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EDITORIAL

Plutocrats.

A timely explanation of the proper use of the word "plutocrat" has been made by the Springfield Republican. This word has come into common use in the most natural way. It is not a wanton epithet. It is a descriptive term evolved

by social conditions that have raised the so-called business man to the place of power in politics. Government by business interests is plutocratic. But "plutocrat" does not necessarily mean a rich man; it means a man who wants government by wealth. Whether such a man is rich or poor makes no difference. The "penniless plute" is as plutish as any.

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Rappity "Rap."

One of the most overworked words in the necessarily limited vocabulary of newspaper headline writers is "rap." It stares you in the face now from this column and then from that, again and again, whenever you look at a newspaper. A college president "raps" municipal government, or a judge "raps" a lawyer, or a grand jury "raps" a politician, or a preacher "raps" saloon keepers. Somebody forever "raps" somebody or something, until the wearied reader almost wonders how it would be possible to write newspaper headlines at all if the dictionaries were to "rap" the word "rap" out of their pages.

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The Altgeld Memorial.

The Altgeld memorial meeting at Chicago on the 12th (pp. 1154, 1163) was a fine testimonial to the memory of one of the few great governors that the States of this Union have produced. From the tasteful stage setting to the last words of Towne's eloquent oration, the arrangements were flawless; and the audience that filled every seat in the theatre was keenly sensitive to the elevating influences of the occasion. It was no perfunctory service in honor of a former public official; it was a heart service in appreciation of a man of high principle with the courage and patience of his convictions.

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Local Politics.

The day of local politics distinctively has passed. There was a time when the local politics of one place possessed no elements of human interest for the people of other places. New York alone drew attention to its local political affairs very far beyond its own limits; but that was because New York was the one metropolitan city of the country. Now, however, the local politics of every city is of profound interest not only locally but everywhere else. This is not because the other

cities have grown; it is because the political questions that now agitate local politics are everywhere essentially the same, involving the same general principles and turning upon similar concrete issues. This is the consideration that makes local elections, now in New York, now in Cleveland, now in Chicago, now in Philadelphia, now in Cincinnati, or it may be in particular smaller cities or even in particular villages, of surpassing interest to intelligent citizens everywhere.

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The daily press is strangely oblivious to this radical change in the relations of municipal populations. The newspapers of one city treat political conflicts in other cities, of the utmost general importance, as if they were mere local squabbles of little interest anywhere but at home. The fact that these local conflicts are battles in one general war seems to be wholly ignored. Yet it is a pregnant fact. The general war is over the question of the ownership and operation of public utilities. This is the substance, whatever may be the local form, of every hotly contested municipal election. All such local conflicts are therefore important and interesting everywhere.

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Accordingly The Public has from the beginning treated local municipal controversies as subjects of general interest. In doing so it has seemed at times, no doubt, to be devoting too much space to New York, or Chicago, or Cleveland. But readers to whom this has seemed to be the case have overlooked the fact that one or another of those cities has for the time been the storm center of an agitation of universal concern. In Chicago at the present time, for instance, a struggle is in progress that is local only in form. While it makes little difference outside of Chicago whether Dunne is re-elected mayor, or the traction ordinances are defeated, it makes a great difference everywhere whether the municipal principles for which Dunne stands or the municipal policy which the traction ordinances stultify are triumphant or not. The Chicago election, its mayoralty candidate and its referendum issue, are as important nationally as if the election were national in form. This is the reason that we are at the pains to keep our readers in other cities and over the country as intelligently advised regarding it as they would wish to be were they Chicago voters.

* *

The Chicago Traction Fight.

At the City Club in Chicago last Saturday, Mr. George E. Hooker presented an incisive and able

criticism of the pending traction ordinances (p. 1157). He considered them from the point of view, first, of private franchises, and second of municipalization, showing with great clearness and force that as private franchises they are as bad or worse than any that Chicago has ever had, and as a step toward municipalization that they are treacherous. Mr. Hooker's criticism was delivered as his part of a City Club debate, in which Mr. Walter L. Fisher had defended the ordinances a week before. These two papers—both were carefully prepared in advance—make the case on both sides; and it is difficult to conceive of any one's reading them without coming to the conclusion that good citizenship demands the condemnation of the ordinances at the polls.

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The contention that the traction ordinances would promote good service is the veriest pretense. If the companies neglected the service so that it remained bad or became bad after improvement, the people would have no redress. They would be in worse plight than they are in now, for no court could compel good service. And the notion that long grants would insure good service is very absurd. The Chicago Consolidated Traction Company does not give any better service than the Chicago Union Traction Company, yet some of the lines operated by the Consolidated have franchises that do not expire for about forty years. The same may be said of the Lake Street Elevated. If long grants insured good service, these lines should furnish the very best service. But on the contrary, it is almost intolerable. Nothing short of municipal ownership and operation will insure good service, and that will be practically out of the question in Chicago if these ordinances are approved.

* *

Mayor Dunne and "the Lid."

It is conceded on all hands that the "lid" is on tighter in Chicago, and has been throughout Mayor Dunne's administration, than at any other time during the past fifteen years. It is conceded that both Chief of Police Collins and Mayor Dunne are honestly doing their best to check vice and crime. Yet, because vice has not been entirely suppressed within these two years, some sincere men are aiding "the under world" in their efforts to defeat Dunne. The red-light touters know that Dunne's defeat means a wide-open town; the vice crusaders who are sincere ought to have as much sense. Why are they led by the monopoly tools who are so intent upon serving big

thieves that they care nothing about little ones? The hypocrisy is so transparent that it ought to deceive no one. When the franchise grabbers are driven out it will be easy to deal with harlotry and gambling. Nay more, once the policy of granting franchises is stopped, the great source of graft—the motive and means of corruption—will be gone. City officials can then give positive as well as negative attention to improving the conditions of urban life—to making “the city a better place to live in.”

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Bode's Candidacy in Springfield.

The mayoralty campaign in Springfield (pp. 1064, 1090) is reported to indicate the election of Bode, the young alderman who for fighting corporate privileges with unyielding purpose and unquestionable sincerity has found himself arrayed in politics against both political machines. The fact that the State Register, the Democratic daily of Springfield, is energetically supporting Mr. Bode, speaks well both for the paper and the candidate; and the character of his public meetings clearly shows that he is making no feeble side-party fight, but is in vital politics for his cause.

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President Eliot and City Government.

When President Eliot addressed the Harvard Law School Club at Boston early in the month on the subject of “Municipal Government,” he fell into the old pitfall of some superficial students of political conditions. “Municipal government,” he said, “is one place where the American form of government has absolutely failed.” This theory of municipal government, of which Mr. Godkin was the protagonist while he lived and guided the destinies of the New York Evening Post, has been utterly shattered by Frederic C. Howe's “The City the Hope of Democracy.” It is not in the cities that democratic government has broken down. Aristocratic and plutocratic government has indeed broken down in cities. Those who complain of democracy in cities as a failure, would have to admit, if they were closely questioned as to what they mean by failure, that it has failed to bring cities up to the standards of the aristocrat or of the plutocrat. But none of them can deny that democracy has in the cities conformed to the average standards of the people as a whole. Wherever public sentiment rises, city government improves under democracy. Democracy has no whited sepulchres; when there is rottenness within there is also foulness without.

In the reports of President Eliot's speech which found their way into the published dispatches over the country, much was made of his approval of the commission government of Galveston. This government is “just the kind,” he said, “for which we are longing.” Paternalists doubtless are longing for this kind of government, which is probably the reason President Eliot's democratic modification of his advocacy of this kind of city government got no place in the dispatches. His advocacy of commission government made “good stuff,” but his accompanying advocacy of the initiative and referendum was probably too cranky for widespread publication. What he said, according to the Boston Transcript report, was this: “Some maintain that the commission system is not democratic enough for the American taste; if this is so, the referendum and the initiative, two methods which have had wonderful success in Switzerland, are entirely adequate to express the popular will in any question of municipal government, and would succeed here just as they have succeeded in Switzerland.”

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Political Loot Returned.

At last the New York Life Insurance Company has received back funds diverted from its treasury for promoting the political fortunes of the Republican party (p. 1141). The misappropriators (by a vote of 4 to 3 in the New York Court of Appeals they are not thieves) protest their good intentions, asserting their belief that the diversion of this trust fund to this alien purpose was for “the best and broadest interests” of the owners of the money. It is a significant commentary upon business ethics that leading business men could have supposed that money entrusted to their custody for life insurance purposes could be properly used for influencing national elections. But such perversions of morality were characteristic of the ethical code of the McKinley-Hanna-Roosevelt era.

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The Social Value of New York.

According to a contribution to Moody's Magazine for March, the total land valuations of New York city reach the enormous figure of \$5,800,000,000. This valuation does not include buildings, machinery, nor goods of any kind which human labor brings into being. It is the valuation of nothing but a certain site on the earth's surface—a capitalization of the privilege of utilizing this natural site. And significant as is the aggregate value, the rate of increase is even more

so. This increase in 1906 over 1905 was \$400,000,000, and in 1905 over 1904, it was \$480,000,000. Thus the development of New York city, by all its inhabitants, finds expression in an enormous advancing value of the natural site of the city; and those few mortals who happen to "own" that site are thereby enabled to exact tribute from the toil and sweat of all the rest. What is true in this respect of New York is equally true, though in less spectacular figures, of every other city and even of every village. The owners of the sites levy unearned tribute upon the workers. How long will men and women professing to have a moral sense, continue to defend or blink at this manifest iniquity?

* *

Mrs. Sage's Endowment.

In providing the financial foundation of \$10,000,000 for an institution for "the improvement of social and living conditions in the United States" the widow of the late Russell Sage discloses a more beneficent and rational purpose than is usual in endowments of this character. She says, in explaining her object, that not only will the establishment and maintenance of charitable agencies come within the scope of the institution, but that it contemplates the investigation and study of "the causes of adverse social conditions." Few results of real value may probably be expected from these investigations. For the persons likely to manage and direct them are likely to concern themselves quite exclusively with protecting the beneficiaries of "adverse social conditions" in the continued enjoyment of the profits thereof. Consequently, suggestions of milk-and-water remedies for social wrongs are the best that can, at first, be expected from the Sage institutions. But the fact that Mrs. Sage does in her endowment throw the door wide open for thorough work, encourages the hope that in time profound investigations will be made and radical remedies proposed.

* *

The Negro Vote.

It has taken our Negro fellow citizens a long time to realize that the Republican party has slipped its old democratic moorings and is drifting in the muddy waters of plutocracy. But they are beginning at last to see. The New York Age, one of the oldest and strongest journals of the race, announces its discovery in plain speech. "The politicians we have known and with whom we have been in active sympathy," says the Age, "with here and there a discordant note, for the past quarter of a century, with the policies that

they have stood for in party management and in the conduct of the government, have passed out of active control of Republican politics, in the State and the nation." Verily, this is a truth that ought to be universally understood. The Republican party has ceased to be the American democracy of the '50's and '60's and '70's. It has become a mere political machine for the uses of great corporate interests.

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An appreciation of this is expressed by the Age when it continues: "New issues, of an entirely different character from those we have been used to consider as the basis of party allegiance, have given place to other issues, upon which each man in his place will be called upon to decide as to what he considers best for himself and for the Republic, and in this decision determine, as a matter of course, what his political affiliations in the future will be." As to what the Negro citizens shall do in these circumstances, to which they are but just awaking, the Age offers no advice as yet. But it is sanely certain that "they cannot do in the future as they have done in the past without wrecking their citizenship." There ought not, however, to be any great difficulty in deciding. In many cities and in some States in the North, Negro voters hold the balance of power in politics; and if they would use it for the protection of the civil and political rights of their race they would soon make it effective. It would be futile to form a race party. It would be folly to go bodily from the Republican into the Democratic party. But if they should give their support to one party or another as it shows a disposition to be genuinely democratic, regardless of race, in its principles and policies, they would find the support of their race eagerly sought for by both parties.

* * *

CLEAR THE WAY FOR HUMAN PROGRESS!

It is a self-evident proposition, one which no man will dare to challenge, that nothing—absolutely nothing—should be permitted to stand in the way of human progress. And yet, when you come to details, to the particular things that bar the progress of society, a perfect bedlam of voices arises in defense of them.

But nothing shall stand in the way of human progress!

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The Past was the possession of our fathers, the

Present is ours, and the Future will be theirs who inhabit it.

To assume the right to bind the next generation by the enactments of the present is not only to discount the intelligence of the future; it is also to attempt to place an impediment in the way of progress.

The criterion of truth is the intelligence of To-day. The Present is the judge of all the Past. To-morrow will sit in judgment upon To-day. Either this, or "Human Progress" is an empty phrase. How can progress take place except by rejection of the things that be, for something better?

One of the great obstacles to social progress is the deliberate endeavor of men to bind the Future by the sanctions of the Present. But it is obvious that such endeavor would be ridiculed out of countenance by a society that comprehended the conditions necessary to human progress; for how can the Future progress from the sanctions of the Present without discarding them?

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Nothing but Truth is worthy of reverence. In the realm of custom, age is, *prima facie*, a mark of credit. But centuries of unbroken usage—custom—all run back, down-grade, to inexperience and comparative ignorance. To-day is the ripe fruit of all the past. Ours is the most enlightened day that yet has been. Our knowledge equals the recorded knowledge of the ages, plus the added knowledge derived from our own experience.

Human law is, at best, only an attempt to interpret the divine law of nature. At worst (and most human laws are of this class) it is a studied attempt to subvert the divine law. The society of to-day has the right to challenge the validity of any human enactment whatsoever, and to repeal such as do not meet with its approval.

Either that, or the idea of human progress is a delusion—for we cannot progress from a thing without leaving it behind.

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There can be no exception to this rule.

Society has in the past asserted its right to unmake kings and kingdoms. English society is at this moment preparing to unmake a lot of lords. Presently that same English society will unmake the laws which have for ages past secured the land of England to those lords. For the laws which secure the land, with its increasing value, to a limited number of individuals are the chief obstacle to human progress.

There is one certain stupendous Fact, which looms prodigiously above all other facts of human knowledge in the realm of sociology, and that overshadowing Fact is—that the earth is the equal and absolutely unalienable heritage of all men.

To deprive the humblest man, even the penniless beggar in the street, of his equal share in the earth is robbery, and none the less so because it is done under the sanction of law, and of ages of custom.

The earth belongs to all men equally. It has been confiscated by individuals, through the conspiracy of kings, lords and law-makers. But society is about to brush aside this obstacle to social progress.

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Is it not true that most human laws are studied attempts to subvert natural law—justice?

Look upon the State and national legislatures at this moment. All the forces of society are taxed to their utmost to drive the lawmakers into enacting an honest law, purely and effectively in the interest of the public. And even when the legislature does apparently yield, it is generally learned, later, that some obscure "joker," or ambiguous phrase, word, or mark of punctuation, cheats the public out of its hopes.

Take, for instance, the Illinois legislature at this time (the first of March). Not a thing has been done so far this session. Why? Because the lawmakers do not intend to pass an honest law if they can help it. As all experience teaches, they intend to delay until the last moment, and then ignore, or pass, measures in the hurry and tumult of the closing days of the session, when they will go back to their constituents with the old threadbare plea in extenuation that under the circumstances mistakes were unavoidable.

Meantime, hardly a law has been enacted purely in the public interest, but scores in the interest of special privilege—subversive of social justice.

The more vicious the law, the more difficult it is to repeal it. The kind of men who dominate legislation would look upon the repeal of a just law merely as the undoing of that which they had not been able to prevent; but the repeal of a bad law would be a direct personal affront to them.

Of course, many of our legislators are honest men; some of them are both honest and able; but what avails the spotless honor and the matchless abilities of, for instance, a Senator Hoar, when the majority of the Senate is bent upon the exploitation of the Philippines? Or when the great

majority of Congress has closed the bargain for the betrayal of their country into the hands of the financiers, what avails the integrity of a Thad Stevens, coupled with the peerless virtues of a Lincoln?

In the latter case the traitorous bargain was carried out to the letter, and, in spite of all the powers of the American Republic, its people were mercilessly plundered throughout a generation of time, to enrich the men who shaped the financial legislation of America during the Civil War. In the former case, the wheels of American commerce rolled on, crushing the life out of the Filipino Republic, and gathering tribute from her people to enrich the men whose influence successfully defied the patriotic tears and holy entreaties of that venerable Nestor of American statesmanship, George F. Hoar.

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Enough! We have learned the lesson at last, that irresponsible legislatures will not enact good laws nor repeal bad ones. It is this conviction on the part of the American people that has driven them to demand the Initiative and Referendum—the power to enact laws or to repeal them when the legislature fails to respond to the public's demands; or betrays its cause in legislation.

When the people have resumed their sovereignty, nothing—absolutely nothing—shall stand in the way of human progress!

EDWARD HOWELL PUTNAM.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE NEW ZEALAND OF THE NORTH

(See page 1013.)

Sejerskov v. Hjallesle, Denmark, February 22.—I am glad to say that our work for free trade and common land in Denmark, begun twenty years ago, is now showing results. We have now a fairly strong movement on foot for the taxation of land values, and our Henry George League has some two thousand members and several able officers. We have translated Henry George's chief works, and I think I may safely say that in no other European country are the name and ideas of Henry George better known, although of course "the heavy end of the beam has not been lifted yet," nor is it likely to be in our time.

In many ways we may be said to be ahead of you, in spite of our aristocratic-plutocratic Upper House, and many other drawbacks—too long a list to enumerate.

Compared with America "protection" is rather moderate with us, and what is more—the bulk of the populace in town, and especially in the country, have proved immune to all infections with protectionistic germs. Denmark is one of the very few European

countries where the only change in fiscal policy that could be thought of is towards freer trade.

Moreover, all waterworks, gas-plants and the like are communal property with us, and so are the railways (with similar or even more favorable results than in Sweden, results described lately in *The Public*). So too are telegraphs, telephones, etc.; and only the street railways in the metropolis are not yet taken over by the community (but undoubtedly that will be done soon, without any opposition worth mentioning).

Besides this, co-operation on a strictly democratic base puts every small farmer in a position as favorable with regard to purchases and sales of products, as the biggest. (More than 90 per cent. of our butter manufactories are co-operative, and the majority of our bacon factories as well.) But, of course, all these good things augment the value of our land, and consequently the indebtedness of the producers. So land value taxation is with us the one thing needed.

He who has enlisted in the ranks of the workers for freedom and right often must feel depressed in mind when seeing how ineffective are our arguments, how infinitesimal the effect of our best-aimed shafts. Still, broadly speaking, I think we could here in Denmark, in spite of all our exasperating slowness and the tenacity of our hoary vested wrongs, with some chance of success aspire to become "the New Zealand of the North."

JAKOB E. LANGE.

NEWS NARRATIVE

To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before; continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.

Week ending Wednesday, March 13, 1907.

Ernest Howard Crosby Memorial Meeting.

Cooper Union hall in the city of New York was crowded to the doors on the evening of the 7th, with men and women who went there to give expression to their affection for the memory of Ernest Crosby (p. 1139). The committee of arrangements included representatives of the following organizations: Social Reform Club, People's Institute, Manhattan Single Tax Club, Anti-Imperialist League, Whitman Fellowship, Filipino Progress Association, East Side Civic Club, Brooklyn Central Labor Union, Central Federated Labor Union of New York, Nurses' Settlement, Outdoor Recreation League, Society for Italian Immigrants, Vegetarian Society, Emerson Club, Dr. McGlynn Memorial Association, Brotherhood of the Kingdom, University Settlement, Women's Henry George League, and Manhattan Branch Dickens Fellowship. Lawson Purdy acted as chairman. The music consisted of singing by the choir of St. Thomas's Church. Letters were read from many prominent men who were unable to be present, among them Count Leo Tolstoy, W. J. Bryan,

S. L. Clemens (Mark Twain), Wm. Dean Howells and Edmund Clarence Stedman. Addresses were made by the Rev. Leighton Williams, Hamlin Garland, Dr. Felix Adler, Dr. Jane E. Robbins, John S. Crosby, Abraham Cahan, and A. J. Boulton; and a poem was read by Edwin Markham. The New York Times thus describes the proceedings: "When Lawson Purdy called the meeting to order there was not an empty chair in the auditorium, and many persons were standing. Mr. Purdy read a few of the hundreds of letters received from persons who were unable to be present. Count Tolstoy, who was a warm friend and admirer of Mr. Crosby, sent the following letter:

"The death of Ernest Crosby is a very great sorrow for me. I realized the strength of my inner spiritual connection with him only when I got the news of his death.

"It is a great and very rare happiness to possess such a friend, of whom one can be sure that he understands you fully, and whose leading innermost force of life is quite the same as your own. And excepting his greater intelligence, talent, and high morality—such a man was Ernest Crosby for me.

"LEO TOLSTOY.

"Toula, Yasnaya Poliana, Feb. 11, 1907.

"Mr. Bryan wrote that Mr. Crosby's life proved 'how the value of mind can be multiplied by a heart with sympathies large enough, to embrace all mankind,' while Mr. Howells called Mr. Crosby 'a conscientious citizen, a true patriot, and a devoted philanthropist.' Dr. Felix Adler, who was to have been one of the speakers, but who was ill with the grip, wrote of Mr. Crosby's 'loving and upright qualities.' Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland spoke of him as a pioneer in the battle for freedom. Of the speakers, Dr. Williams, who was a classmate at Columbia of Mr. Crosby, told of his college days. Mr. Garland spoke of Mr. Crosby as a literary man, and John S. Crosby discussed his career as a Single Taxer, while Abraham Cahan, editor of Forward, referred to him from the viewpoint of a Socialist. Dr. Robbins took as her subject Mr. Crosby's work on the East Side, and Mr. Boulton, who was the last speaker, told of Mr. Crosby's friendship for the labor unions. Mr. Markham closed the meeting by reading his poem on the life work of Mr. Crosby. The poem was in nine stanzas, the first and last of which follow:

"Crosby, oh, why did you leave us?
We needed you here in the fight.
Why did the high gods bereave us,
We heeded your strong arm, believe us,
To carry the torch in the night.

"Yea, now that your errand is ended,
And now that your steps go afar,
What strong soul will catch up the splendid
High dream that your spirit attended,
The purpose of God for our star?"

* *

John P. Altgeld Memorial.

A meeting in commemoration of the life and ideals of John Peter Altgeld was held in the Garrick theater, Chicago, on Sunday, March 10, two days before the fifth anniversary of Governor Altgeld's death five years ago. Daniel L. Cruice presided. Music was rendered by the choir of Sinai congregation, accompanied during the

singing of "America" by the audience. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Thomas E. Cox. Addresses were made by the Hon. Samuel Alschuler and Mayor Dunne, and the oration was delivered by the Hon. Charles A. Towne. This oration in part will be found on another page of this Public.

* *

Chicago Industrial Exhibit.

There is being held this week, March 11 to 17, at Brooke's Casino in Chicago (Wabash Ave. and Peck Ct.), an exhibit of the industrial conditions of our modern life, with especial reference to the "sweated" industries, and to the labor of women and children (p. 1042). Reproductions of sections of Chicago tenement houses with their occupants at work sewing, cracking nuts, making artificial flowers, baking, and printing, all under most repulsive conditions, are contrasted with sections of sanitary workshops with modern safety and cleanly appliances. Charts, pictures, and succinct, impressive placards, in regard to child labor, the labor of women, and so on, supplement the life-size and living exhibits. Conferences at eleven o'clock each morning, and evening conferences varied with tableaux illustrating the historical progress of the fundamental industries, are important factors in the exhibition. The conference on Saturday morning, the 16th, is on "Women in Industry—Remedies." On Saturday evening there will be demonstrations in the evolution of textile processes. A meeting on Sunday afternoon at three will be in charge of the Woman's Trade Union League and the Chicago Federation of Labor, with Mrs. Raymond Robins presiding. Of the purposes of this exhibit Miss Jane Addams says in its excellent handbook: "The Chicago Industrial Exhibit aims, by living exhibits, by lectures, by graphic presentations, by tableaux, by songs and pictures, to make us realize the conditions which surround us, to reveal them as they are. The exhibit isolates significant episodes in industry, presents those trades which are falling behind and those which are pushing forward, connects them with education and legislation, and finally collects the whole under one roof. The exhibit aims to give a clue as to what is happening in industry; to present the trend of the present development in relation to its historic background; to show the effect of trade union regulations upon actual shop conditions; to demonstrate what may be done by public spirited employers; to reveal the result of legal protection upon the labor of children; to portray the effect of State regulation upon the guarding of machinery; to show the need of industrial insurance against the inevitable accidents of industry; to demonstrate the possibility of preventing diseases which now accompany certain occupations; to dramatize the increasing speed of production which is so marked a characteristic of modern industry; to present the surroundings which may sacrifice the producer to the product; to put upon the stage the conclusions of economic investigations, the tragedies and sacrifices now buried in reports, census returns and technical articles, that they may be a part of our consciousness of current industry—all to the end that industry may become a human interest, an intelligible experience, that we may have some knowledge of its mighty operations

and attach its affairs to our sense of moral obligation. When this knowledge and quickening of conscience has been obtained, then we may hope for a normal development and a sane regulation of industry." A similar exhibit has already been held in Philadelphia (pp. 1006, 1042), and it is intended later to hold others in Boston and New York.

* * *

The Chicago Election.

After his defeat by Mayor Dunne for the mayoralty nomination (pp. 1109, 1135), ex-Mayor Carter H. Harrison issued an address, published on the 6th, in favor of the traction ordinances. He then left the city. In response, Mayor Dunne issued a statement on the 7th in which he said that Mr. Harrison's declaration was no surprise, for—

Mr. Harrison and myself differ radically upon this question, as we have been compelled to differ before. Over two years ago he advocated the passage of the tentative ordinance. I was compelled from conviction to take the opposite course and advised the people against the passage of the tentative ordinance. The issue as to its passage became the issue of the campaign of 1905 and upon that issue every ward in the city declared adversely to Mr. Harrison's position and favorably to mine. Mr. Harrison now frankly states that the tentative ordinance was a better ordinance than those now under consideration. If the people voted so overwhelmingly against the passage of the tentative ordinance what must we expect will happen when they vote upon the ordinances which Mr. Harrison declares was worse than the tentative ordinance? Mr. Harrison and I also were compelled to differ upon the question of the adoption of the Mueller certificate ordinance in the Spring of 1906. He openly advised the people to vote against that ordinance. I advised the people to vote for that ordinance and the ordinance was adopted by the people.

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Mayor Dunne's opening speech of the campaign was delivered at the Jefferson Club on the 9th. In this speech he recited the accomplishments of his administration: reduction of the price of gas from \$1 to 85 cents; equalization of the price of water by increase of price to large corporations from 4 to 7 cents per thousand gallons, and reduction of price to house owners from 10 cents to 7; reduction of telephone rates from \$175 to \$125; successful crusade against foul food and false weights and measures; enforcement of the building laws against all classes; economic and profitable administration of the law department; detection of big tax dodgers, and proceedings for rectification of school lease frauds. He also narrated in detail the action of his administration on the traction question; his submission to the council of plans for municipal ownership; the stubborn hostility of a majority in the council; the collapse of the council's hostile plans; the passage of the \$75,000,000 Mueller certificate ordinance; the winning of the 99-year suit against the companies; the employment of Mr. Fisher and the framing of the Werno letter providing for municipalization; the agreement of the companies; the departure of the ordinances from the spirit and purpose of the Werno letter; the call for a referendum and the tremendous response from the people. Regarding the character of the ordinances and the future policy they necessitate, Mayor Dunne said:

In my deliberate opinion these ordinances, if approved

by the people, will prevent the people of this city from acquiring municipal ownership of these lines for twenty years, if not longer. At the end of the twenty years the ordinances provide that the city cannot take possession until it pays for the properties of the companies in cash, and until the city has done that the companies to which these ordinances run will have a right to retain possession of the streets and operate their lines. For the last eight years the representatives of the city have been engaged in futile negotiations with these companies which would settle the traction question by agreement. Four different ordinances have been under consideration and have been rejected either by the people or by the companies. The patience of the public has become exhausted. Every reasonable effort has been made by the present administration to secure a settlement of the complicated problem by agreement with the companies. It has made many concessions which, in my judgment, would have been unsatisfactory to the people of this community, in the earnest hope that a settlement might be obtained. It seems impossible to agree upon any ordinances with these companies that will protect the city's interests. The patience of the people has become exhausted. They now demand the cessation of all these negotiations and an appeal to the courts in condemnation. In such proceedings the value of the present properties can be judicially determined and determined quickly. A trial in the lower courts can be had within six months and an appeal to the Supreme Court can be had and finally disposed of within eighteen months. Once the value of the property is judicially determined in the lower court nothing remains for the city but to negotiate its Mueller certificates, raise the necessary cash and hand it to the companies and take possession of the properties. If the companies desire to appeal they can do so. But the city will be in possession pending the appeal. The city can rehabilitate these properties just as cheaply, if not more cheaply, than the present companies. It can certainly rehabilitate without paying double contractor's profits. The temper of the people is aroused. The ninety-nine-year act is disposed of. The traction companies, by their own obstinacy, have forced a situation which is final and conclusive. The lantern has been hung out from the belfry tower. These ordinances should be voted down, and when they are voted down, condemnation suits must be immediately commenced, the value of these properties determined in a just and legal manner, the companies paid and the city take possession of the lines and commence their rehabilitation, as has been done by other great cities of the world. The people have negotiated and negotiated and bargained and bargained without result. Whenever the people have appealed to the courts they have been almost invariably successful in asserting or maintaining their rights. Such was the result in the universal transfer case, in the case involving the ninety-nine-year act, in the case involving the police power of the city, in the case involving the validity of the Mueller certificates, in the telephone case and in nearly every other case brought by the city to assert its rights against public utility corporations. Let the courts now determine the matter and do justice to the companies and the people alike.

*

The Republican candidate in opposition to Mayor Dunne, Fred A. Busse (p. 1162) was formally notified on the 11th of his nomination. In accepting he pledged himself not to be a candidate for renomination and heartily endorsed the party platform. In advocacy especially of the traction plank, he said:

For several years we have had too much traction for the politicians and too little for the public. Traction has been used to carry various people into office, but there has not been enough of it to carry people to and from their homes rapidly and in comfort. This traction ques-

tion is the people's question and it is proper that they should have the last word as to whether the ordinances now before them for their decision should become laws. We are all interested. The present surface transportation is utterly in, adequate. . . . This one fact—this hardship on people whose lives are not very easy at the best of times—ought to outweigh a ton of political and theoretical opposition to speedy traction settlement. The only way these people can be relieved is by prompt settlement that will give us more cars and better cars, extensions, through routes and comprehensive transfer privileges. Improved transportation, as our platform well says, would also lessen congestion in the downtown business center, develop new business centers, give people a chance to live out where they can get better air, more room and more healthful surroundings, and at the same time benefit thousands of small taxpayers. The ordinances now before the people for their decision are the results of years of investigation and study, and the successive steps in formulating them were apparently approved by all of those active in the work until just before they were completed. No good reason has yet been given, as far as I can discover, for reverting again to talk instead of proceeding to action. Everybody is agreed that we want better service at once. The pending ordinances provide for that. They provide for extensions, for through routes and for transfers that will enable us to ride from any part of the city to any other part of the city reached by the lines of any one or all of the four great systems, namely, the Chicago City, the Union Traction, the Chicago Consolidated and the Chicago General Railway Companies. These ordinances safeguard the city's interests. They make the city a participating partner in the profits of the street railway companies, and permit this revenue to be applied either to purchase of the lines or to reduction of fares. They also provide ample opportunity for the city to acquire the lines whenever the people desire to embark in the enterprise. Therefore, I cannot see why any person who wants better car service, whether he does or does not believe in municipal ownership, should be against the ordinances. The "home-rule" plank in our platform should meet the approval of every one who knows this city. None of us can have everything his own way all of the time, even in his own home. We have to live together in this world and get along together, even though we don't think all alike. We have hundreds of thousands of people in this city who are not born here. We invited them to come. They are among our most desirable citizens. We should give consideration to their inherited habits and customs, but without letting harmless recreation be used as an excuse for vice. The condition of our schools is another question that ought to be close to every citizen. If we haven't enough school houses and school rooms, we ought to get them. There is a way, if we look for it. Nothing should be sacrificed or omitted that will fit the child in both mind and body for its work in the world.

Mr. Busse's friends announce that he does not intend to resign as postmaster. It is explained that the matter was arranged at Washington before the nomination, the explanation, according to the Record-Herald of the 12th, being that "there would be no objection from the Department or from the President to Mr. Busse's name being used in connection with the mayoralty so long as his friends did not turn the postoffice into a Busse headquarters, capitalize his position as postmaster as campaign material and turn the postoffice force under him into a Busse machine."

✦

In addition to the regular party nominations for aldermen, the Independence League, in conjunction with the Hearst papers, has nominated candidates

of its own in several wards and endorsed acceptable Democrats and Republicans in others.

✦ ✦

The Kansas City (Kansas) Election.

Mayor W. W. Rose, as reported last week (p. 1166), has again been nominated for mayor of Kansas City, Kan. Elected two years ago on an anti-monopoly platform, he was removed by the Supreme Court of the State for not enforcing the prohibition laws, laws which had not been enforced for 30 years either in Kansas City or any other frontier city of Kansas. He was at once re-elected at the special election a year ago to fill his own vacancy, and upon his taking the oath of office, the Supreme Court held him guilty of contempt, and imposed severe penalties. Thereupon he resigned. The candidate he supported at the next special election was defeated by less than 300 votes. Mayor Rose's nomination for the approaching election was made unanimously, and of four wards in which there were contests three were carried by candidates for the city council who favor his policies. Following is the declaration of principles unanimously adopted by the local Democratic party under Mr. Rose's leadership and signed by all candidates for legislative and executive office:

"Public office is a public trust," and we, the undersigned candidates for municipal offices at the hands of the Democratic party of Kansas City, Kansas, believing in this principle and also believing that the people are entitled to a frank and candid expression of views from those who ask their support, declare ourselves and pledge our word and honor as men to the faithful performance of these promises: That we will not consent by word or vote to the granting of any franchise to the Metropolitan Water Company; that we will actively support at all times the immediate public ownership and operation of our waterworks system; that we will not favor the granting of any franchise to any company, corporation or individual, until after a referendum of the same to the people, and it shall have been approved by them by a majority of the votes cast upon the proposition. We declare in favor of the immediate appointment of a city purchasing agent, in order that there may be greater economy in public expense; we pledge ourselves to labor unremittingly for taxation reform, to the end that the monopoly values held by great railroad, packing and other corporations shall bear their just burdens, and the small home owners be proportionately relieved; we declare in favor of economical but efficient government and that the people of this city are especially entitled to the best fire and police protection it is possible to have; we believe that economic problems are paramount and that their correct solution involves the solution of moral questions also. Our greatest duty is to bring about more just conditions for those who produce the wealth of the world so that each will receive the wealth his labor creates. To this end we pledge our united efforts.

✦ ✦

California's Anti-Alien Bills Held Up.

In addition to the anti-alien property holding bill reported last week as having been passed by the lower house of the California legislature (p. 1165), bills have been pending in the legislature for the limitation of the age of children first entering the primary schools to 10 years; for separate Oriental schools, and for the submission two years hence of the question of Asiatic exclusion to a vote of the people of California; also a resolution protesting against Japanese naturalization. At the request of

President Roosevelt, who declared that the reports of such legislation hampered him in his effort to secure exclusion of Japanese laborers by friendly agreement with Japan, when the legislature adjourned on the 12th it left the Japanese bills in abeyance.

* *

Forward Movements in Sweden.

Stockholm's *Tidningen* of February 3 states that the Department of State Railways in Sweden proposes the introduction of new and lower rates for "express freight," the same class of goods as is handled by the express companies in this country. According to the proposed tariff the rates should be uniform for all distances above 62 miles (100 kilometers), and would be for packages up to 4.4 pounds (2 kilograms), 8 cents; up to 11 pounds (5 kilograms), 12.25 cents; up to 22 pounds (10 kilograms), 16 cents. For distances less than 62 miles the rates are to be still lower. Special stamps will be issued so that the sender can himself stamp the packages, just as with postoffice parcels. The longest distance by rail in the country is about 1,400 miles. It is interesting to note that the Swedish State railways with such low passenger and freight rates as are in force, and such excellent service as according to all testimony they render, are not only self-supporting, but pay a very good interest on the invested capital—on some lines 6 to 7 per cent.

* *

A petition for equal suffrage was filed in the Swedish Riksdag, on February 6, signed by 142,128 women. Considering that until the new suffrage bill (p. 1066) becomes operative, only about 250,000 men are entitled to political suffrage in Sweden, the number of women having expressed their demand for the ballot is very large and is significant of the way in which the women in all the Scandinavian countries always have been awake to their rights. The women of Sweden have municipal suffrage on equal terms with men, the qualification for both sexes being based on the amount of property assessed. This basis gives municipal suffrage to about 50 per cent. of all men, and 25 per cent. of all women of voting age.

* *

A bill of great consequence to the future of woman's position in educational pursuits has been introduced in the Swedish Riksdag. This bill provides that all vacancies for instructors in public educational institutions, universities, colleges, seminaries, etc., may be filled by women as well as by men, with the one exception of the theological chairs at the universities. This is the most radical measure in this direction as yet proposed anywhere, and the Swedish people may justly be proud of their recognition of the rights of their women. Professorships have already been held by women at the foremost university of the country, Upsala, but this has as yet not had legal recognition. The bill has been favorably reported by the educational committee.

* *

The Russian Douma Organizing.

The new President of the Douma, Mr. Feodor Golovin (p. 1165), having been received in audience

by the Czar, the Douma resumed its sessions on the 8th. The further election of officers indicated the great strength of the radicals. The Constitutional Democrats, who already had the presidency, were compelled to abandon their own candidates for vice presidents and accept the nominees of a coalition of the more radical parties. Mr. Berrezin of Saratov, a newspaper man and a member of the Group of Toll, received 345 votes for first vice-president, to 101 votes cast for his opponent. Mr. Posnansky of Khar-koff, a lawyer, a member of the Left, received 349 votes for second vice-president, against 97 for his opponent. Professor Kapoustine of Kazan University, the Octoberist leader, was among the defeated candidates. This double victory for the Left was loudly cheered. Mr. Chelnokoff, like President Golovin a Constitutional Democrat from Moscow, was elected secretary of the Douma by a vote of 379, the highest yet given for any candidate. Adjournment was had on the 9th to enable the committees on credentials, appointed on that date, to formulate their reports on the contested seats. The next session was announced for the 13th, but was later postponed to the 15th, ostensibly to give the committees more time, but the real reason is said to be that it was discovered that the Conservatives planned a monarchical demonstration for March 4, the occasion of the anniversary of the assassination of Alexander II.

* *

In the British Parliament.

The woman's disfranchisement bill presented by W. H. Dickinson (pp. 1112, 1165) was debated in the House of Commons on the 8th, but could not be carried to "closure," and was therefore killed for the present session.

* *

At a meeting of the members of the House of Commons who are interested in the question of the taxation of land values, held February 15, a parliamentary campaign committee was appointed, with power to add, to deal with the land value situation in Parliament and in the country generally. The following are the members of this committee: Alfred Billson, J. W. Jowett, E. H. Pickersgill, C. E. Price, T. F. Richards, A. H. Scott, Sir Albert Spicer, C. P. Trevelyan, J. C. Wedgwood, J. Dundas White, J. H. Whitley (chairman), T. McKinnon Wood; secretaries, Crompton L. Davies and John Paul.

NEWS NOTES

—The little war in Central America, between Nicaragua and Honduras (p. 1166), still continues.

—Jean Paul Pierre Casimir-Perier, president of France for six and a half months in 1894-5, died in Paris on the 11th.

—The question of the municipal ownership of water works and water supply at Portland, Me., is before the Maine legislature.

—Dr. E. J. James was re-elected president of the University of Illinois on the 12th for a term of two years by the trustees at their annual meeting.

—The proposed Chicago charter (p. 1163) has been

introduced in the Illinois legislature. On the 12th it was taken up in the committee of the lower house.

—Medill McCormick has purchased enough of the interest of Robert W. Patterson in the Chicago Tribune to transfer control from Patterson to McCormick.

—William J. Bryan spent part of the day on the 12th with Mayor Johnson in Cleveland. A political alliance is reported in the dispatches, but upon no other apparent foundation than a casual social meeting of two political and personal friends.

—Mrs. Russell Sage (p. 819) has set aside from the fortune left by Mr. Sage (pp. 388, 398), and now in her hands, the sum of \$10,000,000, to be known as the Sage Foundation, and to be devoted to the improvement of social and living conditions in the United States.

—The Rhodes scholarship at Oxford that is allotted this year to Pennsylvania, has been won by Allan Le Roy Locke of Philadelphia, a Negro student at Harvard. He was chosen over four other candidates by a committee of which Provost Harrison of the University of Pennsylvania was chairman.

—From Republican sources it was announced on the 12th that Roger C. Sullivan, William Randolph Hearst and Charles F. Murphy are co-operating to secure the Democratic nomination of Jesse Grant for President, in order to prevent the nomination of Bryan. Jesse Grant is a son of ex-President Grant.

—The French battleship Jena, said to be one of the best vessels in the French navy, was in large part blown to pieces in the dry docks at Toulon on the 12th, through the explosion of her powder magazines from some unknown cause. Hundreds of the crew were terribly injured. The number of the dead is surmised to be about 120.

—The trial of Steve Adams for the murder of Fred Tyler (p. 1164) ended on the 7th in a disagreement of the jury. The case was given to the jury at 11 a. m. on the 6th, and the jury was not discharged until 7:10 p. m. on the 7th. For many hours the jury stood seven for conviction and five for acquittal, but on the last ballot the jurymen divided evenly.

—The Italian Chamber of Deputies (p. 1140) has during its present session three main objects in view, the diminution of taxation, beginning with that which weighs heavily on the poorer classes, and on the poorer communes; the improvement of the public services, chiefly railways, posts, telegraphs, telephone, etc., and finally the maintenance of peace.

—The Bulgarian (pp. 398, 587) Premier, Mr. Petkoff, while walking on the 11th in the Boris garden in Sofia with other ministers, was fatally shot. The assassin was arrested, but the motive of the crime is not yet known. Mr. Petkoff had been Premier and Minister of the Interior since Nov. 5, 1906. He was with Mr. Stambuloff when the latter was assassinated, July 15, 1895.

—The trial of Will J. Davis for manslaughter in connection with the death of 596 persons in the Iroquois theater disaster of December 30, 1903 (vol. vi, p. 613), was begun at Danville, Ill., on the 4th. On the 9th the accused was freed by Judge Kimbrough on the ground that the Chicago building ordinance

was too defective in its requirements to lay the foundation for a charge of criminal negligence.

—The national Arbitration and Peace Congress, to meet in New York (p. 996) preparatory to the second Hague conference (p. 1090), is appointed for April 14-17. Among the speakers will be Secretary Root, Secretary Straus, Andrew Carnegie, William J. Bryan, Governor Charles E. Hughes, Archbishop Farley, Judge George Gray, ex-Mayor Seth Low, Bishop Potter, Rabbi Hirsch, Representative Richard Bartholdt, and Miss Jane Addams.

—In the proceedings by the new attorney general of New York to secure a recount of the ballots cast at the mayoralty election a year ago (p. 969), in which William Randolph Hearst claims to have been counted out in favor of Mayor McClellan, the appellate division of the Supreme Court decided unanimously on the 8th that the refusal of a former attorney general to institute these proceedings does not bar the present attorney general. This decision is adverse to the contention of Mayor McClellan.

—Arrangements have been completed for a hearing before the Illinois legislature on equal suffrage measures on the 27th at Springfield. Mrs. Henrotin and Mrs. Stewart will conduct the Senate hearing on the Chicago municipal suffrage bill introduced by Senator Campbell. This hearing will begin at 2 o'clock. Mrs. McCulloch will conduct the House hearing on the State suffrage bill, introduced by Representative Allen, the constitutional amendment introduced by Representative Sheldon, and the Chicago bill. This hearing will begin at 2:30.

—The monthly statement of the United States treasury department (p. 1066) for February, 1907, shows the following for the fiscal year up to and including that month:

Gold Reserve Fund.....	\$150,000,000.00
Available Cash	250,154,654.55
Total	\$400,154,654.55
On hand at the close of last fiscal year,	
June 30, 1906.....	328,087,283.25
Increase	\$ 72,067,371.30

—The monthly treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government (p. 1066) for February, 1907, shows the following for the fiscal year up to and including that month:

Receipts.	
Tariff	\$221,547,120.22
Internal Revenue	179,202,239.67
Miscellaneous	36,874,754.16
	<u>\$437,624,114.05</u>
Expenses.	
Civil and miscellaneous.....	\$ 86,417,043.76
War	72,280,650.07
Navy	63,715,698.90
Indians	10,873,468.81
Pensions	94,480,523.94
Public Works	48,799,918.49
Interest	20,390,462.19
	<u>\$396,957,766.16</u>
Surplus	\$ 40,666,347.89

—All three members of the Columbus (Ohio) board of public service, the president and two employes of the Cleveland-Trinidad Paving Company, the local manager of the American Sewer Pipe Company, and two city officials of Columbus were indicted for brib-

ery on the 12th. The disclosures were precipitated by a confession made by Nelson Cannon, former Columbus superintendent of the Cleveland-Trinidad Paving Company, to which the paving contract was awarded. According to Cannon's story, the president and vice president of the Columbus board of public service were each promised \$3,000 for voting to give the contract to the Cleveland-Trinidad Company, and the third member of the board was promised \$2,000 for his vote.

—John Alexander Dowie (p. 825), self-styled "Elijah the Restorer" and "The First Apostle," died at Zion City, Ill., on the 9th. Dr. Dowie was born in Scotland, and spent the first half of his life in Australia, where he developed a power of healing diseases that he regarded as peculiarly of divine inspiration. The Chicago Record-Herald thus summed up the chronology of his remarkable American career:

- 1890—Arrives in Chicago and preaches in streets.
- 1894—Opens big headquarters in Michigan avenue.
- 1899—Widens following and is mobbed often.
- 1901—Starts Zion City industries and declares himself to be "Elijah the Restorer."
- 1902—Begins Mexican and Texas colonization plans and financial troubles become pressing.
- 1903—Leads host to Gotham; in receiver's hands.
- 1904—Takes mission trip around world; takes title "First Apostle" on his return.
- 1905—Stricken with paralysis goes to West Indies.
- 1906-1907—Makes Voliva deputy general overseer; repudiated; returns to Zion City, starts court fight and dies.

PRESS OPINIONS

A COMPARISON WITH A "BUT—"

(Chicago) Unity (rel.), Feb. 28.—In Chicago the brains and the conscience of the city have been meekly standing by waiting to see what the "party manipulators," the "political bosses," the "Federal crowd" and the "ward gang" would hand out, and now the intelligent voter has the greswome consolation of a "choice of evils." Busse, the Republican candidate, is a man of low ideals, coarse habits; a man whose elevation in politics has always been along the lines of vicious partisanship, of vulgar bargaining, to say nothing worse. Dunne, the democratic nominee, is a much higher type of man. Personally he is a clean home-maker, a man of unquestioned public spirit, a devoted student of civic interests on franchise lines; but—



PUBLIC OPERATION OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

Elizabeth (N. J.) Times (Ind. Dem.) March 7.—Public ownership of public utilities has, as a matter of public policy, been making rapid progress. The fight in Chicago, though Mayor Dunne has suffered delay after delay, is typical of the growth of popular sentiment with respect to municipal control of the street railways. In Cleveland and in many of the far-western cities the conditions are the same. Within a few years over a half hundred British cities have acquired possession of their tramways. In the United States there are already nearly a thousand municipal lighting plants, while 60 per cent. of the water-works in this country are now operated by the public. Side by side with the development of trusts and combines that are private monopolies may be witnessed the recent remarkable growth of popular sentiment in favor of public ownership and operation, not only of local utilities, but of the railroads, telephones and

telegraphs, also the banks and insurance companies. In fact, the sentiment in favor of public ownership is certain to keep pace with the consolidation of private business interests, for in proportion as the latter add to their wealth and their political power, the futility of our efforts to regulate by mere legislation will reveal more and more clearly the impotence of any proposed remedy less than complete public ownership. When the public reaches that stage at which it must choose between private and public monopoly, and soon there will be no other alternative, it will undoubtedly select the latter.



FREE STREET CARS.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (Ind.), Mar. 7.—Tom Johnson says he favors, after awhile, free street cars. And why not? He says we have free elevators in the big stores and office buildings. We should not be asked to pay to bring our business to other people. The street cars benefit certain sections and interests more than they benefit the people. They make for increased value to the foundation commodity, land. They are an accommodation that gets the people to the store centers, and to the outlying tracts of land. They are instrumentalities of commercial life, based upon use of the property of the people—the streets. They could be made free if the city got out of the land the value they give it. Tom Johnson is logical, but he is far ahead of the time. We shall yet see free street cars, even as we now see free elevators in the skyscrapers.



CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

(Minneapolis) Farm, Stock and Home (Agr'l), March 1.—The following estimate of Presidential campaign funds for the years given has been going the rounds of the press for several weeks, and so far as we have noticed its approximate accuracy has not been disputed; therefore it is inserted here as a text for a little comment that may be of some value as a lesson in "popular government," which we like to flatter ourselves we enjoy in something approaching perfection; and, besides, both table and comment will be timely just now, when the subject of regulating contributions to campaign funds is before Congress. The table follows:

	Republican.	Democratic.
1860.....	\$100,000	\$50,000
1864.....	125,000	50,000
1868.....	150,000	75,000
1872.....	250,000	50,000
1876.....	950,000	900,000
1880.....	1,100,000	355,000
1884.....	1,300,000	1,400,000
1888.....	1,350,000	855,000
1892.....	1,850,000	2,350,000
1896.....	16,500,000	675,000
1900.....	9,500,000	425,000
1904.....	3,500,000	1,250,000

The aggregate amounts for the twelve campaigns are \$36,675,000 for the Republicans and \$8,435,000 for the Democrats, which is not very complimentary to the innate goodness and helpfulness of the first, for if it had been really good and helpful would it have required so much money to keep itself in power? The steady and rapid growth of the fund of both parties down to 1896 is significant, but much less so, and less alarming, than the startling fact that in every instance victory has been on the side of the largest purse! In two years out of the twelve the Democrats had the largest campaign fund and only in those years was their candidate elected! He does not know how his fellow citizens feel about it, but the writer feels profoundly humiliated by this revelation. Schooled from youth in the theory that this is a government of and by the people it not only humiliates but shocks the writer to learn that it is a government

of and by the dollar. He has had suspicions of this condition, but is compelled to confess that he never expected to see its truth demonstrated mathematically. Now, seriously, fellow citizens, can you expect this Republic to endure if dollars instead of men are to determine its policy; if the longest purse continues to be the controlling factor in the most important of our elections? In fact, has not the Republic already disappeared, since it is shown that the dollar and not the man has been the controlling factor for many years?

* * *

A ROOSEVELTIAN LIMITATION.

The American Magazine, March, page 557.—The most serious thing about Mr. Roosevelt's advocacy of the ship subsidy is that it shows he does not clearly see that the fundamental trouble in our commercial situation—does not see that the thing which has chiefly caused our trouble—is special privileges; that the trusts and combinations he is fighting are caused by special privileges, and that every time a subsidy is granted you are laying the foundation for more abuses of the very kind we are now trying to cure. . . . Another example of his unmental make-up is his lack of a policy. His own slogan, the square deal, tells the whole story. That phrase points to no purpose to change anything essentially, either for good or for evil. Accepting things as they are, he would have men do right. The government is only the umpire, and its duty is to be fair; fearfully and aggressively fair, but not fundamentally just. He is not uprooting wrong; he is correcting wrongs.

IN CONGRESS

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, March 3-4.

Senate.

The Senate continued in session on Sunday the 3d, having under consideration the conference report on limiting the hours of railroad service (p. 4613), which was rejected by a vote of 38 to 22 (p. 4624). Attempts to dispose of the ship subsidy bill were made (p. 4624, 4626, 4627, 4628, 4630, 4631, 4634) but without success, and late in the evening adjournment was taken to the 4th. Again on the 4th attempts were made to pass the ship subsidy bill (p. 4748, 4750), but again without result. At noon the Senate adjourned without day.

* *

House.

The bill for the establishment of an agricultural bank in the Philippines was taken up on Sunday the 3d (p. 4642) and passed (p. 4647). The conference report on the bill limiting labor hours on railroads then came under consideration (pp. 4651, 4656) and further conference was ordered (p. 4661). When the final conference report came in (p. 4678) it was adopted by 234 to 0 (p. 4683). Considerable other business was done, and at midnight the House took a recess. It reassembled on the 4th and after doing miscellaneous work adjourned at noon without day.

* *

Record Notes.

Speech of Representative Fowler on the currency bill (p. 4595). Speech of Representative James on the currency bill (p. 4711), and on street car fares (p. 4724). Speech of Senator Newlands on the currency bill (p. 4726). Speech of Senator Carmack on the ship subsidy bill (p. 4729).

**RELATED THINGS
CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT**

THE ANSWER.

For The Public.

The moon glows lonely in the heavenly deep;
I take my way past city halls and towers,
From Tumult's caldron in the early hours,
My service rendered to the hosts who sleep;
O dead slate sky! as spiritless I creep
On this big earth as your black drifting bowers,
With no fair moon to deck life's pulseless flowers;
With nothing left to win and naught to keep;
Sweet voices I have heard and heavenly smiles
Have met me, but have vanished—I am lone,
My destiny my own,—to distant isles
I well might hie—why battle here and groan?
My fight is no one's fight, and I shall flee
The haunts of man for nature and be free.

This is the verdant valley and the day
Is breaking. Songs of birds arise,
A squirrel mounts the tree-top to the skies;
But who is this loud demon on my way?
A madman from the city, sent astray,
Invading this sweet region with his cries?
Ay, I shall shun his curses and his sighs,
For I have left his kindred and to stay;
I will go on to the still glade and grove—
But who has blacked yon mountain and the stream?
And what these driven creatures, herd and drove?
Earth seemed to voice an answer to the theme:
"The mountains with the morn are hogged for coal,
Those streams stink with the slaughtery's red dole."

But I will on, for surely there remain
Some virgin plains and mountains yet unmarred,
By Greed's insatiate commerce yet unscarred;
For its foul fruits I hate the nation's bane,
Indomitable Octopus of Gain;
But I shall flee to skies yet pure, and guard
A charge of God. My fight is found, and hard—
Yet even now the grinding and the stain
Sweep faster than a mortal man may flee,
And such would be surrender; I must stay
And meet the spirit in full panoply,
In his dark haunts in native disarray,
In the rich name of God's paternal hills—
In the high faith a re-born world instills.

WILLIAM HOFFMAN.

* * *

MAYOR JOHNSON A MECHANICIAN.

Cleveland Dispatch to the Chicago Inter Ocean of February 23.

Mayor Johnson would have made a fine burglar. He admitted this to-day to H. B. Swartz of Wooster, an inventor who brought the Mayor a new voting machine to examine. The Wooster man submitted the machine with the statement that it could not be manipulated fraudulently.

The Mayor put on his glasses, examined the mechanism, and then sent for a stenographer. He borrowed a hairpin, and with a few pokes and jabs showed the inventor how he could "run up" a few hundred votes for any candidate he wished.

Acknowledging the defect, the owner said he would

try again. He expressed wonder at the Mayor's ability as a mechanic.

"Oh, I'm an expert lock picker, too," said the Mayor. "Let me get an inkling of the general make of a lock and I can pick it." The inventor carried away his model much impressed with the Mayor's talk.

* * *

TAXING COMFORT AND LIFE.

Horace Carr in the Cleveland Press of February 7.

Men and women and little children are dying of cold in Dakota, and men are mangled by explosions in West Virginia mines, because railroads and coal-mine owners are trying to get maximum returns on their "investments." While little can be said in extenuation of killing human beings to increase dividends, it is a fact that if a railroad buys a new locomotive or builds new cars, or a mine-owner puts in a new engine or safeguards for men, most people think it right to fine them for doing so by taxing them on these products. Does not this discourage the maintenance of adequate equipments? Suppose these things were not taxed, but that taxes—high taxes—were collected on the value of the railroad's right of way and the mine-owner's coal land. In the first place, the production and use of engines and cars and safety appliances, not being subject to fines, would increase till it would be more adequate; and in the second place, if mine lands and railroad rights of way were taxed at their full value their owners would have to increase the output in order to pay taxes, or sell them to others who would do this. But so long as men are fined for producing the things that maintain human life and comfort, and are permitted to withhold unused the sources from which these things are produced—the land—so long will children freeze in Dakota and miners die in darkness in West Virginia.

* * *

FOR YOU AND ME.

"I have come to speak to you about your work," said the Angel—who-attends-to-things. "It appears to be unsatisfactory."

"Indeed!" said the man. "I hardly see how that can be. Perhaps you will explain."

"I will," said the Angel. "To begin with, the work is slovenly."

"I was born heedless," said the man. "It is a family failing which I have always regretted."

"It is ill put together, too," said the Angel. "The parts do not fit."

"I never had any eye for proportion," said the man; "I admit it is unfortunate."

"The whole thing is a botch," said the Angel. "You have put neither brains nor heart into it, and the result is ridiculous failure. What do you propose to do about it?"

"I credited you with more comprehension," said the man. "My faults, such as they are, were born with me. I am sorry that you do not approve of me, but this is the way I was made; do you see?"

"I see!" said the Angel. He put out a strong white hand and, taking the man by the collar, tumbled him neck and crop into the ditch.

"What is the meaning of this?" cried the man, as

he scrambled out breathless and dripping. "I never saw such behavior. Do you see what you have done? You have ruined my clothes and nearly drowned me besides."

"Oh, yes," said the Angel; "this is the way I was made."—Laura E. Richards, in *The Silver Crown*.

* * *

FAREWELL, LITTLE LAD!

For The Public.

Seated at my desk in the office of the Superintendent one day in the late Fall, I was strangely attracted by the earnest voice of a little lad pleading for the required "permit" to allow him to leave school and go to work.

Kindly Mr. A—questioned, and shook his head in doubt.

"Are you fourteen? What room are you in? I do not seem able to place you, my boy," quietly urged the busy man, with a glance at the pile of reports awaiting a coming board meeting.

Never shall I forget the manly little fellow as he drew himself up to full height. "Yes, sir; I'm just turned my birthday, and we've only been here a month. Here's Mother's letter. You see, sir, I don't want to leave school, but I've got to help Mother!"

No wonder the childish voice had called me from dead pages—such tones of earnest determination, longing, hope and confidence; such a power for help. One knew the manhood within that heart was born.

He stood with his old cap in one rough little hand, the fingers of the other just touching the desk as he anxiously leaned forward to watch the face of the man who could write the precious paper. The blue, blue eyes, so full of earnest purpose, the soft Saxon hair, the flush of anxiety, the firm turn of the baby lips; and more than all to be remembered, that spirit of determination to "help" which seemed to envelope him and stamp him as the child to be our ideal citizen.

But no! Listen:

Die Kinder sind krank und der Vater verdient so wenig. Es tut mir leid den Knaben von der Schule wegzunehmen, aber ich brauche ihn diesen Winter. Er will mir helfen. Er ist ein guter Knabe. Sie werden ihm Arbeit geben. Bitte lassen sie ihn das Papier haben.

Slowly the Superintendent read, half aloud, the broken lines—"The children are sick and the father earns so little—I am sorry to take the boy from school but I cannot meet the Winter without him. He wishes to help me. He is a good boy, they will give him work. Please let him have the paper."

"Are you sure you can get work?" asked the quiet voice, with an inflection which made me see he longed to put off the writing of this "permit"—permission to change this child among children, to a wage-earner among men.

Again the eager boyish tones, grown quite businesslike now: "Yes, the Boss said to bring the paper and I could go to work to-morrow morning."

"Where?"

"Down at The Works."

"Yes, and a tough lot!" growled the helpless teacher.

I saw his hand tremble as he still glanced at the letter.

"The children are sick and the father earns so little."

"A tough lot," "a tough lot," the typewriter seemed to say as the permit was clicked off, to the growing joy in the eyes of our little pleader.

As he passed me at the door holding fast the paper he had won—his right to lay his brave young life upon the altar of Duty—his passport into the army from which there is no discharge—he lifted his glad eyes to mine and read the mother love I know they held.

Farewell, little lad! After to-morrow's sun has set, you will be no more. Across the borderland of childhood let me cry—Farewell, Little Lad!

FLORENCE STOLZE CURTIS.

+ + +

ALTGELD'S GROWING FAME.

Portions of Oration Delivered by the Hon. Charles A. Towne at the Altgeld Memorial Service Held at the Garrick Theater, Chicago, March 10, 1907, on the Fifth Anniversary of the Death of John P. Altgeld.

John P. Altgeld is not dead. The essential part of him can never die. Even if our faith did not assure us that somewhere in a more congenial environment his strenuous and tender spirit continues its immortal journey of development, we still should recognize, in the just and courageous life that he lived, in the true doctrines that he taught, in the philanthropy that he exemplified, and in the heroic devotion of his death, contributions to the progress and happiness of mankind that shall awaken appreciation and gratitude among remote generations and continue to be potent and beneficent for ages, even after printed memorial and sculptured monument may have perished utterly. . . .

From what John P. Altgeld did; from what he said and wrote, and from what we and others who knew him leave on record concerning him, the world will finally construct its estimate of him.

Contemporary judgment of men who bear a large part in the life of their times is very often revised by posterity. When the violence of the contests in which they participated has died away; when the acclaim of the partisan and the denunciation of the antagonist are both stilled; when the events that formed their environment have drifted into proper perspective in the infinite corridor of the world's progress, there are possible a more complete review of the evidence and a more calm and reasonable temper in its consideration than any contemporary could command.

It is undoubtedly true that history has been unjust to many of its great men. A general acceptance of the justice of its verdicts is not inconsistent with the assertion that they have not infrequently bestowed praise where it was not due and visited censure where it was not deserved. In numerous instances these mistaken conclusions have endured for centuries before a tardy justice corrected them, and beyond question a large proportion of them will never be corrected at all. It is a sad reflection that the world must continue to lay the chaplets of its gratitude before many a pretentious mausoleum while the men whose tombs they should have con-

secrated must sleep forever in unremembered graves.

Contemporary opinion has, of course, great influence upon posterity; and in proportion as this opinion is general and wrong the danger of erroneous posthumous judgment is multiplied. When, therefore, a man passes away who has wrought mightily in some noble cause, but who in the struggle aroused the antagonism and enmity of opponents so powerful, so resourceful and so vindictive that they filled all the channels of publicity with systematized detraction and calumny, it is the sacred duty of those who knew him as he really was to rally, with all possible despatch and emphasis, to the defense of his memory; to the end that his character may be vindicated in the minds of sincere men whom misrepresentation has deceived; that a fair and honest record shall be submitted to the judgment of after time; and that the great principles for which he stood may be advanced and fortified.

Such a sentiment, my friends, explains the existence of this Memorial Association, whose purpose is thus expressed in the language of its founders: "To keep alive the inspiring memory of John P. Altgeld, volunteer soldier, jurist, statesman, publicist and humanitarian, and to inculcate the principles of free government to which he heroically dedicated his life."

The task of vindication is proving easier than at one time it seemed possible it could ever be. To men who remember the infamous accusations with which Governor Altgeld was loaded in those awful years of 1892 to 1900, by the most widely-read newspapers in this country; the confident mendacity with which his acts were misrepresented; the reckless aspersion of his motives; the tireless reiteration of catch-phrase and innuendo to foster false impressions of his personal appearance, his mental attributes and his moral character; the diabolical skill and audacity with which his utterances were distorted and mutilated, it is to-day almost impossible to realize that so much of the truth about him has already become so widely known. Some mitigation of these outrages was noticeable soon after the great campaign of 1896, and during the last two or three years of his life there was a marked change in the treatment accorded him by the leading newspapers. Yet the progress of justice was so slow that when on that bleak day five years ago we stood about his new-made grave and pledged fidelity to his memory, not one of us would have dared to hope that the fifth anniversary of his death would find the ancient rancour almost entirely gone, his teachings more and more widely studied, and the essential elements of his character so generally understood.

Yes, my friends, the world at large is coming to know what manner of man John P. Altgeld was. Passing strange is it to us who walked with him and loved him that any one should ever have failed to know. He himself has said that "Ideas write their characters on the countenance of man"; and who that had once looked upon his sad, benignant, serious face, furrowed by thought, rescued from an almost ascetic severity by as kindly a smile as ever spoke from lips and eyes, could so have misinterpreted nature's inscription as to find there the index

to anything but sincerity, courage, nobility, patience, charity, humanity?

These inherent qualities found inevitable expression in all that Altgeld said or did. Above all men he hated sham. Life to him meant only opportunity for noble activities. He took his vocation seriously. By birth and condition, by instinct, by experience, and by study and reflection, he was a democrat in the generic sense as well as in party political affiliation. He loved the simple virtues, the old-fashioned ways. His spirit was kin to the patriot fathers of our heroic age. Modern commercialism did not touch him. It could neither assimilate nor understand him. He feared it. He distrusted its corrupting, materialistic tendencies. He believed its current if unrestrained must undermine not only the supports of private character, but, in time, the foundations of the Republic.

Believing this, and being a man of sincerity and courage, he said it. Not seeing immediate results, he said it again and yet again, as ceaselessly and as relentlessly as ever old Cato called for the overthrow of Carthage. Being a man of purpose, he went to the limit of his capacity to put into action these things that he believed and, believing, declared. In political discussion he not only treated principles but also suggested programs. At conventions he formulated policies and adopted platforms. In office he put his convictions into practice and taught by example as well as by precept. He was a constant challenge to the social and industrial abuses of his day. He was a potential Nemesis to all special privilege. While he lived in undiminished vigor it could never relax its vigilance; nor, should his influence increase answerably to his industry and his fortitude, could it ever know security.

There was thus an irrepressible conflict between Altgeld and the dominant economic forces of his age. He survived into their predominance from an earlier and simpler system. Born thirteen years before the Civil War, and brought at once into the State whose founders had been the artificers of the Ordinance of 1787, his youth was nurtured in the atmosphere of Benjamin Wade and Joshua R. Giddings. It was the era of the public beginnings of Abraham Lincoln, of the renaissance of the principles of Thomas Jefferson and of the Declaration of Independence. There was abroad in the land a limitless enthusiasm for liberty. Men believed in the necessity and the eternity of justice. They talked about it. They sang about it. They prayed about it. They were getting ready to die for it.

Upon the sobriety and steadfastness of his exotic German stock there was thus grafted the tender native shoot of an idealism that proved to be readily assimilable, whose fruitage was a life's sincere and lofty purpose. Rooted in the soil, the tree stretched forth its branches toward the sky and made largess of its fragrance with every passing breeze.

This composite of conviction and enthusiasm carried young Altgeld into the war. In the years that followed it his maturing judgment took note of that remarkable development whereby, in a brief period of time, the idealism of 1860 was transformed into the materialism of 1900. It is probable that no war, such is the innate and ineradicable brutality of

slaughter, can be so glorious as not in some measure to deprave the majority of those who wage it, and especially of those who conquer in it. The war taught us the dangerous lesson of our strength. It bred a discontented energy. When the enemy dispersed we attacked the wilderness. When we ceased recruiting armies, we went to organizing corporations. The national debt piled up by war taught us to think in hundreds of millions in time of peace, and from the management of military loans we graduated to experiments with capital stock. Our altars erected to glory were cast down by the iconoclasm of wealth, while the inspiring formulas of the ancient service gave place to the magic of a single word, "Success."

When once the getting of money has become the supreme and controlling object of a people, it modifies their entire system of ethics. The end justifies the means. Morality has as little practical relevance as a nursery rhyme. Expediency becomes the final sanction of conduct. For a time the ancient standards are paid a certain perfunctory and formal observance, while everybody knows that right and wrong are meaningless terms in a game where self-advantage is the stake and where the implements are the primal instincts of savagery reinforced by all the resources and discipline of civilization.

It is impossible to estimate the strength of the forces arrayed against a man who has the temerity to throw down the gauntlet to the beneficiaries of this system. Social ostracism, financial ruin, political extinction, the poison of slander, and, most potent of all, the terrors of misrepresentation, accusation and sophistry through the news and editorial columns of a subservient press; these are some of the innumerable perils a man must face who braves the resentment of threatened privilege. Such perils Altgeld incurred, with full knowledge of their character, in order to expose the evils of our social and economic order and in the hope of arousing his fellow-citizens to the performance of their duty. Every resource of the system he opposed was employed against him to its limit. No other man in our day, and it is doubtful whether any other man at any time, was ever the target of such vituperation and calumny as was leveled at the devoted head of John P. Altgeld. The world knows how courageously and nobly he bore it. To the public at large he gave no sign. But he was no stoic. His forbearance was not due to insensibility. Keenly he felt the sting of the pitiless and remorseless persecution. His sensitive nature trembled and suffered under it, yet he nerved himself to meet it as the price he consciously and deliberately paid for the dear privilege of honest convictions and fearless speech.

A better day is dawning. There are not wanting many signs that the power of selfishness, of greed, of commercialism, of materialism, is rapidly waning. We are again to worship at the olden shrines and to form our national policies after the old ideals. When the new era shall have become firmly established, no name among those emblazoned high on the walls in the temple of justice to attest the people's gratitude to the illustrious men whose labors and sacrifices ushered it in, shall shine with brighter radiance than the name of Altgeld.

THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST.

Rev. E. A. Wasson in the Crown for December. The Crown Is Edited by Mr. Wasson, and Published by B. W. Terlinde, at Newark, N. J.

"The survival of the fittest."

This phrase was devised by Herbert Spencer to indicate the result of the struggle for existence. This struggle, and hence the consequent survival, is supposed to exist in the whole sphere of life, vegetable as well as animal. You can see it, most of the year, in any vacant lot among the weeds. You find it exemplified among vagrant cats and dogs. The vegetable is in its way as pugnacious as the animal, as pugnacious and as cruel. Why do animals fight? Watts's answer will not carry us far:

Let dogs delight to bark and bite
For 'tis their nature to.

But why is it their nature? Because self-preservation is the first law of nature. Creatures fight to live, and they destroy others in order to save themselves. The big fish swallow the little, because they need them in their life business.

This struggle for existence often develops qualities that from the human point of view are admirable; strength, swiftness, keenness of vision and of scent, size, and others.

Now, some men, and some wise and good men, hold that this struggle for existence is as necessary and potent and beneficial in human society as among the flora and fauna. It is cruel, they say, but beneficial. It eliminates weaklings, and builds up strong, self-reliant men and women. As the big fish swallow the little fish, so the big men swallow the little men, and the strong men the weak. And so this principle is employed to excuse and even justify cruelty and oppression and robbery and wrong generally.

In this argument there is a confusion of thought. The word "fittest" is used in a double sense. Scientific men use it in a natural, not a moral sense. "Fittest" means best adjusted to conditions. It is an unmoral word. It applies as fully to the vegetable as to bird or man. Nature has her own standard of fitness. Nature has no regard for what we call progress nor for our morality. She has an ethics of her own: "Meet my conditions or perish." In some situations she prefers the rat to the man, for the rat survives and the man perishes. In Death's Valley the horse left to his own resources speedily dies; but some forms of desert life flourish and multiply. Under certain conditions a man is of less account than a clam in nature's eyes. The struggle for existence does not necessarily call for or make for what we call progress from lower to higher forms. Far from it. In a cold climate the higher tropical vegetation would be crowded out by lower and simpler forms; and when the earth enters on its decline nature will progressively prefer the simpler cruder forms, the forms that make the least demand on her; as the 50-cent coolie will crowd out the \$2 American.

Moreover, it must be admitted that in the human sphere the fittest to survive are by no means always the best morally; often the reverse. Often we mourn at the funeral of some man or woman untimely cut off, whose life was a beneficence to all,

who could be ill spared, whose departure fills some home and some lives with misery. Yet here nearby, perhaps in the same family, is some good-for-nothing, of no use to himself or anyone else, who is spared to a good old age. The ne'er-do-well in this case is preferred and favored by nature as in her view the fittest to survive. The murderer survives his poor, misled, deceived, trusting victim. Nature prefers the murderer as in her view the fittest. A man died some time ago full of years and honor and in the odor of sanctity. A few months after his death it was discovered that for years he had been a rogue. Yet through all those years nature had no rebuke. "He was good enough for me," was her attitude. If he had been an honest man and had encountered disease in the line of duty, it is by no means certain that she would have saved him alive. In politics nature by no means uniformly gives the palm to the upright and wise man. In fact, integrity is oftener a bar to advancement in politics than not. The poet tells of "serpents which creep where man disdains to climb." Virtue is often a positive handicap to natural survival. The martyrs of all causes have found and find it so. Jesus perished and Barabbas survived, because nature thought Barabbas the fitter; and so of Peter and Paul; and Savonarola, and Bruno and Mozart. And Brigham Young died wealthy and powerful and happy.

All this to show that the law of the survival of the fittest has of itself no moral value; unless indeed we include ethics and conscience in the realm of nature. This is quite permissible; only in that case our argument would have to be stated differently, but the conclusions would not be affected.

Now, of course, the law of the survival of the fittest applies to man. Only, with man there is another factor to be taken into account—reason. Here is a plot of ground with potatoes and corn growing on it; and a little garden with roses. Now let that plot and that garden alone for the season, and then for a second season; and where will your potatoes and corn and roses be? Run out and overcome by the weeds. And in your sorrow I remark, "Well, the great beneficent law of the survival of the fittest has been vindicated. Let us utter our thanks into the infinite vault." And you answer, "The law of the survival of the fittest be hanged. Next time I'll pull the weeds up, and the potatoes and corn and roses will grow." Now, in uprooting the weeds will you be uprooting also the law of the survival of the fittest? By no means. That law will be as potent as ever. Under the new conditions, the flower and the vegetable will flourish because they are better suited to the new conditions than the weeds are. But what has made the difference? Why, a power that wars on weeds and carefully nourishes their competitors. Nature does not care what that power is, whether human or animal or vegetable or climatic or chemical. The hairy mastodon was once fitted to conditions in Siberia and flourished in great numbers. A sudden catastrophic glaciation took place and the mastodon perished because he was unfitted for the new conditions. In that case, the power that worked the change was natural. But the effect was the same as if it had been national. For reason can alter, select, abolish, substitute, create conditions, of course, within certain limits. That is, man can determine what is to sur-

vive by his control over conditions. Man is the product of conditions; but he is also the producer of conditions. Thus, naturally, the weak, diseased, insane of men would perish. But man has altered the conditions so these classes are kept alive. Chickens survive and hawks perish; the sheep survive and the wolves perish; consumptives survive and the bacilli perish; not because man arbitrarily wills it, but because willing it, he has the knowledge and the power to alter conditions to produce the desired result. Under certain conditions, which in fact have been historical and are, in parts of the world, contemporary, the heavy-weight champion will survive an Emerson or a Longfellow. But under other conditions the heavy-weight champion is flung into a cell unless he behaves himself; and Emerson and Longfellow dine with the president. Certain social conditions encourage well-bred idlers and loafers; and if individually they perish, their race survives. But other conditions will extinguish them, and encourage honest labor of brawn or brain. Man himself decides, or may, what sort of fitness shall survive, moral fitness or merely natural, that is, animal fitness, the fitness of brute might. The drivers of the mail carts on a certain long route in England in the early days were invariably very late in arriving at their destinations, because they stopped and tarried at the public houses along the road to tipple. Fines, reprimands, threats, discharges, were of no avail. Finally a bright official conceived this remedy. He gave these drivers permission to carry passengers as well as mail; and the passenger fares were to go into their own pockets. Presto, there were no more late arrivals. For the passengers who had paid their good money would not permit the driver to loiter at public houses; and the driver himself had no inclination to do so for fear of losing his fares. The change in conditions made different men, where exhortations and prayers were of no avail.

Out of nature's overflowing storehouses man can order what he pleases; for she has everything in stock. Only you can't get what you wish at once, and it takes longer for some orders to be served than others. Man is making himself, and he is making his fellows. If he wishes it, he can produce a state of society where fraud and violence and cruelty and rapine and falsehood and pride and greed and brutality shall shrink and hide themselves abashed, and waste and perish in the presence of truth and honor and justice and love. There is a way to do it. If man does not know this way, he can learn it. The law of the survival of the fittest shall always rule; but that very law, in happy contrast with its earlier remorseless workings, shall give the victory to the divine man, who shall carry the lambs in his bosom, and shall gently lead those that are with young; in whose hands the bruised reed shall not be broken, and the smoking flax shall not be quenched.

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Angry Guardian: "You are not satisfied with your allowance? What would you do if you had to earn your living with a shovel and pick?"

Youthful Ward: "I'd hire some one to do the work for me and divide the money."—Detroit Free Press.

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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THE TRUE STORY OF THE WORK OF MAYOR DUNNE

The fair and able review of the two years of faithful public service by Mayor Dunne, which appeared in THE PUBLIC of Jan. 19, '07, has been received by the public with much satisfaction, and there have been many demands for extra copies of THE PUBLIC of that date. We ask all who would like to distribute copies of this review in Chicago to communicate with us promptly.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY
First National Bank Building, CHICAGO

RICHES.

**A Parable of Plenty.
For The Public.**

Behold the Hog!
In all his stuffed and surfeited selfishness behold him.
Type of our times; personification of the social state.
Even unto his day he eateth.
O Lard! How anxiously he aideth his appetite.
With great grunting and greed and gluttonous gusto he
grabbeth unto himself all succulent things above
and below the sod.
To him all fences are barbarian.
Still blindly and blissfully he grunts and grubs and
gropes and grabs.
Fish, flesh and fowl; roots, branches and fruit,—yea, all
food forms and substances he encompasseth; all
revenues of earth he recovereth,—even yours and
mine.
Within and for himself are all these bulging benefits as-
sembled and assimilated.
Even until his skin expandeth to bursting doth he all
accessible nourishment whatsoever appropriate and
accumulate.
His name is Avarice.
Say you he is not Fat?
Nay, he is more than Fat.
He hath enveloped the world and swells with monstrous
arrogance.
So that in the glorious hour of his insolent fleshly exul-
tation his redeemer cometh.
Cometh with cutlass and cleaver, that all things shall be
restored unto those hungering.
Restored, even by division and distribution.
For no Hog liveth unto himself alone—always.
His day is heavy with hunger—with the horrible, un-
satisfied, consuming hunger of the Hog.
The deadly, destructive desire to deprive, to possess, to
clutch, to embody, to keep.
The ferocious hunger that devours the earth, to the ful-
fillment of Hog-Fatness.
Even so liveth the Hog—to have and to hold.
Absorption is his happiness.
His cry: "Give, give!"
"More, more!"
"All, all!"
Then, at last, shall be measured out to him a saving
sense of his own swollen shame.
Wherefore, men shall look not unto the Hog for wisdom,
neither for success.
For it shall be proven unto all men, even the High
Priests of Kingly Power, and the Money Changers
in the Temple, that it is more blessed to give than
to grab.
And in that perfect day the Hog, with all the evil
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And this shall be the Passing of the Hog.

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tical Christianity and his successor as mayor, serves most appropriately to enforce the truth that all men, whatever their class and whatever their offenses or virtues, are after all only "folks."

The story is hardly a story. It has no plot, its interest depends upon no mystery, and it marches on to no great climax. It is in truth a collection of little stories, mostly about criminals, some of whom are poor and get convicted while others are rich and respectable. Yet all the little stories dovetail into one another in such fashion as to exhibit their social interrelationship and invest the whole with literary unity.

The book is fascinating. One cannot begin reading it without reading it through. It is a true picture of human life—not of a phase, but of life as it is lived in our civilization. The criminals are neither virtuous victims of judicial miscarriages, nor essentially wicked devotees of vice and crime. The judges, the prosecuting officials, the prison officials, the aristocratic element, the charity mongers, the Pharisees as well as the criminals, are thoroughly human. One may glimpse in this panorama what he might see, were he to look, and what Mr. Whitlock had to see in order to write the story—how social classes act and react upon one another. The luxurious drawing room is separated from the brothel and the prison by a thinner partition, the career of the business man from the career of the convict by motives far less easily distinguishable, than is commonly supposed. One lesson stands out boldly from the pages of this book, as it does from the daily experiences of life from which the book is drawn: we make our criminals before we punish them.

* * *

OUR RELATION TO IMMIGRATION.

Immigration and Its Effects Upon the United States.

By Prescott F. Hall. Published by Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1906. Price, \$1.50 net.

This book by a Boston lawyer is the first volume of a series on American Public Problems to be edited by Ralph C. Ringwalt. If all the volumes are as scholarly in arrangement and treatment of subject as the present one, the series will certainly be worth while. "The plan of the book is to present first the facts in regard to immigration—its history, causes and conditions [Part I]. In Part II the effects of immigration are discussed. In Part III the history of past legislation upon the subject is given and various proposed remedies for the evils of immigration are described. Part IV deals with Chinese immigration." And the appendix includes statistical tables, copies of federal immigration acts now in force, and a very helpful selected bibliography.

The author's convictions are plainly for further restriction. To know his point of view one does not need to be told that he is secretary of the Immigration Restriction League. The attitude of the author is, however, not allowed to intrude upon the main purpose of the book, which is to inform the reader about immigration, and by careful and copious references to put him in touch with whatever aspects of the problem he wishes further to examine.

Part of one of the final chapters is devoted to the "Ethical Aspects of Regulation"—a recognition by the author of the premise on which his opinions

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test, a premise, as he says, to which Edwin D. Mead, William Lloyd Garrison and President Elliot among others do not agree, namely: Because this is a great and unique experiment in democracy for the good of the whole world, we Americans have the right to regulate the conditions for our experiment; that is, to debar all elements which may disturb its highest success.

It might be remembered here that for every experiment a working hypothesis is necessary. In this case a certain conception of democracy must form that hypothesis. In shutting out immigrants the exclusionists must say, "We are more democratic, that is, better as to democracy than you," to other normal, adult human beings. Whether or not this predication of superiority to which the exclusionist is forced, is in itself essentially opposed to democracy, whether it vitiates the hypothesis and therefore invalidates the experiment—this is the question involved.

ANGELINE LOESCH.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Looking Forward. A Treatise on the Status of Woman and The Origin and Growth of the Family and the State. By Phillip Rappaport. Chicago, Charles H. Kerr & Company. Price \$1.00.

—Chicago Traction. A History Legislative and Political. With Supplement: Shall the Pending Ordinances be Approved? Seven Illustrations. By Samuel Wilbur Norton, Ph. D., Member of the Chicago Bar. Published by Samuel W. Norton, 409 Ashland Block, Chicago.

—The Psychic Riddle. By I. K. Funk, D. D., LL. D. Editor-in-Chief of "The Standard Dictionary"; Author of "The Widow's Mite and Other Psychic Phenomena"; "The Next Step in Evolution," etc. Published by Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York and London. Price \$1 net.

PAMPHLETS

The Danish Peasant of To-day.

A pamphlet entitled "The Danish Peasant of To-day" is a lecture by Jakob E. Lange to a party of Englishmen visiting Denmark to see its people's institutions and work. The author shows the preponderance of the peasant in Denmark not only in numbers but in intelligence and in influence social and political. A steady, thorough, far-reaching advance toward democracy has been accomplished; and this has come about through the initiative and co-operation of the farmers themselves. The peasantry of Denmark, small-farm owners (p. 1013) and tenants have united in their political struggle against the ruling parliamentary minority which is supported by the landed aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. Economic co-operation naturally followed. Co-operative dairies, etc., are numerous and successful, undertaken by the people themselves for their own good, and are governed in a wholly democratic way, "excluding no one and allowing nobody more than one vote, so that a poor fellow with but one cow has as much to say as a 'big'un' with a hundred." Along with the advance toward economic independence and political freedom has gone the wide-

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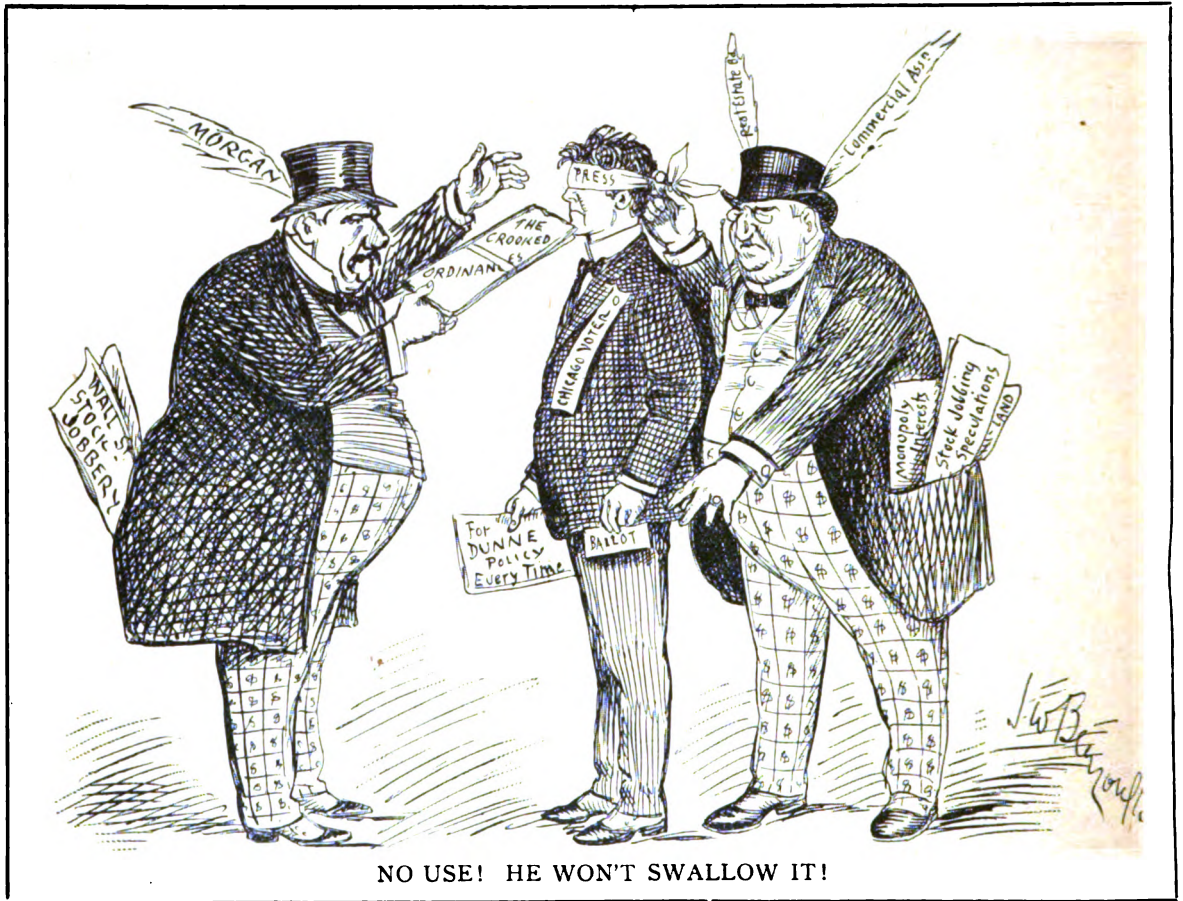
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spread improvement in education. This the peasants themselves have demanded and obtained. Educationally, economically, politically, the common people of rural communities dominate Denmark. Whether they shall keep on advancing "toward light and freedom" depends largely on whether they shall maintain their "unity in advance." "Strong forces are abroad to drive in a wedge of partition between the [hitherto united] land-owning peasantry and the landless or landpoor." "The only way to prevent a split when lifting a heavy and bulky weight is to lift from below, putting your hands under the lowest part. If you would prevent a fatal rupture when elevating a people, you must act upon the same principle. This is why the 'Husband' movement (the movement for elevating the very smallest farmers and agricultural laborers and strengthening their economical position) has of late gained such prominence with us."

A. L.

+ +

Elbert Hubbard on Henry George.

The second of Elbert Hubbard's "Little Journeys to the Homes of Great Reformers" (East Aurora, N. Y.), is a sympathetic and characteristically entertaining essay on Henry George. All the statements of fact are picturesquely presented, of course, and some of them are literally true, while the statement of George's philosophy is extraordinarily accurate.

"The problem of civilization," so the statement runs, "is to eliminate the parasite. The idle person is no better than a dead one and takes up more room. The man who lives on the labor of others is a menace to himself and to society." That excellent paraphrase of the evil as George saw it is supplemented with this outline of the remedy: "The remedy proposed by Henry George is simply the single tax, and this tax to be on land values and not on improvements. . . . The immediate tendency of this policy would be to cause the gentleman who owned the vacant lot devoted to cockle burrs to put up on it a sign 'For Sale Cheap.' . . . The single tax would give the land back to the people, at least make it possible for people who want it to get what they could use. . . . We will grant, of course, that what a man produces and creates is his, but the land to which he may be legal heir and which probably he has never seen, and which certainly he does not use or improve, is his only through a legal fiction. . . . Tax the land, and the man who owns it will have to make it productive by labor or else get out and allow some one else to have a chance."

+ + +

I intend no modification of my oft-expressed wish that all men everywhere could be free.—Abraham Lincoln to Horace Greeley.

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A. L.



The March Arena opens with a frontispiece portrait of Ernest Crosby, accompanying the editor's memorial essay on "The Prophet of Peace and Apostle of Social Righteousness." Much in accord with Crosby's ideals is a little essay on "Justice to Victims of Missionaries," by R. L. Bridgman. "All that is here emphasized is that undeniable human rights be held sacred against any religious, philanthropic or altruistic sentiments which would overstep them. A man's conscientious convictions regarding his duty to a weaker and less developed people have no standing whatever against the rights of those people, no matter how much those people might be benefited by accepting his views. Rights are sacred, and good intentions which would invade them cannot, in the very nature of things, be rightfully carried out, and any theory which pre-supposes the contrary leads to ridiculous and terrible absurdities."

A. L.



Child labor is the main theme of the American Federationist (423 G. St. N. W., Washington, D. C.) for March. It is the subject of Gompers' first editorial, and Eva McDonald Valesh contributes a long and very clear article on the same topic. A careful analysis of the Census Bulletin on Child Labor results in its criticism as being so inadequate as to rouse "the suspicion that it was intended to counteract the present agitation on the subject." She follows this with a summary of Beveridge's speech before the Senate. Copious extracts are presented, including Beveridge's abstract of the various State child labor laws, as well as the text of his bill. The author closes her most valuable contribution to child labor literature with a few remarks on the mooted question of the constitutionality of the bill, and on the present status of public opinion as to Federal vs. State legislation. "It can not be said that organized labor at this time looks with favor upon federal legislation in regard to child labor. There are several reasons for this, the most important of which is that organized labor has not yet reached the place where it is certain of fair and equitable treatment at the hands of the federal courts (or any court for that matter). Judges are prone to apply precedents which belonged to a previous and entirely different industrial state, so if an adverse Federal decision

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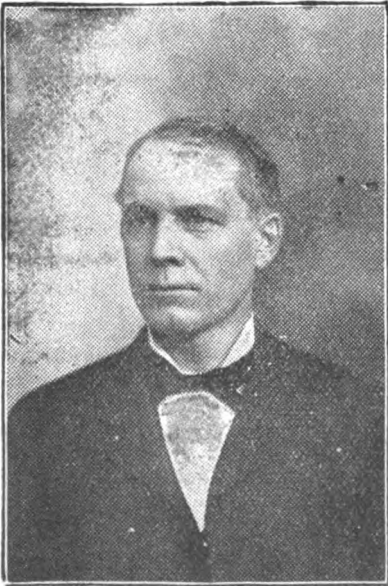
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