democratic sentiment amongst the people of Great Britain to cow the Lords into submission if only it were properly educated and wisely directed. It is here that the present Liberal party is sadly wanting.

They must have known, but they certainly failed to grasp or to grapple with the situation. Their supporters expected too much; and they attempted too much—or at all events too many things concurrently. Instead of organizing their forces and concentrating their energies on one definite line of social reform, whichever they may have regarded as the most important and vital, they have dissipated their energies on half a dozen different schemes and proposals. Licensing Bills, Education Bills, Small Holdings Bills, Land Valuation Bills, mostly framed on radical lines, have been introduced and passed in the House of Commons and sent up to the Lords, but so far none of them have succeeded in passing this ordeal.

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What the Liberal party will do to maintain its position and to make good its claim to support, it is difficult to say. The urgent need of the country is for social reform, for some means by which the economic pressure crushing the industrial masses beneath its weight, robbing them of everything that makes life truly human, may be permanently relieved. This, in truth, was the task demanded by the country of the Liberal party, though unfortunately many good liberals seem under the impression that this is possible without infringing on the vested interests of established privilege.

The Liberal party may attempt to evade their task by replying that "the House of Lords blocks the way," and appeal to the country for constitutional reform of the House of Lords. It is, however, more than doubtful whether any such cry would arouse any enthusiastic response.

For it is increasingly recognized that it is in some alteration in the established methods of taxation, both local and national, that the key to the problem can alone be found. And even the proverbial "man in the street" knows that over taxation the House of Lords has practically no power; that "the power of the purse" is in the hands of the House of Commons, and may be used, as it has been in the past, to secure redress for the social ills that afflict the patient and long-suffering people. They may reject or mangle all other proposals, but the Budget the House of Lords cannot amend and dare not reject.

Hence it is that it is to the Budget of this or next year that earnest Liberals are now looking as the one means by which the first step toward radical social reform may be taken if the present Liberal leaders prove themselves worthy of the high traditions of Liberalism and of the opportunities temporarily within their reach.

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Will they take this step? I do not know. The logic of facts is undoubtedly forcing them in this direction, bidding them take courage and fearlessly face the issue. Tariff Reform (alias Protection), or Land Reform; the Taxation of Commodities needful for human life and human industry, or the Taxation of Privilege, hurtful to all save the few who share in it: this is the issue to-day before Great Britain.

Personally I do not doubt the result if only the issue is fairly and squarely placed before the people.

Such as it is, the Liberal party alone stands between the privileged classes and their natural prey. Should its present leaders evade their responsibilities, the chains of Protection will be added to the fetters of Land Monopoly, and the path toward social justice and economic freedom will be blocked for many generations to come.

L. H. BERENS.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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 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 Tuesday, April 14, 1908.

Freedom of the Mails.

President Roosevelt has taken drastic official action with reference to freedom of the newspaper mails (p. 11). He sent to Congress on the 9th the following message:

I herewith submit a letter from the Department of Justice, which explains itself. Under this opinion I hold that existing statutes give the President the power to prohibit the Postmaster General from being used as an instrument in the commission of crime; that is, to prohibit the use of the mails for the advocacy of murder, arson and treason; and I shall act upon such construction. Unquestionably, however, there should be further legislation by Congress in this matter. When compared with the suppression of anarchy, every other question sinks into insignificance. The anarchist is the enemy of humanity, the enemy of all mankind, and his is a deeper degree of criminality than any other. No immigrant is allowed to come to our shores if he is an anarchist; and no paper published here or abroad should be permitted circulation in this country if it propagates anarchistic opinions.

The letter from the Department of Justice, referred to in the President's message, is from Attorney General Bonaparte. It is in reply to a request from the President for an interpretation of the laws affecting the use of the mails by "anarchist" publications. The Attorney General advises that publications like those submitted to him by the President constitute a "seditious libel" which is "undoubtedly a crime, at common law;" but as there is no Federal statute making them criminal, they cannot be prosecuted in the Federal courts. He holds, however, that Congress has power to make them criminal; and that "the Postmaster General will be justified in excluding from the mails any issue of any periodical which shall contain any article constituting a seditious libel and counseling such crimes as murder, arson, riot and treason." But he distinguishes between sealed and unsealed mail matter. In conveying letters and newspapers to persons to whom they are directed, he says, the United States "undertakes the business of a messenger," and adds: "In so far as it conveys sealed documents, its agents not only are not bound to know but are expressly forbidden to ascertain what the purport of such messages may be; therefore neither the government nor its officers can be held either legally or morally responsible for the nature of the letters to which they thus, in intentional ignorance, afford transportation."

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Presidential Politics.

The Republicans of Delaware elected national delegates (p. 36) on the 7th, but gave no instructions. In Massachusetts, the Republican delegates at large were elected on the 10th without instructions. At New York City on the 11th, the Republican convention, dominated by Roosevelt men, perfunctorily endorsed the candidacy of Governor Hughes by adopting a resolution directing the delegates to present his name "as New York's candidate and to use all honorable means to bring about his nomination for President." A substitute instructing the delegates at large and requesting the district delegates "to persistently labor for his nomination until a nomination is made," was defeated in committee. The New

York Herald gives Hughes 96 delegates up to the 12th, and Taft 423.

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Democratic primaries were held in Pennsylvania (p. 36) last week with the result, according to James M. Guffey of Pittsburg, of insuring an uninstructed delegation to Denver. The Cuyahoga county, Ohio, convention on the 11th in Cleveland endorsed Bryan. On the same day the Delaware Democratic primaries elected a delegation reported as "practically unanimous" for Judge Gray; but on the 14th Judge Gray published a letter positively declining to be a candidate. Delegates from Chicago (vol. x, p. 1112) to the Illinois State convention were chosen under the direction of the county committee at ward meetings, one to a ward. Protests in behalf of Bryan's candidacy and under the leadership of Ex-Mayor Harrison, were made on the ground that the meetings were upon insufficient notice, were in small halls inconveniently located, and were packed. The delegates chosen as above were subjected to the unit rule by the county committee, and instructed to endeavor to secure a Bryan delegation to Denver and the re-election of Roger Sullivan on the national committee. Mr. Bryan addressed an immense throng at Peoria on the 14th. He had apparently objected to the program which named Frank J. Quinn, a prominent lieutenant of Roger Sullivan, as chairman; for Mr. Quinn resigned the chair at the opening of the meeting, saying a great mistake had been made, and Mr. Bryan, at the beginning of his speech, said he appreciated Mr. Quinn's courtesy in refusing to preside at a meeting at which he was to speak, as both might have been placed in an embarrassing position.

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The place selected on the 12th by the national committee of the Independence League for the League's national convention is Chicago. The date is not yet definitely fixed but will be in July.

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Municipal Elections.

The suppression of drinking saloons was a burning issue at many municipal elections in Illinois last week. In the eighty-four counties voting on the subject 1,053 townships went "dry" and only 242 "wet." Consequently thirty counties will be without a saloon after December 7th next, in addition to seven counties which voted the same way last Fall. A similar sweep of anti-saloon sentiment is reported from Michigan.

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Election results in Chicago, where the principal contest was aldermanic, were interesting in many particulars. The Republican majority in the Board of Aldermen is larger than before; but this seems to have been accidental, the trend of the voting having been anti-corporation rather than pro-Republican. In the 25th ward, for instance, C. M. Thomson, a Republican in national politics but the non-partisan candidate of the Municipal Voters' League in this contest, defeated Alderman Williston, the Republican incumbent, whose name had become identified with corporation policies, by a plurality of 1,450 in a total of 13,700. In the 6th ward Charles Schoenman (vol. x, p. 1,204) came within 560 votes of defeating the Republican incumbent in a ward which is ordinarily overwhelmingly Republican. The significance of these results is confirmed by the defeat of Alderman Maypole, a Democratic favorite of corporate interests by the Republican candidate, and by the defeat, also by a Republican, of Alderman Badenoch, a Republican favorite of the corporations.

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The Independence League vote in Chicago was disappointing. The League had claimed 40,000 before election; and election bulletins of Hearst's American published after the close of the polls, announced that at least five League candidates had won, and that the total vote in the 23 wards, in which League candidates had been nominated was by many believed to be in excess of the Democratic votes in the same wards. But when the actual results were known, it appeared that the aggregate vote of the League, out of a total vote of 255,000 in the 35 wards of the city and 178,000 in the 23 wards contested by the League, was only 14,928. The Prohibition vote for the whole city was almost as large, being 9,877, while the Socialist vote for the whole city was larger, being 16,715.

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If the Socialist vote was small in Chicago, being less than seven per cent of the total and a percentage increase over 1906 of only about one per cent, this was not true of the vote of that party in the nearby city of Milwaukee. The Socialists themselves regard this as the biggest Socialist campaign ever seen in the United States. The Socialist candidate for Mayor was Emil Seidel. The Democratic candidate was David S. Rose. There was a Republican candidate, T. J. Pringle, but early in the campaign a considerable number of Republicans went over to Rose in order to defeat Seidel, and the Republican candidate came out third. Following is the mayoralty vote:

David S. Rose, Democrat	23,014
Emil Seidel, Social-Democrat	20,867
T. J. Pringle, Republican	18,349
Rose's plurality	2,147

The Socialist gain over their vote in the last city election was 4,000—almost 25 per cent. In addition to coming so near to electing their candidate for mayor, the Socialists re-elected their aldermanic candidates by largely increased pluralities in the six wards they had carried two years before, and elected their candidates in three additional wards. Of this result the State Secretary of the Socialist party writes:

If the old law were still in force we should now have 18 Social-Democratic aldermen against the 12 we elected two years ago. But readers of these notes will remember that the old party politicians and the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association together concocted a law by which 12 aldermen-at-large are elected by the general city vote. These twelve of course will always be elected by the party carrying the city, and thus the Mayor and the majority of the City Council will invariably belong to the same party. By this clever political trick, the number of Social-Democratic aldermen in the next City Council, in spite of our gain in votes and in wards, will be reduced from 12 to 9, instead of increasing from 12 to 18.

In the County Board, the Socialists have gained, partly by added victories and partly by a change in the method of districting. Two years ago they elected four supervisors out of a total of fifty-three; last week they elected six out of a total of sixteen. This comment upon the campaign, published by the State Secretary of the party, Mr. E. H. Thomas, is of general interest:

For weeks before election, the Polish priests personally visited their parishioners and strictly forbade them to vote the Social-Democratic ticket. The press attacked us most bitterly. All the alleged anarchist outrages of the last few weeks were charged up to the Socialists. And when last Friday a robbery and murder was committed on the South Side, an effort was at once made to connect the robbers with the Socialists. The charge was made so entirely out of whole cloth and was so absolutely unsupported by the least fragment of evidence, that even the capitalistic papers refused to print it, except the Polish daily. But the Polish priests took up the matter and preached against us in all their pulpits last Sunday. With these two powerful weapons, the daily papers and the priests against us, our big gains are a wonderful victory. They are the largest gains which we have ever yet made at any one election. No wonder that the politicians are frightened. No wonder that Rose said election night in his speech of acceptance: "I believe Social-Democracy to be a menace to the welfare of Milwaukee. I believe that all loyal, patriotic citizens, who have at heart the best interests of our city will amalgamate into one great solid body to crush out the spirit which can only result in injury to the general welfare." This was greeted with applause. It is probable that such will be the result of this election. We shall see a united capitalist party on the one hand, and a united workingman's party on the other. And this will be one of the best results of the Milwaukee comrades' glorious campaign.

The Cleveland Traction Question.

Negotiations for the settlement of the Cleveland traction question came to an end on the 7th (p. 9) over the question of the price to be allowed the Cleveland Electric ("Con-Con") upon sale to the proposed holding company. Mayor Johnson named $50 a share; but Mr. Goff, representing the Cleveland Electric as arbitrator, demanded $65. This occurred before the City Council in informal session. In response to Mr. Goff's demand, Mayor Johnson said: "I would rather have reached an agreement with you than anything in the world, but I have gone just as far as I think the people would support me and as my own judgment would carry me." An outburst of applause was quickly checked by the Mayor, who said: "I don't think this is a time for applause." The meeting then adjourned subject to call.

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Mayor Johnson's price represented a valuation of $15,034,614 for physical property and $3,980,340 for unexpired franchises, a total of $19,014,954, which he regarded as liberal, but to which he added for good will enough to bring the total up to $21,000,000 in round figures. As the company is capitalized at $42,000,000, this is exactly 50 cents on the dollar for the stock. The market value of the stock is 46.

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Mr. Goff made the following report to the Cleveland Electric on the 8th: "Mayor Johnson Tuesday submitted a proposition of settlement on a basis of $50 a share. Believing that the fair value of the property and franchises of the Cleveland Electric, including good will, gives a value of at least $65 a share, I cannot do otherwise than recommend that the proposition be declined." On the 10th, Mayor Johnson re-convened the Council for the 11th in informal session for a resumption of the negotiations. In explaining his call he said: "Mr. Goff has been appointed with power to act by the Cleveland Electric, and requested the meeting. I haven't the slightest idea what he proposes or what he would like to bring up." At this meeting Mr. Goff reduced his valuation from $65 a share to $60. Mayor Johnson replied that the question is now up to the Council. A meeting to give a hearing to the public was ordered to be held on the 13th. The difference between Mayor Johnson and Mr. Goff relates altogether to unexpired franchise values.

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Traction Legislation in Ohio.

In the event of a renewal of the fight with the Cleveland Electric, Mayor Johnson is likely to be in a much stronger position than heretofore, owing to the enactment of a new traction law (p. 36) on the 10th. This law originated in the Senate,

where it was passed. In the lower house it was violently opposed by the corporation interests, but was carried with one vote to spare. In their excitement the corporation members lost their heads and a referendum amendment was slipped in. Upon going back to the Senate the amendment was concurred in, and on the 9th Governor Harris signed the bill.

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This bill, known as "the Schmidt bill," provides, as amended, that property owners' consents are no longer needed for a new street railway franchise on a street where there is already a street car line; that new franchises may be given on such streets within one year after street car service has been abandoned or within two years prior to the expiration of a franchise; that if 15 per cent of the voters petition for an election within 30 days after the passage of a franchise ordinance, there must be an election, and the ordinance becomes invalid if a majority of the votes cast are against it.

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Had this law been on the statute books when the Cleveland Electric's franchises expired on Central and Quincy, the consent war by which the Cleveland Electric has prevented 3-cent service in those streets would have been impossible. Under this law, as it now stands, the 3-cent fare company can get a valid franchise in Central and Quincy by act of the Council without property owners' consents, if such legislation is passed before April 23 this year—one year after the "Con-Con" abandoned service in those streets.

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The New British Ministry.

King Edward appointed Herbert H. Asquith as Prime Minister and first Lord of the Treasury on the 8th, in place of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who had resigned on account of ill health (p. 38). The following appointments to the reorganized cabinet were announced on the 12th: David Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Tweedmouth, President of the Council; Earl of Crewe, Secretary of State for the Colonies; Reginald McKenna, First Lord of the Admiralty; Winston Spencer Churchill, President of the Board of Trade; Walter Runciman, President of the Board of Education. John Morley, Secretary of State for India, and Sir Henry H. Fowler, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, have been made viscounts, but will retain their present offices. Viscount Morley has written to his constituents regretfully resigning their representation. He says he had to choose between withdrawing from the India office, and withdrawing from the House of Commons, finding he was unable to do justice to both; the Prime Minister and his fellow members of the cabinet strongly desired that he retain the India office, a desire which was not easy to resist without a sacrifice of loyalty. Colonel J. E. Seeley has been appointed Undersecretary for the Colonies, Lord Lucas Parliamentary Secretary, War Office; F. D. Acland, Financial Secretary, War Office; and Thomas R. Buchanan, Parliamentary Secretary, India Office.

NEWS NOTES

—The baseball season opened on the 14th at Chicago, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Brooklyn and Cleveland with an aggregate of spectators reported as 131,294.

—On the 11th the Supreme Court of Tennessee sustained the anti-trust act of the Tennessee legislature, in an action to enjoin the Standard Oil Company from doing business in that State.

—Governor Johnson of Minnesota delivered the oration at the unveiling on the 10th of the Minnesota monument on the battlefield of Shiloh, Tennessee. He spoke in support of Constitutional limitations.

—At a meeting of the West Side Equal Suffrage Association of Chicago on the 11th (p. 10), the subject of a militant policy was discussed by Mrs. B. B. Wells of London, Mrs. G. W. Smith of Racine, and Mrs. Corinne Brown, Dr. Anna Blount, and Mrs. Minona S. Fitts-Jones of Chicago.

—At a conference of the Ethical-Social League at New York on the 7th, on the subject of "Unemployment," resolutions were adopted urging immediate construction of public works already authorized, State farms for vagrants, and legislative inquiries into the causes of unemployment.

—The Manhattan Single Tax Club and the Women's Henry George League of New York City will give a reception to Christine Ross Barker on the evening of the 23d, at the Martha Washington. All single tax friends are invited. Mrs. Barker is leaving New York to make her home in Milwaukee.

—Chelsea, an old town of Massachusetts, now in the limits of Greater Boston, was devastated by fire, driven by a sixty-mile gale, on the 12th. Four persons were reported killed, a hundred injured, and ten thousand left homeless, with practically nothing saved from their household possessions. The loss has been put at six millions.

—Two thousand persons were drowned at Hankow, China, on the night of the 12th, by a sudden freshet which swept down on the city and flowed over the great dikes which protect it. The inhabitants asleep in their homes had but little chance of escape. Hankow is a city of 800,000 inhabitants, situated at the junction of the Han with the Yang-tse-Kiang, about 450 miles west of Shanghai.

—The remains of Emanuel Swedenborg, which had lain since his death in 1772, below the altar in the little Swedish church in London, have been recently exhumed in view of the approaching demolition of the tiny old church, left unused in a commercial area. The leaden coffin, containing bones and

a little dust, was embarked from Dartmouth on the 8th, on the Swedish cruiser Fylgia, for conveyance in state to Sweden for final burial.

—A check for $863,349.75, representing the city's share of the earnings of the Chicago Railways Company (vol. x, pp. 1069, 1156), was paid into the Chicago treasury on the 10th. The accompanying statement shows:

Gross earnings	$10,560,571.98
Operating expenses, 70 per cent	7,392,400.39
	$ 3,168,171.59
Five per cent interest and interest on amount expended for rehabilitation	$ 1,566,158.96
Amount divisible	$ 1,602,012.63
City's share at 55 per cent, less $17,757.20, payments made during the year	$ 863,349.75
Company's share at 45 per cent	720,905.68

—Representatives of sixty local labor organizations met at Chicago on the 12th and formally launched the Chicago Equity Exchange, which proposes to distribute farm products direct from the grower to the consumer. At the meeting it was announced that approximately $10,000 worth of stock of the co-operative enterprise had been subscribed for, and as soon as the necessary stores could be procured the work of dispensing union-grown potatoes and cabbages would be pushed in every part of the city. The following temporary officers were elected: President, L. P. Straube, secretary Allied Printing Trades Council; vice presidents, Robert Nelson, iron molder, and John C. Flora, carpenter; secretary, B. C. Dillon, musician; treasurer, W. W. Scott, farmer. The present store at 249 West Randolph street, which is operated by the exchange, will be made a central market from which the other stores will receive their supplies.

PRESS OPINIONS

"The Outlook."

Charles Ferguson in the (Kansas City) News Book (ind.), March 28.—A safe and city-broke, jog-trot journal that never goes lame or casts a shoe.

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Differences of Opinion.

Altruria, Feb.—There are good men and women on every side of every disputed question, and any propagandist who cannot defend his own views without insulting all who reject them, betrays his own narrow-mindedness and disgraces the cause for which he pleads.

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Veterans, Masculine and Feminine.

The (Waterloo, Ia.) Woman's Standard (Equal Suffrage), Apr.—The Mothers' Congress has met once more and President Roosevelt has praised again the heroism of motherhood. We would have enjoyed the address much more if he had added that this heroism ought to have been rewarded long ago by making the veteran mother the political equal of the veteran soldier. That would have meant bur[illegible] As it was, what he said was part taffy, and part race suicide hash, from old speeches and messages. We fear that the President's wind mill has begun to run emptyings.

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A Journalistic Pointer.

(Los Angeles) Municipal Affairs (civic), March.—Go into any community and find the newspaper that is known to be in close affiliation with the corporations and with grafters in office and that fights the efforts of good citizens for better government, and you will find a newspaper that does not approve of the initiative and referendum and recall.

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Anarchy.

The (Bloomington, Ill.) Daily Bulletin (Dem.), Mar. 29.—Much of the bitterest complaint of anarchy comes from heads of corporations that have agents stimulating immigration from the hotbeds of anarchy in order to keep the payroll down, and then smilingly come forward with demands that all the tariff revisions "protect" the American workingman.

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A Gentle Dig at Lyman Abbott.

The (Waterloo, Ia.) Woman's Standard (Equal Suffrage), Apr.—Lyman Abbott is tickled to death over a legal decision away out in Oregon which he interprets as declaring that motherhood is woman's chief end in life. We think that there should be an age limitation placed on some men's silly thoughts. We hope some day some judge-made law may declare fatherhood to be a man's principal business in life. But what's the use? Lyman Abbott will never see the point even if he should happen to be alive. The dear old man is so interested in womanhood and motherhood, especially in any move which looks toward the prevention of her political emancipation.

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Wages or Profits.

The We're Here Magazine (Feb.)—A good many families enjoy a realizing sense of their respectability because they think their income is derived from profits instead of wages. The butcher, for instance, says he is in business for profit. But the people are only paying him wages for a service rendered. Men get wages for work; the less the work, or service in proportion to the pay, the more respectable the calling. The most respectable people are those who manage to live in ease and plenty without rendering any service for what they use and consume. The greater the amount of service, especially if essentially necessary work in proportion to the pay, or wage received, the less the respectability of the one rendering the service. As wages shade off towards profits the receiver rises in the scale of respectability; and when he is able to command service without having to give any in exchange, he becomes an honorable and influential citizen. It is the way of the world.

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Bryan.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (dem. Dem.), Mar. 27.—The enemies of Bryan—they only can be found in

the plutocratic ranks of both parties, for the rank and file of Republicans as well as Democrats sincerely admire him—declare with much bitterness that he is the autocrat of the Democratic party; that he dominates it with more certainty and craftiness than Roosevelt does the Republican party, and that he is a selfish boss who has blighted the ambitions of scores of favorite State sons who are made of better Presidential timber than he is. This charge comes all the time exclusively from one source—the special privilege class or those who are subservient to it. Perhaps it is well that the charge is so openly being made, for it all the better affords the friends of the Great Commoner opportunity to expose the utter hypocrisy of it. The only power Mr. Bryan wields in this country is the power of his abiding convictions. He has not a single adherent who owes him any favor except the favor of confidence.

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The (Minneapolis) Irish Standard (Dem.), Mar. 28. —Bryan cannot be elected is the argument most forcibly urged against his nomination. We don't know whether he can be elected or not. We do know that he received in 1896 and 1900 more votes than were ever cast for any other Democrat before or since. In 1896 he received more than 100,000 more votes than Cleveland did in 1892 and in 1900 he received 2,000,000 more votes than Parker in 1904.

RELATED THINGS
CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE CRY OF THE TOILER.

For The Public.

Just one sweet day, dear Lord, but only one—
To quit my ceaseless toil—to dream my work is done!
To waken with the birds, to heed the call of Spring;
To greet the morning sun; to try my fettered wing.
To let my Spirit soar; to lift my wan, pale face
Toward Thy tender sky; to rest for just the space
Of one brief day!

Just one sweet day! to lie upon the grass
And count the drifting clouds; to watch the shadows pass
Across the mountain tops; to feel the twilight breeze
Succeed the noonday heat and stir the drooping leaves.
To wander midst the aisles of dim, sequestered wood;
To wade the purling brook, to seek the wild dove's brood—
For one brief day!

Just one sweet day! one day of solitude
To dream, my Soul and I, that we belong to God!
To lean my tired head on Mother Earth's broad breast,
And let kind Nature soothe my weary heart to rest.
Away, thou haunting Care! What have I to do with thee?
To-morrow Toil may claim his own, to-day I will be free!
This one brief day!

ANNA HOLLIDAY POWLESS.

DEFINITIONS OF WAR.

Wm. George Jordan in the Christian Science Sentinel of January 4.

Argument by cannon, with death as referee.

Patriotism desecrated, not consecrated.

Living chess, played between nations, where all the pieces may be sacrificed to save the king.

Assassination in uniform.

Administering capital punishment to our enemies to convince them we are right.

The great red stain on civilization.

The nation granting free trade in all crimes for the protection of its honor.

The blood sacrifice of a people on the altar of statesmanship.

Murder trust run by two nations, without fear of injunction.

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THE MESSAGE OF A SUICIDE'S PISTOL SHOT.*

For The Public.

Sodislov Krzulwenski walked up the Lake Shore Drive the other day. The water rolled out wide and grey in front of him; the row of handsome houses, set in well kept lawns, offered an interesting study in Renaissance, Colonial, Moorish and other varieties of architecture; but the Russian Pole was not interested in the surroundings. He was hungry, which detracts from the beauty of any landscape if you have not practiced philosophy sufficiently; also he was decidedly despondent because several hundred men of his own walk of life had been turned away from the city building the day before, when they went there to apply for work.

"Go away quietly," the police official had said to them, "and then there will be no bloodshed." And so they had gone away, and there was no violence; only quiet and orderly hunger on the part of those who wanted work and did not have it.

Krzulwenski thought it over. Surely men and women who lived in houses such as these, did not know that there were human beings who herded themselves together in miserable shacks and only ate occasionally. Perhaps they sometimes read about these things, but could not understand exactly what they meant. Krzulwenski would show them, so that hereafter poor men might be aided when they asked for work.

And then there was the sound of a revolver shot, and a policeman called an ambulance to take this surplus workingman to the hospital: so that there was bloodshed after all. But no riots, no seditious speeches calling for special messages from Washington; no charging of men on "curveting steeds"; everything was done quite de-

*See the Chicago daily papers of April 10.

corously, and, indeed—except for the publicity of the affair,—exactly as it takes place every day.

Only—it is rather a pity from the standpoint of Krzulwenski—the ladies who lived in the palaces were either driving, taking siestas, or sitting in boxes at the matinee; so that the bit of real drama performed upon the street was only seen by maids and grooms,—most of whom, in all probability, already knew, either by observation or experience, what hunger meant.

L. D. HARDING.

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LABOR AND NEIGHBOR:

An Appeal to First Principles.

A Posthumous Work
By ERNEST CROSBY.

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CHAPTER XI. Part 3.*

Remedies—4. Justice, Freedom and Co-operation.

The spirit of co-operation is the power which must animate society in the future. Just as senseless letters grouped together form a word full of meaning, and as words, in their turn, grouped together, form sentences instinct with genius, so men co-operating one with another gain a force and significance infinitely surpassing the mere arithmetical sum-total of their individual values, for men in combination advance in geometrical progression. Co-operation takes many shapes, and in some of them it has already succeeded. Municipal waterworks are common and uniformly satisfactory. The trade union involves a kind of co-operation, and it may have a great future if it ever trains its members to the point of conducting industries on their own account. It will be a long time before that can be done, but unionism promises better for the democratization of industry than any political movement. Every member of a trade union is learning how to get on with his equals, how to yield his will to the common will, how to present his views to his fellows, and how to compromise with those who cannot be persuaded. If we are to make any approach to Utopia it must be along these lines, for its foundations must be laid in the character of the men who form society, and one of the chief values of the labor union is that it is a school for character. As soon as the members of a union become fully worthy of the confidence of each other, so that they will completely trust each other, there is no limit to the advance which they may make in the way of co-operation.

The trusts are conspicuous examples of successful co-operation. With all their faults they present a remarkable spectacle of mutual faith. While they may prey upon the public, the trust promoters among themselves hold their word as if it were their bond. This is a great human achievement, and might have been impossible upon so vast a scale at an earlier stage of civilization. And it is time perhaps to put in a word for our business world. Its ideas come very near being proper ideals. The ideal, for instance, of exerting wide influence, of wielding power, is a noble ideal, where the power is one of character and service and not one of mere brute force. Our business in the world is to express ourselves, to make ourselves felt, to leave our mark on human affairs as deep as we can. In so far as a captain of industry is doing this he is doing well. The ideal of supplying the people with any one of the necessaries of life, such as oil, or sugar, or corn, is also a high ideal. It is one of the best forms of usefulness, and the man who does it has a right to claim a place beside the poet and the teacher; and, indeed, in some respects his function is more fundamental and important than theirs. This field of usefulness is one in which the highest qualities of humanity can well show themselves—in which we ought to look for the devotion of saints and heroes, and the self-sacrifice of martyrs. Why do we not find these in the business world?

It is because the business man puts the emphasis, not on service, but on gain. The clergyman, the professor, the editor, the soldier, thinks little of his salary. It is a mere incident. The business man thinks of little else, and the higher he gets in the world of finance the more his success is measured by the money he makes. There is no reason why a man's success in furnishing the world with kerosene oil should be measured in money, any more than another man's success in providing it with poetry or sermons. Milton got five pounds for his "Paradise Lost," and yet we think none the less of him. We measure his value by what he did, and not by what he got for it. It ought to be a proud thing for a man, other things being equal, to supply millions with sugar, but it is a matter of comparatively little importance how much he gets for it. When the ideal of service is merged in the ideal of seizing others' earnings, then that which might be a noble, unselfish devotion to the interests of the human race, becomes an inordinate desire to squeeze all that can be got out of it. The task of supplying the world with coal, gas, oil or transportation facilities is a grand work, but it becomes infamous when it is made the pretext of exacting tribute, and of reaping where others have sown.

Another indictment against the financiers who are responsible for the present state of the world, is that they have made it ugly, and are steadily making it uglier and uglier. A hundred years ago the world was less sanitary but far more beau-

*The series of articles of which this one is the last, are now in press in book form. For particulars see advertisement in another column.—Editors of The Public.

tiful, and our industries of all kinds are busily at work spoiling city and country. This side of the industrial question is often forgotten by the average man, but it presents itself forcibly to the artist, and perhaps we should all cultivate the artist's eye. It is this hideous quality of our industries, in factory and mining region and city slum, that forced such men as Ruskin and William Morris into radicalism, for they yearned for a civilization in which production should be beautiful, and they saw that the root of the ugliness was the selfishness and injustice which defied gain at the expense of service. We must exchange the question, "Will it pay?" for the better one, "Will it be of use?" No true art can grow up in a society living in conscious injustice, for justice is the architecture of heaven, and our architects cannot build noble cities until we square our conduct with the heavenly vision. We find artistic wonders to-day in the ruins of Athens and Memphis and Nineveh, but what would there be a thousand years hence to pick up in the ruins of New York, except indeed a few articles in our museums, the product of other ages and climes? And the secret of the trouble is that we are unjust, and that at the bottom of our hearts we know it. We must begin to be beautiful by adopting a new idea in our business world—the ideal of usefulness instead of the idea of gain. Business must cease to fly the pirate flag. Directors must think more of the public than of shareholders, and must learn that their railways do not consist of stock and bonds. And manufacturers must feel that it is their business to manufacture goods and not dividends.

The great co-operative societies of England, most successful examples of co-operation among consumers, are profit-sharing concerns, but it is quite possible to co-operate without any idea of profit. And there are many existing examples of such co-operation. Take Harvard University, for instance. It is a corporation of considerable importance, and carries on a business which rivals in extent and intricacy a good many large business houses. Yet it has no stockholders, pays no dividends, and knows not the name of profit. No one thinks of asking whether it pays or not, and it is considered a sufficient justification for its existence that it is useful. The real design of such an institution is service, and those who co-operate in its work live in an atmosphere in which they are likely to think more of their work than of their stipend. No decent professor cares much about "making money." Our hospitals, museums, libraries and picture galleries are managed in the same way. Now, there is no reason in the world why the same principle should not be applied to other activities. Railways and factories could be founded and administered in precisely the same fashion, and under new conditions railway men might forget the chase of the dollar and actually have no stockholders to forage for. Mr. Carnegie founds libraries. He might just as well have founded railways, and he would thus have contributed to the settlement of the conflict between monopoly and labor. His railways could have been operated at cost by employes at once well paid and not overworked, and by the law of competition the other railways and industries of the country would have been directed toward a cost basis. The result would be that each man would retain more and more of his own earnings, and less and less of the earnings of other people.

But there need be no element of charity in such enterprises, and the public can raise sufficient capital for them if they have the wisdom and the confidence. And the thing was actually done some years ago in Indianapolis, as I learned some time after having recommended it in an article. In 1887 Mr. Potts of that city was aroused by the exactions of the Indianapolis Natural Gas Company, and in order to free the people from its power he organized the "Consumers' Gas Trust." An active canvass was conducted in every ward of the city for popular subscriptions to the stock of the trust at $25 a share, and five hundred thousand dollars were thus raised in three weeks. The trustees served without pay, and they saved a million dollars a year to the consumers! Interest was paid at first on the stock (which was nonsalable), but the design was to return the capital invested as soon as possible, and then furnish the gas at cost. The stock had to be increased to $605,000, and it was necessary to borrow $750,000 besides, but early in 1898 all of this had been paid off, and only $236,000 of the original $500,000 remained on hand. The experiment is described by Professor Forrest of the University of Indianapolis in the American Journal of Sociology for May, 1898, and it appears to have been a complete success. The plan is applicable to any kind of business, the only requisite being public confidence in the managers. And if the public desires the service sufficiently, the money could be subscribed without interest, the principal to be refunded as soon as possible. By such a corporation the charges could be reduced to actual cost, and when such a system became common the old rule of charging "all that the traffic will bear" will be forgotten. Once get rid of the stockholder, and it seems to me that such a system is preferable to municipal ownership. You escape bureaucracy and the dry-rot of officialism, you preserve the all-important vitality of private initiative, and you do not force the dissentient portion of the community to take part in an enterprise against their will. And what a good thing it is to dispense with the stockholder—this new freak among property-holders; the owner without duties or responsibilities, who like a leech does nothing but suck! In no former period of the world's history has such an irresponsible kind of

property been possible, and it is not likely that this sport of nature, this *lusus naturae,* is destined for long to reproduce itself.

Two classes of objection will be brought against the plan of reform which I have outlined. The socialist will declare that it does not go far enough. He will have nothing less than "the public ownership of all the means of production." But even he must admit that injustice is unjust, and that it is right to abolish unjust privileges. He will not deny that it is wise to equalize the rights of men in land, and that there are a greater number of valid arguments for doing this than for equalizing their rights in manufactured wealth. All personal property flows from land, and it is easiest to deflect the river at its source. The present stock of things will soon wear out of itself, just as the present water in the river-bed will be lost in the sea. Then why not begin by equalizing rights in land? It is surely a long enough step to take. On the other hand, the conservative critic will contend that I am much too radical, even if he admits that there is some ground for complaint. To him I would say that these changes can be made as slowly as the people pleases. Begin to reduce your tariffs on imports and to increase the freedom of banking and trade, and at the same time remove taxation as gradually as you wish from personal property and improvements on land, to the land—the site value. Set your face toward freedom and equal rights, that is all that is essential. Free trade is the real remedy, but "free trade" in a far wider sense than most free-traders have understood. Trade, to be truly free, must cast off all its shackles—not only the protective tariff, but all taxation on industry, and all tribute to the monopolists of money, rights of way and situation; and in this work if it stops short of land monopoly, the danger is that all the resultant benefits will inure to the advantage only of the landlord, whose rents are sure to rise as the condition of his neighborhood improves. Real free trade means trade free from all artificial hindrances.

To the critic who finds this whole discussion too materialistic, who declares that man does not live by bread alone, who thinks the poor are as happy as the rich, and that we should turn our attention to affairs of mind and soul, rather than those of bread and butter, I would reply that bread and butter are merely pawns for spiritual things. Justice is a thing of the spirit, but it works in the material world; and we must have just foundations for society before we can properly indulge in the cultivation of our higher natures. Our souls must express themselves through our bodies, and the soul of society must speak through its institutions. We must play the game of life fair before we can be at peace with ourselves, and we cannot develop ourselves or our society until we are thus at peace. But let us not call that peace which is no peace, for there is a peace of life and a peace of death—a glorious peace founded on justice, and a disgraceful peace founded on injustice. We must not wish for peace in the industrial world unless it comes hand in hand with equity.

It is impossible to predict what course the human race will take in the future. A new order seems to be forming, and its motive power promises to be the co-operative spirit. Our first duty is to cease from injustice, individually and as a community; and our second duty is to cultivate this new spirit in ourselves and in others. Let us experiment in co-operation in every possible way and encourage those whom the new spirit impels forward, for no one knows which seed will produce the future tree of life. We may grow gradually into the new order, or some great social crisis may force us into it; but whatever the case may be, the safe progress of society will depend upon those of its members who keep distinctly before their mind's eye three great principles, and who insist upon advancing whither they converge —and these principles are justice, freedom and co-operation.

THE END.

BOOKS

CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL ORDER."

Christianity and the Social Order. By R. J. Campbell, M. A., Minister of the City Temple, London. The Macmillan Company, New York. 1907. Price, $1.50.

The author of "The New Theology" opens the statement of his present vital theme with a strong declaration that "the Christianity of the churches is not the religion of Jesus." The religion of Jesus, as he goes on to show us, must be found in the words and deeds recorded, not by himself but by his personal followers who imbibed the spirit of his teachings, whether or not they gave a literal transcript of his language.

It is claimed that Jesus taught nothing more nor less than the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth. This kingdom did not comprise the material power and splendor contemplated by the Jews with their long cherished traditions of the coming Messiah and King. The Kingdom of God as portrayed by the clear unequivocal teachings of Jesus was an ideal social order where there could be no question of poverty or riches, but where each man would find his highest happiness in loving service of others. And this heavenly order was not a state to be postponed until another life. It was a present and immediate motive of being. The "other worldism" of later Christianity had no showing in the Gospel of

Jesus. It was Paul and other founders of church doctrines who incorporated vicarious atonement, individualist salvation, future rewards and punishments, and the countless avenues of self-seeking that find a pious place in the articles of faith which constitute the creeds of professing followers of Jesus.

"What is there in common between the simple ethics of Jesus and the complex confessions of faith which now form the basis of Christian Fellowship?" questions our author.

Their very fundamental assumption is wrong, namely, the assumption that there is such a thing as individualist salvation and that it is vitally necessary to believe certain propositions in order to participate in the benefits of the gospel message. This, as we see, is the very thing against which Jesus protested so earnestly in the face of the orthodoxy of His time. . . . The curse of modern religion is this assumption that there is such a thing as individualist salvation, whose principal benefits accrue in the next world like an insurance policy with tontine profits. . . . No man is saved until he is willing to be lost in the service of his kind, and there is no salvation worth talking about which does not imply becoming a savior.

Perhaps it is not needful to quote further in proof of Mr. Campbell's position as an upholder of the vital principle of love which is the life of the Gospel of Jesus in contradistinction to the self-seeking involved in certain theological dogmas. If in his enthusiasm for the kingdom of God, as he apprehends it, he overstates the spiritual obliquity of generations that have embraced a lower and a lesser good, we may still thank him for stirring the stagnant waters into which the self-seeking soul sinks without the effort of a thought. We who see, or think that we see an invisible hand writing on the wall back of Mr. Campbell's bold free issues with the churches, can afford to wait for the certain unfoldment of a splendor of light to which human sight is not yet adjusted.

But to what does the study of the religion of Jesus tend in this treatise on "Christianity and the Social Order"?

Directly, as Mr. Campbell proceeds to show us, to a "realization of a universal brotherhood on earth, a social order in which every individual would be free to do his best for all and find his true happiness therein." Practically, the acceptance of the religion of Jesus leads to the establishment of the Kingdom of God, here and now, without reference to a life after death which will take care of itself.

As a means working toward this heavenly end Mr. Campbell sees in the great world movement of Socialism the profoundest power of good. From a moral standpoint he defines socialism thus:

"All for each and each for all." It means from the individual the utmost for the whole; from the community it means the best for the weakest. It is the denial of the ape and the tiger qualities and an appeal to the higher motives of justice, compassion and public spirit.

It is not only the release of God's earth from private ownership that is needed, but the socializing of natural resources and the abolition of unearned incomes. In chapters vi. and vii. Mr. Campbell gives a fair statement of the principles of socialism from its higher viewpoints, and in chapter viii. he suggests methods of socializing industries in a gradual way which would avoid what the timid conservative trembles to contemplate, a revolutionary conflict between labor and capital. It is the business of the reviewer simply to call attention to Mr. Campbell's frank, manly arraignment of the ruling forces of society, without offering either criticism or approving comment. "Christianity and the Social Order" speaks so adequately for itself that the fairest way to meet its arguments is to sit down, without prejudice or preconceived opinions, and candidly read the book.

There is no question that we all endorse the author's sentiment as expressed in conclusion:

Salvation must include the development of the whole man. If he is ignorant and degraded here, ignorant and degraded he will be on the other side of death, and I can imagine no motive so strong in the effort to realize the Kingdom of God on earth, as the conviction that because the individual soul is immortal it should be helped to the fullest self expression here in order that it may begin on a higher level elsewhere.

A. L. M.

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TAXATION.

State and Local Taxation. First National Conference under the auspices of the National Tax Association, Columbus, Ohio, November 12-15, 1907. Addresses and Proceedings. Published by The Macmillan Company, New York. Price $4.00.

This is an extremely valuable compendium of the best conservative thought on the subject of taxation. The conference was called by Governor Harris of Ohio, in a request to the Governors of all the other States to appoint three delegates, and it was attended, and papers on taxation read by some of the most distinguished students of the subject in the United States. Among these were Frederick N. Judson of St. Louis, Lawson Purdy of New York, Solomon Wolff of Louisiana, C. B. Fillebrown of Massachusetts, Professors Davenport and Merriam of the University of Chicago, Professor Keasbey of the University of Texas, F. A. Derthick, Master of the Ohio State Grange and chairman of the committee on taxation of the National Grange; Professor Blackmar of the University of Kansas, Professor Seligman of Columbia University, C. B. Kegley, Master of the Washington State Grange, and Allen Ripley Foote of

the Ohio State Board of Commerce. Some idea of the scope of the discussions may be had from the subjects of the papers. Lawson Purdy outlined a "Model System of State and Local Taxation;" Mr. Wolff advocated "Home Rule in Taxation;" Professor Raper discussed "The Taxation of Incomes;" Professor Le Rossignol gave a hostile view of "Rating on Unimproved Values in New Zealand;" C. B. Fillebrown urged "The Single Tax;" Professor Davenport considered "The Taxation of the Unearned Increment;" Professor Keasbey dealt generally with "Sovereignty and Taxation;" Mr. Derthick gave the farmer's view of the "Taxation of Real Estate and Real Estate Improvements;" Professor Merriam dealt with "Municipal Taxation;" Professor Seligman considered favorably the "Separation of State and Social Revenues," as did Professor Adams; and Professors Shortt and Plehn discussed the "Taxation of Public Service Corporations." Nearly fifty subjects in all were treated at the conference, the proceedings of which appear in full in this volume, which deserves extra commendation for its index.

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MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION.

Essays on Municipal Administration. By John A. Fairlie, Ph. D., Professor of Administrative Law in the University of Michigan, and Author of National Administration of the United States," etc. Published by the Macmillan Company, New York. Price $2.00 net.

Although a collection of essays on special topics prepared under varying circumstances and for different purposes, and not a systematic and comprehensive treatise, these essays are so grouped and the topics are so related as to give to the volume even greater value, possibly, than if it were a premeditated treatise. The author's general point of view may be ascertained from his essay on "Some Phases of Municipal Government," the first in the collection, and from the one on "Municipal Ownership of Public Utilities," the twenty-third. We should say that the particular essays most likely to interest our readers are the fifth, the tenth and the twelfth. The fifth tells the story of the "rippering" of Ohio cities early in the decade for the purpose of displacing Johnson of Cleveland and Jones of Toledo; the tenth is a valuable paper on the revenue systems of American and foreign cities; and the twelfth is an account of the street railway controversy in Chicago.

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STUDIES IN EVOLUTION.

New Reading of Evolution. A Study-Plan, correlating the known facts of Nature and forming a Scientific Basis for a Synthetic Philosophy of Individual and Social Life. By Henry Clayton Thompson. Published by the New Reading Publishing Co., 1717 Carroll Ave., Chicago.

The author describes his purpose as "an attempt to gather and to correlate those elements of world knowledge with which everyone must be familiar in order to form an adequate and worthy philosophy of a working basis for the development of his own life," and "to define clearly the

limitations of present knowledge and differentiate demonstrated facts from hypotheses." Evolution is considered as nature's method of producing unorganized matter, organized matter, and living beings. The book is a series of plans for the study of this process.

PAMPHLETS

Socialistic Tendencies.

Three pamphlets recently published will be found of much value to the outsider in understanding socialism and considering its practical tendencies. One is part of "Ethical Addresses" (1415 Locust St., Philadelphia, price 10 cents)—an address by David Saville Muzzey—in which three aspects of socialism are dealt with: the historical, the expository, and the critical. The second of these pamphlets is a paper on "Americanized Socialism," read before the American Social Science Association at Buffalo last year by John Martin. It makes a presentation of socialism of the Fabian type in its application to American institutions. Carl D. Thompson, a Socialist member of the Wisconsin legislature and a party socialist, presents the third of these pamphlets—"The Constructive Program of Socialism"—(Social-Democratic Publishing Co., 342 Sixth street, Milwaukee)—a more liberal and opportunist outline of policy than party socialism is usually understood to offer.

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In a jury trial in New York recently the attorney for the defendant started in to read to the jury from a certain volume of the Supreme Court reports. He was interrupted by the court, who said:

"Colonel ————, it is not admissible, you know, to read the law to the jury."

"Yes, I understand, your honor; I am only reading to the jury a decision of the Supreme Court."—Philadelphia Ledger.

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Magistrate: "The plaintiff affirms that you sold him an absolutely rank cheese, although you told him it was the king of cheeses when he bought it of you."

Defendant: "Quite true, but I never said it was a good one. I simply said it was the king of cheeses."

Magistrate: "Well?"

Defendant: "Well, in my opinion the king of cheeses would be the worst. Are we republicans, or are we not, sir?"—Pele Mele (France).

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The Rev. Dr. Somers was in the habit of addressing his wife, Sarah, in polysyllables when he wished the children to leave the room.

He never dreamed that they understood until 9-

year-old Jack, recovering from measles, was one day enjoying the dear privilege of hearing his mother read aloud.

The doctor ventured in and began softly, "Sarah"—

Up rose Master Jack in bed. "Sarah," quoth he, "eliminate the obnoxious element!"—Lippincott's.

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"Mr. Chairman," called out a dignified person in the audience, "I rise to a point of order."

"State your point of order."

"The gentleman who has been speaking forgets that this is a meeting of the Neighborhood Improvement Association, an organization that stands for the betterment of the conditions that surround us. It stands, Mr. Chairman, for the elevation of mankind, and particularly for that portion of mankind that more immediately environs us. Therefore, I submit that he is out of order when, in addressing us, he uses coarse, slang terms, borrowed from the vocabulary of the race course, the gambling den and the slums."

"How do you know he does?" asked a hundred voices at once.

The dignified person gasped and sat down, while the speaker proceeded with his remarks.—San Francisco Star.

The Public

is a weekly review, giving in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value.

It is also an editorial paper, and, though it abstains from mingling editorial opinions with its news accounts, it has opinions of a pronounced character, based upon the principles of fundamental democracy, which, in the columns reserved for editorial comment, it expresses fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without regard to any considerations of personal or business advantage. Yet it makes no pretensions to infallibility, either in opinions or in statements of fact; it simply aspires to a deserved reputation for intelligence and honesty in both.

Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department entitled Related Things, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest in relation to the progress of democracy.

Familiarity with THE PUBLIC will commend it as a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

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