

# The Public

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## EDITORIAL

### African Civilization.

Frederick Starr, the distinguished student of races, who has just returned from a trip through the savage regions of Africa, reports that "a white man, if he behaves himself and does not act war-

like, is safe in Africa." That is more than can be said of black men in America.

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### The Cleveland Traction Victory.

Although the details of the Supreme Court decision in favor of Mayor Johnson are not yet fully at hand, it is evident that the victory is in all substantial respects complete. Since the decision holds that the "Concon's" principal franchises have expired, and lays down a principle under which three-fourths of the rest will expire within three years, the city of Cleveland now has the whip hand. The monopoly company must either submit or go to the wall.

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### The Essence of Political Power.

According to "Raymond," the acute observer and frequently faithful reporter of the Chicago Tribune, three important Congressional bills are moribund. They are the subsidy bill, the immigration bill and the Philippine tariff bill. The reason they are moribund is because they "have aroused," says Raymond, "the enmity of powerful interests." Let it be noted that when the enmity of "powerful interests" is aroused the people don't count—not after election.

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### Guggenheim's Wealth.

One of the friendly descriptions of Simon Guggenheim, who is slated for Republican Senator from Colorado—a description that we find in the Denver correspondence of the Cincinnati Enquirer—praises him for having "got his wealth from Nature's storehouse." That would be praise indeed, if it were true. But the fact seems to be, not that Mr. Guggenheim got his wealth from Nature's storehouse, but that he got the storehouse. With that "cinch" upon their industry the miners gave him the wealth.

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### The Labor Case in Idaho.

In his message, Governor Gooding of Idaho mentions the case of the Colorado labor leaders who are under indictment for the murder of ex-Governor Steunenberg. "They are entitled to a fair trial," he says, and "the character of our courts and our citizenship insure it to them." But that is the question. Will they get a fair trial? These men were kidnapped at midnight from their homes in Colorado, by a conspiracy between

certain Colorado officials and certain Idaho officials. In this way they were denied the protection of the courts of Colorado, their home State. What reason is there to believe that they will be any more fairly treated at their trial than in their extradition?

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### **Saloons, and yet Again Saloons.**

Some Socialists of Chicago are helping out the Sunday-closing movement against Mayor Dunne (p. 923), by supplementing its lawsuit with another lawsuit. The difference between the two suits is that these Socialists are suing to compel the Mayor to enforce an obsolete law against a class of its violators of which the Sunday-closing movement has failed to take notice. The pleadings in the Sunday-closing suit complain of Mayor Dunne for not enforcing the law against the sale of beer on Sunday by proprietors of such saloons as are called "the poor man's club"; the pleadings in the Socialist suit complain of him for not enforcing it against the Palmer House, the Chicago Club, the Union League Club, and other gilded saloons of the rich, of which the regular Sunday-closing movement has, for some reason, unaccountable or otherwise, taken no cognizance.

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### **The Race Question in Georgia.**

We have never believed that the great majority of the white people of the South are viciously hostile to the Negro race. We have not believed that the lynchings and burnings have been approved by the prevailing sentiment of the whites. What we have believed and do believe, is that the lawless type of whites have overawed the rest. But now the true sentiment is getting voice and gaining strength. Directly from Georgia comes the gratifying news that plans are being perfected there to prevent the re-enactment of such horrible scenes as occurred in Atlanta last Fall. Ex-Gov. Northern appears to be at the head of this movement, and it includes black men as well as white men. Its aim is to secure the punishment of offenders of both races, but in a lawful and orderly manner. In one of his speeches on the subject Gov. Northern pointed out the imminence of race riots and said: "The only way to prevent such a state of affairs occurring is for the law and order element to organize. Law-abiding people must protect themselves against the tendencies toward defiance of the law. A better understanding between the races must be established and the better classes among both races are coming to this conclusion." The rapid growth of this move-

ment is one of the most gratifying facts in Southern development.

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### **News and Views from Washington.**

A press bureau at Washington, of the right kind, has long been needed. The routine dispatches are not very enlightening, and special correspondents are too apt to write their letters with a view to pleasing the people they write about rather than informing the public they write for. Even well-meaning correspondents often overlook the significance of news that indicates a drift toward or away from the democracy in which the government was founded. The people of the United States do not get as fully and intelligently the serious information from Congress which is furnished by the English press regarding proceedings in Parliament. This need is to be supplied now by a press bureau which Willis J. Abbot is to conduct at Washington, and of which the president is Alexander Troup of New Haven. It is intended not to supplant, but to supplement the present work of press associations and special correspondents.

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### **Municipal Ownership "Failures."**

Newspaper readers must have noticed the accumulation recently of reports of "municipal ownership failures" in different parts of the country. Most of this information comes from a press bureau in New York which is organized for the express purpose of "working" the reading public in the interest and under the pay of financiers whose profits depend upon private ownership of public utilities.

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The latest instance of a "municipal ownership failure" is that of the electric lighting plant at the State capital of Illinois. Because a private company has got an electric lighting franchise, newspapers that cater to the Interests report the result as evidence of the failure of the public plant. But Springfield has never had municipal ownership of electric lighting. It has had a plant for lighting public places (vol. viii, p. 278), but with no power to sell to private consumers, and even this plant has been under a lease to a monopoly company. The city is at the mercy of the public utility hucksters, and in these circumstances a competing company has come in. Whether that is a good thing or a bad one, may be passed over for the present; for the contention is that the change is due to the excessive cost of "public ownership," and this contention has no basis what-

ever. Slight as has been the element of public ownership in this case, it has reduced street lighting in Springfield from \$137.50 per arc light per annum, to less than \$60.

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#### Moses Harman's Release.

About a year ago (vol. viii, pp. 242, 290, 806, 815) Mr. Moses Harman was convicted in the Federal court of mailing an obscene article in his periodical, *Lucifer*. He was convicted, not because the jury considered the article obscene, but because the presiding judge instructed the jury that the question of obscenity was not within their province, that the only question for them to pass upon was the fact of the mailing of the paper. In fact the article was not obscene, and Mr. Harman's conviction and imprisonment were, as the Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones describes them, "nothing less than a crime." It is a subject for congratulation that Mr. Harman's imprisonment has under these circumstances been treated by some of the good men and women of the community as an honor instead of a disgrace, and that they should therefore have greeted him with an honorable reception upon his return. It was no misplaced praise, that of the late Ernest Howard Crosby, when in responding to an invitation to this reception he said: "No one can know Mr Harman personally or through his writings without becoming impressed by the purity and honesty of his purpose and by the fact that his main impulse is what seems to him a high ideal." These words we repeat and endorse, not in advocacy of Mr. Harman's views, for we dissent from them, but in the same spirit in which Mr. Crosby added to his personal praise the words: "That such men should be met by the arguments of iron bars and dungeon cells shows that the spirit of Torquemada is not entirely exorcised."

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#### The Traction Referendum in Chicago.

Mayor Dunne has insisted upon a referendum on the traction ordinance, (p. 914), but every influence to prevent this has been resorted to by the newspapers that do the "hurrah" work for the traction companies. This seems to be the supreme test which the companies and their coadjutors wish to avoid, and at last they have come to depend upon the impossibility of securing a referendum petition for lack of sufficient time. In the *Chicago Tribune* of the 6th this expectation was "given dead away." "The question of a referendum on the ordinance at the spring election," said the *Tribune* of that date, "practically will be

settled by the date on which the settlement is reported to the Council; if the measures are not submitted until next week, and no move toward getting at the petition is made before that time, it is unlikely that the requisite number of signatures, 86,000, can be secured before the statutory limit of February 1."

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But Mayor Dunne has not been as fast asleep as some of his friends have feared and his enemies have believed. On the 7th he urged the City Council by message to readopt the Foreman resolution of a year or more ago (vol. viii, p. 456), pledging the Council to make no final settlement of the traction question without an approval by popular vote on referendum. The adverse vote upon this request of the Mayor proves the danger that confronts the city. If a referendum is not obtained before the 1st of February, the Council will probably pass, over the Mayor's veto, a franchise ordinance that will practically strip the city of its rights and turn over the streets for twenty years to come to Pierpont Morgan's stock-jobbing crew.

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#### ERNEST HOWARD CROSBY.

To some men their ideals are realities, and Ernest Howard Crosby was conspicuously one of these. His ideals were not dreamy ruminations for drawing room chat or club house banter. They were not intellectual playthings for leisure hours when the serious work of life is suspended. They were in no sense secondary. Mr. Crosby's ideals were to him the primary object of his life, its beginning and its end, its form and its substance, to which everything else was subordinate, to which everything else was made to give way.

Accidents of worldly fortune had indeed placed him beyond any necessity for practically contrasting the seriousness of his ideals with the seriousness of making a living. But such a test would have been a minor one in comparison with some that he actually endured. The essence of it all is not that as a man of leisure he was able to devote himself to his ideals with singleness of mind, but that in all he did, whether from necessity or choice, his ideals had the first place and the controlling influence.

They were worthy of it. For Ernest Crosby's ideals were both lofty and practical. He loved his fellow man with a love that was more than affectionate emotion and truer than conventional philanthropy. Emotional it certainly was, but it was the emotion that inspires. With him the

all-absorbing sentiment of fraternal love inspired rational thought and generated rational activity. It was the profound fraternal love which we should call "justice," if it were not that "justice" has been perverted to mean brutal vengeance. In the sense of right relations, of moral equilibrium, of social harmony, the word "justice" more truly than any other defines the love that Ernest Crosby had for his fellow men.

Awakened by Tolstoy to the great realities of the ideal, Mr. Crosby found in Henry George, as Tolstoy had told him he would, the method of social regeneration. From the hour of that awakening, he lived a new life—a life from within outward instead of one from without inward, from himself to others and no longer from others to himself. It was a short life, but none of it was wasted. In essay and speech and poem, Ernest Howard Crosby has left a record of idealistic work that will continue to serve the human race long after the work of the most successful among his sordidly practical contemporaries has been thrust aside as rubbish and forgotten.

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### THE PESSIMISM OF OPTIMISM.

"Ernest H. Crosby of New York, who died at Baltimore on Thursday, aged 50 years, was a conspicuous example of the waste of good abilities coupled with great earnestness and zeal in their use. . . . He . . . embraced the doctrine that nearly everything on earth was wrong, that everything which his fellow men did that he did not approve was done from base motives, and that no one could be decent and sincere whose conduct was not governed by his own code of conduct. And so he became a universal fault-finder, whose counsels average people heard with resentment and only that they might do just the contrary to them. . . . He became as a man who passes along a fair street and insists that those in his company shall think only of the sewer under it, or as one who looks upon a stately mansion and insists that the only thing about it worth considering is the garbage can at the back door, or as one who looks at the sun and denies that its light is real because there are spots upon its splendid disk."—Editorial Obituary in Chicago Inter Ocean of January 5, 1907.

Originating as philosophical terms, "optimism" and "pessimism" have passed into current language, the one as a term of condemnation, the other as a term of reproach. Etymologically the optimist is one who hopes for the best, the pessimist the one who expects the worst. Currently the optimist is the apostle of good cheer, the preacher of faith in mankind, the prophet of a better day; the pessimist is the knocker, the kicker, the cynic, the man who is always "agin the government." Yet, like many another word of honorable extraction and established meaning, each term often has been made to perform duties

at variance with its character. So often indeed are they impressed into traitorous service that a discerning person is reminded of the devil stealing the livery of heaven, and in some vocabularies would rather be mentioned as a pessimist than as an optimist.

Starting with the premise that an optimist is one who always "looks upon the bright side," and the pessimist is the muck-raker who always sees the "dark side," the apologists for every existing evil use the words to condemn honesty and varnish hypocrisy, to discourage investigation and condone graft, to prove that whatever is right, and whoever would suggest improvement is an enemy of society. Wanting in discrimination, they have to resort to metaphors which show how vagabond ideas may masquerade in respectable phrases. For instance, every one has heard such illustrations as these: "The optimist is the traveler who sees the beautiful landscape, and the pessimist is one who keeps his eyes upon the mud in the road;" "The optimist sees the ring of the doughnut, while the pessimist sees only the hole;" "The optimist expects only his country's glory, the pessimist fears its ruin," and so on.

According to such illustrations, the optimist could be entirely without foresight, the embodiment of folly, while the pessimist would at least possess the merit of caution. It might be suggested, in comment upon them, that the pessimist who sees the mud is likely to select the safest course, while the landscape gazer is in danger of stumbling into the ditch; that the hole in the doughnut is more digestible than the ring, etc.

In short, to generalize, the optimist who does not discriminate is worse than the pessimist who does not distinguish. The latter may be disagreeable perhaps, but the former is dangerous because a preacher of false security. Making a concrete application of the terms as used in the unconscious sophistry of those who do their thinking according to good form, the optimist is one who would let well enough alone, a stand patter, a defender of the *status quo*, an opponent of every reform. He looks upon the "bright side," that is, he believes all is going well and he will not listen to criticism of public affairs. He fosters sentiment and creates conditions which make the people easy prey for political grafters and commercial flim-flammers. Ventures of a certain kind he calls "larceny" when represented by dollars, and "business enterprise" when it is in millions. A crime is not a crime if the evidence of it escapes the grand jury. By the same token a pessimist is one who has the discernment to see

and the courage to denounce official corruption and commercial rascality, one who refuses to believe that criminal methods are any less reprehensible because they are prosperous.

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An illustration of the optimist statesman is Senator Beveridge, who as a campaign orator preaches the doctrine of "good cheer" and prosperity, and denounces as the enemy of the country one who suggests that the trusts might be curbed or government extravagance retrenched. Senator Beveridge wrote a book called the "Russian Advance," a book already forgotten, but valuable as illustrating the point of view of an optimist statesman observer. He saw the "bright side." He saw the system and organized efficiency of the Russian bureaucracy, but failed to see its galling oppression and intolerable corruption. He saw the peaceful industry of the Russian peasants, but did not notice their squalid poverty and ignorance. He saw the rapid extension of government railroads and construction of frontier fortresses, but was blind to the ravages of recent famine and the seething popular discontent. He would have predicted only an increase of prestige and perpetuation of power for the Russian government as it was, never the disaster in war and the domestic disorder of which the facts gave warning.

This is one example of which many might be mentioned among the moulders of public opinion and exemplars of public morality among preachers, statesmen and editors. In their nomenclature, citizens who complain of graft are, as reformers in their own times have always been, disturbers of the public peace. The prophets always have been stoned, so far as history tells about them. A magazine which exposes some municipal corruption or the unlawful extortions of the beef trust, is a "calumniator of public institutions." If a newspaper publishes the truth about some legislative graft or some embezzlement of trust funds, it is "helping to tear down our institutions" and "destroy the confidence of the unthinking masses in the integrity and efficiency of our government." When a political orator exposes the alchemy by which the nerve and cunning of rebaters and monopolists are coined into millions, he is seeking to "inflare class hatred" and "array the poor against the rich." Such things are not to be tolerated by well regulated patriotism. The optimist apostles of "good cheer" find it "safer and saner" to condemn evils which are remote, abstract and impersonal. A well groomed and

conventional doctor of divinity explodes in orotund denunciation of the sins of *other* ages; a decorous and discreet statesman harangues about the oppression and injustice which our *forefathers* suffered; a discreet newspaper exposes the blighting corruption of *foreign* nations. It is strictly within the proprieties to condemn without stint the corruption which prevailed in the time of Christ and the oppression of the tyrants of Rome. As to our own affairs, those matters which immediately concern our welfare, we should look upon the "bright side." We must not suspect anybody of anything which might disturb the serene optimism of those who want well enough to be let alone and those who perchance would not otherwise be so prosperous.

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By a peculiar slant in their notion of consistency, the exponents of this purblind optimism are always talking of "progress." It would be as well to call absolutism democracy, slavery freedom, or necromancy science, as to say that such stand patters are "progressive." Progress has always been made over their protest. Improved conditions have always been gained against the violent opposition of those who "look on the bright side," for the simple reason that they can see nothing to improve. The slow and painful steps by which civilized society has attained a degree of freedom, security, enlightenment and physical comfort, have been made slower and more painful by obstructive optimism.

What optimist of the "brighter side" school ever championed the cause of human liberty, ever contributed to the emancipation of slaves, ever aroused the people in defense of justice, ever pleaded for higher ideals? Was ever a great achievement due to such men? A great work of art, literature, philosophy or science or statesmanship? Imagine Pericles, or Franklin or Lincoln as optimists of that school. Imagine one of such optimists delivering a speech like one of Patrick Henry's or John Hampton's. Which one of them could have written a play such as King Lear or Oedipus Tyrannus, or could have added to the world's joy by producing a book like Don Quixote or Tom Sawyer? It would be interesting to list the pessimists who have been the seers, the poets, the philosophers, the reformers and the doers of great deeds. Socrates, the Gracchi, Luther, William the Silent, the Signers of the Declaration of Independence and Abraham Lincoln. Yet all such men were, in a larger view and a better sense,

optimists, though not recognized as such in their day.

If the optimists who saw only the bright side achieved anything in generations gone, the world has forgotten it. We only know they existed because history recounts the mischiefs which they abetted. Chancellor Day had his prototypes in the sycophants of many a royal court, and the forerunners of Beveridge maintained the prestige of many a weak and wicked prince.

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It might be suggested that such are so well satisfied because as a rule they individually and as a class are "well fixed," and can therefore bear with equanimity the evils which only affect other individuals and classes. They can afford to see only the bright side because that is the side they are on, and a little muckraking might tarnish its shining surface. But granting their good faith, the dreariest pessimism is embodied in the optimism of the brighter side preachers. What ideal can uplift one who is satisfied with the sordid reality? What devotion to a worthy cause can consist with a conviction that all is well enough? What room for a hope that the ignorant may be educated, or the sordid made clean, or the toiler rewarded or the public service purified, can there be in the breast of one who persists in believing that everything is the best possible—one who is satisfied with the tinsel and glitter of surface facts, and shuns as muckraking any effort to know the profounder facts affecting the case? It is the optimism of the ostrich which will not see. It is the most hopeless pessimism, because it is without promise and without incentive to effort.

JOHN TURNER WHITE.

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### THE SHEEP-DOG.

Ernest Crosby in "Swords and Plowshares."

I believe in the world.

I stake my reputation as a prophet on its future.

I am sure that it will come out all right in the end, and that is the reason why I am forever worrying it and barking at it like a shepherd's dog driving sheep.

If I did not think it would keep to the right road in the long run, I would not trouble myself about it.

The sheep-dog enjoys life, too, as well as any one, but, alas! why is it that the sheep always misunderstand him and his intentions?

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The terrible problem of pauperism began to press on English statesmen as soon as the old English cultivating groups (in which land was collectively and not privately owned) began distinctly to fall to pieces.—Sir Henry Maine.

## 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 Wednesday, Jan. 9, 1907.

### Death of Ernest Crosby.

Ernest Howard Crosby died suddenly of pneumonia in Baltimore on the morning of January 3.

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### Mayor Johnson's Traction Victory.

By unanimous decision the Supreme Court of the United States on the 7th sustained the decision of the lower court on the question of the duration of the traction franchises. The decision so sustained (p. 727) was made by Judge Robert Taylor of the Federal court for the Northern District of Ohio, in the Summer of 1905. It held that the franchise on Central and Quincy avenues expired March 22, 1905. The company appealed from this decision to the Supreme Court at Washington, but allowed the appeal to rest until Mayor Johnson began to tear up the tracks on one of the avenues in question. The company then applied for a restraining order from the Supreme Court. This was granted by the court, but an early argument on the whole case was at the same time ordered. Some weeks have elapsed since the argument, and now comes the sweeping decision which sustains that of Judge Taylor and practically ends the long traction fight in Cleveland (p. 943).

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Under this decision the old company has no further franchise claims on two of its main lines, and within three years three-quarters of all its franchises will have expired. The City Council, at its meeting on the 7th, called a public meeting for the 10th to afford an opportunity to the old company to offer a fair settlement. This was in response to a formal communication from Mayor Johnson, in which he said:

The Supreme Court of the United States to-day decided that the franchises of the Cleveland Electric Railway Co., in Central avenue, Quincy avenue and a part of E. Ninth street expired on the 22d day of March, 1905. Since that date the Cleveland Electric Railway Co. has therefore been operating its cars in the streets named without legal right. It is now the duty of the Council to act. In its action the Council should consider two things: First, the convenience of the people of the city, and second, the amount due the city under the promise of the Cleveland Electric in consideration of your forbearance during the appeal to the Supreme Court. I suggest that the Council have an immediate public meeting to which representatives of the Cleveland Electric Railway Co. be invited, and that an invitation be extended to the company requesting the appearance of persons authorized to speak on its behalf and to act for it. At such a meeting the Council should be informed of the plan

of the company for terminating their use of the streets in the way least inconvenient to the public, and also the amount which the company concedes to be due the city for their past use, together with data upon which that amount is determined. In July, 1905, the president of the Cleveland Electric Railway Co. stated in writing that the company was willing, in consideration of its being allowed to continue the operation of its cars pending the appeal, to pay to the city all that it received from such operation, less operating expenses, taxes, depreciation and 6 per cent. interest on the value of the physical property used. The present situation is that the Cleveland Electric Railway Co. is operating without right on the following streets and parts of streets: East Ninth street, from Prospect avenue to Central avenue; Central avenue, from East Ninth street to East Eighty-third street (Lincoln avenue); Quincy avenue, from Fifty-fifth street (Willson) to Woodhill road (Woodland Hills avenue); East Ninth street, from Superior avenue to Euclid avenue, and from Scovill avenue to Woodland avenue; Michigan avenue, from Ontario street to West Third street; West Sixth street (Bank), from Lake avenue to private right of way; eastern track of the eastern roadway of Monumental square, between Superior avenue and Euclid avenue; Bolivar road and Eagle avenue, S. W., west on East Ninth street. The importance of immediate action of the Council is therefore apparent as each day's continued operation under existing circumstances is a denial of the public right and gives to the Cleveland Electric Railway Co. by sufferance, profits which should accrue to the people.

At the same meeting of the Council at which the public meeting was ordered as stated above, franchises to the Low Fare Company (p. 943) covering the same street territory which has already been granted to the "Threefer" were unanimously ordered. The "Concon" has now attacked the Low Fare Company by injunction, upon the ground that it is organized to evade the injunctions obtained against the "Threefer" upon the basis of Mayor Johnson's alleged financial interest therein. On behalf of the Low Fare Company it is argued that inasmuch as Mayor Johnson has no financial interest whatever in the Low Fare Company the objection is untenable, no matter whether it would be good or not as applied to the "Threefer."

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#### The Traction Struggle in Chicago.

The Chicago traction ordinance (pp. 914, 937), which has been for some months in preparation along the lines of Mayor Dunne's "Werno letter," under the direction of Walter F. Fisher as special counsel in behalf of the city, and a host of New York and Chicago corporation lawyers in behalf of the traction companies, was attacked before the local transportation committee of the City Council on the 3rd upon charges of bad faith in its construction. The attack was made by D. K. Tone, as counsel for the Chicago Federation of Labor, the Referendum League and the Municipal Ownership Delegate Convention. Mr. Tone criticized the ordinance in many particulars. One of his important disclosures was the fact that as the ordinance stands the City Railway Company, to which the South Side grant is to be made and which is authorized to go into the North Side if the North Side company refuses proffered terms, has no power under its charter to operate on the North Side and that under the constitution its charter cannot be amended. To overcome this difficulty a company called the "City Rail-

road Company" has since been organized to perform such obligations as the City Railway Company accepts, but may have no corporate authority to perform. Another of Mr. Tone's objections was to the effect that the companies to whom the franchises are to be granted are not limited in their expenditures for rehabilitation, and that consequently they may spend in excess of \$75,000,000. This would make it impossible for the city to buy, because \$75,000,000 is the limit of the Mueller certificates that have been authorized. Among Mr. Tone's other points were these: That the ordinance is not a license but a franchise in perpetuity unless terminated by purchase at exorbitant figures; that if the Mueller law should be overruled by the courts after the passage of the ordinance it will be impossible to terminate the franchise; and that it obligates the city to pay in the event of purchase, millions of dollars for useless property and expired or expiring franchises. It was argued also that in still other respects the ordinance fails to conform to the "Werno letter." Since this attack, amendments have been discussed, but no further action has been taken by the transportation committee.

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In view of these objections to the ordinance, and also of his campaign pledges and those of the aldermen, Mayor Dunne submitted the following message to the City Council on the 7th:

Ordinances are now under consideration by your committee on local transportation which aim at a complete settlement of the street railway question. They, therefore, fall within the description of the Foreman resolution of your body of Oct. 16, 1905, which received the almost unanimous approval of the Chicago newspapers at that time and was adopted by the Council by a vote of 63 to 0. This resolution declared it to be "the sense of the Council that the procedure in dealing with any ordinance or ordinances for the settlement of the Chicago street railway question" should provide for a referendum. To that course of procedure I therefore submit that your honorable body is pledged with reference to the pending ordinances for the settlement of said question. Many of your members are likewise pledged by the political platform upon which you were elected. And as Mayor I also am pledged to the same effect, as was my opponent at the last mayoralty election. In addition to these obligations of honor it behooves us all as trustees of the people to proceed with caution in this matter, for the ordinances in question are not yet in proper form to effectuate the purposes of the "Werno letter," and objections have been raised to them in their present form, which, if valid and not corrected, might operate to confer unwarranted and unintended franchise rights upon the traction companies. For these reasons and in order that the said ordinances may not be adopted without public scrutiny and approval, and also in order that the people may be fully assured of opportunity for such scrutiny and approval, I respectfully recommend that your honorable body readopt the aforesaid Foreman resolution of Oct. 16, 1905, as follows:

"Resolved, That it is the sense of this Council that the procedure in dealing with any ordinance or ordinances for the settlement of the Chicago street railway question shall be as follows: The ordinance or ordinances shall be framed up for passage and voted on in committee of the whole without final action by the City Council. Thereupon such ordinance or ordinances as shall receive a majority of votes taken by roll call in the committee of the whole shall be published, and the City Council shall take steps to have the question whether it or they

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

Alderman Dever moved the re-adoption of the foregoing resolution, in accordance with Mayor Dunne's recommendation, and it was defeated by 40 to 26.

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Upon the refusal of the Council to guarantee a referendum, Mayor Dunne issued an address to the people on the 8th, published in the morning papers of the 9th, in which he called for a referendum and indicated dissatisfaction with the ordinance as it stands. In this address Mayor Dunne said:

To the Citizens of Chicago: Certain ordinances are now under consideration by the committee on local transportation of the City Council, which, if passed by the City Council, will effect a final settlement of the traction question which has engrossed the attention of the public of this city for ten years last past. Many objections have been urged against the passage of these ordinances, some of them of serious character. A decided divergence of public sentiment has developed as to the advisability or inadvisability of passing these ordinances. When I was seeking your suffrages as candidate for Mayor I solemnly pledged myself as follows: "No ordinance of any kind bearing upon the matter of street railroads other than a temporary arrangement will escape my veto, unless provision is made for the right of the people to approve or disapprove of the same by referendum." My opponent, Mr. Harlan, pledged himself emphatically in the following language: "I now declare that if elected Mayor of Chicago I shall veto any proposed solution of this problem (the traction problem) that shall not have been previously approved by the referendum vote of the people." The Republican municipal platform of 1905, upon which Mr. Harlan pledged himself and the aldermanic candidates running upon his ticket, is in the following language: "It is our settled conviction that no ordinance for the solution of the street railway problem should be placed upon its final passage until ample opportunity shall have been afforded for a referendum under the public opinion law. If disapproved by the people, such ordinance should not be passed, for this particular matter is of such general interest and of such vital importance to the people that no solution should be adopted of which the people disapprove." After my election the City Council of the City of Chicago, upon the motion of Alderman Foreman, pledged itself unanimously on Oct. 16, 1905, as follows: [Here the resolution of the Council set out at length in the Mayor's message quoted above, is reproduced.] The foregoing resolution unanimously adopted by the City Council on that date voiced the almost unanimous sen-

timent of the citizens of Chicago and was approved by most of the newspapers of Chicago.

In view of these solemn pledges made by myself and my opponent, when candidates before the people for the office with which you have honored me, and by the City Council unanimously, I have believed and still believe it incumbent upon me as your Mayor, and as a private citizen who desires to retain your respect as a man of honor, to give the registered voters of this city an opportunity to express themselves at the ballot box upon the question as to whether or not the ordinances now under consideration by the committee on local transportation should be passed by the City Council. In this belief, and for the purpose of obtaining joint action by the City Council and myself in securing a referendum vote of the people upon the proposed ordinance, I submitted a message on Jan. 7, 1907, to the Council asking that body to repass the resolution known as the Foreman resolution of Oct. 16, 1905. A motion to suspend the rules for the purpose of placing this resolution upon its passage, was made by Alderman Dever and seconded by Alderman Finn, but was defeated by a vote of 40 to 26. Nothing is left for me to do now but to appeal to the people to assist me in getting up a popular petition for a referendum to be addressed to the Board of Election Commissioners of this city.

The only legal method of giving the voters of Chicago that opportunity to express their views upon this most important question which may involve \$100,000,000 worth of property and the people's transportation for the next twenty years is by the presentation to the Board of Election Commissioners before Feb. 1, 1907, of a petition signed by 25 per cent. of the registered voters of this city, asking them to place upon the ballot at the election to be held upon April 2, 1907, the question as to whether or not the aforementioned ordinances as now framed or as hereafter amended should be passed by the City Council.

I am solemnly bound to give the voters of Chicago an opportunity to express their approval or disapproval of these proposed ordinances. Either private citizens, organizations or newspapers, or, in case of the failure of these, I, as Mayor of Chicago, in consequence of my pledge to the people, will prepare and distribute among the registered voters of this city a petition to the Board of Election Commissioners asking them under the public policy act of this State to place upon the ballot which will be presented to the voters of this city at the election to be held April 2, 1907, the question as to whether or not the ordinances now under consideration by the committee on local transportation, either as now framed or as hereafter amended and recommended to the City Council, should be passed by that body.

I respectfully urge my fellow citizens, irrespective of party, to sign this petition. The ordinance as now drafted or as hereafter amended and the other ordinance or ordinances to be drafted may be good or bad. In my judgment they cannot be finally agreed upon and recommended to the council until late in the month of January, too late for a referendum petition to be gotten up after their completion in compliance with the law. A referendum petition signed by 25 per cent. of the registered voters of the city must be filed in the office of the election commissioners on or before Feb. 1, 1907. To insure the filing of such a petition, which is the only way of enabling the citizens of Chicago to vote upon the question, action must be taken at once. One, if not more, serious defects which may not be remedied within the time allowed by law for the legal referendum have been disclosed in the ordinance within the last few days, and amendments to the same are absolutely necessary to guard the public interests. Some time during the month of February the Supreme Court of the State will, in all probability, decide the case involving the legality of the Mueller law and the Mueller certificates,



now pending before it. That decision will undoubtedly define the proper method of proceeding to acquire municipal ownership under the Mueller law. After that decision has been rendered the people will be in a position to vote more intelligently on any proposed settlement ordinance. I have heretofore stated that I was opposed to any settlement of the traction question without a referendum to the people. Nothing has transpired during the last two years to change my attitude on that question. On the contrary, I am more than ever convinced that any final settlement before final adoption should be submitted to the voters for their approval, especially in view of their emphatic declarations in the past upon the question of granting any franchises covering public utilities to private corporations.

The fact that certain newspapers, which have in the past steadfastly opposed all steps toward municipalization of the street car system, are now urging precipitous haste in closing with the traction companies is not reassuring.

Therefore, impelled by a sense of public duty which I owe to the people of this city, I will assist in the preparation of and sign a petition for a referendum vote at the next April election, and I earnestly urge my fellow citizens to sign such a petition so that between Feb. 1, the last day upon which under the law a petition can be filed, and April 2, 1907, the day of the election, a full and free discussion of the proposed ordinances as finally formulated can be had before the public, which is vitally interested therein. If the ordinances as finally drafted prove to be for the best interests of the public, they should be approved by the people. If they do not safeguard and protect the public interests, they should be defeated at the polls.

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#### An Investigation of Harriman.

An investigation into the Harriman system of railroads was begun at New York on the 4th by the Interstate Commerce Commission, which is reported as revealing Mr. Harriman as a greater power in railroad affairs than he has been suspected of being. He appears to have unlimited authority to pledge the assets of the roads he controls, and to have used it for temporary purchases of railroad stocks for the purpose of combining and consolidating vast railroad systems. The investigation is still proceeding, the Commission having begun sessions at Chicago on the 9th.

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#### Inauguration of Governor Hughes.

Governor Hughes of New York sent a notable message to the legislature at Albany on the 2nd. The message is a long one and deals with many subjects, most of them of local importance but nearly all of them of general interest. The principal recommendations of the latter kind relate to the Hearst-McClellan mayoralty contest, to election ballots, to preservation of public water rights, and to public utilities regulation. As to public water rights, he recommended that they be preserved and insistently held for the benefit of all the people. On the subject of the ballot, he recommended the abolition of the party column. On the Hearst-McClellan election his recommendation is that "immediate provision be made for a recount of the votes cast for mayor at the municipal election in New York city in 1905." "The matter is not one," declares Governor Hughes, "into which any considerations with respect to persons or expediency should be allowed to enter.

If upon a recount it is found that the present incumbent of the office received a plurality of the votes, he will be confirmed in his title and the claims which have been vehemently asserted against it will be conclusively answered. If, on the other hand, his opponent was elected he should be seated."

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#### The Hearst-McClellan Contest.

In harmony with the recommendation of Governor Hughes in his message to the legislature (p. 898), a quo warranto suit was brought by the Attorney General of New York on the 7th to oust Mayor McClellan from office on the ground that at the election in 1905 (vol. viii, p. 508) McClellan was counted in and Hearst was counted out. In aid of these proceedings an order was obtained of a Supreme Court judge on the 7th, by the Attorney General, for the seizure of the boxes containing the ballots of the mayoralty election of 1905, and on the 8th a raid was made upon the various warehouses where the ballot boxes were stored. By noon possession was obtained of nearly all the boxes, except some in the Bronx and Queens county. The boxes or the rooms were sealed.

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#### John W. Bengough an Alderman.

At the municipal election in Toronto on the 1st, John W. Bengough, who is well known throughout Canada as a lecturer and cartoonist and in the United States as well as in Canada as a Single Taxer, and who for five years has been the cartoonist of The Public, was elected to the Board of Aldermen. At the election last year, at which Mr. Bengough was a candidate for the same office, he was defeated.

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#### Large Socialist Vote in Toronto.

An unexpectedly large vote was polled at the Toronto election on the 1st for the Socialist candidate for mayor. Mayor Coatsworth was re-elected by 13,698, but the Socialist candidate, Mr. Lindala, came next with 8,286. The surprise at this may be inferred from the following from the Toronto Globe of the 2nd:

That an unknown Socialist tailor of foreign birth should poll over eight thousand votes for the Mayoralty of Toronto against a barrister of irreproachable personal character, who at one time represented his native city in Parliament, and last year defeated Mr. F. S. Spence for the Mayoralty, proves how utterly repugnant to the citizens has been the jellyfish administration of the past year.

This unexpected vote for the Socialist candidate is reported to have resulted not from a sudden growth of Socialist sentiment, but in response to a feeling which was expressed as follows in the Toronto Tribune of the 29th:

The mayoralty is a foregone conclusion. Mr. Coatsworth is sure to be elected, therefore we might as well have a little fun at his expense. Wouldn't it be a good idea for readers of the Tribune each to pick out and vote for one of the other candidates? It would be good practice in independent voting, and help to get labor men out of the habit of following submissively in the tracks of the two old party organizations. If the vote for the other candidates was at all substantial it would be a useful hint to some people.

It is to be said, however, that the candidate who

came out third in the race had less than 2,000, or about one-quarter of the vote for the Socialist.

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#### The Anti-Imperialist League.

The eighth annual meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League was held in Boston on November 24 and December 3. Moorfield Storey was re-elected President, David Greene Haskins, Jr., Treasurer, and Erving Winslow, Secretary. (Portions of the President's address appear in another department of this issue of The Public.) Among others who addressed the League were Ernest Crosby, Gamaliel Bradford, and the Hon. Lucius F. C. Garvin of Rhode Island. The League reported among the definite results of its work during the past year, the return of the Igorrotes to their own country. Their exhibition after the St. Louis Fair by showmen through the country under the worst sanitary and moral conditions, had been injurious to them, and dangerously misleading to the American people, who were naturally led to consider them as the general Filipino type. The League announces in its report that

The situation in the Philippine Islands is certainly very different from that of previous years. The Filipinos and those who are friends of the Filipinos and the cause of American constitutionalism, may congratulate themselves upon a condition of things in which the people's hopes are no longer ignored and insulted, yet on the other hand they have a right to protest against an attitude of uncertainty which, while it may be said to feed and keep alive these hopes, still refrains from an official declaration of policy.

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#### A Slight Extension of Self-Government in the Philippines.

Late in October the Philippine Commission effected a change in the composition of the provincial boards. Previous to this time the boards, which have considerable administrative powers in the provinces, were composed of three men, but one of whom was chosen by the qualified voters. By the new regulations two members were made elective, the third, who is to be the treasurer of the board, being still appointed by the American colonial government.

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#### Russia.

It was reported on the 6th that the Czar, with the approval of the grand dukes and the high military, had abolished the ministries of war and marine, and had made himself personal president of the Council of Imperial Defense. The result of this step will be to leave the Douma (p. 850), which had the right to interpellate the ministers but cannot question the Czar, without any power in military matters, including the question of political courts martial, in regard to which the mass of the people feel with a tenfold deeper passion than they did in regard to amnesty, which the first Douma so persistently demanded.

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Major-General Vladimir von der Launitz, prefect of police of St. Petersburg, was fatally shot on the 3rd at the Institute of Experimental Medicine, where he had gone to attend dedication exercises (p. 944). His assassin immediately committed suicide. Lieutenant-General Vladimir Pavloff, the military pro-

curator or advocate general, called by the radical deputies of the last Douma "Hangman Pavloff," was fatally shot on the morning of the 9th in the garden of the chief military court building. His assassin was captured after a long chase.

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#### Death of the Shah of Persia.

Muzaffar-ed-din, Shah of Persia (p. 944), died on the 8th at the age of 53. He succeeded his father, Nasr-ed-din, in 1896. He was a scholarly and able ruler. It is reported that one of his first acts as Shah was to abolish all taxes upon the necessaries of life. He will be especially remembered as having aided the government of Persia to develop from an absolute to a constitutional monarchy. He has been succeeded by his oldest son, Mohammed Ali Mirza, who signed, with his dying father, the new constitution of Persia on the 30th (p. 944). The new Shah, who is about 34 years old, has had experience as a governor-general of a province, and as regent during his father's absences in Europe. He is said to be a wise and shrewd statesman, to be familiar with Arabic literature, to speak French fluently, and to have a fair grasp of modern science.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—At the annual meeting of the State committee of the Independence League of New York on the 8th, William Randolph Hearst was elected chairman by acclamation.

—The new State of Oklahoma has been discussing the propriety of sending one of its able and well educated Indian citizens to represent the State in the United States Senate.

—Mother Jones addressed a large meeting in Chicago on the 4th in behalf of the labor leaders of Colorado who are about to be tried in Idaho for the murder of ex-Governor Steunenberg.

—The amended church and state separation law, known as the Briand law, which was passed by the French Chamber of Deputies on the 21st, and by the Senate on the 29th (p. 944), was signed by President Fallières on the 3rd.

—In a communication to the Board of Street and Water Commissioners of Jersey City, Mayor Fagan on the 1st recommended the acquisition of authority from the legislature to construct and run a municipal trolley line to be leased for a term of years to the highest bidder on the basis of a 3-cent fare.

—In the United States District Court at Milwaukee on the 3rd Judge Sanborn convicted two labor unionists of contempt of court and sentenced them to imprisonment for thirty days. They were Michael Hatzbaum, chairman, and John Lutz, treasurer, of the strike committee in a molders' strike against the Allis-Chalmers Company.

—The Emperor of China, according to a curious dispatch from Peking on the 31st, published on that date an edict raising Confucius to the same rank as Heaven and Earth, which are worshiped by the Emperor alone. It is believed that this action is in deference to the religious scruples of the Christian students in the government colleges who object to

"kow-tow," an act required by imperial custom, before the tablet of Confucius.

—The Missouri river is changing its course near the little town of Minersville, a few miles south of Nebraska City, Neb. Since July 1,000 acres of farm lands have been swallowed up. On the 3rd the Burlington railway began to move its tracks, station, stockyards and other property at Minersville, back from the river to save them from destruction.

—The New York Court of Appeals on the 8th decided in favor of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company the case involving the right of that company to charge a double fare of 10 cents from central points in Brooklyn to Coney Island. This is the controversy over which there were several serious conflicts between passengers and trainmen last summer (p. 467).

—Charles M. Floyd, of Manchester, Republican, was elected Governor of New Hampshire by the State legislature at the opening session of that body on the 2nd and was formally inaugurated on the 3rd. The choice of a governor by the legislature was made necessary by the failure of any candidate at the November election to secure a majority of votes. Mr. Floyd, who was the leading candidate, lacked upward of 100 of the number needed to elect.

—Chief Porter, of the Creek Nation, has become the president of a new railroad called the Indian Central. It is reported as having filed its charter at Guthrie, and being capitalized at \$15,000,000. The management is planning for the construction of 460 miles of railroad in Indian Territory and Oklahoma within the next two years. The road begins at Ponca City and runs southeast to Paris, Texas, with a branch line running from the Red river northwest to Oklahoma City.

—Emma Goldman was arrested in New York on the 6th for incendiary speaking at a public meeting there, which for this reason the police dispersed. The incendiary language charged against her was the following utterance: "It is ridiculous to think that society cannot get along without government. We will say to the government: 'Give us what belongs to us in peace, and if you don't give it to us in peace we will take it by force.' As long as I live and am able to explain myself I will be opposed to government; and as I live and as my brain dictates, will use force against the government."

—A judge of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, Wm. H. Timlin, was condemned on the 3rd by the executive board of the State Federation of Labor as "unfair and unfit to sit in judgment on any cases involving organized labor before the Supreme Court." The reasons given are that Judge Timlin has denounced labor organizations as organizations of violence and classed them with trusts, that he has in public addresses shown himself to be ignorant of the labor problem and malicious toward labor organizations, and that, since his election to the bench, he has maliciously prosecuted unionists under injunctions as attorney for the Iron Molders Employers' Association.

—Members of the advisory board of the Jamestown Exposition issued a protest on the 4th against "the diversion of the Exposition to the service of militarism." The program is described as "utterly

different from that given when the plan of the Jamestown Exposition was first submitted to the public." While a conspicuous international naval and military celebration is tolerated as conventionally proper, it declares that "the purpose to make this great Exposition primarily a naval and military spectacle, to intoxicate the American people for six months by a 'great living picture of war with all its enticing splendors,' encouraging the notion that war is a thing of splendor, a pageant and a game, instead of a horror, and to-day almost invariably a crime—was not known, was not avowed, and clearly has been a gradually evolving purpose." The protest bears the signatures, among others, of Edward Everett Hale, Edwin D. Mead, Cardinal Gibbons, John Mitchell, Jane Addams, James H. Dillard and Charles Zueblin.

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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ERNEST HOWARD CROSBY.

Passaic (N. J.) Daily News (Ind.), Jan. 5.—Such men as Ernest Crosby are needed in the world. They refine it and make it better. He was an earnest, sincere and most lovable man. To know him was to love him. We do not have to accept all that such men teach to admire them. It may be said they are not practical. Perhaps not. Then the very reason they do good is because they are not practical. Every word spoken for peace and brotherly love is worth all the words ever spoken for strife and war.

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The Johnstown Democrat (Dem.), January 7.—It is as an evangelist of peace that Ernest Crosby will be remembered. The bird's nest in the cannon's mouth, the violet growing on the former battlefield, the rustle of the standing corn where once bayonets gleamed and the whirl of industry replacing the din of battle were to him the signs and symbols of a sacred cause.

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A SUGGESTION FROM ERNEST CROSBY.

The New Age (London, Eng.), December 27.—In a reprint from the "North American Review" (New York), Ernest Crosby tells the story of "A Precedent for Disarmament," which he hopes may prove a suggestion for the forthcoming Peace Conference. There is, it seems, in a certain department of state at Washington, U. S. A., a little document dated 1817, in which the British and American governments pledge themselves that on the great chain of lakes which lie between Canada and the States, neither government shall keep any armament whatever save four vessels of 100 tons burthen, each equipped with a small, solitary cannon, in short, just enough to fly a flag or fire a few shots on the respective national fetes. Ernest Crosby, who is an American citizen, says: "We have had plenty of disagreements with Canada. . . . It is almost certain that if we had had our weapons handy, one or other of us would have 'drawn a bead' on the other." His suggestion to the Conference is that "some other sea can be selected for a similar reduction of armaments. . . . In time the principle could be extended to the Atlantic or the Pacific, and finally to navies as a whole." He hopes that the United States delegates will lay this plan before the Conference.

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POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE PHILIPPINES.

The Filipino Students' Magazine, December, 1906.—A great rivalry now exists among three political parties

in the Philippines, which work essentially towards the same end: independence. The differences among which are but secondary. Efforts are being made by the "Comite de Union Nacional" to fuse the two first ones into one. To the Federal party belong the influential Filipinos who occupy good government positions. To the "Independista Inmediatista" the Filipinos who were formerly revolutionists. To the "Popular Urgentista" the Filipinos of the working class. The "Independista Inmediatista" seems to be gaining more followers. Many members of the Federal party are becoming converted into any one of the two that recently appeared. The "Popular Urgentista" stands midway between the two in the number of followers. The Federal party is the oldest. With the somewhat broader political freedom that is now being enjoyed, the last two appeared, whose platforms would have not long existed had they appeared earlier, as was shown by the early death of the "Nationalista" party, which was composed of the working class and revolutionists, and who also advocated immediate independence. Each party has a propaganda newspaper: The Federal, *La Democracia*; the Independista Inmediatista, *La Independencia*; and the *La Soberania Nacional* for the Popular Urgentista. The activity displayed by the political parties shows that the Filipino is a progressive and enthusiastic race. There has been no act of violence between parties, which speaks in favor of the ability of the Filipino for self-government.

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#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ATLANTA RIOT.

The (New York) Nation (Ind.), January 3.—The report of the committee on the race riot in Atlanta cannot give satisfaction to fire-eaters of the Tillman school who believe in letting blood every now and then to suppress Negro crime and teach the colored man "his place." It is now shown that not a single Negro killed belonged to the dissolute classes, but that all were absolutely innocent men who left wives and children. In no way concerned with the criminals whose vile deeds aroused the anger of the populace, their lives were sacrificed to blind hysteria and brutal race passion.

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#### PUBLIC OPINION IN CHICAGO.

The Daily Socialist (Soc.), Jan. 8.—The Merchants' Club, the Union League Club and one or two similar organizations have passed resolutions in favor of the franchise grant now before the Chicago Council. These resolutions have been hailed as the "voice of the people" by the capitalist press. The editorial columns of the Tribune, Daily News and other organs of the franchise grabbers announce that the "people of Chicago" are practically unanimous for the present franchise steal. Last Sunday the Chicago Federation of Labor, representing more men and women than all the clubs, associations, "straw-voters," and such like, that all the papers have been able to collect, declared its opposition to the granting of the franchise. Did the daily press rush to the front with an announcement of a great change in public sentiment? Did it declare that "the people" had changed their minds, or that the trust organs had been mistaken in the public opinion? Not so that anyone could notice it. To the present rulers of society "the people" live on the Lake Shore Drive and Michigan avenue, and own State street stores with big advertising contracts at their disposal.

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#### THE CHICAGO TRACTION QUESTION.

Norwood Park (Ill.) Sentinel (suburban local), Jan. 5.—All of the different mouthpieces of capital, the pulpit, the press, and the clubs, are shouting for the immediate passage of the ordinance. How a minister of the gospel, who is expected to attend to the spiritual needs of his

flock, can undertake to advise the passage or rejection of such a thing as a traction ordinance, goes beyond comprehension. But the practice is common nowadays, and whenever a divine undertakes to advise his parishioners on a political subject, he will be found on the side of capitalism. The rich are the pillars of the church, and the ministers often take their orders from the wealthy and influential, who rent the front pews and contribute so liberally to the salary fund. The newspapers are also shouting loud in favor of an immediate passage of the ordinances. When was there a time when the papers, with the exception of Hearst's yellow journals, were right on Chicago traction matters? We have had a number of referendums on traction matters in Chicago, and in every instance the press and the wealthy clubs were a unit in advocating a franchise, and opposing the questions submitted on the little ballot. And in every instance they were beaten by large majorities, sometimes as high as three to one. It is a good quality to know when you are beaten, but the Chicago papers do not possess that quality. They have been completely routed whenever the people voted on traction matters, yet they go along and undertake to advise the voters what to do about the traction ordinances.

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## IN CONGRESS

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This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the official report of Congressional proceedings. It includes all matters of general interest, and closes with the last issue of the Record at hand upon going to press. Page references are to the pages of Vol. 41 of that publication.

Washington, January 4.

#### Senate.

Upon resuming its session on the 3d, after the holiday recess, the Senate listened to speeches by Mr. Culberson (p. 635 and 649) and Mr. Foraker (p. 635) on the dismissal of the Negro troops by the President, after which it adjourned until the 7th.

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#### House.

No business of general interest was done by the House upon reassembling on the 3d. On the 4th, after consideration of the Omnibus Claims bill in committee of the whole, adjournment was taken until the 7th.

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## RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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### PROPHETS.

Ernest Crosby in "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable."

Happy the land that knoweth its prophets before they die!

Happy the land that doth not revile and persecute them during their lives!

Was there ever such a land?

We are still engaged in the ancient pastime—

Building the monuments of the prophets of old,

And casting stones at the seers whom we meet in the streets.

In the world's market one dead prophet is worth a dozen of the living.

Happy the land that knoweth its prophets before they die!

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We, Pharisees of the Jerusalem of Herod,  
We do reverence indeed to the words of Isaiah and Amos.

Did they pitch into rulers and landlords rather roughly?

Why, in those distant times, landlords and rulers richly deserved it.

If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets.

But what shall we do with this man, Jesus, who talks in much the same strain?

Oh, away with Him! Crucify Him! crucify Him!

Happy the land that knoweth its prophets before they die!

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And still we rehearse the same dismal comedy, even in America, and in this Nineteenth Century.

How did we hail John Brown, and Thoreau, and Whitman?

Behold Garrison! The astounding, intrepid youth advances single-handed with his sling against the ogre of slavery.

One day he is mobbed and almost massacred on the streets of Boston, under the shadow of the statues of Franklin and Washington, because he preaches freedom.

Now at last his monument too stands, honored by all, at the heart of the Puritan city.

How fare the living prophets in Boston to-day?

Happy the land that knoweth its prophets before they die!

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And there are prophets to-day, though the world passes them by unheeding.

Their race is not extinct, and will not be until we settle down to death.

To them is confided the life of the world.

On the bold, startling lines they lay down, the living structure of the future will grow;

The nerve-like shapes which they trace in the amorphous and distorted mass of society will by and by be centers of visible life, and take on flesh and blood.

Believe me, these partners in creation live; I have seen them—the apostles of manhood, of justice, of simplicity.

They can afford to wait.

If they received now their deserved acclaim we might well doubt their right to rank with the prophets.

Our children will build the monuments of Tolstoy, and George, and the rest;

But how will they treat their own prophets?

Happy the land that knoweth its prophets before they die!

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### ERNEST CROSBY'S LAST BOOK.

From the January Number of *Humanity*, a Magazine Published at 1817 Market St., St. Louis, and Edited by Clifford Greve.

A good book ought not to cost much money. Most great works are brief. True thought does not need any explanation. Elucidation is a certain sign of doubtful purpose. Wordiness indicates fear. I have just finished "Golden Rule Jones, Mayor of Toledo," by Ernest Crosby. It is from the press of the Public Publishing Company of Chicago. For the man or woman who loves mankind there is a smile on every page and a tear drop at each period. It is just a short sketch of the life of a man.

Sam Jones of Toledo was too big to be an author. He was a liver, and he lived to love. It is not often that the world is blessed with a view of a life that comes so near to a realization of perfect human affection without affectation. He was misunderstood; naturally he would be.

We are all so adept in detecting the evil in men that it is rarely we apprehend the good in any one.

Concerning Mayor Jones it has often been said that during his lifetime he was appreciated most by the criminal classes. That murderers, thieves and vagabonds seemed to comprehend in perfect fullness the ideas which he advanced. The men the world calls bad have brushed hardest against our present uncivilized ideas of civilization, and while filled with weakness themselves, they have thus easily learned the weaknesses of those all about them. The recidivation of jail life causes the culprit to come to a very thorough understanding of himself, and he naturally applies this knowledge of his own delinquencies when he goes to measure the abilities of his fellow beings. . . . He applied the principle of human love, and thus came to a full understanding of the complete exaltation of human conscience when enshrined in the only true doctrine—do right because it is right to do right, not because of any possible or expected reward. He fully appreciated that there is a higher code of ethics than an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. To the prudes any attempt to make the bad good, and when once that is done to reintroduce them to society as regenerated men and women, is highly repulsive doctrine; and yet the bad man turned good is very much nearer to godwardness than the so-called good man who is half bad.

The public is a cowardly rabble when allowed enough to eat.

It is not hard to realize how sore at heart a man like Sam Jones must have been when he walked into a factory and saw upon the walls great placards covered with rules and regulations for the government of employees who could not, under any conditions naturally, have broken one of them, and yet at the bottom of that same card he saw a statement, "Any infraction of these rules means immediate discharge."

He knew those men who labored under such conditions had no conception of any idea of mental, physical, social or legal equalness with those who employed them. He pitied them, he sympathized with them, but more, he loved them, and so when he started his own factory he had some placards printed, but on them was the Golden Rule. He expected to be laughed at, and he was. But he lived to see the day that the application of that rule made him a rich, successful, beloved, almost sanctified man. Brotherhood is a good talking point but it will not sell goods. It did for Jones.

Love sometimes engenders hate, and many people hated the subject of this hurried sketch—he was so different. The rights of which he talked he gave to no man; everyone of his associates found themselves in possession of them as soon as they came within his presence.

Why will people cut holes in the walls of their houses to let in the light and then put up curtains to keep it out? Do not try to remake your race. Give mankind an example.

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Bodies of men, land, water, and air are the principal of those things which are not, and which it is criminal to consider as personal or exchangeable property.—John Ruskin.

## LEO TOLSTOY.

Dedication of "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable," by  
Ernest Crosby.

Hail, Tolstoy, bold, archaic shape,  
Rude pattern of the man to be,  
From 'neath whose rugged traits escape  
Hints of a manhood fair and free.

I read a meaning in your face,  
A message wafted from above,  
Prophetic of an equal race  
Fused into one by robust love.

Like some quaint statue long concealed,  
Deep buried in Mycenae's mart,  
Wherein we clearly see revealed  
The promise of Hellenic art,

So stand you; while aloof and proud,  
The world that scribbles, prates, and frets  
Seems but a simpering, futile crowd  
Of Dresden china statuettes.

Like John the Baptist, once more scan  
The signs that mark the dawn of day.  
Forerunner of the Perfect Man,  
Make straight His path, prepare the way.

The desert too is your abode,  
Your garb and fare of little worth;  
Thus ever has the Spirit showed  
The coming reign of heaven on earth.

Not in kings' houses may we greet  
The prophets whom the world shall bless,  
To lay my verses at your feet  
I seek you in the wilderness.

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## ADDRESS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF RUSSIA.

By Leo Tolstoy as Published in the Chicago Daily Journal  
of December 28, 1906.

By government I mean those who, availing themselves of established authority, can change the existing laws and put them in operation. In Russia these people were and still are: The czar, his ministers, and his nearest advisers.

The acknowledged basis of all governmental power is solely the promotion of the welfare of the people over whom the power is exerted.

But what are you—who now govern Russia—doing? You are fighting the revolutionists with shifts and cunning such as they employ against you, and, worst of all, with cruelty even greater than theirs. But of two contending parties the conqueror always is not the more shifty, cunning, cruel, or harsh of the two, but the one that is nearest to the aim toward which humanity is advancing.

Whether the revolutionists rightly or wrongly define the aim toward which they strive, they certainly aim at some new arrangement of life, while your only desire is to maintain yourselves in the profitable position in which you are established.

Therefore you will be unable to resist the revolution, with your banner of autocracy, even though it be with constitutional amendments, with perverted Christianity called orthodoxy, a renovated patriarchate, and all sorts of mystical interpretations.

All that is moribund and cannot be restored. Your salvation lies not in doumas, elected in this way or in that; still less in rifle shots, cannons, and executions; but it lies in confessing your sin against the people and trying to redeem it and efface it while you are still able to do so. Set before the people ideals of equity, goodness, and truth, more lofty and more just than those your opponents advocate. Place such an ideal before the people, not to save yourselves, but seriously and honestly setting yourselves to accomplish it, and you will not only save yourselves, but will save Russia from those ills already befalling her, and now threatening her.

Nor need you invent this ideal; it is the old, old ideal of all the Russian folk; the ideal of the restoration to the whole people—not to the peasants only, but to the whole people—of their natural and just right to the land.

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To men unaccustomed to think with their own minds this ideal seems unrealizable, because it is not a repetition of what has been done in Europe and America. But just because this ideal has nowhere yet been accomplished, it is the true ideal of our day, and, more, it is the nearest ideal, and one which, before it is accomplished in other countries, should now be accomplished in Russia.

Wipe out your sin by a good deed; while you still have the power, strive to destroy the ancient, crying, cruel injustice of private property in land, which is so vividly felt by the whole agricultural population, and from which they suffer so grievously, and you will have the support of all the best people—the so-called "intellectuals."

You will have with you all true constitutionalists, who cannot but see that before calling on the people to choose representatives, that people must be freed from the land slavery in which it now lives.

The socialists, too, will have to admit that they are with you, for the ideal which they set before themselves—the nationalization of the implements of labor—is attainable first of all by the nationalization of the chief implement of labor—the land.

The revolutionists, too, will be on your side, for the revolution which you will be accomplishing by freeing land from private ownership is one of the chief points in their program. On your side, above all, will be the whole 100,000,000 agricultural peasantry, which alone represents the real Russian people. Only do what you, occupying the place of government, are bound to do, and, while there is yet time, make it your business to establish the real welfare of the people, and in place of the feeling of fear and anger which you now encounter you will experience the joy of close union with the 100,000,000 Russian people; you will know the love and gratitude of this kindly folk, who will not remember your sins, but will love you for the good you do it, as it now loves him, or those, who freed it from slavery.

Remember that you are not czars, ministers, senators, and governors, but men; and having done this, in place of grief, despair and terror you will find the joy of forgiveness and of love.

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But that this may happen, you must not undertake this work superficially as a means of safety, but sin-

cerely, seriously, and with your soul's whole strength. Then you will see what eager, reasonable, and harmonious activity will be displayed in the best spheres of society, bringing the best men of all classes to the front and depriving of all importance those who now disturb Russia. Do this, and all those terrible, brutal elements of revenge, anger, avarice, vanity, and ambition, and above all of ignorance, will disappear, which now come to the front, infecting, agitating, and tormenting Russia—and of which you are guilty.

Yes, only two exits are now open to you, men of the government—a fratricidal slaughter and all the horrors of a revolution leading to your inevitable and disgraceful destruction, or the peaceful fulfillment of the ancient and just demands of the whole people, showing other Christian nations both that the injustice from which men have suffered so long and so cruelly can be abolished, and how to abolish it.

Whether the form of social organization under which you hold power has or has not outlived its day, so long as you still hold power, use it not to multiply the evil you have already done, and the hatred you have already provoked, but use it to accomplish a great and good deed not for your nation alone but for all mankind. If this social organization has outlived its day, let the last act done under it be one not of falsehood and cruelty, but of goodness and truth.

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### "I LOVE MY COUNTRY TOO WELL TO BE A PATRIOT."

Ernest Crosby in "Swords and Plowshares."

I am no patriot.

I do not wish my countrymen to overrun the world.

I love the date-palm equally with the pine-tree, and each in its place.

I am as true a friend to the banana and orange as to the pear and apple.

I thank the genial breath of climate for making men different.

I am glad to know that, if my people succeed in spreading over the face of the earth, they will gradually differ from each other as they attune themselves to every degree of latitude and longitude.

Humanity is no air to be strummed on one note or upon one instrument.

It is a symphony where every note and instrument has its part, and would be sadly missed.

I do not take the side of the cornet against the violin, for the cornet needs the violin.

I am no patriot.

I love my country too well to be a patriot.

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### IMPERIALISM ABROAD HAS PRODUCED IMPERIALISM AT HOME.

Portions of the Address of the President, Moorfield Storey,  
at the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League, Held in Boston,  
Nov. 24 and Dec. 3, 1906.

At the meeting lately held in New York to honor the memory of our great leader, Carl Schurz, Mr. Choate quoted the words of Lincoln:

Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us dare to do our duty as we understand it.

In that faith we meet again to renew our adhesion to the principles of the great Declaration upon which

our government was founded and in which all Americans believed until 1898, and to record anew our protest against the brutal and wicked doctrine, that one nation has the right to govern another without that other's consent. Civilization the world over is suffering from the un-Christian doctrine that "all the nations upon earth" were not "created of one blood" and with equal rights; that the equal opportunity which we are taught now to call "the square deal" was denied to more than half the human race at their birth, and that the rich color of the Arab, the yellow of the Chinese and Japanese, the brown of the Filipino and the darker hue of the Negro, are all badges of inferiority. The so-called race problem confronts us everywhere, and this great country which has fought a civil war to deliver itself "from the body of this death" is face to face with it again in a most acute form.

The doctrine that one race or class of men is by nature superior to all others is as old as evil. It is not very long since in every country some men thought themselves set by divine appointment above their fellows of the same race and color. One hundred and fifty years ago the Duchess of Buckingham could say when asked to hear a sermon of Whitefield's: "It is monstrous to be told that you have a heart as sinful as the common wretches that crawl on the earth." Shortly before that time, to quote from Macaulay, the Englishman thought that the Irishman "did not belong to our branch of the great human family," and "very complacently inferred that he was naturally a being of a higher order than the Irishman." In 1789 the French noble called his fellow Frenchmen "canaille." Fifty years ago in our own country whites and blacks alike held themselves superior to "the poor white trash" of certain regions.

These delusions have passed. Those whom the Duchess would have called "the common wretches that crawl on the earth," are to-day a controlling force in the government of England. The Irish, the down-trodden and persecuted Jews, the poor whites, have all made good their claim, at least to equality with their fellow-men, if indeed they are content to stop there. The "canaille" have given to France some of her proudest names. The superstition that white men are necessarily superior to men of darker skins must go also, and another century or less will see its end. Russia has learned the lesson from Japan, as Rome learned it from the Arabs, and both paid dear for the instruction. Let us hope that we may learn the truth more easily, for learn it we must.

The present creed of the white man seems to be that greater strength gives him the right to deal with his inferiors as he pleases, and to force his will upon them no matter at what cost to them. Superiority gives him rights, but imposes no obligations, at least none to those who resist his desires. It is a curiously barbarous notion of what constitutes superiority, since among the attributes that distinguish man it exalts strength and cunning, which he shares with the beast, above those qualities which bring him a little nearer to the angels. Superiority is rightly defined in the words of Lord Russell about civilization, which I like to quote:

Its true signs are thought for the poor and suffering, chivalrous regard and respect for women, the frank rec-

ognition of human brotherhood, irrespective of race or color or nation or religion, the narrowing of the domain of mere force as a governing factor in the world, the love of ordered freedom, abhorrence of what is mean and cruel and vile, ceaseless devotion to the claims of justice.

Such superiority cherishes, helps and lifts the lower man or race; it does not trample and kill. When we remember the speech of the German Emperor to the troops which he was sending to China, when we recall the hideous barbarities which marked the march of the Allies from Tientsen to Peking, when we think of the slaughter, pillage and torture for which we are responsible in the Philippines, when we read the words of Hoke Smith, "I declare to you, gentlemen, if one of the precincts in your county should have seventy-five Negro votes and fifty white, and should it become necessary, I would be favorable to a plan to reduce the population to ninety-nine," and find that such speeches were followed by his election to the governorship of Georgia; when we recollect the inconceivably barbarous lynchings that disgrace Southern and Northern States alike, and are compelled to see the harangues of a man like Tillman filling columns in our newspapers, we may well ask what claim we can make to superiority over any humble and peaceful Negro or Filipino, that would not exalt Nero above St. John. We need a lesson in humility; we must learn how true are the words of Lowell:

When the moral vision of a man becomes perverted enough to persuade him that he is superior to his fellows, he is in reality looking up at him from an immeasurable distance beneath.

Our cause has gained. In the Philippine Islands all parties are now united in favor of independence. No body of natives, unless perhaps a few office-holders, supports our rule, and all are working by peaceful means for the right never before denied by America to any people, the right to govern themselves as they will. Indeed how can it be otherwise, when in the midst of unexampled prosperity wherever men are free, they find themselves under foreign rule with every branch of business prostrate, and taxed beyond endurance to pay the expenses of a government in which they have no voice? American rule has meant for them war, pestilence and famine, the death of kindred and friends by hundreds of thousands, the destruction of their towns, the laying waste of their fields, reconcentration, torture, and ruin. They would not be men if they did not desire to be relieved from such oppression. Their union for independence gives new strength to their cause, and must appeal in the end strongly to Americans.

The race problem confronts us there, but merely because we insist upon invading a country whose people are brown. There as everywhere the difficulty is caused by white aggression. No colored race save perhaps the Arabs has ever invaded a white man's country. The Filipinos cannot leave their islands, but we can, and when we do there will be one country at least in which the race problem is settled.

Upon this side of the water the whole power of the Administration has proved insufficient to secure the legislation which the interest of the Filipinos imperatively requires, but it was found easy to pass a bill through both Houses taxing heavily the com-

mon cotton cloth that they wear, in order that American manufacturers may profit at the expense of the poverty-stricken islanders. Congress does not recognize its responsibility to them, and as between the American voter and the distant disfranchised Filipino our legislators will never hesitate. "The Philippines for the Filipinos," is a good election cry, but in practice, now as always, power will be selfish and American legislators will regard American interests. To quote the words of Senator Lodge:

While we regard the welfare of these people as a sacred trust, we regard the welfare of the American people first.

Here in a nutshell is the reason why America can never govern the Philippines well.

This very attitude, however, helps our cause, for if we will not give these subjects of ours such laws as they need, men will soon see that we ought not to make laws for them at all. There is an American conscience, and it will not sleep forever. That it is uneasy is shown by the very fact that apparently our people take no interest in their Philippine possessions. No associated press dispatches keep us advised of events there. Such information as the government vouchsafes us is from time to time published, and occasional private letters give us an inkling of the truth. There is no demand for news from the islands, hence the newspapers do not give it room. The people are tired of the Philippines, indifferent to their future, and this is the first step towards letting them go. When I was in Washington last spring I found that beneath the surface there was a very general feeling that we had made a mistake in taking the islands, and that we must give them their independence. One senator was quoted as saying to Rockwood Hoar, whose untimely death we all mourn: "Why, if that question should come before the Senate now, even with your father dead, there would not be twenty votes in favor of taking the Philippines." If nothing succeeds like success, it is equally true that nothing fails like failure. Our failure is recognized, and I cannot but believe that it will become more and more apparent until we all agree that we cannot in decency resist the demand of a whole people for freedom. And if it is said that they are not fit for freedom, that they will have trouble and dissension, perhaps bloodshed, we may reply in the strong words of President Elliot:

Political freedom means freedom to be feeble, foolish and sinful in public affairs as well as freedom to be strong, wise and good.

But there is progress to record in another direction. Our venerable leader, Governor Boutwell, often reminded us that this association was formed primarily to resist imperialism at home, and that we fought for liberty in the Philippines in order to preserve liberty in America. He believed with Lincoln that "a house divided against itself cannot stand," that this nation cannot endure with a government republican as to some subjects and imperial as to others. He believed also with Lincoln that "Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it." The year has lent abundant support to his belief.

When America, which for a century had preached the doctrine that "all men are created equal,"



that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," struck down the Filipino government upon the ground that the Filipinos were inferior by reason of their race and color, and that therefore we had the right to govern them against their will, at that moment the foundation of equal rights in America was destroyed.

The Filipinos were an ancient people who had been governed by Spain, but never enslaved. The University of Manila was older than Harvard College; the Filipinos had been hailed by us as allies, and our troops had fought side by side with theirs. They had a Congress largely of educated men, and a constitution modeled upon our own.

The Negroes in this country were a little more than forty years removed from slavery, and were regarded by their former masters as essentially inferior in every way. The Civil War had secured them freedom, citizenship, and the right of suffrage, but the force which assured them their rights was the traditional pride of the Republican party in the results of the war, and its determination that these results should not be destroyed.

The moment that the party of equal rights at home refused to carry its principles abroad, this force was paralyzed. It was intellectually and morally impossible to claim in one breath that brown men were not fit to govern themselves in their own country, and in the next to insist that black men were fit to govern us at home. When the administration of McKinley destroyed the Philippine Republic it laid the axe at the root of the tree,—the tree of human freedom,—which the Republican party had planted, and brought to vigorous maturity. Since then our progress backward has been rapid. State after State has taken the right of suffrage from its colored citizens, until the Fifteenth Amendment is openly flouted. Senator Tillman in his Chicago speech, when he said "To hell with the law," only gave coarse expression to the feeling with which the Southern States regard that provision of the Constitution, and the Northern States do not lift their voice in protest or defense. The laws which protect men against illegal violence, the provision of the Constitution which forbids cruel or unusual punishments, do not exist for the Negroes in large parts of the South. Leaders of public opinion insist that Negroes are brutes, incapable of elevation or education, and then complain because they are brutal. They deny them justice in their courts, and blame them because they are outlaws.

It is not the Negroes as serfs and laborers that Southerners like Tillman, Smith and Vardaman, object. It is to educated and self-respecting Negroes. It is on Booker Washington that Tillman especially pours out the vials of his vulgar abuse. To our shame be it said that race prejudice in the North increases until some ten millions of American citizens find the avenues of employment closed to them, and that equal opportunity, which is the birthright of every American, openly denied them. They have no "square deal." The Republican party does nothing to defend them. The President who has such scorn for "the weakling and the coward" does not bid his attorney-general assert their rights, nor take steps to enforce the Constitution. In their case we see how imperialism abroad begets imperialism at home,

and also how men in this country who have no votes have no rights. The blow which deprived the Filipinos of their liberty has deprived ten million Americans of theirs. . . .

The worst results of imperialism are here. The most serious problem which we have to meet is the race problem at our own doors. As a people we are denying justice to some ten millions of our fellow citizens. We cannot persist in this course without terrible consequences. We cannot let the race hatred of to-day grow more intense until "the live coal behind the thought, long blown on, flames," unless we would pay as bitterly for this injustice as we did for the crime of slavery. There is to-day in the United States no party, no organized movement to secure for our colored fellow-citizens their rights under the law. We cannot neglect their rights without jeopardizing our own. How long shall we stand idle?

The future of the Philippines seems to me assured. Irresistible forces are at work which will terminate our dominion in the islands, and the end is not distant. The future of the United States is far less certain, bound up as it is with the future of the colored race. Until we are men enough to do them justice the worst consequences of our imperial policy must fall on us, and our crime in Asia will be punished on our own soil. Here is to-day the greatest field for the Anti-Imperialist.

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## THE SOUL'S FUNCTION.

Ernest Crosby in "Broad-Cast."

I found my soul lying neglected, and I picked it up and wondered what the strange mechanism was for. I went to school to learn what use to make of my soul. They taught me to think with it, but it strained and creaked and nearly gave way under the ordeal. They showed me how to amuse myself with it, but it speedily got out of order and refused to work. Then they trained me to hate with my soul, but it broke down utterly and nearly fell to pieces. I came back from school disgusted with my soul and my teachers. It was long after (alone, lying on my bed in the night-watches) that it flashed upon me what my soul was for. Why did none of them tell me that my soul was a loving machine?

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## THE QUESTION THAT COMES TO EVERY MAN.

Leo Tolstoy in a Letter to Ernest Howard Crosby, as Published in "Essays, Letters, Miscellanies," by Count Lyof N. Tolstoy, Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York.

The real question is not whether it will be good or bad for a certain human society that people should follow the law of love and the consequent law of non-resistance. But it is this: Do you, who to-day live and to-morrow will die, you who are indeed tending deathward every moment, do you wish now, immediately and entirely, to obey the law of Him who sent you into life, and who clearly showed you His will, alike in tradition and in your mind and heart; or do you prefer to resist His will?

And as soon as the question is put thus, only one reply is possible: I wish now, this moment, without delay or hesitation, to the very utmost of my strength, neither waiting for anyone or counting the cost, to do that which alone is clearly demanded by Him who sent me into the world, and on no account, and under no conditions, do I wish to, or can I, act otherwise—for herein lies my only possibility of a rational and unharassed life.

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**THE EXPERIMENT.**

Ernest Crosby in "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable."

The book said, "Love others; love them calmly, strongly, profoundly,  
And you will find your immortal soul."  
I leaned back in my arm-chair, letting my hand fall with the volume in my lap,  
And with closed eyes and half a smile on my face I made the experiment and tried to love.  
For the first time I really let my life go forth in love, and lo, the mighty current, welling up beneath and around me, lifted me, as it were bodily, out of time and space.  
I felt the eternal poise of my indestructible soul in the regions of life everlasting.  
Immortality was mine.  
The question which had so long baffled the creeds and the philosophers was answered.

\* \* \*

**ERNEST HOWARD CROSBY.\***

Born Nov. 4, 1856, Died Jan. 3, 1907.

To New Yorkers of one and two generations ago, the pastor of the old Fourth Avenue Presbyterian church was a worshipful figure. This beloved pastor, the Rev. Dr. Howard Crosby—simple Dr. Crosby, or plain Howard Crosby, as he was more widely known—appeared even to his contemporaries as vastly greater than the shepherd of a sectarian flock. His personality while delightful was commanding; his work and ways were an inspiration. He was a firm believer in what he believed, yet charitable to the verge of absolute tolerance toward other beliefs and even toward unbelief. A rigid and devoted churchman, he was also a busy and militant citizen. Though pastor of a wealthy congregation, he knew no distinction of persons. All humanity looked alike to him, whether rich men or poor, high or low, white or black. Even with the bad, it was their badness and not themselves that he hated. On one occasion, at the height of his career as a leading clergyman, he startled the respectable elements of New York society with a signed paper in the North American Review on "The Dangerous Classes," which, according to his characteristically blunt discriminations, were neither the poor nor the criminal, but the rich. To see or hear Dr. Crosby was to respect him, regardless of diversity of opinion. To know him was to love him. He was a man of infinite courage who thought right, spoke right, and did right, as God had given him to see the right.

Dr. Crosby's characteristics are inherited by his famous son, Ernest Howard Crosby. Aside from a

\*This sketch is reprinted from the editorial columns of The Public of January 21, 1905. The half-tone reproduction has been made by permission from a photograph by Wm. B. Dyer, Fine Arts Bldg., Chicago.

# Publishers' Column

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is a weekly review which prints in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value. It is also an editorial paper. Though it abstains from mingling editorial opinions with its news accounts, it has opinions of a pronounced character, based upon the principles of radical democracy, which, in the columns reserved for editorial comment, it expresses fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without hope of discreditable reward. Yet it makes no pretensions to infallibility, either in opinions or in statements of fact; it simply aspires to a deserved reputation for intelligence and honesty in both. Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department of original and selected matter, 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.

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ERNEST HOWARD CROSBY.

thor of direct and lucid style, he gives vitality to these talents and acquirements by the nobility of his ideals and a fine courage that never falls below the high level of his convictions.

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Ernest Howard Crosby was born in New York in 1856, November 4. Receiving his preliminary academic training at Mohegan Lake school, he graduated in academics from the University of New York with first honors in 1876, and in law from the Columbia College Law School at New York in 1878.

After practicing law in the city of New York in the conventional way for nearly ten years, Mr. Crosby joined the group of "rich men's sons" who were at that time making a fad of taking their respectability and culture and education and honesty, etc., down into the mire of local politics to rescue the city and

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State from professionals who made their living out of politics.

This short-lived fad had been started and fostered by such newspapers as the New York Evening Post and by public-spirited men of the class then known as "parlor politicians." Among the young men to respond was a respectable scion of the Astors, who wound up his political career with a scandalous whirlwind campaign for Congress, expensive but futile, under the tutelage of a notorious professional politician. Another was Theodore Roosevelt, who soon learned what the indiscriminating Astor had overlooked, that "parlor politics," although it must be mixed with the professional kind to be effective, must be mixed judiciously, just enough of each and not too much of either, in order to produce the proper compound. Mr. Roosevelt has passed from the unpromising degree in politics of "rich man's son" to the Presidential chair.

Soon after joining this group, Mr. Crosby was elected to a seat in the lower house of the New York legislature, where he held the responsible post of chairman of the committee on cities. He served with ability and was re-elected; but this role in the play of "rich men's sons in politics" was not to his liking. The mixture of low ideals with high, suited neither his temperament nor his scruples. His nomination, therefore, by President Harrison, to be a judge of the international court in Egypt, was a welcome interruption, and upon his appointment by the Khedive of Egypt in 1889 he accepted.

For five years Judge Crosby sat upon the bench of the international court at Alexandria. This court was one of four mixed tribunals (the fourth being appellate), established in 1874, in place of consular courts, for the adjudication of the rights of foreigners in Egypt. One was at Zagazig, another at Cairo, and the third, together with the appellate court, at Alexandria. They were composed of both foreign and native judges, so apportioned as to give the foreign judges control. Their jurisdiction extends to all civil disputes between foreigners, and also between natives and foreigners. They have also a limited penal jurisdiction. Proceedings in these courts are conducted in French and Italian, and Judge Crosby used both languages interchangeably in performing his judicial duties. His appointment was for life. But for one event, therefore—an event of little apparent moment at the time, but large in its results—he might still be serving upon this Egyptian bench instead of helping to lead modern thought toward higher ideals of civilization. He accidentally fell upon a copy of one of Tolstoy's books, and casually read it.

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The Tolstoy book got a grip upon Judge Crosby's attention, and shifting the direction of his thought it changed the whole course of his life.

It made him a democrat where he had been an aristocrat. It prompted him to reflect where he had been satisfied to let others reflect for him. It stirred into activity a latent repulsion to the bloody custom of slaughtering animals to eat their flesh, and converted him to vegetarianism. It taught him to doubt the great value of intellectual culture and superficial refinements in comparison with the culture of good character and the refinements of good will. It made

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him revolt at military ideals. His old respect for "the big stick" gave way before a growing respect for human brotherhood. Even his dignified and indirect share as a judge in wielding "the big stick" for one litigant or another in lawsuits became distasteful to him, and resigning his office in 1894 he returned to the United States.

On his way home he turned aside for a visit to Tolstoy at the latter's country home at Yasnia Poliana, Russia. Here he became personally acquainted with the venerable First Man of Russia, and out of that acquaintance a close friendship sprang up between the two. One of Mr. Crosby's most interesting and successful lectures is "Count Tolstoy and His Philosophy of Life;" and he was instrumental in preparing Tolstoy's "Resurrection"—the unexpurgated edition—for American readers.

While visiting Tolstoy Mr. Crosby was asked by his host if, being an American, he knew Henry George. The American was obliged to answer in the negative. His former aspirations and associations had not brought him into personal relations with the man whom Tolstoy immediately declared to be one of the greatest of Americans. "Make his acquaintance at once upon your return to the United States," was Tolstoy's advice, and Mr. Crosby lost no time in acting upon it. Although he did not immediately adopt George's remedy for the social disorders which Tolstoy had called to his attention, he may be fairly regarded as having since fully accepted its essential principles. His type of sociological thought seems to be that of the extreme individualist who realizes that there are some common interests which must be administered by common action.

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Averse to all aggressive war, Mr. Crosby very naturally opposed the American war against the Filipino republic. He has been president of the New York Anti-Imperialist League since 1900.

In social questions his interest has been keen since his visit to Tolstoy. Early in the '90's he became a founder and was elected first president of the New York Social Reform Club. His life is largely devoted to social reform work in various directions. He does this work in part by speaking and lecturing, in part by writing, and in part by organization effort.

Although a lawyer by profession, his private employment is chiefly that of a farmer, at his home near Rhinebeck, one of the Hudson river towns of New York.

Among Mr. Crosby's lectures, besides that on Tolstoy mentioned above, are "England in Egypt," "The Church and Social Problems," "Imperialism and War," "Golden Rule, Jones," and "Walt Whitman, a Study in Democracy."

His best known books are "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable;" "Capt. Jinks, Hero"—a military satire; and "Swords and Ploughshares." His "Capt. Jinks" is about to run as a serial in one of the principal daily papers of Vienna, and a volume of selections from "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable" and "Swords and Ploughshares," translated into German, is in preparation in Berlin.

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A man of Mr. Crosby's strong character, under the

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influence as he is of the Tolstoyan ideas which took root in his mind ten years ago in Alexandria, might be expected to hold pronounced views on the labor controversy not unfavorable to the labor side of it. And this is the fact in Mr. Crosby's case. But whoever is prejudiced in favor of the other side of that controversy will do well to suspend judgment on Crosby's opinions until they know exactly what they are.

Fortunately his opinions have been very briefly as well as very pointedly formulated by Mr. Crosby himself. In the following lines from his pen the merits of the conflict between Capital and Labor are comprehensively adjudicated with precision and indisputable accuracy:

Peace between Capital and Labor, is that all that you ask?

Is peace, then, the only thing needful?  
 There was peace enough in Southern slavery.  
 There is a peace of life and another peace of death.  
 It is well to rise above violence.  
 It is well to rise superior to anger.

But if peace means final acquiescence in wrong—if your aim is less than justice and peace, forever one—then your peace is a crime.

Those eloquent lines declare Mr. Crosby's social philosophy and ideals with reference not only to the

so-called labor question but probably to every other phase of social life. "Justice and peace, forever one"! That is the social principle for which he works, the goal toward which he would have society turn, the test by which he would try civilization. Like his father, he knows no rich, no poor, no high, no low, no black or white or red or yellow. He knows only men, all men, as the equal children of a common Father. He believes that they are intended to live together on earth in good will and peace. He sees that they are in perpetual warfare. He knows that this is because they violate the supreme condition of peace, which is justice, the flower and fruit of good will. So seeing and believing, he is devoting the talents of a great inheritance to the work of restoring to social life the natural equilibrium which a perverted civilization has lost.

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**DEATH.**

Ernest Crosby in "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable."

Hail, cleansing, purifying Death!  
 I see you as a pretty red-cheeked housemaid, with neat white cap and trim apron,  
 Cheerily singing at your work, as you dust and clean and scrub the good old house of Life;

Sweeping together the rubbish, and quietly putting it out at the door,  
Where it will find new surroundings, and be no longer filth.  
What could we do without you, poor, dirt-excreting, disease-breeding mortals that we are?  
What would become of us if we did not at last fall under your grateful ministrations?  
And who can tell how often we may have need of them?

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I wait for you, dear sister, confidently, fearlessly;  
I seem to recognize you.  
I am half persuaded that I have met you before.  
When you come toward me with your pail and soap and water, may your song be of the merriest.  
I will not turn away from you.  
You will lay hold of me firmly, but tenderly too, I am sure.  
Who knows? Perhaps you may even kiss me on the forehead.

+

And in the hereafter how shall we look back at you, sister?  
Will it not be as at a kindly, bustling, gossipy midwife, Who ushered us into life, and was proud of our weight, and gave us our first bath, and put on the new clothes that were waiting for us?

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## BOOKS

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### ERNEST CROSBY'S LITERARY WORK.\*

Ernest's Crosby's literary career has come to a sadly premature end. He has been taken away in the very prime of life, and the many years of fruitful literary activity which were supposed to be before him will not be realized. But the past at least is secure, and his now published works will remain an inspiring and enduring monument.

Very probably the last bit of literary work done by Mr. Crosby is his review of "Fellowship Songs," in The Public of January 5. This was received only a few days before his death, and was printed in the issue of The Public that went to press on the day he died.

Mr. Crosby's first book was "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable," published in London in 1898, and in the United States in 1899 (cloth, \$1.50; by mail, \$1.62; paper, 40 cents; by mail, 44 cents). Two collections of verse of the same character succeeded "Plain Talk, namely, "Swords and Plowshares," first published in 1902 (cloth, \$1.20; by mail, \$1.29), and "Broad-Cast," published in 1905 (cloth, 75 cents; by mail, 80 cents). Both of these books were brought out simultaneously in Great Britain and the United States. "Captain Jinks, Hero" (cloth, illustrated, \$1.50, postpaid) was called forth by the recent wars of the United States, like "Swords and Plowshares." Most of Mr. Crosby's other books came as a result of his activity as a lecturer. Two are about Tolstoy: "Tolstoy and His Message" (cloth, 50 cents; by mail, 54 cents), and "Tolstoy as a Schoolmaster" (cloth, 50 cents; by mail, 55 cents). The book about Garrison, "Garrison the Non-Resistant" (cloth, 50 cents;

\*A more detailed account of the literary career of Mr. Crosby appeared in The Public of November 24, 1906.

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J. G. P.

+ + +

Any place is good enough to live a life in.—Robert Louis Stevenson.

+ + +

Papa (at breakfast): "Now, children, before you eat, be careful to see that there are 19.678 per cent. hydro-phosphates in your ossified oats."—Puck.

+ + +

"Going up!" cried Coal.

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