

don't mind ever hearin' it as part of the court proceedin's. What has a judge to do with denouncin' anybody? His duty is to sentence after verdict. What the Washington judge did, was to find the facts himself, get mad over 'em, put the defendants on a blacklist and punish 'em himself. The same thing he accuses Gompers & Co. of doin'—fell into the same pit. It's kind of funny if it wasn't so serious. But it is serious. You see my Supreme Court denies the right of Congress to interfere with them in chancery matters. I'm interested in seeing just what they will do when it comes before them, as it probably will. Yours for the law of the land,

UNCLE SAM.

BOOKS

ORGANIZED DEMOCRACY.

Organized Democracy. By Albert Stickney. Published by Houghton, Mifflin and Company, Boston and New York. Price \$1 net.

Mr. Stickney's opinions are enhanced in importance, whether in value or not, by the fact that he is a railroad magnate. They are evidently very much influenced, too, by his business environment. But Mr. Stickney is, nevertheless, a man of individuality, whose opinions are as free from collateral influences as any man's can be, and he minces no words in expressing them. In the present book he declares for democracy, and seeks a method for organizing it.

His quest entirely ignores the fundamental economic enemies of democracy, and hits only upon the derivative evils of machine politics. Finding that our popular elections do not secure an expression of the popular will, mainly because we use individual ballots and a system of short terms of office, he proposes the abolition of the ballot, and the direction of government by the ablest and best equipped men, subject to responsibility to the people. This sounds rather goo-gooish, but Mr. Stickney has a plan.

His plan demands three conditions—single-headed administration, a popular assembly, and an electoral college system of ultimate popular control. In administration of public affairs each head of a department must be in complete control, subject to responsibility to the chief executive, and the chief must be "directly or indirectly under the control of the people." The people must control through a popular assembly—"a body of exceptional men selected by reason of their ability in affairs." This assembly should be chosen by an electoral college composed of men elected *viva voce* at public meetings in small voting precincts.

No one can read Mr. Stickney's book without fully believing that its author is a man of pro-

found democratic sentiment; and yet it is doubtful if the most astute aristocrat or plutocrat could devise a more effective scheme than his for obstructing democratic progress. It is curious that a man of affairs and a political scholar withal, who has a real aspiration for democracy, and to that end is irreconcilably hostile to party government, should base any expectations upon the electoral method of choosing officials. If it worked, it would be as sure as sunrise to establish an oligarchy; if it didn't work, party government would be inevitable. Our electoral college for choosing Presidents is an example. A failure for its purpose, it has probably been more influential than any thing else in breeding and fostering party spirit and power through all the ramifications of our civic system.

This is not to say, however, that Mr. Stickney's proposals are without political merit. Of his remarks upon public administration we might quote paragraph after paragraph, page after page, with substantial approval. We can cordially say with him, for instance, that "the wise and efficient handling" of "large public interests requires our ablest men," and that "those men must have the training that comes from large experience." And we can add, with him, that "every administrative office or department must have a single head, that it must be under the full control of some single man who shall individually be held responsible for the efficiency of that office or department." But to make the chief responsible to the people through a representative assembly upon whom his tenure of office depends, as Mr. Stickney suggests, would be to create an oligarchy of the most dangerous character. The consequent temptations would ruin the political virtue of an assembly of archangels. Although the abolition of fixed terms for purely administrative officers might not be bad, the power of removing the chief officer and choosing his successor should be lodged with the people by means of some device like that of the popular recall.

But if Mr. Stickney's proposals for securing efficient and honest administrative officers be approved, there is a field of democratic organization which it would be fatal to subject to such control. He does not distinguish between administration and policy. Efficiency and honesty may well be regarded as the only requirements for democratic organization in the administrative field, but something more is needed in the field of general policy. We call in a physician when we are sick; but it is to use his special skill in carrying out our desires, and not to dictate desires for us. If a capital operation ought in his judgment to be performed, we consider his judgment; but the decision is ours, not his. If we want a building erected we may leave the details absolutely to an architect because of his efficiency in that kind of

service; but we decide for ourselves whether the building shall be a dwelling, a barn, a factory, or a theater. And so it is with government. For administration, for execution, for accomplishing the objects of democratic organization, we must have experts and give them a free hand so long as they are honest and efficient. But the general purpose must be satisfactory to the people themselves; and the way of ascertaining whether the people are satisfied is not by depending solely upon a popular assembly however chosen, but by reference to the command of the people through some form of initiative, and to their veto through some form of referendum.

Apart from his affirmative proposals, Mr. Stickney's book will be found very instructive and interesting in its indictment and proof of the sinister power of machine politics. But in proposing remedies he seems to forget that he is dealing with live men. Indeed his whole work indicates, as the title of his book implies, a sense of democracy as something to be artificially organized instead of a natural organism to be studied and cultivated.

● PERIODICALS

The most remarkable, the most significant, and in every other respect the best piece of magazine work Lincoln Steffens has ever done is his fact story, "The Least of These," in the January "Everybody's."

Ten Lillies and ten Virgins,
And, marvel to mine eyes,
Five of the Virgins were foolish,
But all of the Lillies were wise.
—Sidney Lanier.

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After a painstaking, not to say painful, investigation of the approved method of bringing up children in our larger American cities, where civilization has reached its acme, we are able to state authoritatively, for the benefit of the backward provinces, the way it is done.

First find a tenement, the more squalid and unsanitary, the better. In order that the children may have the companionship and elevating association of their fellow beings, crowd as many of them into one tenement as possible. Dress them with care, using as little clothing as possible. This prevents them from being proud and haughty. Feed them sparingly. This gives them incentive and appetite. The trouble with those who eat too much is that they have no appetite.

The child should not be cared for in an organized manner lest it lose its individuality. Whether the child is to be neglected or cared for, it should be done by the parents, and if the parents should happen to be criminals or drunkards, so much the better, for they can then serve as horrible examples for the children to avoid.

When the child is old enough send it to school, the hungrier, the better. The matter of education should be left with the Government. Education, like salvation, may be free without pauperizing the recipient. The education should not be haphazard. It should be turned over to politicians, who should receive abundantly for their work, not only directly

Significant Tributes.

An extraordinarily interesting letter from Bolton Hall of New York, was quoted last week by THE PUBLIC. Mr. Hall told how uniquely THE PUBLIC has served him. ¶ Here is a letter of an entirely different type, yet quite as interesting and suggestive. It is from James H. Dillard of New Orleans, the distinguished educator:

I JUST want to tell you what an interesting number of The Public I found the last, of December 25, to be. Going to Atlanta on Tuesday, I was talking on the train with Dr. Jones, who teaches at Hampton. Incidentally to some discussion he remarked, "Of course you read The Public?" ¶ Next day, in the lobby of the Piedmont, Mr. Caldwell, former President of the Louisiana Normal School, told in a group how he enjoyed the editorial page of "Life." "They are the most honest editorials in America," he said, "except The Public's." It takes a long time for a paper, especially one poor in money, to get a reputation and fame. What a tremendous pity it would be for The Public not to be able to go on building.

Isn't it worth while to invest a dollar to get acquainted with a paper which commands such spontaneous tributes from such men?

THE PUBLIC, Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago.