

that the Nowegian people will not be given a chance to vote on the question. It is the old protective spirit that is combining with commercial conservatism to prevent the free expression of the people's will. And right relevantly does the Independent ask: "Why are our newspapers dumb on the subject of Norwegian republicanism when they are fluent with their advice to all other nations on their internal affairs? Has our President followed the traditions of his office in proffering the hand of fellowship to any possible republic?" Nothing in fact shows more conclusively the change that has come over the spirit of our dreams than the indifference in America to the possible establishment of a republic in Norway. Time was when our shouts in such a crisis would have reached across the Atlantic. But since those days we have ourselves destroyed the first republic in Asia, and helped the Tory party in Great Britain to destroy two established republics in Africa. Toward small republics we have hung out the black flag of imperialism.

Cat's-paws for genteel grafters.

When the people of Kansas City, Kansas, elected a city government to fight franchise grafters, and this government set about doing what it had been elected to do, the State government suddenly discovered that the prohibitory liquor law of Kansas was not being enforced in that city (p. 419) and proceeded forthwith to try to "ripper" the city government. The law never had been enforced there, no new or more extensive methods of evasion had been adopted, it was not being enforced in any other Kansas city on the frontiers of the State, and it was not and is not now being enforced even in the interior city of Topeka. The proof of this is simple. Under the Federal internal revenue laws, all sellers of liquor have to pay a special Federal tax. The penalties for non-payment are severe and certain, and the tax is light. Consequently even lawless liquor sell-

ers pay that license tax. Now, in the State of Kansas, according to the Kansas City (Kan.) Weekly News, there are 4,500 such licenses, and 95 per cent. of them are for "joints" outside of Kansas City. In Topeka, the capital of the State, an interior city, there are 138, while in Kansas City, a frontier city of one and a half times the population of Topeka and adjoining one of the large cities of Missouri, there are but 213. Yet the State authorities are proceeding only against Kansas City. Isn't it pretty clear that it is franchise graft (which the present local administration is fighting), and not evasions of the prohibitory law (regarding which the local administration has made no innovations), that is the real cause of this virtuous crusade against the Kansas City officials?

Something similar is occurring in Chicago. At a critical point in Mayor Dunne's contest with the traction ring, a preacher of the name of Bartlett furnishes the traction ring organs with ammunition to fire at Dunne, by preaching two Sunday sermons demanding Dunne's indictment for refusing to enforce an obsolete and overwhelmingly unpopular saloon law. Mr. Bartlett makes no demands upon the State authorities, nor upon the county authorities, whose duty in the matter, if there is a duty, is as imperative as Dunne's. He doesn't even denounce the prosecuting attorney for refusing to proceed against Dunne. But then the State and county officials are not disturbing any genteel grafters and Dunne is.

Republican modesty.

An instance of Republican modesty is afforded in connection with the Chicago charter convention. Chicago needs a new charter. The Illinois legislature responds with an invitation to the people of Chicago to hold a non-partisan convention and "frame up" a charter which they can unite upon. But the legislature, being Republican, could not trust the people of Chicago, being in the main Demo-

cratic and to a great degree democratic in their Democracy, to elect their own convention delegates. It wished a non-partisan convention. And in order that this non-partisan convention might be truly non-partisan, it authorized the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor and the Speaker of the House, all Republicans, to assist the Mayor, a Democrat, and the City Council, Republican, in choosing a convention for this Democratic city, giving to each of them full power of appointment of a specified number of delegates. The generosity of the Republicans in allowing a Democratic mayor to appoint about a fifth of this convention when they might have reserved all the appointments to themselves, is doubtless greatly to their credit. Likewise the modesty with which they have exercised the power of appointment they did reserve. They have appointed as many as 13 Democrats and only 41 Republicans; and of the Democrats, a few are quite democratic and wholly outside of Republican combinations. Mayor Dunne may now appoint 15 delegates, and if all of them are opposed to the franchise grafting to which the Republican party of Chicago is committed, there wouldn't be enough of them to be heard above the rest in a viva voce vote. With profound respect for the delicate generosity of the modest non-partisans who have packed this convention, we fear it may enter upon its task under somewhat of a cloud of popular prejudice.

The late Josephine Shaw Lowell.

One of the distinguished abolitionists of the '50's and early '60's, was Francis George Shaw, in whose heart the fires of liberty continued to burn so brightly long after the chattel slaves were freed, that he welcomed the advent of Henry George as the leader of a new crusade for freedom. Free trader as well as abolitionist, he was also what would now be known as a single taxer. A man of fair means, he distributed the first edition of

Progress and Poverty widely, and by a bequest at his death made it possible for George to write Protection or Free Trade. George's Social Problems is dedicated to his memory. It was this man's daughter, Josephine Shaw Lowell, whose recent death has evoked tributes of the highest praise from the leading journals of the land for her useful public life. Mrs. Lowell's brother, Col. Robert G. Shaw, led the first Negro regiment of the Civil War, and was "buried with his niggers" near Charleston after the dusky regiment had been reduced from a thousand to a score in front of Fort Wagner. One of her sisters married George William Curtis and another Gen. Francis C. Barlow, while she herself, in 1863, married Brig. Gen. Charles Russell Lowell, who was killed in action at Cedar Creek in 1864. Becoming an army nurse after her husband's death, Mrs. Lowell entered upon a notable career of public service which continued until her own death. In 1876 she was appointed State Commissioner of Charities of New York by Gov. Tilden, a position she held until 1889, and in which she initiated and promoted reforms in charities and correction that needed the help of a woman's hand and thought. She was influential in the social settlement movement, in the merit system of civil service reform, in labor troubles, in municipal reforms, and in the maintenance of national ideals; always, of course, in behalf of the same essential democracy that had inspired her father. It has been said of her that "she devoted herself to public affairs without sacrificing her womanliness." It were better to say that by devotion to public affairs she fulfilled her womanliness. Mrs. Lowell was no dainty dabbler in what doesn't concern her sex. She was no trifter with masculine affairs regarding which she not only had no rights but claimed none. She was a high-minded citizen, so jealous of the rights of citizenship that she demanded equal suffrage for women as well as men, yet so sensitive to

the duties of citizenship that she neglected none which the laws allowed her to perform. With her death one of the first citizens of New York has passed away.

Mayor Johnson's campaign.

Mayor Johnson's administration has introduced a novelty in campaigning (pp. 451,457) in the form of a report of progress to the people. This is done on the sound theory that "the citizens are entitled to a full and complete report of the conduct of their city affairs, and Mayor Johnson's administration, believing that no other campaign document can be so strong, is glad to submit its record and to stand or fall on that record." The record, presented in a clean and attractive piece of printing simply illustrated with appropriate pictures, is explicit though brief in its story of a municipal administration that well deserves its encomiums of "efficient and progressive."

General interest is concerned more, perhaps, with what this report has to say of the street railroad question than of anything else, and we quote it in part:

In the five years since 1900 a remarkable struggle has been made to secure a reasonable settlement of the street railroad question. In spite of dozens of court injunctions, of ripper legislation and of unjust State laws, the street railroad has been held in check, and with each tick of the clock the hour draws near when the railroad must come to the people and ask terms. When Mayor Johnson was first a candidate, his opponent said three-cent fare was a fad, and he stood for a settlement with the street railroad on a basis of six tickets for a quarter; two years later Mr. Gouldner, the Republican candidate for mayor, would settle for seven tickets for a quarter, and this year Mr. Boyd, the Republican candidate, says he thinks the company ought to be willing to give eight tickets for a quarter (with five cents cash fare). Meanwhile, the people of Cleveland have been steadfast in their determination not to give up their fight. The courts, some day, will dispose of the mass of clever lawsuits which have been tied around the people by the street railroads. The clock ticks on, and existing franchises are expiring. . . . The street railroad question is still up to the people. Victory is as

surely theirs as the fact that the people of this city are more powerful than any possible combination of money, lawyers and politicians.

On other phases of municipal government this unique campaign document reports:

Waterworks.—The merit system in this department, which was formerly a political dumping ground for broken-down ward heelers, has been continued. The department is now run on a business basis, independent of politics, and the result is much more satisfactory to the owners—the people of Cleveland.

Garbage.—Under the McKisson administration a five-year contract was entered into for the collection and disposal of garbage at a cost of \$69,400 per year. On January 1st, 1905, the city purchased the entire property of the Newburg Reduction Company, including 50 acres of land and all horses, wagons, cars, etc., at a cost of \$87,500. Since that time, under municipal operation, the collection of garbage during the first six months was increased one-third over a corresponding period of the previous year, giving much better service to householders without any additional cost to the taxpayers.

Public Health.—Since Mayor Johnson's first election the health office of the city has never been closed—day and night, holidays and Sundays—the battle against filth and disease is waged. Under the ancient theory and practice of city government, money was saved on the health department so that there would be funds to fight epidemics. The modern method is to spend enough money on the health department so that there will be no epidemics to fight. The old health department used to cost the taxpayers \$35,000 per year. The new one costs about \$88,000 per year. Under the old plan smallpox alone cost the city over half a million dollars, to say nothing of the losses to trade and business. Under the new plan there are no epidemics.

Charities and Corrections.—The work being done in Cleveland by Director Harris R. Cooley and his assistants is not duplicated in any city in the world. The common idea of municipal "relief" is to dole out the bitter bread of charity through a relief department. . . . The common idea of "correction" has been bread and water and hard labor. Dr. Cooley believes that, instead of throwing a crust to the poor, more good can be done by extending a strong, helping hand that will enable the unfortunate to earn his own bread. He believes that, although prisons and workhouses are necessary, and law-breakers should and must be punished,