

# The Public

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## EDITORIAL

### Bad Aldermen.

Some bad aldermen are getting found out. But that is only in New York.

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### International Amenities.

Two nations, England and the United States, have been wrought up to a high pitch of excite-

ment (in the newspapers), and the rest of the world is paralyzed with the sensation, because an American admiral was asked by the British colonial governor of Jamaica to withdraw armed troops that he had landed without authority. The sarcasm of the Governor's letter was truly enough in bad taste for international correspondence; but, on the other hand, his irritation was not wholly without excuse. Suppose Canadian troops were to cross Suspension Bridge without American permission, be the occasion what it might be, is it inconceivable that the Governor of New York might become belligerently sarcastic, or the President of the United States get out his big stick?

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### Monopolistic Misinformation.

One of the tricks of franchise grabbers in different cities of the United States is to fill the over-willing newspapers with falsehoods regarding practical results in municipal ownership. The municipal lighting plant of Springfield, Ill., for instance (p. 962) has been described all over the country as a failure; yet it has reduced the expense of arc lights to \$45—\$15 less than the lowest point reached there by the private company. Other instances may be had in abundance from the bulletins of the press bureau which franchise-grabbers support in New York. This bureau has been filling our newspapers with reports, made out of whole cloth, that municipal ownership in Great Britain has enormously increased municipal taxation. Yet the consular reports show that it has reduced taxation. Falsehoods and corruption funds constitute the stock in trade of those financial interests that get their sustenance from public privileges.

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### Mayor Dunne and Ex-Mayor Harrison.

Mayor Dunne's letter announcing his candidacy for re-election, which appears in our News Narrative department this week, is the simple statement of a man who recoils from officeseeking, yet is conscious of a public duty which he must not evade.

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Of Dunne's election if nominated there is no reasonable doubt. Even his bitterest enemies acknowledge it—some of them in words, all of them by their actions. For Republicans are at one with the predatory business interests in re-

sisting his nomination. They regard this as their strategic point. Were he a weak adversary his nomination would be welcome.

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Even for the nomination, Mayor Dunne has but one competitor, and this is ex-Mayor Harrison. It is easy to understand why Republicans want the Democrats to nominate Harrison; they are confident of defeating him at the election. It is easy to understand why the predatory interests want him; they know that it will make no difference to them which party wins if Harrison is the Democratic candidate. But it is not easy to understand why any sincere Democrat should want him, and we doubt if many do.

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Harrison was mayor four terms. He went in as a Democrat of the Altgeld type, and with steadily dwindling pluralities he came out Morganatic. As an administrator he was a spoilsman who escaped the brand only because he quieted the goo-goo papers by distribution of spoils agreeable to them. While professing adherence to the municipal ownership cause, and making campaign pledges in its support, he violated these pledges and worked with the Pierpont Morgan interests to fasten a stock jobbing traction franchise upon the city. His "silent referendum" of two and a half years ago was a corporation trick that would have succeeded but for Judge Tuley and Judge Dunne and the Hearst newspapers. Had it succeeded, the Morganatic interests would have secured a tight grip on the street-car rights of the city for almost a generation. Mr. Harrison's latest objectionable performance consisted in opposing the traction-operation referendum of a year ago. This proposition, though it called out a majority vote, failed for lack of the three-fifths vote required by the statute. A few more votes would have given the required number, and those few were doubtless diverted by Harrison's opposition.

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If the Democrats of Chicago intend to repudiate their municipal ownership pledges and to court defeat by going into the Morgan stock-jobbing camp, as the Republican machine and the soiled goo-goo newspapers have done, Harrison is the man they should nominate. But if they intend to stand for public rights against private exploitation, then the selection of Harrison would be a shameful stultification resulting in well-deserved defeat. The only possible course to maintain progressive Democratic standards and guar-

antee success at the polls, lies in the renomination of Mayor Dunne.

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### The Chicago Traction Franchise.

We have looked with much interest and some hope, for a reasonable response to Mayor Dunne's objections (p. 967) to the pending traction ordinance. Responses there have been, but they are all mere rhetorical chaff. If one were to say that they are deliberately designed to throw dust into the public eye, he could justify his suspicions with the responses themselves. To denounce Mayor Dunne's objections as trifling and his objection in making them as political, as these responses do, is to concede their essential importance. For political motives cannot be served by means of trifling objections, and objections that are dodged instead of refuted are probably not trifling.

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One at least of Mayor Dunne's objections goes to the root of the municipal ownership question. As the ordinances now stand, they place no limitation on the expenditures which the companies may make in rehabilitation, and which the city must pay to the companies if it takes over the lines. It is possible, therefore, with complaisant Morganites in the City Council, to make the expenditures exceed the ability of the city to pay for purchase. At present the ability of the city to pay is limited to \$75,000,000, the amount of the Mueller certificates authorized; yet the ordinances contemplate expenditures to the amount of nearly \$100,000,000. This amount cannot be paid by the city, and therefore the city cannot buy the lines, until the Council submits a referendum for the issue of more certificates. Consequently the Morgan interests would, under these ordinances, be in position for twenty years or more to prevent municipal ownership by merely influencing a majority of the Council against submitting another Mueller certificate referendum. This defect could be easily cured by providing that expenditures for rehabilitation shall at no time exceed the amount of Mueller certificates authorized. But the franchise seekers refuse even so simple a provision, and the inference is obvious.

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Nothing now stands in the way of these tricky ordinances but the Mayor's veto and the popular referendum. Thousands of signatures have already been obtained for the referendum; but it is necessary to obtain 87,000, and the City Coun-

cil has left but two weeks in which to do this, of which hardly more than a week remains. The attitude of the franchise seekers and their newspaper aids, together with their coadjutors who nominally represent the city, is highly significant of a determination to "jam through" a bunco set of ordinances. And what have they to urge on behalf of this suspicious speed? Only that they are in a hurry to pass the ordinances so that the people of Chicago may have good traction service. But there is nothing in these ordinances to make good service secure. The only possible guarantee of good service would be an ordinance enabling the city to take over the system upon demand and with the least possible difficulty. The companies might then give good service, in fear of losing their franchise; but they will have no fear, nor reason for any, if these ordinances are passed.

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Had these ordinances been drawn in good faith to effectuate the purposes of Mayor Dunne's "Werno letter," the traction question would now be settled. No one would oppose them, and everyone would welcome them. For that letter contemplated re-construction of the traction system by the old companies for the city, with a revocable license to operate until the city should decide to operate for itself. This is what the companies agreed to do when they accepted orally the terms of "the Werno letter," and this is the obligation they are now trying by these ordinances to dodge. Instead of constructing for the city, they are to construct for themselves. Instead of operating under a revocable license, they are to operate under a license so difficult if not impossible of revocation as to amount in practice to an indefeasible franchise for twenty years or more. Instead of eliminating the traction companies from municipal politics these ordinances would make them more than ever a corrupting political influence. Instead of taking "water" out of traction stock they would pour "water" in by the barrel full, as Stock Exchange reports will soon begin to show if the ordinances pass. And opportunities for stock-jobbing, instead of being removed, would be greatly augmented. These ordinances are no more expressive of the purpose of the "Werno letter," nor intended so to be, than theft is expressive of honesty.

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### The Shea Trial.

The disagreement of the jury in the Shea trial at Chicago doubtless appears to very many well-meaning persons as a miscarriage of justice. Let

them observe, however, that only a minority of the jury were for conviction, which indicates that if justice did miscarry it was because the defendants were not acquitted. But miscarriage of justice is hardly the appropriate phrase. The real conspirators in this case were not the men on trial, not the strike leaders; they were among the prosecutors if they were anywhere. This fact could have been shown at the trial of Shea and his associates, and the attempt was made, but the judge who presided ruled out all evidence tracing responsibility to any other source than the labor leaders in the teamsters' strike (vol. viii, p. 279) of two years ago. The mistrial in the Shea case was less a miscarriage of justice than of injustice.

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Regrets are expressed that there might not have been "a more satisfactory outcome" of the trial. The temper and source of these regrets imply that the only "satisfactory outcome" would have been conviction. But the simple truth is that no decisive outcome was possible, with a jury fairly selected. For the issue presented by the case was whether or not a sympathetic labor strike is a criminal conspiracy. At this trial five jurors thought it was and seven thought it was not. At another trial there would be the same result unless the jury were packed. A jury of Union League Club members, or members of the Employers' Association, the real prosecutors in this case, would doubtless agree on a verdict of guilty, whereas a jury of Federation of Labor delegates would as probably agree on a verdict of not guilty. But a jury consisting of representatives of both sides of the question would most assuredly disagree, while it would be impossible to find a jury of neutrals on that question outside of a retreat for idiots.

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### Emma Goldman and the Newspapers.

A few days ago the newspapers of the country made much of the arrest of Emma Goldman for a public speech inciting to violence, the destruction of government, etc., etc. But they made nothing of the fact that when she was arraigned, the case against her was dismissed on the ground that her speech was not a lawless one but was entirely within her rights. The newspaper idea of what constitutes lawlessness offers an interesting study in the psychology of professional gossip. A woman speaker who commits no crime is haled to prison and her meeting broken up by officious policemen

without warrant and without right, and the newspapers ejaculate "hurrah!" But when the courts determine that it was not the woman speaker but the police that were criminal in the matter, the newspapers pass silently by on the other side.

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### FIRST INSTALLMENT OF LAND REFORM IN GREAT BRITAIN.

One of the seven measures to get safely through the British Parliament at its first session under the management of the Campbell-Bannerman ministry is the "Land Tenure Bill" (p. 850). It is so small an installment of the program which that Government has laid out for itself that some of the supporters of the ministry thought it bad policy to expend much effort on it. "The great land reform before the Liberal party is not this bill but something far larger," says the London Tribune. "The imagination of the party has been caught by the hope of a great regeneration of the country to be effected by a wise and determined statesmanship which will create and foster a population of small holders and restore life and romance to our empty villages. Any energy spent on other objects is grudged as energy wasted on objects that are ancillary or perhaps even injurious to this great aim." Still the land tenure bill that is passed does get rid of the worst conditions surrounding the English farmer,—the insecurity of tenure, the danger of confiscation, the risks to his investment of capital and labor; and the provision in the bill for compensation for damage done by winged game is a new principle, proposing that it shall be considered henceforth that home-making takes precedence of feudal power and what is called "sport"—which will have a great effect on the British land policy of the future. The Prime Minister assured a deputation of 150 Liberal and Labor members of Parliament just before the adjournment, who had waited on him to urge legislation in the direction of taxation of land values, of his sympathy, and expressed a "confident hope" that a measure for the separate valuation of land values would be part of the government program at the next session. The separate valuation of land values as distinguished from buildings and other improvements, was asked for by all the speakers of the deputation as the first step necessary to the accomplishment of a reform system.

The taxation of land values is one of the burning issues of British politics. It has been kept very much alive by the sitting of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the taxation

of land values (Scotland) bill. The principle of this bill consists in the separation of the land from the value of the buildings and the placing of taxation on the value of the land, to the relief, pro tanto, of the taxes levied under the present system. The argument of the advocates of the bill is that the land owner should not be encouraged to keep land out of use by having no taxes to pay on it; that the owner contributes no benefit to the community by holding the land but rather helps in this way to force up the price of land; the growth of the population and the outlay of the municipalities are always increasing the value of the land. But a secondary problem has arisen in the question as to whether the tax which is meant to absorb future betterment and unearned increment should go to the national or to the local treasury.

Land values for the purposes of taxation J. A. Hobson would divide into "old unearned increment" and "new unearned increment," the "old" to be regarded as having become national property in the sense that national taxation may to a gradually increasing extent be properly imposed upon it; while "new" unearned increment chiefly the direct result of local expenditure, local energy and local growth shall be regarded primarily as a source of local revenue. Mr. Hobson thinks that the town, district and county are going to play an increasing part in taxation in the near future. He instances the new problem of transportation to the suburbs of cities, the displacement of the present systems of poor relief, the probable early organizations of public supplies of electric energy for lighting and industrial purposes, and other practical issues involving large drains on public expenditure will force a new division of revenues. It is interesting to see how Mr. Hobson meets the criticism that the income of ground values will be voted away by majorities of citizens who pay little or no taxes themselves while imposing heavy burdens on a few large taxpayers. "Is it just or reasonable that the body of citizens should impose taxes upon ten per cent. of their numbers, the other ninety per cent. paying nothing?" asks Mr. Hobson, to answer the question by pointing out that the income upon which the tax on land value falls is not to be regarded rightly as the property of him who receives it, but as "publicly created income which, by custom or obsolete convenience has been permitted to remain in private hands."

The state or city would take only as much as necessary of the value which is constantly being added to the land by public enterprise. This he

insists, is not confiscation but the taking by the public of a portion of the income earned by the public and needed for the uses of the public life. The checks which will come into operation against public extravagance or misuse will be the discontent evoked, and the reforming energy of intelligent citizens, when the draughts upon the income earned by general improvement of the municipality go beyond demands just and safe for the general interest. "It is no more reasonable to deny to a municipality or state the right to collect and administer its publicly created income on the ground of alleged liability to abuse of this right, than for a similar reason to deny the full use of his income to an individual who has earned it," says Mr. Hobson. The value of land depends on the presence and communal activity of the population around it. A new public improvement, a better road for instance, improves the value of unused land as much as it improves the occupied land in the neighborhood, but under the present system the latter bears the brunt of the taxation paying for the improvement. The present English reform contention on the land value question is that taxing land value is taxing a monopoly value.

E. H. CLEMENT.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### THE MODERN SMALL-FARMER MOVEMENT IN DENMARK.

Hong, Denmark, November, 1906.—The social class in Denmark on which the single tax idea has made the deepest impression and where it is best understood is somewhat remarkable, and is peculiar to Denmark. It is the lower order of farmers—the so-called "housemen." These are the men who have no more land than they can till with help of wife and children.

In Denmark there are 160,000 of these small farms. Of the middle sized farms (from 30 to 90 acres) there are approximately 70,000. The possessors of these are called "gaardmen" (treeholders). Of larger properties there are approximately 2,000. Denmark numbers 2,500,000 citizens, 1,250,000 of whom are farmers.

The "housemen," then, form the most numerous class, and their number will gradually increase, because this form of agriculture has shown itself to be the most advantageous, as well for the individual as for the whole community. The "houseman" with his family cultivates his field more intensively and with greater net gain than it is possible to get out of the larger estates with hired labor. Moreover, by their co-operative system of dairies, egg-exporting, hog slaughtering, etc., it is possible for the Danish small farmers to engage in the most advantageous forms of production in modern agriculture. The

"housemen," therefore, especially the more advanced, are the leaders in Danish agriculture.

Even in the political life of Denmark the numerous housemen are obtaining an increasing importance. The middle class farmers—the "gaardmen"—are now in political power, and their representatives are predominant in the government and the "Folkething" (lower house). They are, however, believed to be secretly in accord with the conservative party (Højre, the party of "the right"). The "housemen" who have contributed their part to the political supremacy of the "gaardmen" who obtained control of the government in 1901, are justly feeling themselves wronged. The first of the "gaardmen's" more important governmental acts was a tax reform which entirely abolished the old tolerably large land taxes (formerly well based in the land). This was a gain for the present holders, but a loss for the nation. The question involved is one of taxes and revenues to the amount of no less than 10 million kroner yearly (over two and a half million dollars) in a community of two and a half million inhabitants.

As this tax reform soon made the price of land rise, and as a former promised tariff reform in the direction of free trade was deliberately neglected, the exasperation of the "housemen" against the ruling "gaardmen" has constantly increased. This indignation is all the greater because in the year 1902, before the tax law was passed, a meeting of representatives was held in Koege (Zealand), where after an address upon the subject by the present writer, a resolution opposing the law was read and carried by the assembly. This resolution should be known more widely because of its strict and unconditional adherence to the single tax doctrine, without condition or reservation. Such a declaration has perhaps never been made elsewhere.

#### The "Koege Resolution of 1902."

The assembly of representatives of small farmers declares:

Since the small farm agriculture in independent holdings is the most advantageous form of agriculture for both the individual and the community, and it is therefore to be expected that this will in the future be the most common, and perhaps the only form of Danish agriculture, the solution of the small farmer problem is not essentially based upon support from the state or from the other classes of the community, but only in the full recognition of the small farmers having the same civil and legislative rights as the other classes in the community.

The small farmers, therefore, do not demand that they be especially favored by tax legislation, as, for example, by the abolition of the old land taxes and tithes, which were taken into account when possession was obtained, and are compensated for by abatement in the purchase price. The abolition of land taxes, by diminishing the public funds and exposing those who held no land to unjust loss, would give to a part of a single generation an advantage, and especially to the larger landowners.

Wherefore, the small farmers make this demand: the speediest possible abolition of every tariff, impost and tax, direct or indirect, upon articles of consumption, that is, upon foods, clothing, furniture, buildings, farm implements, tools, machinery, raw materials and income gained by labor; because all such burdens are resting with undue weight on labor and the poor man.

Instead of taxes upon those articles, the small farmers demand that for obtaining the public revenue, that value of the land be taxed which is not the result of the work of a single individual, but is caused by the growth and

development of the community. This unearned land value is now increasing enormously especially in large towns, and instead of being taken for the state or the public treasury, it is making some individual private speculators rich. Such taxes would not hinder labor, but would make the land cheaper, and thereby make it easier for every man to obtain his own homestead.

The assembly of small farmers in Koege therefore ask that the other organizations of small farmers in the nation give their support to this tax program, and they require that such political parties as want the assistance of the small farmers, should take up the demands of this program, and work for a tax reform of this kind during the present session of the state assembly.

As is clear from this resolution, the small farmers' tax program rests on the fact that the small farm freeholds have by experience proved to be the most advantageous to labor, and it is therefore believed that this will be the future form of agriculture. Therefore the small farmers look upon the matter, not as class politics, making fixed demands against the other social classes; but they regard themselves as striving for a body politic founded on an equality which places all citizens on a level in regard to all civic and economic matters. Wherefore they demand the entire abolition of all present taxes on labor and consumption, and ask instead for a tax on the value of the land of the community.

Probably never before have the Henry George doctrines in their purity been so clearly advocated by a whole class as here in Denmark by the small farmers.

Although this program was ignored by the "gaardmen" party in its tax laws of 1903, the small farmers of the islands of Denmark have reiterated these demands in two assemblies of representatives—in Roeskilde (Zealand), 1905, and Odense (Fuenen), 1905; and at present the movement is making its way over the whole of Jutland,\* and it is to be hoped that the tax on land values will become a strong feature of Danish politics.

It may be added that this has already partly come to pass. A new political party, "The radical Left" (Det radikale Venstre) was formed in 1904, and in their program they expressly demanded the entire abolition of all tariff-taxes (customs duties) and other taxes on articles of consumption, and as compensation the introduction of a tax on land values.

This was undoubtedly a result of the "housemen's" Koege Resolution, and the strong Danish George movement the influence of which is increasing day by day.

Quite another "land question" is the problem of how it is possible for the state or community to provide land for the "housemen," independently of the influence on the price of land of a land tax law. This problem of land for land laborers has been long in the foreground here in Denmark, and some laws relating to the question have been made during the last few years. The result, however, has not been encouraging. Meanwhile, this program of "inner colonization" is stirring our agricultural circles, and it is just possible that Denmark will find the right solution of this important problem also, and thereby show the way to the other nations.

S. BERTHELSON.

Editor of Ret (Justice, Right).

\*Now, in November, 1906, the congress of housemen in Jutland, have adopted the principles in the Koege resolution of 1902.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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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.

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Week ending Wednesday, Jan. 23, 1907.

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### Mayor Dunne's Candidacy for Renomination.

Mayor Dunne's formal letter announcing his candidacy for renomination as Mayor of Chicago (p. 994) was published on the 17th. It deals exclusively with the traction question, and as this is of national interest we give the text of the letter in full:

At the earnest solicitation of many of my fellow citizens I have concluded to submit my name to my fellow Democrats for renomination, at the next Democratic convention, to the office of Mayor, upon the following platform in so far as it affects traction matters:

The ordinances reported to the City Council Jan. 15, 1907, granting certain rights to the Chicago City Railway Company and the Chicago Railways Company must, for the preservation of the people's rights, be amended in the following particulars:

1. No restriction exists in these ordinances as to the cost of rehabilitation, and it has been stated by Engineer Arnold that the rehabilitation of the properties of both companies may cost from \$40,000,000 to \$50,000,000. This \$40,000,000 to \$50,000,000, in addition to the \$50,000,000 now fixed as the price of these properties, would make the entire cost to the city, if it attempted to take over the properties, between \$90,000,000 and \$100,000,000. At the present time we have no ordinance authorizing the issuance of to exceed \$75,000,000 worth of Mueller certificates. If these certificates are held to be valid, as I confidently expect, we would be compelled to pay a brokerage, in all probability, for getting cash upon the same, leaving us only about \$72,000,000 net for the purchase of these roads. Seventy-two million dollars in cash will not purchase \$90,000,000 or \$100,000,000 worth of property, if we are compelled to pay cash. I therefore insist that before the cost of rehabilitation—together with the price now fixed upon the property, to-wit, \$50,000,000—exceeds the sum of \$72,000,000, provision must be made in the proposed ordinances for the passage of ordinances either amendatory to the \$75,000,000 ordinance or as a substitute therefor, authorizing the issuance of additional certificates to the full amount of the present fixed value and proposed improvement. It may be said that these ordinances can be passed afterward. But in view of the tremendous struggle we have just gone through in obtaining the passage of the \$75,000,000 certificate ordinance, I am firmly of the opinion that the present ordinance to the traction companies should contain a provision that the cost of improvements, together with the present fixed price, should never exceed the amount of the certificates authorized to be issued by law. This need not retard the improvements in any way, as it will be in the interest of both the company and the people to have these certificate ordinances passed, if there is a provision to that effect in the present ordinances. The traction companies would be bound to see that these ordinances were passed so as to secure them in the cost of rehabilitation and the people would be interested in the same direction so as to enable them at all times to have sufficient certificates

on hand to acquire the property when they elect to take over the same. Moreover, the cost of rehabilitation within the first two years would not probably exceed the \$22,000,000 margin, and within this period a valid ordinance authorizing in the aggregate the issuance of not to exceed \$100,000,000 worth of Mueller certificates could be passed by the Council and approved by the people. The proposed ordinance to the Chicago City Railway Company provides that in the event the city takes over its property or any of its extensions on the North and West sides the city must pay cash and cannot assume any lien covering the cost of rehabilitation. That ordinance may be accepted within sixty days, leaving the Chicago Railways Company ordinance unaccepted, as that company has, by the terms of the proposed ordinance, 120 days in which to accept the same. Mr. John P. Wilson, the attorney for the Chicago City Railway Company, in his argument before the committee, declined to permit a provision to be incorporated in its ordinance allowing the city to take over the property of that company subject to the lien of the cost of rehabilitation, and stated in substance that his company had \$21,000,000 now invested and might be called upon for \$75,000,000 more for the cost of rehabilitation and acquisition of the South, West and North Side properties, and he further stated that his client would accept nothing but cash if the city purchased. A consolidation of both companies is highly probable, with the Chicago City Railway Company in control.

2. There should be a guaranty incorporated in the ordinances of both companies that the 55 per cent. of the net profits which the city is to get as its share should not fall below a certain per cent. of the gross receipts each year. The statements published in the newspapers as coming from these companies within the last few days make a showing of returns to the city of approximately, as figured by Alderman Dever, about 8 per cent. of the gross receipts. The safety of the public demands that some such guaranty should be contained in the ordinance.

3. The ordinances provide that any licensee of the city shall be compelled, if it takes over the properties of the present companies, to pay not only that which the city should pay if the city should take over the properties for ownership and operation, but also a 20 per cent. bonus. This provision has been inserted at the demand of the companies on the ground that unless such a provision appeared in the ordinance they might be sandbagged by rival capitalists. If, however, a licensee company should offer at any time to the City of Chicago a 4 or 3 cent fare, I do not believe that such an offer could be construed as sandbagging the present companies, but would be an offer in the interest of the people. I therefore insist that a provision should be contained in these ordinances permitting any licensee company that would be willing to give the citizens of this city a 4-cent fare or less and universal transfers throughout the city, to take over the properties of the present companies by paying them the full value of their present properties and 5 per cent. interest thereon and the cost of rehabilitation and 5 per cent. interest thereon without any additional penalty. In view of the fact that the City of Cleveland and the City of Detroit are now enjoying 3-cent fares (In Detroit during certain hours) and that there is a strong probability of fares being reduced throughout the country, I maintain that Chicago should secure the right of a 4-cent fare or less to its citizens if any company is willing to take a franchise on that condition.

4. The proposed ordinance gives the present companies a contractor's profit of 10 per cent. upon the cost of all rehabilitation and also provides that the companies may subcontract with the approval of the board of engineers. But there is no provision in the ordinance which would prevent the companies from paying the subcontractor his usual profit, say 10 per cent., and then charging the city 10 per cent. upon the total cost in addition.

This provision of the ordinance allowing the 10 per cent. contractor's profit should be amended so as to provide that all profits paid by the companies to subcontractors should be deducted from the 10 per cent. allowed to the companies as their contractor's profit.

5. A provision should be inserted in the ordinance requiring the Chicago City Railway Company to exchange transfers with the Calumet Electric Company and the South Chicago Railway companies whenever the city is in a position to compel these roads to exchange transfers with the Chicago City Railway Company or whenever the city acquires these roads, the franchises of which expire within a few years. Unless such a provision is now inserted in the Chicago City Railway ordinance, the citizens of South Chicago may for years to come be compelled to pay two fares to reach the heart of the city.

I am as earnestly desirous of immediate rehabilitation as any of my fellow citizens, but the terms of the ordinance now provide in addition to immediate rehabilitation a provision empowering the city at any time upon six months' notice to take over these properties and should provide that we shall have Mueller certificates on hand at all times to do so and should also provide for universal transfers throughout the city at the earliest possible moment. I endeavored before the committee on local transportation to have each and all of these amendments incorporated in the ordinance, but failed in my purpose. I then believed and still believe that if the ordinances are passed without these amendments the rights of the people will be seriously imperiled and that their intention of municipalizing these roads, so often expressed at the polls, will be dangerously imperiled if not destroyed.

Both of these ordinances are very complicated and voluminous, particularly the provision of the Chicago City Railway Company ordinance relating to the Chicago City Railroad Company, a new company to be incorporated to carry out the construction of tracks on the North Side of the city, and that provision of the Chicago Railways Company ordinance which provides for the reorganization of all of the present companies interested in the West and North Side roads and the procuring of good title through proceedings in and out of the courts.

The ordinance relating to the Chicago Railways Company has only been published within the last few days, and critical examination and analysis of both ordinances may show that other serious defects exist therein, but the defects hereinbefore pointed out, which I believe should be amended, are of such serious character and so plainly appear on the face of the ordinances that I believe it is absolutely imperative for the citizens of this community to insist upon these amendments before passing the ordinances.

The only possible way, in my judgment, to prevent the passage of the ordinances in their present dangerous form is for the people to demand by petition the right of referendum. Unless such a petition be filed with the board of election commissioners on or before Feb. 1, the people will have lost their right to examine and analyze these ordinances and express their approval or disapproval of the same at the polls on the 2d day of April. I therefore earnestly request my fellow citizens to sign the petitions approved by the City Council on Jan. 15, 1907, and to take steps to see that they are filed with the proper authorities.

If my fellow Democrats are in accord with me in these views and renominate me for the office which I now hold, I shall accept that nomination, and do my utmost to secure the incorporation of these amendments in the ordinances before they become law or the companies acquire any interest thereunder.

In addition to their candidate's platform on the traction question, Mayor Dunne's supporters point especially to two accomplishments of his administration

—reduction in the price of gas from \$1 to 85 cents per thousand cubic feet, and reduction in the price of water to meter consumers from 10 to 7 cents per thousand gallons.

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The Dunne campaign is under the management of Wm. L. O'Connell, chairman of the county central committee, and Charles J. Vopicka as chairman of the campaign committee. Nine regular ward organizations—the 4th, 6th, 12th, 13th, 25th, 31st, 32d, 33d and 35th—had declared for Mayor Dunne up to the 23d.

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#### The Harrison Campaign.

Mayor Dunne's only competitor for the Democratic nomination is ex-Mayor Carter H. Harrison. Mr. Harrison has not announced his candidacy, but a campaign organization has been started under the management of Mr. Tod Lundsford. As early as January 2 a "business men's league" was formed. On the 9th Harrison's headquarters were formally opened, and it was publicly announced that a financial committee of men worth \$85,000,000 had been organized. Mr. Harrison is now in California. His friends expected him to return about the 1st of February, but on the 23rd they received a letter from him in which he said he would not come to Chicago unless nominated and that he would not engage in a primary contest.

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#### The Chicago Traction Question.

The referendum petition put out by the Referendum League and other organizations (p. 993), has been altered by the substitution for the second question of the question formulated by the City Council (p. 993), and the people are being advised by these organizations to sign both the petition with three questions and the Council petition having on it only one of the three. Both petitions are being circulated by the organizations, the Mayor is circulating only the Council petition, and the Council is making no effort to circulate any. Reports of the 23d were to the effect that 70,000 signatures had so far been reported. The number required is 87,000, and the time expires on the 1st.

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The three-question petition is asserted by Walter L. Fisher, traction counsel for the city, to be illegal, and there are indications that the election commissioners (Republican) will refuse to file it and issue ballots upon it. Mr. Fisher's legal point is that the public policy act provides for a separate petition upon each question of public policy, and specifies that each proposition shall be submitted in the order of "its" filing. From these requirements he argues that each petition must contain one, and only one, question. Heretofore all petitions filed under this law have contained three questions, the limit allowed by the law.

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On the 18th a meeting in opposition to the traction ordinance and in support of the three-question petition was held at Handel Hall. It was addressed by William Prentiss, D. K. Tone, Alderman Wm. E. Dever, and Margaret Haley. An opposition meeting

was held on the 22d by the Union League Club in favor of adoption of the ordinances forthwith on the ground that "it appears that public sentiment is for settlement and not a referendum." Also on the 22d John M. Harlan, attorney for traction interests, addressed a meeting in support of the ordinances. As Mr. Harlan had pledged himself when a candidate for Mayor, two years ago, to sign no settlement ordinance whatever until it had been approved by referendum, he was asked from the audience to state his objections to a referendum on these ordinances, and he replied, as reported in the Chicago Tribune:

Personally, I should like to see a referendum. The question of a referendum is one that appeals to me. You may remember that I ran for Mayor once and how I stood then. Perhaps to a greater degree than is true of any other community this traction question has enlisted our sympathy and interest. Prompt service means supper and sleep and touches the comfort and intimate life of us all. If I were thinking of my own selfish interests, looking for justification of the things I have stood for, I would want a referendum now. But the money market presents too many elements of doubt for us to delay. The financiers are willing to-day, but perhaps they will not be willing a month from now. The men behind this deal have the money now to put it through. My business friends tell me there is a possibility of money stringency. The question for you and me as citizens is whether it is wiser to hold to an abstract principle in this matter. What in the long run is better for the people? If you have the confidence in your representatives on the local transportation committee that you should have you will let the referendum go, and work for immediate settlement. These aldermen think the ordinances are the best thing for the city. They give you immediate rehabilitation, and leave the rights of the city unfettered. Therefore, I am in favor of immediate settlement and against the referendum.

The Federation of Labor has called a meeting at 134 East Van Buren street on the 25th at 8 o'clock, for the purpose of "dealing with the perilous situation which has been created by the pending street railroad franchise ordinances," which are denounced in the call for the meeting as "a gigantic swindle."

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#### Senatorial Elections.

Senatorial elections have been held since our last report (p. 994) in eleven States.

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The most important in the news sense was that of Senator Joseph W. Bailey of Texas, who was reelected on the 22d. Mr. Bailey had been endorsed for reelection at the primaries last July by a practically unanimous popular vote; but it was subsequently charged against him that he had been bribed (under cover of lawyer's fees) by the Waters-Pierce Oil Company (p. 994), a subsidiary company of the Standard Oil trust. This charge was made circumstantially, and a fierce contest resulted; but on the 22d Mr. Bailey received 108 votes in the legislature for reelection out of a possible 163. Notwithstanding his reelection, the charges against him are to be prosecuted to prevent his being seated.

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In New Jersey the Senatorial contest is over the reelection of Senator John F. Dryden, who was nominated by the Republican caucus on the 21st. But



the caucus lacked five of a majority of both houses on joint ballot. Eight Republicans positively refused to vote for him.



Other Senatorial elections of the week are as follows:

- Oregon, Jonathan Bourne, Jr. (Rep.) and Fred W. Mulkey (Rep.)
- Kansas, Charles Curtis, (Rep.)
- Alabama, John T. Morgan (Dem.) and Edmund W. Pettus (Dem.).
- Illinois, Shelby M. Cullom (Rep.).
- Iowa, J. P. Dolliver (Rep.).
- Minnesota, Knute Nelson (Rep.).
- North Carolina, F. M. Simmons (Dem.).
- South Carolina, B. R. Tillman (Dem.).
- South Dakota, E. J. Gamble (Rep.).
- West Virginia, S. B. Elkins (Rep.).
- Wyoming, Francis E. Warren (Rep.).



**The First of the New Elections in Russia.**

The first elections to the new Douma (p. 777), held in the far south of Russia in advance of the rest of the elections on account of the remoteness of the region from the capital, have resulted in the Radicals obtaining more than 80 per cent. of the electoral college which is to choose one deputy.



**Electoral Reform in Sweden.**

The Swedish parliament was opened on the 16th with a speech delivered by the Crown Prince Gustave as Regent. The principal legislation reported as foreshadowed in the speech, was a comprehensive electoral reform measure, introducing universal suffrage, and limiting the election of members of the upper House to a period of six years. Municipal franchise also would be extended so as to include wider sections of the community. Later dispatches state that the universal suffrage proposed is according to the Proportional system in use in Holland. Correspondence of the Chicago Record-Herald says that the plan differs from the ordinary majority election system in giving each party a chance to elect a number of representatives proportionate to its numerical strength in a given election district. The system appeals to the minority parties on the principle that half a loaf is better than no bread. While both Conservatives and Liberals in prior debates have expressed the fear that Proportional elections would give the Socialists the upper hand in all industrial communities, they now seem disposed to assist in the passage of such a law. The demand for the ballot is a popular cry which has grown louder and stronger year by year; and now that the question presses for a final solution, even the reactionaries, fearing a Radical ascendancy, have begun to regard Proportionalism as the lesser evil.

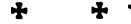


**Progress of the Single Tax Movement in Sweden.**

At a meeting held at Stora Tuna, at which were present representatives of a large number of young people's societies in the northern part of Sweden, the following resolution, bearing upon the subject of a land value tax, was adopted:

The young men and women of Dalarne hereby express their opinion as to the necessity of a progressive Swed-

ish land policy, the object of which shall be to increase the prosperity of the nation, and bring it about that the increase in land values which takes place without individual owners' efforts, shall belong to the public. This convention particularly wishes to accentuate the necessity of an effective educational movement in this direction.



**The French Episcopate and the Church Laws.**

The French bishops in session at La Murette (p. 995) last week are reported as having divided into two groups, the ultramontanes who were irreconcilable, and determined to persevere in efforts to compel the state to negotiate for a settlement with the Vatican; and the liberals who held that the high dignitaries of the French church should do everything not specifically interdicted by the pope in order to maintain religious peace. The proceedings of the conference were not made public, but press dispatches assert that the ultramontanes were the stronger party, and prevailed in the matter of holding in suspense the main question of how worship should be continued, a decision being arrived at not to form cultural associations under the law of 1901, and to ask at the same time for precise instructions from Rome. In the meantime the status quo will be maintained.



**Coronation of the Shah of Persia.**

Cable dispatches give picturesque accounts of the crowning of Mohammed Ali Mirza as Shah of Persia on the 19th (p. 970). The scene within the throne-room as the Shah ascended the famous peacock throne of gold set with jewels, surrounded by princes, nobles and mullahs, is reported as one of rare magnificence. According to ancient custom the royal procession entered the throneroom one hour after midday. At the head walked the younger brother of the new Shah, followed by a procession of venerables, priests and mullahs, the new monarch bringing up the rear. Mohammed Ali Mirza ascended the throne, while the Persian officials and the diplomatic representatives formed themselves in a circular group, of which the Shah was the center. At his left stood the highest personages of his court, while at his right were gathered the foreigners, including the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, Russia, Germany and other powers. As soon as the crowning ceremonies began the Shah took his seat on the throne and removed his hat. The prime minister then advanced and placed on his head the jeweled crown which the late Shah once threw to the ground because of its great weight. In the meantime the chief mullah began to intone slowly from the Koran. He then recited a poem by the laureate, which was followed by the doleful strains of another poetic legend. This concluded, the procession was formed again and the Shah descended from the throne. He walked in front of the foreign delegates, stopping in front of each one to speak a few words of pleasant greeting.



A further picturesque conjunction of the ancient and modern is reported. We are familiar with the old, elemental conception that the true relation of a ruler to his people demanded that he should be

always accessible. The new Shah began immediately upon his accession to hear that because of his entourage he was difficult to approach. So, says the Teheran correspondent of the London Daily Mail, his majesty has ordered that telephonic communication be installed between the palace and a public square, and has invited his subjects to use this telephone in order to enter in direct communication with him.

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#### The National Congress in India.

Mail advices report the proceedings of the Indian National Congress (p. 944) held in Calcutta from Dec. 26 to Dec. 29. This was the largest of these congresses ever held. Over 1,500 delegates attended, including more than a hundred Mahomedans. Every day the pavilion was packed with an audience of over 15,000. All India was represented. The demand of the Congress was for a greater degree of home rule. One resolution advocated the introduction of self-government under the colonial system; another advocated greater freedom for municipalities. On the 27th the Congress passed a resolution recording its sense of indignation that Indians should be denied citizen rights in the Transvaal. To British Imperialists the chairman said: "Do not misread the signs of the times. Your choice is between a contented people and another Ireland in the East." The Congress will meet again at Nagpur next Christmas.

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#### A Japanese Test Case in San Francisco.

A test case to determine whether Japanese children can be legally excluded from the public schools of San Francisco has been arranged for. Keikichi Ooki, the ten-year-old son of a Japanese bookseller, formally applied for admission to the Redding primary school on the 17th, and met with prearranged refusal. The United States district attorney thereupon applied to the Supreme Court for a writ of mandamus compelling the board of education to admit the boy, and commenced suit in the United States Circuit Court for the same purpose. The dispatches state that attached to the petition for the mandamus was a request by United States Attorney General Bonaparte to the effect that the United States be made a party to the record for the purpose of enforcing the treaty with Japan. State rights, the treaty of the United States with Japan, the validity of the order issued by the San Francisco board of education, and the constitutionality of a law of the State of California, as well as an interpretation of the word "Mongolian" are involved in the two suits. A contention which heretofore has not been mentioned in this controversy between the State and the Federal government is the claim that the Federal government, by land grants and appropriations of money, has helped to support the public schools of the State with the understanding and intent that said schools should be conducted in conformity with the legislation of the United States, and with all treaties made under the authority of the United States.

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#### A Day of Railroad Disasters.

On the 19th ten railroad accidents occurred in different parts of the United States, four of them in

Indiana. The Chicago Tribune thus enumerates them:

Terre Haute, Ind.—Car of powder on siding exploded as Big Four passenger train passed; both trains blown to pieces; at least twenty-five killed; many others injured.

Fowler, Ind.—Big Four passenger express from Chicago wrecked in collision with freight train; at least sixteen persons killed or burned to death.

Hammond, Ind.—Lake Shore suburban train in collision with empty freight; twelve passengers hurt.

Schnelder, Ind.—Two trainmen fatally injured in collision between freights on Indiana Harbor road.

Houston, Tex.—Passenger train on the International and Great Northern railway wrecked; many passengers are reported injured.

Minneapolis, Minn.—Winnipeg flyer of the Great Northern wrecked ten miles out of Minneapolis; three passengers injured.

Bureau, Ill.—Train 337 on the Rock Island road wrecked in washout near Bureau; engineer and fireman and four passengers hurt.

Meridian, Miss.—Collision between passenger and freight on the New Orleans and Northeastern railroad; engineer killed.

Desoto, Kan.—Locomotive exploded on Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railway, killing the engineer and fireman and a brakeman and demolishing the bridge it was crossing.

Alma, Mich.—Pere Marquette passenger train wrecked by a broken rail; none of the passengers was seriously injured. Fireman Homer Johnson was buried under the engine and killed and several other members of the train crew were bruised.

The first of the above wrecks was the most dreadful. It occurred at Sanford, nine miles east of Terre Haute. Later reports give the number of bodies recovered as 27. As some bodies were completely dismembered, it will be difficult to be certain as to the exact number of the dead. There is doubt as to the contents of the car which exploded, and an investigation is on foot.

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#### The Jamaica Earthquake.

The destruction and the loss of life at Kingston (p. 995) were even greater than at first reported. Three days after the earthquake it was discovered that the shores of the harbor were sinking, at least in part, and that the bed of the harbor had wholly changed. The city was described on the 16th as being like a charnel pit, with hundreds of decomposing corpses beneath its ruins. Every business house, church, theatre, bank and hotel had been destroyed by earthquake or fire.

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There being no British warships in West Indian waters at the time of the disaster, American naval officers hastened to offer relief to the stricken city. A dispatch dated at Kingston on the 17th stated that

The streets of this city are now picketed with American guards. Admiral Evans at the request of the British authorities landed a force of marines from the battle ships Missouri and Indiana.

Admiral Davis reported to the Navy Department, through Admiral Evans on the 18th, very fully of the situation. Among other particulars, stating that:

The Governor, Sir Alexander Swettenham . . . assures me there is no need of police protection or relief; declined my offer to land wrecking party to assist in hos-

pital, to police streets, clear away debris, to bury dead. . . . Later, upon request, I landed fifty men under arms from the Indiana to prevent alleged mutiny at penitentiary containing between 500 and 600 prisoners, then proceeded in carriage with government official to King's house. Governor with family were living in tents; accompanied Governor to city and shall this afternoon probably withdraw guard at penitentiary, as he assures me he is capable of controlling the situation.

After the foregoing Great Britain and the United States were considerably surprised, when the following correspondence was made public in the press of the 21st:

Kingston, Jan. 17.—My Dear Governor: I beg you to accept my apology for the mistake of the salute this afternoon. My order was misunderstood and the disregard of your wishes was due to a mistake in the transmission of my order. I trust the apparent disregard of your wishes will be overlooked.

I landed working parties from both ships today to aid in clearing the various streets and buildings and purpose landing parties tomorrow for the same purpose unless you expressly do not desire it. I think a great deal may be done in the way of assistance to private individuals without interfering with the forces of yourself and the government officials. As the only object of my being here is to render such assistance as I can, I trust you will justify me in this matter for the cause of common humanity.

I had a patrol of six men ashore today to guard and secure the archives of the United States consulate, together with a party of ten clearing away wreckage. This party after finishing its work at the consulate assisted a working party to catch thieves, recovering from them a safe taken from a jewelry store valued at \$5,000. From this I judge that the police surveillance of the city is inadequate for the protection of private property.

Actuated by the same motive—namely, common humanity—I shall direct the medical officers of my squadron to make all efforts to aid cases of distress which perhaps do not come under the observation of your medical officers.

I shall have pleasure in meeting you at the hour appointed, 10 a. m., at headquarters house.

I trust you approve of my action in this matter. Your obedient servant,

C. H. DAVIS, Rear Admiral.

Kingston, Jan. 18.—Dear Admiral: Thanks very much for your letter, your kind call and all the assistance given or offered us. While I most heartily appreciate the very generous offers of assistance, I feel it my duty to ask you to re-embark the working party and all parties which your kindness prompted you to land.

If in consideration of the vice consul's assiduous attentions to his family at his country house the American consulate needs guarding in your opinion, although he was present and it was not guarded an hour ago, I have no objection to your detaching a force for the sole purpose of guarding; but the party must have no fire-arms and nothing more offensive than clubs or staves for this function.

I find your working party was this morning helping Mr. Crosswell clean his store. Crosswell was delighted that the work was done without cost. If your excellency should remain long enough I am sure almost all the private owners would be glad of the services of the navy to save expense.

It is no longer a question of humanity; all the dead died days ago and the work of giving them burial is merely one of convenience.

I would be glad to accept delivery of the safe which it is alleged thieves had possession of. The American vice consul has no knowledge of it; the store is close to a sentry post and the officers of the post profess ignorance of the incident.

I believe the police surveillance of the city is adequate for the protection of private property. I may remind your excellency that not long ago it was discovered that thieves had lodged in and pillaged the residence of some New York millionaire during his absence in the summer, but this would not have justified a British admiral landing an armed party and assisting the New York police.

I have the honor to be, with profound gratitude and the highest respect, your obedient servant,

ALEXANDER SWETTENHAM, Governor.

Kingston was reported as angry at the Governor's course. The Mayor of Kingston telegraphed the Mayor of New York on the 21st as follows:

Kingston, Jamaica, Jan. 21—Mayor, New York: On behalf of stricken people I appeal through you to generosity of American people for help. Every house destroyed. Money, lumber, and building materials most urgently needed.

TAIT, Mayor.

In the meantime the following dispatches were exchanged by the two governments involved:

The Hon. Elihu Root, Secretary of State, Washington:

Have read in the newspapers this morning what purports to be a letter from Governor of Jamaica. Can only say that on materials before me I entertain, as responsible for troops in island, feeling of deep gratitude to American Admiral for generous assistance tendered at most critical time.

HALDANE,

Secretary of State for War.

The President greatly appreciates your cordial telegram, and is glad if the proximity of this country has made it possible to be of the slightest assistance to the stricken people of Jamaica in this crisis. If, because of this proximity, and pending the arrival of your own warships and transports, we can render any further aid whatever, the President earnestly hopes you will call on him without hesitation. We know how cheerfully you would render such aid to us were the circumstances reversed.

BACON, Acting Secretary of State.

These were followed by the following dispatch from the Governor of Jamaica:

The Hon. Elihu Root, Secretary of State, Washington: Jamaica profoundly grateful to your excellency for expression of sympathy and for the very practical aid so kindly given by Admiral Davis and the entire particular service squadron of the United States navy.

GOVERNOR.

The incident now apparently closed is summed up in a letter from George Bernard Shaw to the London Tribune, in connection with giving his signature to a protest against the Governor's action:

Rear Admiral Davis evidently is not accustomed to the manners of the English official classes. Governor Swettenham would naturally regard an American admiral with a certain suspiciousness, first as a foreigner and dissenter; secondly, as a member of a naval branch into which the sons of clergymen and other professional persons enter freely, and finally as an officious intruder whose action implied that England could not cope with an earthquake without assistance. The governor probably conceived himself as acting with studied politeness under circumstances of most presumptuous provocation.

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Coincident with the Kingston earthquake came increased activity of Mt. Vesuvius and Mt. Etna in Italy. Earthquake shocks and a tidal wave have been reported from Manila, and on the 20th severe shocks from two points in Russia. Further particulars of the tidal wave reported on the 11th as having swept over the Dutch West Indies (p. 995) have been

received. Eighteen hundred persons are said to have lost their lives, 1,500 of them on the Island of Simalu, which has practically disappeared. Simalu or Hog Island lies in the Indian Ocean west of the northern part of Sumatra.

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#### The Shea Case.

The trial, lasting 131 days, of Cornelius P. Shea, the leader of the teamsters' strike of 1905 in Chicago (vol. viii, p. 279), together with his principal associates who were included in the same indictment, came to an end on the 21st with the discharge of the jury for failure to agree. The charge was conspiracy to injure a business firm—Montgomery Ward & Co. But the issue as it reached the jury was the question of whether a sympathetic strike constitutes criminal conspiracy. Although violent outbreaks on the streets were proved by the prosecution, the defendants were not allowed by the court to prove that these outbreaks were caused by the Employers' Association instead of the strikers. Neither were the defendants allowed to prove that the strikers had tried to arbitrate the labor differences and the employers had refused. Among the witnesses for the prosecution was Albert H. Young, a labor leader who had turned state's evidence. The jury were out 54 hours and stood 5 for conviction and 7 for acquittal. The difficulty in getting a jury in the case may be inferred from the fact that 4,710 jurymen were examined before 12 were found satisfactory to both sides. Immediately upon the discharge of the jury the defense demanded another trial.

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#### Funeral Services for Ernest Crosby.

The following account of the funeral services for Ernest Howard Crosby (p. 966) is taken from the Rhinebeck Gazette of Jan. 12. Rhinebeck is situated on the east side of the Hudson River between Poughkeepsie and Catskill.

"The body of Hon. Ernest H. Crosby, who died of pneumonia at Baltimore, Md., early on the morning of January 3, was brought to this village for burial on Monday.

"The funeral service was held at the Church of the Messiah at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, Rev. Ernest C. Saunders officiating. The body was brought from New York in a special car attached to the 12:47 train, and was taken at once to the church. The public were allowed to view the remains, which were placed in the vestibule, from 1:45 until 2 o'clock, when the service commenced.

"The coffin was of solid mahogany with pillared corners and oxidized ornamentation, bearing the inscription, 'Ernest Howard Crosby, 1856-1907.' The pall bearers were as follows: Jacob V. Beach, Edward Moody, Olandrew Mattison, Clinton Mattison, Dexter Burroughs and Edward Van Etten, and were chosen from among the employes at 'Grasmere,' Mr. Crosby's country estate.

"The altar was piled high with beautiful floral pieces and bouquets.

"At shortly after 1 o'clock on Monday the business places and offices about town were closed, and an air of mourning pervaded the village. Flags were hung at half mast throughout the day. Long before the service commenced the church was filled with

mourners gathered to do honor to the memory of their departed friend and townsman. The Episcopal service was used. The Board of Education of the Rhinebeck High School, of which he was a member, together with the faculty, attended in a body. Among those present from out of town were Messrs. Whidden Graham, P. T. Jones, J. J. Murphy, Kirk Paulding and William Ordway Partridge, and Dr. Elizabeth Robbins, Miss Lillian Wald and Miss Waters, all of New York City, together with a delegation of ten members of the Single Tax Society of New York.

"The remains were placed in the receiving vault at the rural cemetery, in charge of Wm. Carroll & Son, and will later be interred in the family plot.

"The community has scarcely yet recovered from the shock of his death. Loved, honored and respected by every one, his death has bereft the community of its noblest example and its most righteous force. With the sordid commercialism of the age, with its desire to get everything out of animal existence that sensuality can yield, he had no fellowship."

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## NEWS NOTES

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—The London Tribune, the able Liberal daily, is about to create a special news bureau in Washington.

—Mrs. Cella Parker Woolley will speak on "Personal Influence" at Fullerton Hall in the Art Institute on Jan. 26 at 10:30 in the morning.

—Josiah Flynt Willard, known to the literature of under-world life as "Josiah Flynt," died at Chicago on the 21st of pneumonia. He was a nephew of Frances Willard.

—Pittsburg saw no daylight at all on the 18th. A combination of warm fog, windless atmosphere, and the soft coal smoke which always overhangs the city, is given as the cause of the phenomenon.

—The government railways of Denmark, which have been a great boon to the country as well as always a profitable financial undertaking, report for the year 1905 to 1906 a surplus of more than 22 per cent. of the total receipts.

—John R. Walsh, until recently the most powerful financier of Chicago, but who has gone to the financial "wall" (vol. viii, p. 822), was indicted in the Federal court at Chicago on the 18th for violations of the national banking law. He was president of the Chicago National Bank.

—A process of extracting nitric acid from the atmosphere has been discovered by Sir William Crookes. The London Chronicle says that the process is available for commercial, industrial, and agricultural purposes and that it will revolutionize the nitrate industry and the world's food problem.

—Mr. Elihu Root, United States Secretary of State, visited the Governor-General of Canada, Earl Grey, at Ottawa, from the 19th to the 22nd. On the 22nd at a luncheon given in his honor by the Canadian Club, Mr. Root made an address upon the problems confronting the two nations, and their mutual relations.

—Oliver Dyer, the first person to master phonography in the United States, an associate editor with Robert Bonner in publishing the New York

Ledger, an intimate of many prominent statesmen and a well-known author, died in Boston on the 16th at the age of 83. He learned phonography in England personally from Isaac Pitman, and was the first stenographer in the United States senate. His protege, Murphy, formerly his office boy, became the fastest stenographer in the world.

—The question of permitting the diversion of 15,000 cubic feet of water power per second from Niagara Falls on the American side, and of permitting the entry into the United States of 160,000 electrical horse power developed from the Falls on the Canadian side (p. 753), was decided in the affirmative on the 19th by Mr. Taft, the Secretary of War. Mr. Taft bases his decision on the belief that such diversion of the waters will not perceptibly affect the scenic grandeur of the Falls.

—The statistics of imports and exports of the United States (see p. 924) for the month ending December 31, 1906, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for December, were as follows (M. standing for merchandise, G. for gold and S. for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M. ....	\$752,729,641	\$570,050,025	\$182,679,616 exp.
G. ....	7,873,199	65,717,737	57,844,538 imp.
S. ....	21,902,036	16,299,945	5,602,091 exp.
	\$782,504,876	\$652,067,707	\$130,437,169 exp.

—A series of six lectures on "Social and Political Conditions in Russia" is in course of delivery by Mr. Samuel N. Harper, Professor of Russian institutions at the University of Chicago, in Congregational hall at the University on consecutive Thursday afternoons at 4 o'clock. The series began on the 24th with "The Story of Russian Liberalism." The other dates and subjects are: Jan. 31, "Russian Political Parties: Origin, Platform, Tactics"; Feb. 7, "The First Russian Parliament"; Feb. 14, "The Political Significance of the Russian Peasant"; Feb. 21, "The Race Problem of Russia: Poles, Finns, Jews"; Feb. 28, "The Present Political Situation in Russia: the Election of the Second Douma."

—The Ohio river is higher than it has been since the floods of 1884. It was estimated on the 19th that 15,000 persons had been driven from their homes by the rising waters in the cities and towns along both sides of the river from Pittsburg to the Mississippi. And on the 20th it was estimated that 15,000 persons had been rendered homeless in Cincinnati and its Kentucky suburbs alone, while the shutting down of factories on account of the floods had thrown 40,000 men out of work. Tributary streams are also out of their banks, and Louisville reports a half million dollars' worth of damage. Bitterly cold weather since the beginning of the week has caused great suffering to the homeless.

—A plan whereby every one entering a country by a customs port should pass in front of an X ray apparatus for the purpose of detecting smuggled articles concealed upon the person has been devised in France. In a trial conducted by the French government, according to the Technical World Magazine, 167 persons were examined in 45 minutes, and on them were found jewels and merchandise hidden for the experiment. Watches were discovered sewed in the lining of one man's coat. In the hem of a woman's

skirt were found the rings put there to test the system. A tiny jeweled locket was revealed hidden in a young man's mouth, underneath his tongue, while under the coils of a woman's hair the X ray showed quite plainly several watch chains and a bracelet.

## PRESS OPINIONS

### MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP AND GOOD CITIZENSHIP.

Toronto Sunday World (Lib.), Jan. 6.—Not the least valuable feature of municipal ownership and operation of public franchises is the fact that it increases the personal interest of every citizen in local affairs, and stimulates civic patriotism.



### THE RIGHTS OF SELF-GOVERNING COLONIES.

Federalist and Grenada People (St. George, Grenada, B. W. I.), Nov. 20.—The difference between Newfoundland and Great Britain in respect of the fishery rights of the United States in the waters of the colony, opens a new and interesting chapter in Colonial history. . . . Can Great Britain afford to override the decision of a colonial legislature in a self-governing colony for the protection of its own industries, and do so in the interest of a foreign power? If this is attempted the dissolution of the Empire is begun, for it would be much better and safer that self-governing colonies should set up for themselves as independent nationalities than remain within an empire where their rights and their interests are subordinated to foreign nations. We, however, do not think that this extreme will be reached. Rather, the opposite will be achieved, and every portion of the Empire will feel the necessity for some sort of imperial federation with an imperial council representative of the whole as the treaty-making authority.



### THE GEORGIAN TENDENCY.

St. Louis Mirror, Dec. 22.—Pretty soon we shall all be Georgians. The Post-Dispatch, in an editorial last Saturday upon the reason why the city of London revolted against its progressive County Council, speaks out like an almost fanatic disciple of George. London wouldn't stand the tax involved in the stupendous improvements that were voted by the Council to transform the filthy ancient town into a modern, healthy city. The improvements were needed. All agreed as to that. What was the trouble? Why couldn't London stand the cost last year, \$119,500,000, of letting in light and air; and letting the people out to larger life? London is the richest city in the world. Why wasn't the money forthcoming? Listen to the Post-Dispatch: "They (the County Council) needed money. And they needed as a matter of justice as well as policy, to get it from those most able to give it. And yet they overlooked the biggest source of income for the city. The land owners of London, as land owners, pay no more to-day in local taxes than they did in the seventeenth century. American cities assess values in land annually, or at least with great frequency. The land of Great Britain, including the enormously valuable land on which London is built, has not been valued for the purposes of taxation since the year 1692. The land owners of London have shirked every cent of the taxation which they ought to have paid on account of the tremendous increase in values during a period of over two centuries. This amounts to over a hundred millions of dollars a year lost by the city." Why lost by the city? Because the city made the money by the mere fact of its growth. This money goes into private pockets. It should go into the public treasury. Tax out of the land, for community benefit, what community activities create, and you tax in accord with natural justice. That value is

more than enough to enable any government to remit all the other taxes now imposed. The Post-Dispatch has the clew. If it follows the clew, it will become a great Georgian paper.

\* \* \*

#### NIAGARA POWER.

The Auburn (N. Y.) Citizen (Dem.), January 19.—Secretary Taft, who under the Burton law passed by Congress at its last session, was authorized and empowered to pass on the question of permits for use of Niagara Falls power to the extent of 15,000 cubic feet per second from the American side and for importing 160,000 cubic feet per second from the Canadian side, has exercised his authority by deciding to allow such taking to the full extent. This action is taken after a hearing on the application of American companies for permission to draw more power from the Falls. At the hearing the request was opposed by Mr. McFarland, president of the American Civic Association; F. W. Stevens, representing the New York Chamber of Commerce; A. K. Potter of the Niagara Reservation Commission; H. E. Gregory of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, and Dr. John M. Clarke, State geologist of this State. For the other side appeared representatives of the power companies, reinforced by the report of a United States engineer, appointed by Secretary Taft to examine and report. The secretary accepts the say so of the latter who reported favoring the grant. Secretary Taft seems to have been controlled by the practical issues of the question, and to have given little weight to the scenic value, or romantic side, though he expresses the opinion that this will not be impaired by the grant, which is to run for three years, and of course will be permanent. That is a mere opinion, in which those who have made a study of the Falls do not concur. Secretary Taft's decision pushes further on and makes less difficult the feared destruction of the Falls as a world wonder, and to that extent it is regrettable.

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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, Jan. 14-19.

#### Senate.

The Senate began the week's session on the 14th with the consideration (p. 1084) and passage with amendments (p. 1091) of the legislative appropriation bill, supplemented with further discussion (p. 1091) of the President's dismissal of Negro troops. On the 15th the session was devoted mostly to private legislation, and on the 16th a bill incorporating the International Sunday School Association was passed (p. 1214). After this, further discussion of the dismissal of Negro troops took place (p. 1215), and was carried over into the 17th (p. 1260). The only important action of general interest on the 18th was the passage of a resolution (pp. 1331, 1334) for the investigation of the lumber trust. Adjournment was taken until the 21st.

\* \* \*

#### House.

A bill to prevent collisions at sea (pp. 1100, 1101) was passed on the 14th; also one incorporating the National Child Labor Committee (pp. 1102, 1103). Consideration of the fortifications appropriation bill was then resumed (p. 1177) and continued until the 17th (p. 1225), when the bill was passed (p. 1230). The appropriation bill for the District of Columbia was thereupon taken up (p. 1236), and after partial discussion was held in suspense pending the disposition of the urgent deficiency appro-

priation bill which was discussed (p. 1348) and passed (p. 1354) on the 18th. The 19th was devoted to local and private legislation.

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#### Record Notes.

Speech of Representative Crumpacker on mail "fraud orders" (p. 1048). President's message on dismissal of Negro troops (p. 1083).

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## RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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### THE GREAT JOY.

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

There is one joy which soars and hovers above all other joys,  
And your hands are not free to grasp it until you drop the lesser joys.  
Then at last you learn its secret, for lo! it contains all the others and sums them up.  
Each individual joy is there; not one is lacking.

\* \* \*

Seek the great joy.

To do it, let slip your wealth and your dreams of wealth.  
What miracle is this? You have thus become the possessor of all the earth,  
And for the first time you can really enjoy your heritage.  
You have risen above the region of exclusive riches, and now all things are yours.

\* \* \*

Renounce your ability to command and to look down upon your fellows.

Give up your schemes of political and social ambition;  
And behold, you find yourself at once near the source of all power,  
One of the elect few of all the ages,  
Sharing in the creative forces of the world,  
Your will in some way, to some extent, a part of the Divine will.

\* \* \*

Resign, if need be, the one most loved of all;  
Waive your claims, assert no selfish prerogative;  
And again on a higher plane your love embraces all.  
Now in the all you possess the loved one, who in turn through the all must now love you and delight in you.  
In that upper air there is no escape from you.

\* \* \*

Let your life and all its aims go;  
Make it so cheap that you can quite disregard it.  
And lo, once more you are lifted up to the center of the universe;  
The all-life, the life eternal, with all its treasures, becomes your own.  
You have lost your life, and you have found it.  
Yours at last is the great joy.

\* \* \*

## THE DOOR OF A POSSIBLE HEAVEN.

Ernest Crosby in the January *Cosmopolitan*. Mr. Crosby Died on Third Day of the New Year.

New Year's Day is the universal moving-day. Out we go, whether we will or not, from No. 1906 into No. 1907, and January First (as the very name indicates) is the door of our new house. Janus was, as Ovid tells us, the doorkeeper, or janitor, of heaven,

and "janua" was the common Latin word for "house-door." I do not wonder that we are to be evicted from our present house, for even in the term of a single year we have proved ourselves pretty bad tenants. How selfish and thoughtless and wrong-headed and wrong-hearted we have been, and what a mess we have made of the premises! I do not know what use our landlord, Father Time, makes of the old year when we have done with it, but what a house-cleaning must be necessary before he can let it out to other occupants! And, on the other hand, what a fine thing it is to have a brand-new year to move into, as pure and spotless as the celestial regions and quite as fit for angels as for men and women. Nothing is cleaner than the future, and January First is really the door of a possible heaven. If we make anything less than a heaven of our new apartments, it will be altogether our own fault and not that of the janitor.

Since we have to move anyhow, why should we not take the opportunity of changing our way of conducting our business at the same time? What a lot of broken and outworn office-furniture we have accumulated! And we ought to be ashamed of our obsolete system of push and pull, violence and deceit—each for himself and against everyone else. Let us open a new set of books and adopt the best up-to-date methods. It is only in so far as we have been generous and kindly and helpful in the past that we have got any sound satisfaction out of life. Let us encourage those qualities at the expense of the others. I suggest the insertion of the following business notice in the list of similar announcements which always mark the beginning of a new year:

"We, the American people, hereby give notice that, on the occasion of our enforced change of quarters on the First Day of January next, we shall cease doing business under our old firm name of Greed, Grab, and Graft, having formed the new partnership of Freedom, Fairplay, and Friendliness, which will act as Anglo-Saxon representative of the well-known French house of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity."

Wouldn't that sound well? But let us not be discouraged if we cannot effect this great change all at once. At any rate, on this and every succeeding New Year's Day we can, each of us, resolve to contribute our little part toward bringing the good time nearer, and then—who knows?—some day it may actually come true, and January First at last prove to be the real door of a new heaven on earth—for Justice is the architecture of heaven and its courts are warmed by Love.

### LOOKING FOR THE ORIGIN OF LIFE.

From Ernest Crosby's "Whimsies" in *Ariel*\* for September, 1906.

Take the case of a seed growing in the ground. Clearly the resulting plant is the effect of the seed and the environment combined, but of this combination the seed is the more important factor. "But," says the materialist, "the seed itself is the result of former environments." "Prove it," say I. Go back as far as you please in its history and also in the history of its ancestors through all the phases of

evolution. Trace it through all the eternal labyrinth of varying environment. Strip it down to the most minute particle of original protoplasm, and there remains still a germ of something which is not environment,—a center of force,—a fountain of life,—which is more important than all the other accidents of its career. And what is this germ? It is the door of ingress for a power involving infinite possibilities, of which environment may become the occasion, but the power itself is the only cause. The flower which bursts into beauty on the sixtieth day after the seed is planted owes its origin to the creative impulse in the seed, and it is this creative impulse which is unexplainable, uninterpretable, by a whole universe of environment or a whole university of dogmatic professors. No amount of material environment can account for the difference between a seed and a flower, or between the amoeba and the man.

It is just as if a scientist should insist upon it that the water comes into a city house from below, and that the cause of its rise is the pipes through which it passes and which constitute its environment. And he proves it beautifully. He follows every pipe down until they unite in a grand trunk pipe which comes into the cellar from the depths of the earth. It is as clear as the nose on your face that it comes from below and that the pipes bring it up. Go to, you impudent idealist who say that it comes from above and that it rises by its own inherent law of being! There are reservoirs and forces of which the new materialistic philosophy has no inkling.

\* \* \*

### ERNEST HOWARD CROSBY.

A Sermon Delivered at the First Universalist Church in Buffalo, Jan. 13, 1907, by John Shillady.

One of the world's great souls has passed into the silence of eternity, one whose life work is an answer to the prayer of George Elliot:

Oh, may I join the choir invisible  
Of those immortal dead who live again  
In minds made better by their presence: live  
In pulses stirred to generosity,  
In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn  
For miserable aims that end with self,  
In thoughts sublime that pierce like stars,  
And with their mild persistence urge men's search  
To vaster issues.

Ernest Howard Crosby, poet, prophet, and saint of the new dispensation, fell asleep at Baltimore on January 3; but in his waking hours he dreamed so well that his dreams shall be carried along the current of the ages, gathering new strength as they enter into the hearts of the lovers of mankind. In one of his poems he says:

So I choose to be a dreamer—  
A dreamer whose dreams come true.

One month from now, had he lived, it would have been our privilege to sit here and listen to him tell of Tolstoy, and his message to the world. So I think it particularly fitting that here in this church, the Universalist church, which by its very name is pledged to a fellowship with all the lovers of men—here above anywhere else—should be said the words that may serve to carry the message of Ernest Crosby to everyone whose mind is open and whose

\*Published by George Miller Littlefield at Westwood, Mass.

heart beats true to the same sweet chord in the symphony of life. It will be a sad day for the human race when men like Crosby can step out of the ranks without comment or a word of regret. The heroes of the earth live in our midst. They look very much like the rest of us; they do many of the same things that we do; only they are intoxicated by drinking deeply of the Fountain of Comprehension. They are immersed in some great idea that transforms them into new beings. In reverencing them, we pay tribute to the divine possibilities that lie hidden within our own breasts. The man we reverence is the man we are in our best moments, and so to-day, as we sit at the feet of this noble comrade, our hope is that his life and thought may warm into action the dormant longings of our own souls to be true to the highest, to learn to know and live the free life, the loving life, the religious life.

One of the newer magazines calls its editorial department "The Interpreter's House," a name taken from Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress. I shall be well satisfied if I may occupy that house this morning in relation to the subject I have chosen. There are only two of the nine volumes Crosby has written to be found in our public library, and one of our city editors on a local paper did not know who Crosby was—had never heard of him, so the Interpreter's task may not be wholly vain.

Ernest Crosby was born and bred an aristocrat, in no offensive sense of the term. His father, the Rev. Howard Crosby, of the Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church of New York, ministered to a large and fashionable congregation. He was a man of learning, influence, and power as a preacher. One of our local editorial writers referred to him as a "sensible reformer," which in the usual newspaper interpretation, means one who doesn't attempt anything very startling along that line, or one who has been dead many years.

The son was educated in the best institutions in the State, completing his studies at the University of New York and the Columbia College of Law. With other rich men's sons, Theodore Roosevelt among the number, he entered New York politics in the hope of reforming and purifying them. Elected and re-elected a member of the New York Legislature, succeeding Mr. Roosevelt, he served with ability and distinction. The game of politics was, however, not to his liking, and so his nomination and appointment in 1889, by President Harrison and the Khedive of Egypt, as judge of the International Court in Egypt was gladly accepted. A fluent master of French and Italian, in which languages the proceedings of the court were conducted, Judge Crosby passed five years of pleasure and profit in Egypt, adding much to his store of knowledge of men and events.

His appointment was for life, but at the end of five years he chanced to read a book that changed the whole current of his life. He had read many books before. He was a man of books, familiar with the culture and learning of the world, accustomed to weigh and measure and render decisions as judges do, in accordance with the workings of a trained mind and disciplined understanding. This man who had read hundreds of books, read one more—and was converted. It was a book of Tolstoy's, a book of

power, and the man of aristocratic training and temperament became a democrat in the most comprehensive sense of the term.

There are great moments in a man's life. They do not come to all. Few give the soul a chance to thrill under their spell. They do not strike as does the lightning, suddenly, but only as we have prepared the way. There seems something in our dull, so-called respectability, our desire to avoid the unusual, our fear to be unconventional, that prevents religion from taking hold of us in a vital way. Crosby refers to respectability as "the dullest fiend in hell," and the comparison is not inappropos. If we are confronted by some deep problem involving on the one hand our standing in the community, our conventional respectability, the approval of our social set, and on the other our religion, or what ought to be our religion, what do we do? You know what we do, everyone of us, almost. We throw our religion overboard; that's what we do!

That wouldn't be so bad if we didn't add to it the blind folly of trying to justify our own short-coming, or lack of vision, by calling the man who shows us our sins and the sins of the race, a pessimist. A pessimist! God help us! We ought to be in sack-cloth and ashes, instead of calling men pessimists who are doing the work that is the greatest factor in giving us a world in which men may be optimists and still be sane.

Who are the real pessimists? Ask Wm. Lloyd Garrison, ask Wendell Phillips, who were called pessimists because they would not see that any other solution but freedom for the slaves was practical. Ask Florence Kelly who can't see that everything is lovely while women and children have to work so many hours that they have no heart for anything else. Ask Robert Hunter, millionaire though he is, who has shown us the misery of poverty. Ask John Spargo whose "Bitter Cry of the Children" is enough to melt a heart of stone. Ask them why they are crying aloud in such a pessimistic way. Ask them who are the real pessimists. Are they the pessimists who, realizing what glorious possibilities there are in a world of justice and love, refuse to let us rest until we have made it easier for the toiling millions to live and enjoy? Are they the pessimists who love their fellowmen so well that they cannot bear to see them in misery without striving to make us feel that these things ought not to be? Are they the pessimists who believe in God so profoundly that they see in every face the reflection of God, and cannot say, "All is beautiful," until God's love and God's justice are everywhere a fact—not a dream nor a vagary.

Men like Crosby are the real optimists—they whose faith in love as opposed to hate, in justice as opposed to alms-giving, in peace as opposed to war, in the unity of the race as opposed to race prejudice, in right as opposed to expediency, makes them say to us, now in thunder peals, and again with the softer voice of love as occasion warrants: "Repent of your social sins, and lo, the kingdom of heaven will be at hand."

In his little book, "Tolstoy and His Message," Crosby tells us the story of the turning point in his career. He says: "I was living in Alexandria, Egypt, at the time, and chanced to pick up a French



copy of 'On Life,' translated by the Countess Tolstoy. I knew little of Tolstoy then. I had read 'Anna Karenina' years before, and been duly impressed by it, and afterwards had read a collection of his practical essays on vicious habits, which had seemed to me rather narrow and ascetic, but which nevertheless had had the effect of making me stop smoking for three or four days—no mean achievement at that time, even for Tolstoy. I took home the volume 'On Life' and read it through almost at one sitting on a Sunday. For some reason it took hold of me with a strange power. I was still a church member and went regularly to church, but I had no genuine faith, and was not sure of anything intangible, and now the simple teaching that it is man's higher nature to love; and that if he would only let himself love and renounce his selfish aims, he would enter a wider sphere, find his immortal soul, and in fact be born again—all this struck me as a great, new discovery. I leaned back in my study chair; I tried to love, and—could I believe my own sensations? I did actually feel that I had risen to a loftier plane, and that there was something immortal within me. . . . I remember going out in the garden and giving a small coin to a little Soudanese boy who was playing there, and it seemed to me that no act of mine had ever given me so much pleasure, and for weeks after the novelty of the experience of loving was a continual delight. Nor was the change merely temporary, for since that day the world has never looked to me quite as it used to."

The giving of the coin in this little incident is not the point. Men do that every day. Loveless giving—the careless tip flipped to one who serves us—degrades both the giver and receiver. Crosby asks us:

Would you make brothers of the poor by giving to them? Try it, and learn that in a world of injustice it is the most unbrotherly of acts.

There is no gulf between men so wide as the alms gift. There is no wall so impassable as money given and taken. There is nothing so unfraternal as the dollar,—it is the very symbol of division and discord.

Make brothers of the poor if you will, but do it by ceasing to steal from them;

For charity separates and only justice unites.

Not the gift but the love is the power. "Love is the dynamite of heaven," he tells us. He carries this idea to its logical ultimate in the lines:

Love the oppressors and tyrants,  
It is the only way to get rid of them.

Soon after the incident in the garden Crosby gave up his office to devote himself to the work of hastening the day of social righteousness. On the way back to America he stepped aside to visit Tolstoy in his Russian home. There began a friendship that ripened into a close communion of soul as the modern, well groomed American gravitated toward this hardy, vigorous old prophet of Russia. Crosby gives us an inkling of the new pride that comes to one who, once an aristocrat, comes under the sway of a divine democracy:

Since my soul has become brother to the lowest its pride knows no bounds.

It looks down on kingship and empire, on rule and mastery, on laws and institutions, on the ambitions and successes of men.

It condescends to mountains and oceans, to suns and constellations, to time and space.

It feels equal to the sum total of all things, of all excellencies and grandeurs.

It bows to nothing and nobody, and finds all that is worshipful in itself.

When my soul became brother to the lowest, it feared to lose the tiny atom that it was, and instead of that it has expanded into a universe.

All this has happened since my soul became brother to the lowest.

Ho! for the pride of democracy!

The other prides of kings and aristocrats shrivel up before it.

Ho! for the bottomless, topless pride of democracy.

Crosby's first book was a collection of poems mainly in the Whitman rhymeless meter, entitled "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable." It is a strong book, holding up to the light the evils and injustices of society, and pointing to an era of peace and fellowship. The first poem he wrote, "The Prison," lay unused in his desk for a long time, until an incident of the day suggested his sending it to Horace Traubel's Conservator. It was published and widely reprinted, which encouraged him to offer others.

His books have all grown out of his life, and sprung spontaneously from the activities of his mind and the warm glow of his heart. They have not been written to order with the copy boy at his elbow, the publisher in a hurry, and the stipulated fee waiting at the end of the transaction. Great literature does not come into being in any such way as that. It comes only from the soul on fire with great ideas clamoring for expression.

From Tolstoy, Whitman and Henry George he imbibed ideas that forced him to consecrate his life, his talents, and his fortune, to the cause of peace, justice and brotherhood. He saw that the religion of Jesus was the crying need of the world, and that the priests and ecclesiastical pretenders had lost the spirit of real religion, and were "blind leaders of the blind." He followed Tolstoy as a non-resistant, opposing the military spirit in all its phases. Whitman taught him the love of comrades as the sure basis of a better social state. George showed him that the earth was the heritage of all men.

He realized the danger of cutting free from his past to enter into new fields. In one of his verses he says:

It is dangerous to set sail alone on the ocean of truth.

It is so much more comfortable to be insane with the hoary insanities of the majority!

It is so reassuring to read the same delusions in the eyes of our friends!

The danger flag warning us not to go out to sea is always flying from the signal station.

And yet I flout the danger flag.

I am a man and out to sea will I go.

"Swords and Ploughshares" and "Capt. Jinks, Hero" grew out of the events surrounding the Cuban-Philippine war. The former contains some of the strongest things in the English language. In January, 1901, while lecturing in Tremont Temple, Boston, on "The Absurdities of Militarism," Crosby concluded with the wish that Mark Twain or some other humorist might show up the absurdities of military life. Two gentlemen in the audience told him he was the man to do it. Six weeks later the book appeared, illustrated by Dan Beard, and no keener satire has been written this many a year. It is the story of a

little boy who had played with the "chickens and sparrows and swallows," living a natural, sweetly child-like life, until given a set of toy soldiers as a birthday gift. From toy soldiers to a military school, then a military life, and at last in old age in a hospital for the insane, playing all the day with little toy soldiers—so the story proceeds, the author trying to show that the end to which his hero came was in reality the thing he was doing all his life—that war and the war spirit, the parading and fuss and feathers, is to an enlightened race, an insane thing, to say nothing of the glorification of murder it encourages.

Some of Crosby's most vigorous appeals were for peace and in ridicule and denunciation of war. As an example:

What do they accomplish who take the sword?  
Now and then they cut off the ear of a servant of the high priest;

Quite as often they lose their own.  
While they who say, "Put up thy sword into its place,"  
tho' they die, yet succeed sometimes in changing the heart of the world.

To the church he offered a translation from the German of Bodenstedt:

Talk, if you will, of hero deed,  
Of clash of arms and battle wonders;  
But prate not of your Christian creed,  
Preached by the cannon's murderous thunders.

And if your courage needs a test,  
Copy the pagan's fierce behavior;  
Revel in bloodshed east and west,  
But speak not with it of the Savior.

Be what you will, entire and free,  
Christian or warrior—each can please us;  
But not the rank hypocriety  
Of warlike followers of Jesus.

As a poet Ernest Crosby had a note of sweet simplicity, the natural expression of a man with a profoundly religious soul. He was fluid, ever growing, with his face toward the east, always ready to sit at the feet of nature and learn the way of life.

Nothing concrete was fixed or final to him. He believed "There are many roads to God for He is latent everywhere," and that—

Our highest truths are but half-truths.  
Think not to settle down forever in any truth.  
Make use of it as a tent in which to pass a summer night, but build no house of it, or it will be your tomb.

And again—

The boundless universe is but a segment,—  
A narrow segment,—of the infinite whole,  
Wherein God stalls us for a single night  
While he prepares for us an ampler place  
Within his many-mansioned house.

His "Garrison, the Non-Resistant" and "Golden Rule Jones" are little classics, written by one who loved these two lovers of men. His latest volume of verse, "Broadcast," opens with a poem from which I quote a few lines as an index of the man and his own idea of his work:

Others may frame and construct,  
Fitting together the stones,  
As they think, of the City of God.  
Mine be the lowlier task,—  
Mine be the dropping of seed  
In the long silent furrows of earth;  
Where she bringeth forth fruit of herself.

# Publishers' Column

## The Public

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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+ + +

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Think not to settle down forever in any truth.  
Make use of it as a tent in which to pass a summer night, but build no house of it, or it will be your tomb.

When you find the old truth irksome and confining,  
When you first have an inkling of its insufficiency, and begin to descry a dim counter-truth looming up beyond,

Then weep not, but give thanks.  
It is the Lord's voice, whispering, "Take up thy bed and walk."

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The truth is one with the way and the life;  
It is the climbing, zigzag road which we must travel;  
It is the irrepressible growth which we must experience.  
Hail the new truth as the old truth raised from the dead;  
Hail it, but forget not that it too will prove to be a half-truth;  
For sooner or later we shall have to dismiss it also at another and loftier stage of our journey.

+ + +

**THE LAND QUESTION IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.**

From the Issue for Dec. 6 of The Federalist and Grenada People, Published at St. George, Grenada, B. W. I.

The process of assimilation by which the large landowners are absorbing the holdings of the peasants, if allowed to continue unchecked, will soon bring the community face to face with a very serious and difficult problem. Just as the rise in the price of cocoa has taken place, and just as the peasants are looking forward with hope that they will, therefore, be able through this opportune occurrence to write much if not all their liabilities off, foreclosure suits are instituted, and week after week a string of properties are offered for sale. It is need-

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**A SYLLABUS OF "Progress and Poverty"**

By LOUIS F. POST

Originally published in THE STANDARD, and now reprinted by request, in the form of a convenient pamphlet.

While a condensation of the work (PROGRESS AND POVERTY) is impossible, it has seemed to me that an abstract of the leading principles of its constructive argument would be extremely useful to its readers who may desire to study it, and might induce others to become readers, if not students. Much of the book is necessarily taken up with the work of demolishing false theories that have blocked the way and usurped the true theory; this I have passed by, and eliminating argument and illustration, have endeavored by a brief syllabus to bring into relief the thread of the constructive inquiry. In doing so I have endeavored to preserve as much as possible the language of the author.—Louis F. Post, in preface to the syllabus.

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less to say that these valuable holdings which at other times would excite keen competition can find no purchasers, except here and there a large landowner who buys the property at his own figure, leaving its unfortunate former owner still in debt. Men of the peasant class have no money now to invest in landed property, and merchants are not only disinclined to make advances but are calling in their money. Under such conditions the landed property of the island is slowly but steadily passing into the hands of a few families. The last census showed that the quantity of land available for each man, woman and child in Grenada was but one acre. Where the total area is so small and the quantity available so insignificant it can scarcely be a good thing for the community that three or four men should own an entire parish or one man four or five thousand acres of land. Trouble must eventually arise out of such a state of things, and the sacredness of property will cease to fascinate and restrain the landless and the dispossessed.

Government's duty in this economic revolution is plain. It must prevent the creation of the forces of disorder by protecting the peasants and preventing them from being sold out. It must strengthen the bases of law and order and buttress the conservative forces of the community by taking measures to increase the number of landowners and to allow of their increase. To do these, it must establish Land Banks where peasant proprietors can obtain money on the security of their properties on a reasonable rate of interest and at reasonable conditions. It must compulsorily acquire all such lands that are not profitably utilized by their private owners, and it must also, where a peasant holding is being compulsorily offered for sale, become the purchaser, returning that property to the same or some other peasant who would become a tenant of the State until the whole amount is liquidated. The gradual extinction of the peasantry is due to the fact that they can, in the majority of cases, get money only under such conditions as must eventually bring them to ruin. Here, then, the government can intervene with a Land Bank scheme. The Savings Bank fund could form the nucleus for this scheme and government should be able to build upon and supplement it by borrowing money for the purpose from the Imperial Government. Forty thousand or £50,000 invested in this manner would save the colony from ruin and restore its prosperity.

New industries are necessary to supplement the island's staple, but as our well-informed St. Patrick's correspondent recently pointed out they will not be undertaken by the large landowners whose properties are generally covered in cocoa, nor can they be by the embarrassed peasants whose holdings are already established. They must, therefore, be carried out on empty lands by peasants not overburdened with cocoa lands and by laborers who are without lands at all. Where are the lands to come from to grow cotton, fruit and other paying industries than cocoa and spices? From the uncultivated areas of the large landowners. Let government, for instance, purchase the Chambord estate in St. Patrick's—there are other properties of big landowners lying idle which should also be acquired—divide it in five-acre lots and offer it to small peasants and laborers for the growth of cotton, stipulating that

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no cocoa must be grown thereon. Let them do so in every parish, selling the allotments on the same system as in Carriacou. In a few years every cent expended in the purchase will be repaid with interest, and several new industries will have been established, especially with the Land Bank to keep the new enfranchised peasants from the clutches of the money-lenders.

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## BOOKS

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### A PHASE OF THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM.

**The Italian in America.** By Elliot Lord, John J. D. Trenor & Samuel J. Barrows. Published by B. F. Buck & Co., New York. 1905.

"The design of 'The Italian in America' is to present clearly the contribution of Italy to American development and citizenship." "Italian Settlement in American Cities," "On Farm and Plantation," "The Call for Better Distribution," are some chapter titles in this book of 250 pages. To anyone who has been trying to see through the present agitation for greater restriction of immigration and to make up his mind for or against the immigration bill in Congress, this book may prove helpful. The chapters, most of them, are written by Elliot Lord (Special Agent of U. S. Census), some few by J. J. D. Trenor, and one on "Pauperism, Disease and Crime," by Dr. Samuel J. Barrows (Secretary of the Prison Association of New York).

There is first given a statistical analysis of the flow of immigration to America from Italy; the numbers recently as compared with a few decades ago, and those from Italy and other Southern European countries as compared with those from the north of Europe. There follows a historical reminder of what good stock the present-day Italians spring from, and their recent most remarkable progress as a united nation—progress industrial, political, educational. And next is described the careful and very effective regulation of emigration by the Italian government, a system so thoroughly planned and carried out that it gives an assurance of decent treatment and intelligent action for every departing Italian, as well as a fairly good guarantee of his bodily and mental soundness.

Once landed in America, according to the writers, the Italian has proved himself far from a bad citizen, even in the large centers of population. He is industrious almost without exception, temperate and frugal. In all kinds of gardening in the North, in the rice and cotton plantations of the South, in the vineyards of California, wherever he has tried his hand at agriculture, the Italian has attained marked success. The Southern States are demanding his labor and offering all sorts of inducements, finding in him the solution of many of their problems. He can stand the climate, keeps steadily at his business, and will work alongside of the Negro. There is a rising demand in many sections of the United States for the Italian immigrant. His illiteracy is only a temporary matter. He educates his children, being less clannish about this than many other foreigners,

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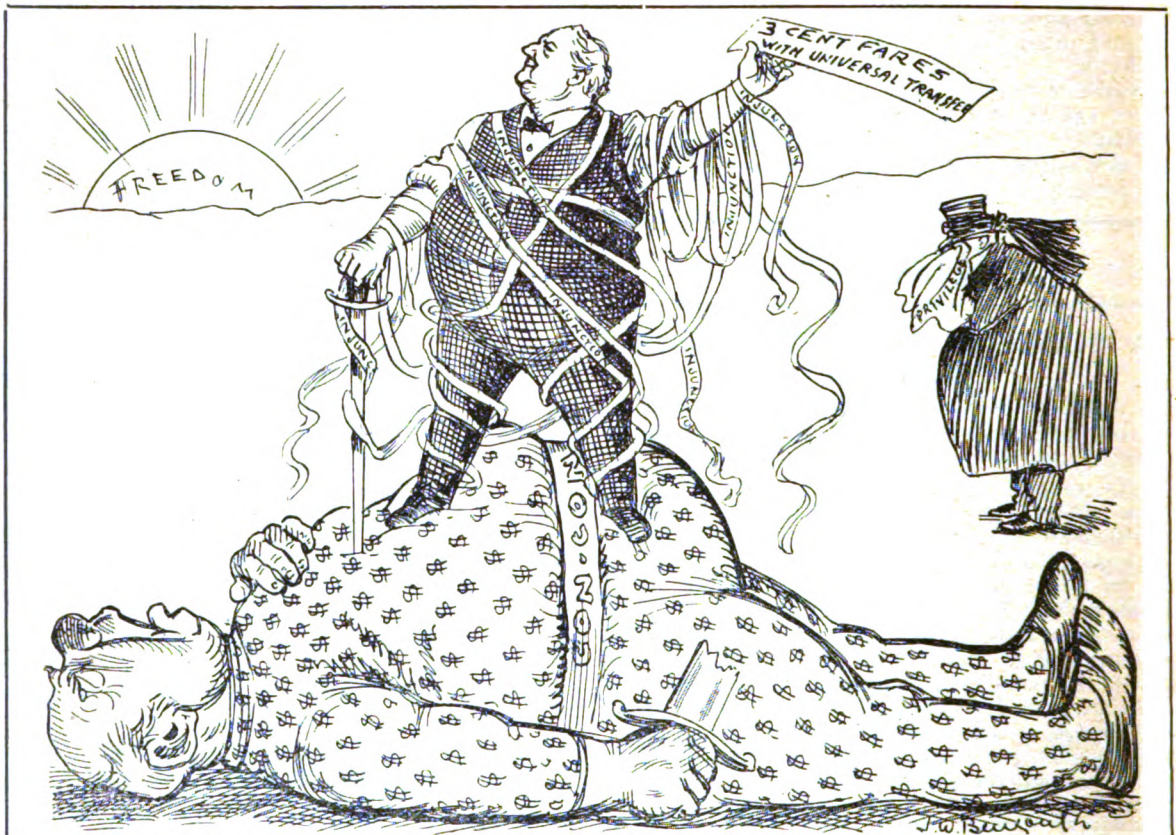
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and his children are bright. Assimilation is a short process with him, and his children become true Americans with a most noticeable aptitude for understanding and appreciating the American ideals of freedom and democracy.

While on the whole the arguments and statements are fairly convincing, one decided exception is to be noted—the old affair of "lying statistics." In the chapter on "Pauperism, Disease and Crime" the statement is made (p. 198) that "the proportion of Irish in the charitable institutions is 30 per cent., of Germans 19 per cent., . . . while the Hebrews and Italians are both 8 per cent." This information is at least worthless and very possibly misleading unless along with it is told the proportion of Irish, Germans and Italians in our population. Unfortunately this is not the only case which might be cited from the same chapter.

The general atmosphere of the book is one of tolerance, of an attempt to recognize the truth of the question in hand without regard to the demands of Labor Unions for less competition, even though supported by complaisant capital. The authors conclude (and it seems a fair conclusion from the facts set forth) that what is needed is not restriction, but better distribution of immigration—a more intelligent welcome, not an unreasoning rejection.

ANGELINE LOESCH.

## A REQUIEM OF OLD SAN FRANCISCO.

**The City That Was.** A Requiem of Old San Francisco. By Will Irwin. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. Price 50 cents, net; postage 4 cents.

San Francisco, the city of the Golden Gate, reputed throughout the civilized world as the Paris of America, has passed away. No more will she offer to the votaries of pleasure the gay, light-hearted welcome of the halcyon days that flitted along to laughter and song, sparkling eyes and dancing feet of her fair daughters and loyal sons.

Desolation is in Bohemia. The long bitter struggle before the present community, of rehabilitating their lares and penates out of the charred remnants of the old town will doubtless chasten and subdue the spirit of the people and mark the new generations. Today the Niobe of cities with her stricken children huddling at her side; no to-morrow will return the joy and lightness of spirit born of days that were fragrant with unalloyed happiness. Therefore San Francisco is in truth, "The City That Was."

Mr. Irwin has performed a grateful task in preserving a graphic pen picture of a city the like of which we shall not soon see again. A city set upon the hills, girt on every side save one by ocean waters, sun-lit, wind-swept, the dwellers thronging

to and from pleasure and work, their distinguishing traits, fashions of thinking and doing, favorite pastimes, resorts, clubs, theatres and cafes, matinee crowds, holiday fetes and evening life—in short a panorama of a great house of many mansions, and of a great cosmopolitan family in its intimate personal life, that for the most part never said "manana" to pleasure, but making work an incident and conviviality an event, in the flight of time, poured forth at night to eat, drink and be merry in the robust sophisticated way of grown children—all this Mr. Irwin's sketch puts before the eye.

His requiem to a dead city should awaken sympathetic interest in those who wish to revive memories of the American Troy, and bring the city invisible to the knowledge of strangers,—as much, at least, as a picture can ever show the life that was.

W. H. S.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Bridge Blue Book. By Paul F. Mottelay. Published by Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York. 1906.

—The Labour Movement in Australasia. By Victor S. Clark. Published by Henry Holt & Co., New York. 1906.

—Our Children. Hints from Practical Experience for Parents and Teachers. By Paul Carus. Published by The Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago. 1906.

—Socialism and Philosophy. By Antonio Labriola. Translated by Ernest Untermann. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. 1907. Price \$1.00.

—The New Art of An Ancient People. The Work of Ephraim Mose Lillen. By M. S. Levassove. Published by B. W. Heusch, New York. 1906. Price 75 cents, postpaid.

—A Syllabus of Progress and Poverty. By Louis F. Post. Published by The Public Publishing Co., Chicago. 1907. Second Edition. Price, postpaid, 5 cents; 1 doz., 40 cents; 100 copies, \$2.50.

## PERIODICALS

The November Bulletin of the National Bureau of Labor (Washington) opens with an extended investigation by Dr. Walter E. Weyl and Dr. A. M. Sakalski into the "Conditions of Entrance to the Principal Trades." The importance of such an investigation is obvious and the work appears to have been faithfully done.

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Mark Twain steps aside for a little tilt with Mr. Root, in his autobiography chapter in the North American Review of January 4. He writes: "If the States continue to fail to do their duty as required by the people—'. . . constructions of the Constitution will be found to vest the power where it will be exercised in the national government.' I do not know whether that has a sinister meaning or not, and so I will not enlarge upon it lest I should chance to be in the wrong. It sounds like ship-money come again, but it may not be so intended. . . . I suppose we must expect that unavoidable and irresistible circumstances will gradually take away the powers of the States and concentrate them in the central government, and that the republic will then repeat the history of all time and become a monarchy; but I believe that if we ob-

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II. The petition issued under the authority of the Referendum League, the M. O. Delegate Convention, and the Chicago Federation of Labor, containing three questions, the one formulated by the City Council (printed above) and two new questions formulated by the three organizations named above, namely:

Shall the City Council proceed by condemnation under the Mueller Law to acquire and equip a complete, modern, unified street railway system, with one fare and universal transfers for the entire city, instead of passing the pending franchise ordinances?

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struct these encroachments and steadily resist them the monarchy can be postponed for a good while yet." Before the same opponent, George Harvey throws down his gauntlet also. He heads "The Editor's Diary," with "A Blow at Personal Freedom," begins with the remark that "President Roosevelt did not originate the fallacy that good intentions should not be hampered by written laws," and proceeds to argue, with Mr. Root's speech as a text of course: "The present proposal, therefore, to 'obliterate State lines' even to the 'extinction of State authority' involves a complete reversal of our basic theory of government, and strikes at the very root of personal freedom."

A. L.

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### ANNOUNCEMENT

Concerning Changed Dates of the Chicago Lecture Course.

Owing to an unavoidable circumstance it has been necessary for us to make several changes in the remaining numbers of the lecture and entertainment course, which is being given at the Northwestern University Hall, corner Dearborn and Lake streets, Lake street entrance.

The order of the speakers will be as follows:

**Saturday, Jan. 26th**—Lee Francis Lybarger. Subject, "Land, Labor, and Wealth." Mr. Lybarger is well known among Single Taxers and has gained a high reputation as an orator. His style and his personality are very pleasing, and I am confident that all will greatly enjoy his presentation.

**Saturday, Feb. 2d**—Ex-Mayor W. W. Rose of Kansas City, Kans. (Mr. Bigelow, who was announced for this date, will lecture for us later in the season.) Mr. Rose has an important message to deliver to the radicals of Chicago and I trust sincerely that you will honor him with your presence on this occasion.

**Saturday, Feb. 9th**—Peter Witt, City Clerk, Cleveland, O. Subject, "An Hour With Mayor Johnson." Illustrated with stereopticon.

Each ticket is good for ten admissions and if subscribers have been unable to attend any of the preceding numbers, they can take one or more friends with them to the remaining lectures and thus get the full value of their tickets.

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