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Now that the details of the vote at the recent Presidential election are reported with substantial fullness and accuracy, the political significance of the result may be reasonably inferred.

These details prove, what has all along seemed evident to us (p. 497) from the simple fact of the failure of Roosevelt's tremendous plurality to evoke any of the ordinary signs of enthusiasm, that this plurality expressed no special popular liking for him or his party, but was a rebuke to the opposing party. Although Roosevelt's plurality was in round numbers, 2,500,000 (over 1,500,000 more than McKinley's in 1900), the vote cast for him was only 400,000 larger than that cast for McKinley, and the total vote of the election was actually less, by 455,000, than the total vote when McKinley was elected.

It is not to the large Roosevelt plurality that we must look for the meaning of the election, but to the small vote for Parker. His total vote in round numbers was 5,000,000—a full 1,250,000 less than the vote for Bryan in 1900. Yet Parker himself is in most if not all personal respects the superior of Roosevelt. His weakness was not so much in his personality as in his political associations and management. He stood in popular estimation, not altogether justly perhaps, as the candidate of the plutocratic faction of the Democratic party. It was this attitude that Democratic voters in vast numbers resented. The lesson of the election, so far as it con-

cerns the two principal parties, is manifestly this: When plutocracy bargains for the organization of the Democratic party, the voting strength of the party does not go into the bargain. Not to reward the Republican party, but to discipline the Democratic party,—that was the motive of the overwhelming plurality for Roosevelt.

With reference to side parties, the significance of the Presidential vote is equally plain. The People's party, whose managers had predicted a vote for Watson as large as that for Weaver in 1892, got only 125,000, which is nearly 1,000,000 less than Weaver got. In the State of New York its vote is barely half the vote of 1892 for Weaver. As compared with the vote for the "middle-of-the-road" faction in the entire country in 1900, the vote of the united party this year is only 75,000 more. When we consider the votes that Watson received from Democrats who would not vote for Parker and could not vote for Roosevelt, it is evident that the People's party has made no disclosure of any popular strength of its own. The same observations apply to the Prohibition party, which comes in with a vote of 248,000. Although this is an increase of 38,000 over the vote in 1900, and of 116,000 in 1896, it is a loss of 16,000 relatively to the vote of 1892. The Socialist party polls 393,000 and the Socialist-Labor party 34,000, a total of 427,000. The expectations of the former had risen as high as 1,000,000 for its own candidate alone; and since the election its organs have published estimates of 600,000 down to 500,000. The aggregate increase is great in percentage over the vote of 1900, when the total vote of both parties was only 125,000; but all this gain, and more too, was made by the Socialist party

alone, the Socialist-Labor party having lost over 5,000. When the increased vote of all these parties is compared with the total vote, it exhibits few elements of encouragement to side-party politics. The entire vote of them all is less than 800,000, which is a scant 6 per cent. of the total vote of the country, and only two-thirds of that part of the Democratic vote which Bryan polled and Parker lost.

It is not to be expected that side-party enthusiasts will draw from these election returns their very obvious political lessons. For of all partisans your side-party partisan is the most intense. He condemns old party partisanship with unrestrained vigor; but his own partisanship is often so absorbing as to make him, relatively to the perpetuation of his little party, almost indifferent to the advance of its cause. While, therefore, partisans of side parties may be blind to the lessons of the recent election, men who think they see in the slightly increased vote of these parties a reason for adopting side-party tactics, may find it worth their while to reflect. If, for example, side parties which stand, as all these parties do, for programmes that appeal in some degree and with more or less intensity to a large proportion of the American people, and which, after years of propaganda and organization, with the leading candidates of three of them men of great (two of very great) popularity without as well as within their respective parties, and with one of the two great parties so demoralized that its voters abandoned it by hundreds upon hundreds of thousands—if such side-parties cannot poll more than 800,000 votes out of an actual total vote of 13,500,000, and a voting population of 15,000,000, what can be hoped of the political tactics of

trying to manufacture side-parties? When political conditions are ripe for a side-party, it will spring up and quickly crowd one of the two principal parties out of the political arena. But until then, side-parties, though they may be useful as political schools, or entertaining as political toys, will be useless or worse than useless as political factors.

There has been in the newspapers a good deal of callow criticism of Bryan's proposition for State ownership of railroads. Youthful publicists have pointed out with playful pen the absurdity of changing cars at every State line. This may be excellent Greek-letter-society fooling, but unfortunately it has fooled some who are beyond the horse-play age. Mr. Bryan's proposition neither contemplates nor involves a change of cars at State lines. Cars would cross from State to State without bumping up against the boundaries, just as they do now. The proposition has no such practical disadvantages as are thoughtlessly urged against it, and it has at least one tactical and one political advantage. Its political advantage is that it would tend to prevent a centralization of control at Washington. Its tactical advantage—and this is most important at present—is that the public ownership of railroads could begin as soon as one State favored it. There would be no necessity for converting the whole nation. Bryan's proposition offers, also, at least one more advantage. It would open the way for the adoption of better methods of public ownership, if better methods there are. Whether our aim be State ownership and operation, or national ownership and operation, or rail highways (both national and State) open to competitive operation—which seems to us the ideal method,—the line of least political resistance to the accomplishment of the object is the State ownership plan which Mr. Bryan proposes.

Washington dispatches report

that the treasury looters who have been at work for years trying to get ship subsidies are to be rewarded at last. Congress and the President contemplate giving them from \$1.50 to \$5.00 a ton on the capacity of every American ship doing foreign trade. They have been obliged to compromise, however; for they are to get this, say the dispatches, not as a "subsidy," but only as a "subvention." Ah, ha!

On the question of local self-government President Roosevelt is in alignment with George Wyndham, British chief secretary for Ireland, rather than Redmond, the Irish leader. Mr. Wyndham says that the British parliament has done for Ireland all that an Irish parliament could have done. This is what Mr. Roosevelt says of Congress with reference to the Philippines. Now consider Mr. Redmond's pointed reply:

Even if it were true, Ireland would still demand its own parliament and would prefer to be badly governed by its own people than to be well governed by aliens.

In that reply Mr. Redmond strikes the keynote not only of just government but of good government. No matter how good your superimposed government, a proud people will rebel against it and the character of a tractable people will wither under it. It is as true of a people as of an individual, that they must make their own character or they will have none. Bad home government is better than good alien government, because it alone gives the common experience that makes for common wisdom.

President Eliot criticises trades unions for attempting to restrict the output—to limit production. He characterizes this as one of the chief defects of trades unionism. And so it is. But why attack trades unionism for adopting a prevailing economic philosophy, and trying to protect workmen from the oppressive conditions which, according to that philosophy, result from not restricting output? Did President Eliot

never hear of "overproduction"? This is not a labor fad. On the contrary, for a hundred years the working poor have been taught by "their betters" that "overproduction" is the natural cause of poverty—the more you produce from nature the less nature gives you. What so reasonable, then, as that labor unions should try to limit output so as to avoid "overproduction" and escape its somewhat illogical penalty of poverty? Why blame the unions? Why not blame the college professors, and preachers, and editors, and Congressmen, and manufacturers, and merchants, who teach this doctrine of "overproduction," and practice restrictions for their own protection? Why not blame the Republican party, whose policy is one of restricting output—the output of our importers and exporters? Why not blame land monopolists, who raise the value of land by keeping it out of market, thereby restricting output and preventing "overproduction"? Why is it that labor unions must bear the brunt of all criticism for doing for the protection of labor only what is ignored, if not approved, by men of President Eliot's class when done by "business" men for the protection of monopolists? Has President Eliot called trust mongers to task for restricting output, quite as bitterly as he criticises labor leaders for that offense?

A San Francisco employers' paper, bitterly hostile to labor unions, carries this motto at its head: "The right of man to live, the right of man to work." That is an excellent motto. Let its principle be applied impartially, and not against labor unions alone, and there will be no longer a labor question in our country. It is because our laws deny "the right of man to work," and therefore deny "the right of man to live," that there is so much undeserved poverty and so much unearned wealth in the land. Out of its own mouth is this anti-labor paper condemned.

"He would have the poor meet the rich, and for an afternoon at





least stand upon a common level." So ran the newspaper report of a Christian pastor's suggestion to his mixed congregation of rich and poor in one of our great cities last week—no matter what city; the incident might have occurred in any American city, and the lesson in one would have been as pointed as in another. So a rich lady of the congregation, generous and well meaning and at heart altogether human no doubt, invited the rich and poor of the congregation to meet at her palatial home. But only the rich came; the poor remained away. The poor had no notion of coming up to the level of the rich just for an afternoon. Perhaps their motives were as inexplicable to themselves as they were baffling to their disappointed hostess and her friends. But one has only to put himself in their place to realize the bitterness of the offense against them. One might do better than try to realize it; he might try to analyze it. If he did that, with sound reason and good feeling, he might conclude that economic justice, and not social condescension, is what the rich owe to the poor; and that the social condescension which plays at social equality for an afternoon, is something very far away from the brotherly love which the Founder of that clergyman's church has inculcated.

The reformed Mormon who in testifying at Washington is exposing the blood-curdling oaths of the Mormon temple rites, must be a student of Morgan's exposure of Free Masonry. Or, if he is not, the Mormons must have plagiarized from that historic book. At any rate there is to readers of Morgan something familiar in all that this witness tells of such Mormon penalties for violated oaths as cutting the throat from ear to ear and tearing off the tongue, as cutting the breast asunder and tearing out the heart and vitals, and as severing the body at the middle and cutting out the bowels. Did Morgan invent the Mormon oaths or is the revealer of Mormon secrets faking from Morgan?

Nearly a month has elapsed since Thomas W. Lawson publicly made specific accusations against John A. McCall with reference to the management of the New York Life Insurance company, and Henry M. Whitney with reference to a case of wholesale bribery of the Massachusetts legislature. These accusations are so serious as to demand a response from the persons accused, and so circumstantial as to admit of easy refutation if they are false. But there is no attempt at refutation. Should this silence continue, Lawson's revelations must be taken as true.

It is not enough to pass the word along that Lawson is a notorious liar. That is aside from the question until his word has been balanced off by some one else's. The question is not whether he is a notorious liar, but whether these accusations are admitted by McCall and Whitney. Neither is it enough to say that Lawson was a conspirator with Whitney. If such crimes as Whitney is charged with are to come to light at all, they must come to light through the revelations of co-conspirators. Again, it is not enough to call Lawson a "squealer." Though criminals may detest the "pal" who "squeals," their victims are not always so regardful of the ethics of crime. Lawson may be a "squealer," a "liar," a "fakir," and all the rest; but what of it? What the public want to know from Mr. McCall and Mr. Whitney direct, is whether they admit or deny. If they deny, the question of veracious reputation will become of more or less importance; if they do not deny, then the accusations must be taken as true by confession.

#### UNCOLLECTED PUBLIC REVENUES.

The irrepressible question of taxation is discussed in a good part of the 19 volumes published by the United States Industrial Commission. In vol. xix, pp. 1031-1069, Mr. Max West contributes an elaborate paper on taxation, and also seven recommendations suggested by the commission for

alterations in national, State and local taxation. Indirect taxation, taxation of incomes, of notes, mortgages, stocks and bonds, and other vicious and unscientific methods of raising revenue are supported and recommended.

One would suppose from reading these recommendations and suggestions and discussions that the raising of public revenue for a municipality or State or nation was one of the most mysterious and complicated and difficult problems requiring solution by human society. It is really one of the simplest.

A mind not abnormally disposed to make mystery and muddle of everything must turn with intense depression from the mist and mystification roused by these learned discussions of the simple problem of paying for public expenses. Our taxation methods are as unscientific as was the system of cosmogony when men began by assuming the geocentric instead of the heliocentric theory of the universe. That false beginning led to interminable error and confusion.

The theory of raising public revenue which we practice to-day consists in squeezing as much wealth out of the taxpayer as you can. Wherever you see wealth take some of it is practically the rule of statesmen. Our erroneous theories of taxation begin by assuming that a government has some divine right to tax citizens; that a government has a better right, and a different right to take part of a citizen's wealth than his next-door neighbor has. It has no right whatever to collect a dollar from any citizen in any manner except for services rendered.

There is but one true theory of taxation, and that is that taxation is an exchange of wealth for services between a citizen and his government.

On this theory the extent of the services indicates the extent of the citizen's liability, and at the same time indicates the source from which the government should derive its revenue. Can any reasonable objection be urged against the statement that government should be provided with the necessary expenses incurred in rendering necessary services to its citizens? Or against the

statement that a citizen should pay only for the services that he receives and not for the services rendered to some other more favored citizen; and that he should pay, merely enough for all practical purposes, in proportion to the value of the services he enjoys?

If government serves one citizen by protecting him in the enjoyment and possession of the best corner lot in the heart of the city, and another citizen in possession of a lot in one of the back streets, should not each of these citizens pay what the consensus of public opinion has appraised these privileges at; in one case, say, \$200 per square foot, and in the other 50 cents? And if government protects one corporation in the use and enjoyment of 70,000 acres of the best coal in the world, and another corporation in the use and enjoyment of only 7,000 acres of the same kind, should not the former corporation pay ten times more for government services than the latter? And, further, if government protects Mr. Baer in possession and control of 700,000,000 tons of iron deposits, and of "practically all the coal there is in the world" of a certain valuable kind, and in possession of railways and steamships and other properties and opportunities; and protects another citizen only in his right to work for Mr. Baer in his mine for less than a dollar a day, should not each pay in proportion to the government's services? The services rendered Mr. Baer are millions of times more valuable than those rendered the average working miner. Should he not pay millions of times more for them? And should not his payment in taxes be derived from every acre of the mines he is privileged to control? If he objects to paying on the value of 70,000 acres he might pay on 10,000 acres and let other citizens have and pay for the rest. Mr. Baer might object to pay a fair equivalent for the services rendered, but the other partner in Mr. Baer's firm, "God in his imperial wisdom," could never object to anything so eternally and unquestionably just.

In the light of this simple and scientific theory that taxation is payment by the citizen for services rendered by government the mists and mystifications and confusions and difficulties in which

the whole subject is involved disappear. There is never any difficulty in deciding what the government's services are and there is seldom any real difficulty in ascertaining the extent and value of them. This is commonly done by the "higgling of the market," whether the matter for decision be the annual value of a city lot; or of a farm in the country; or the right to use the streets of a city for a tramway; or the control of a million acres of coal land. In cases of real difficulty, which are very few, public auction will satisfactorily settle the value of any franchise or property or opportunity as it now settles the yearly payment for the right to work a ferry. As a last resort, if the case presents unusual complications and difficulties, the citizen may be allowed to fix his own amount of taxation. This is done now in thousands of cases. Many a rich citizen pays just what he decides to pay, and the assessor accepts his dictation, even when he knows that the payment is not one-tenth of what it should be. But the present extensively prevailing usage by which many rich men actually fix the amount of taxes they choose to pay, can be very greatly improved upon by a simple legal provision which would empower the government or the local authorities to acquire such property or franchises at the value fixed for purposes of taxation by the owners themselves. This would be only fair to all other taxpayers and could not be unjust to the owners.

A true history of taxation for centuries past would represent human governments as incessantly hunting for something to tax; and they have taxed, or tried to tax, everything under heaven, and even the light of heaven.

Yet the most voracious government has always been defeated by the caution and self-interest of its citizens, and has never obtained as much wealth as a better system of taxation would have raised with less inconvenience to the taxpayers; for the method by which public revenue is secured is even more important than the total amount.

Under our present methods it is well known and acknowledged that many hundreds of millions of

property annually escape taxation altogether. But the amount of taxable value which annually escapes assessment through the dishonesty, or false returns, of the owners is but a fraction of the value which escapes taxation entirely through our absurd methods of raising public revenue. We adhere to the practice of taxing wealth instead of taxing valuable privileges.

The values of privileges indicate the values of the services which government renders to their beneficiaries respectively, yet in our stubborn infatuation for taxing wealth these immense values are scarcely touched. The true natural revenues of the nation are almost entirely uncollected. In the aggregate the monopolies and franchises which measure the value of the government's services, are equal to about one-third of the national income. They include the ground rents of cities and towns; the values of the rights of way for telegraphs, telephones, street cars, steam railroads, terminal facilities, the annual value of oil lands, of iron and coal lands and other monopolies.

We make a fundamental mistake in taxing the output of mines, or the annual incomes from any industries or enterprises. What constitutes the natural revenue, and should be the basis of taxation, is the annual value of the privilege of holding and controlling these opportunities. Whether citizens hold valuable city lots, or millions of acres of coal and iron lands, and keep them idle, excluding all the rest of mankind from their use, such citizens should pay into the public treasury the annual value of their monopolies whether they use them or not. There is neither justice nor common sense in allowing rich corporations to control millions of acres of coal lands which they can never use and do not intend to use. A community of ants or crows would not be guilty of this supreme folly. Every salable acre of land in the country, and every salable foot of land in the city, owned and held out of use, should bring revenue to the public treasury. The fact that they are held out of use should not be taken into account in assessing these privileges for taxing purposes. A citizen is less

serviceable to the community in keeping land or mines idle than in using them, and should not be rewarded for being useless by reducing his taxes.

There are thousands of acres of rich coal lands held out of use in Pennsylvania, which are valued at \$25,000 or \$30,000 per acre; but because their owners keep them in useless idleness they are assessed at less than a thousandth part of their value,—some of them as low as \$3 per acre. Not what these acres produce now, but what they are worth for use as appraised in the open market is the value for which they should be taxed. Every other taxpayer is defrauded by this under assessment; and the amount of wealth production, and the demand for capital and the demand for labor are thereby greatly reduced.

The value for use of all the properties and privileges of the United States Steel company, according to their own estimate, is \$1,300,000,000. An assessment of 3 per cent. on this valuation would turn \$39,000,000 into the public treasury annually. The Northern Securities Company was capitalized at \$400,000,000; the Amalgamated Copper Company at \$155,000,000; Bay State Gas Company at \$100,000,000; Standard Oil Company at \$70,000,000. These capitalizations were the estimates of the several companies of the value of their properties and privileges. The total capitalization of 287 trusts amounts to \$5,803,281,600. This total, after deducting their actual wealth, which ought not to be taxed, would form the basis for estimating the natural revenues which belong to the community, and should be paid in annual taxation.

If all these uncollected revenues were paid in annually not a dollar of our present taxes would be required, and millions of dollars would be available for a hundred useful purposes in the community. It would require only a part of these revenues to meet all present public expenditures.

These uncollected natural revenues of the nation are not wealth which has been made by the owners of the land and miners and monopolies; they are simply the annual values of the privileges in possession of which the government protects the owners. These

valuable services rendered by the government are now paid for out of the general taxation of the country, by those who have no share in the benefits. The present methods of raising public revenue, which leave these benefits in the hands of those who have not created them, necessitating resort to taxation of capital and labor and wealth, are the source of public corruption, and ever must be the cause of nearly all the poverty and misery and crime which afflict and disgrace the nation. No mind can conceive the injury inflicted on the material and moral interests of mankind by our plundering methods of raising revenue; nor the moral elevation and material advancement and universal prosperity and happiness which would result from a system which placed the incidence of taxation on the privileges instead of the properties and industries of citizens.

SAMUEL BRAZIER

#### EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

WASHINGTON.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 10.—Demoralized is probably not too strong a term to describe the condition of the Democratic party, so far as its representatives in Congress are concerned. Not merely is there a listlessness and lack of earnestness in the performance of their Congressional duties, but something like two score have not even come to Washington, although the House has been in session all the week; while not a third of those who are in the city are regular in attendance. Under the circumstances it is not surprising that the legislative, judicial and executive appropriation bill, carrying appropriations of nearly thirty millions, was rushed through in two days, nor that most of the criticisms of the bill came from Republicans.

There is good ground for the criticism of Champ Clark and others, that it is unfair to members to have such a bill called up for action before members have an opportunity to familiarize themselves with its provisions and study the different items for which appropriations are made. Certainly the rules should be amended to provide that all appropriation bills should be printed and be on members' desks three days before being called up.

It is needless to say that this should apply to all bills. It should be a further rule that if a bill is not called up within a week of the time it is reported to the House, then a further three-day notice must be given before it can be considered. As it is now, those who desire to oppose a bill may be on the lookout for weeks, expecting it to

be called up by the member interested, and after they are tired out with an apparently needless watching, someday, during their temporary absence, the bill may be taken from the calendar and passed.

Even with the most diligent attention bills would sneak through, and my experience leads me to believe that legislation of a general character, calling for bridges over navigable streams, for grants to individuals, or to railroads or other corporations, should not be acted upon by the House until they have been approved by an affirmative vote of the locality—town or county—affected and where the property is located. As it is, bill after bill is log-rolled through, containing grants of valuable privileges, as to which no one in the House has probably any knowledge except the member introducing it there, and not always even he.

Two resolutions were introduced by me on the first day of the session, in re the Steel Rail association—the steel rail pool—reciting the existence of that combination to limit production and boost prices. One directed the Secretary of the Treasury to suspend the collection of the tax of \$7.84 a ton on steel rails until the United States Steel corporation and the other companies which constitute the pool, produce conclusive evidence that they pay more to their employes for the labor in producing a ton of steel rails than is paid by English steel rail manufacturers; the other called for a report from the attorney general as to what steps he had taken to criminally prosecute those who have formed this combination in restraint of trade. The first was referred to the ways and means, the second to the judiciary, committee.

The latter has already performed its duty to the Steel Trust by voting to report the resolution to the House with the recommendation that it lie upon the table. The ostensible ground for this action being that the facts recited in my resolution are mere rumor. As I said in a brief speech later in the day, the steel rail pool is the most substantial rumor in the country! It is so strenuous, so strong, so powerful, that it can (and does) take the American people by the throat and exact a tribute of some thirty millions a year. As I also pointed out on the floor, while the existence of this combination is known of all men, while it meets regularly, and regularly gives out a statement of the results of its "deliberations" to the press, yet the Department of Commerce and Labor (called into being for the express purpose of supplying the public demand for information as to the trusts) has apparently never heard of it, nor will a single Republican member of Congress publicly admit that he knows of any such combination.

What disposition will be made of the resolution to suspend the \$7.84 a ton tax which the ways and means committee is carefully guarding is not difficult to prognosticate. It will meet with equally short shrift. It will also be made to lie on the table, if it is not consigned to the waste-basket; for that committee will never face the proposition contained in the resolution, that as the theory of protection is to equalize the labor cost to American manufacturers, as compared with those of Europe, the burden of proof that manufacturers here pay more for the labor in a given article is on them; especially when Charles M. Schwab declared that steel rails cannot be made in English mills for less than \$19 a ton, while they are being made in Pittsburg for \$12 a ton.

Most of the Southern members will now confess privately that they bought a gold brick when they fell in with the Parker "sentiment," a sentiment most diligently cultivated among them by the agents of the little band of monopolists who foisted him upon the party. Their present condition of mind is like that of a national committeeman of one of the large Southern States whom I conversed with at St. Louis while the vote was being called on the motion to approve the Parker telegram. Though an entire stranger, his action in opposition to certain schemes of franchise exploitation in his own city had won favorable attention, so I made myself known to him. He then said: "Mr. Baker, I feel as though I had been buncoed! This is the first time I have had any dealings with that New York crowd (Sheehan, Belmont, McCarren, et al.) and it will be the last." And so Southern members of Congress will privately admit that they and the party have been "buncoed." As is quite natural under the circumstances these men almost without exception regard Bryan as again the leader of the party.

That my efforts at the last session to attract favorable attention to the question of municipal ownership did not entirely fall upon stony ground is shown in the following incident: A leading Republican, Cooper, of Wisconsin, whom I had never spoken to, came over to me yesterday and said: "I thought of you yesterday while reading the report of the American consul at Hull, England, on municipal ownership there; he is most enthusiastic and declares it has been an entire success."

I would suggest that readers of The Public write their Congressman for copies of that report. (It is Consular Report No. 2127, issued by the Department of Commerce and Labor December 9, Walter C. Hamm, consul.) They will not only thus obtain valuable information on municipal operation of public utilities in England, but such

letters will be evidence to members of Congress of the rapid growth of the demand in this country for governmental ownership of the railroads, telegraphs and telephones, as well as for municipal ownership of public utilities in our cities.

The fight which Congressman Charles B. Landis and myself made at the last session on the public carriage scandal here has borne fruit. Hereafter, under a provision of the appropriation bill just passed, public carriages (with certain limited exceptions) must have the name of the department to which they belong conspicuously painted thereon. This will prevent third, fourth, tenth and seventieth deputies, assistant and deputy assistant chief clerks from using public carriages (and public servants to drive them) to maintain their social "prestige."

In discussing the District of Columbia tax bill during the last session I called attention to the fearful rate of mortality among the children of the slums in Washington, showing that nearly 50 per cent. die before they are one year old—charging it up to land speculation and vicious taxation here. While comparing that part of the President's message which treats of the subject, and urges that the money to improve these conditions could be had by stopping the building of streets, etc., "for purposes largely speculative, in outlying parts," with my speech of April 18 last, Gen. Grosvenor came over and asked: "What are you up to now? Some deviltry, I'll bet!" On being told, he said: "That's the worst attack on the message yet made."

The older Republican members do not regard the overwhelming majority they will have in the Fifty-ninth Congress with unalloyed pleasure. At a caucus of the Pennsylvania delegation this week to urge united support for a large Delaware river appropriation it was suggested that action be deferred until the next Congress. "Oh, no," said Mr. Adams, of Philadelphia, "Pennsylvania's delegation of 29 Republicans amounts to something in this House, but we won't cut any figure in a Congress with 140 majority."

But that will be the least of the troubles of the Pennsylvania delegation in the next Congress, I imagine. With the tariff revision sentiment growing rapidly it will be a life and death struggle with them to maintain against Western Republicans, the steel and other schedules through which Pennsylvania monopolists lay the rest of the country under tribute.

ROBERT BAKER.

Even in wearing a shoe it is necessary to put your whole sole in it.—Philadelphia Record.

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, Dec. 15.

Complete returns of the Presidential election (p. 567) have been collected by the New York Times, which published the result on the 12th. All are official except those of four counties in Michigan and one in Tennessee, which are estimated.

The aggregate vote of 1904, by parties and in comparison with the vote of 1900, is as follows:

	1900.	1904.
Republican	7,207,923	7,620,561
Democratic	6,358,133	5,094,091
Prohibition	208,914	248,411
Socialist	87,814	382,857
Socialist Labor	39,739	33,519
People's	50,373	124,381
Continental		530
Scattering	7,757	
Total	13,960,653	13,514,650
Decrease		446,003
Rep. plurality	849,790	2,526,470
Rep. gain		412,638
Dem. loss		1,264,042

The vote for Roosevelt (Rep.) and Parker (Dem.), in 1894 and in comparison with that for McKinley (Rep.) and Bryan (Dem.) in 1900, is as follows:

	1900.		1904.	
	KcK.	Bry.	Roose.	Park.
Alabama	55,512	97,131	22,472	79,857
Arkansas	44,800	81,142	46,860	64,424
Cal.	164,755	124,985	205,226	89,404
Colo.	93,072	122,733	134,687	100,106
Conn.	102,567	73,997	112,069	72,909
Deia.	22,529	18,858	23,714	19,380
Florida	7,314	28,007	8,314	27,046
Georgia	35,035	81,700	24,003	83,472
Idaho	26,997	29,414	47,783	18,480
Indiana	597,985	603,061	632,645	327,906
Iowa	326,063	309,384	368,289	274,345
Iowa	307,785	299,179	307,907	149,141
Kansas	185,955	162,901	210,593	84,306
Kentucky	227,128	235,103	206,277	217,170
Louis'na.	14,233	53,671	5,265	47,708
Maine	65,435	36,822	64,437	57,636
Mary'nd.	136,212	122,271	109,497	109,446
Mass.	238,866	156,997	257,822	185,748
Mich.	316,269	211,685	362,846	137,015
Minn.	190,461	112,901	214,978	68,631
Miss.	5,753	51,706	3,147	63,280
Missouri.	314,092	351,922	321,447	295,847
Mont.	25,373	37,146	34,932	21,773
Nebr'ska.	121,835	114,013	138,553	52,950
Nevada	3,849	6,347	6,951	3,611
N. Hamp.	54,803	35,489	55,307	33,513
N. Jersey	221,707	164,808	245,164	164,866
N. York.	821,992	678,386	859,460	683,872
N. Caro.	133,081	157,752	82,442	124,121
N. Dako'a	35,891	20,519	52,658	14,296
Ohio	543,918	474,882	600,065	344,574
Oregon	46,526	33,385	60,455	17,521
Penn.	712,665	424,232	840,949	335,430
R. Island.	33,784	19,812	41,005	24,329
S. Caro.	3,579	47,236	2,271	52,565
S. Dakota	54,530	39,544	72,083	22,002
Tenn.	121,194	144,751	105,478	131,705
Texas	121,173	267,337	50,308	167,290
Utah	47,139	45,006	62,444	33,413
V'rmon't.	42,568	12,549	40,459	9,777
Virginia.	115,865	146,080	46,450	80,638
Wash.	57,456	44,833	100,898	28,015
W. Vir.	119,829	98,807	132,048	100,850
Wis.	265,866	159,285	280,164	124,107
Wyom'g.	14,482	10,164	20,489	8,890
Total	7,207,923	6,358,133	7,620,561	5,094,091
Plo	849,790		2,526,470	

The votes for minor parties in 1904, by States and in comparison



Dec. 17, 1904.

with those of the same parties in 1900, are as follows:

	Soc.	Soc. Lab.	Pro.	Peo.
Alabama:				
1900			2,762	4,178
1904	583		612	5,061
Arkansas:			584	972
1900			993	2,318
1904	1,860			
California:			5,024	
1900	7,554		738	
1904	29,535			
Colorado:			3,790	387
1900	654	700	3,438	824
1904	4,304	335		
Connecticut:			1,617	495
1900	1,029	898	1,506	
1904	4,543	575		
Delaware:			538	51
1900	57		607	
1904	146			
Florida:			1,039	1,070
1900	601		5	1,605
1904	2,337			
Georgia:			1,396	4,584
1900			684	22,625
1904	197			
Idaho:			857	213
1900			1,013	353
1904	4,949			
Illinois:			17,623	1,141
1900	9,687	1,373	37,770	6,725
1904	69,225	4,695		
Indiana:			13,718	1,438
1900	2,374	603	23,496	2,444
1904	12,013	1,598		
Iowa:			9,479	613
1900	2,778	259	11,601	2,207
1904	14,847			
Kansas:			3,605	6,156
1900	1,605		7,245	
1904	15,496			
Kentucky:			3,780	1,861
1900	646	390	6,609	2,511
1904	3,602	596		
Louisiana:				
1900				
1904	995			
Maine:			2,585	338
1900	878		1,510	
1904	2,106			
Maryland:			4,582	3,034
1900	908	391	3,034	
1904	2,247			
Massachusetts:			6,202	1,294
1900	9,607	2,599	4,279	
1904	13,604	2,359		
Michigan:			11,859	833
1900	2,826	903	13,047	1,253
1904	8,800	1,183		
Minnesota:			8,555	2,004
1900	3,065	1,329	5,603	
1904	6,376			
Mississippi:			1,644	1,424
1900			1,424	
1904	392			
Missouri:			5,965	4,214
1900	6,139	1,294	7,181	4,226
1904	13,008	1,675		
Montana:			298	11,520
1900	708		335	
1904	5,676	208		
Nebraska:			3,655	1,104
1900	823		6,281	20,518
1904	7,390			
Nevada:				330
1900				
1904	934			
New Hampshire:			1,270	222
1900	790		761	
1904	539			
New Jersey:			7,183	669
1900	4,609	2,074	6,845	3,705
1904	9,587	2,680		
New York:			22,043	7,729
1900	12,869	12,622	20,623	
1904	34,443	11,418		
North Carolina:			1,006	826
1900			361	819
1904	124			
North Dakota:			731	110
1900	518		1,105	153
1904	1,945			
Ohio:			10,203	251
1900	4,847	1,688	10,339	1,392
1904	36,260	2,633		
Oregon:			2,536	203
1900	1,466		3,806	753
1904	7,619			
Pennsylvania:			27,908	628
1900	4,831	2,936	33,715	
1904	21,863	2,211		
Rhode Island:			1,529	
1900			488	768
1904	956			
South Carolina:				
1900				

	Soc.	Soc. Lab.	Pro.	Peo.
1904	22			
South Dakota:			1,542	339
1900	176		2,965	1,248
1904	3,138			
Tennessee:			3,900	1,368
1900	410		1,894	2,487
1904	1,371			
Texas:			2,644	20,976
1900	1,841	190	4,244	8,062
1904	2,287	421		
Utah:			209	
1900	720	106		
1904	5,767			
Vermont:			368	367
1900			972	
1904	894			
Virginia:			2,150	359
1900			218	
1904	56			
Washington:			2,863	
1900	2,006	866		
1904	10,000			
West Virginia:			1,692	274
1900	268		4,604	639
1904	1,574			
Wisconsin:			10,124	530
1900	524	7,065	9,770	
1904	28,220	223		
Wyoming:			208	
1900				
1904	1,077			
Total:			208,914	50,373
1900	87,814	29,739	248,411	124,381
1904	392,857	33,519		

In addition to the minor parties named above, all of which had Presidential tickets in the field in 1900 as well as in 1904, there were the Continental party, organized since 1900, which polled 830 votes, all in Illinois (p 567), and the American party, also organized since 1900, which polled 7,959 votes, all in Utah.

It is reported, on the authority of the Washington correspondent of the New York Herald, writing in that paper of the 13th, that one of the most important policies of the new administration, the policy as to railroad regulation, has been agreed upon between the President and his party leaders in Congress, including Senators Spooner and Elkins. According to this report the subject is to be disposed of by the creation of an entirely new judicial establishment. The proposed bill has been drafted by Attorney General Moody. It provides for the creation, for each judicial district of the United States, of a Circuit Court of Inter-State Commerce, to be a court of record, with one judge to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, whose salary shall be \$7,500 and his tenure of office for life. These courts are to have original and exclusive jurisdiction of all cases, whether civil or criminal, arising in their respective judicial districts, under the act of Congress of 1887 for the regulation of inter-State commerce, or its amendments. For appellate purposes, nine of the judges of these courts are to con-

stitute a Circuit Court of Inter-State Commerce of Appeals, to sit at Washington in review of cases from the various judicial districts. From the decision in any circuit an appeal may be taken direct to the Supreme Court of the United States, when the jurisdiction of the inter-State court is denied, when the construction or application of the Constitution of the United States is involved, when the constitutionality of any law of the United States or the validity or construction of any treaty is involved, or when the constitution or law of a State is claimed to be in contravention of the Federal Constitution. Provisions are made for appeals in other cases and under certain limitations, from the circuit to the appellate branches of the inter-State court, and thence to the Supreme Court. Late reports from Washington are to the effect that Secretary Morton, formerly of the Santa Fe Railroad but now in the President's cabinet, is arranging, with the President's approval, for government regulation of rates through the Inter-State commerce commission, for the legalization of pooling, and for the abolition of private freight cars and private side-tracks and terminals. This is in addition to the new court establishment and as part of a compromise arrangement with railroad interests.

Congress has begun impeachment proceedings against Charles Swayne, United States district judge for the northern district of Florida. The impeachment resolution proposed by the judiciary committee (vol. vi. p. 870), was adopted by the House of Representatives on the 13th. It charges high crimes and misdemeanors, specifying overcharges for expenses, misuse of railroad property in the hands of a receiver of the court, oppression in contempt proceedings, corruption in bankruptcy cases, ignorance and incompetency. The managers for the House, on the trial of the proceedings are to be Congressmen Palmer, Gillett, Clayton, Jenkins of Wisconsin, and Smith of Kentucky. On the 14th notice of the impeachment was formally given by the House to the Senate.

A measure of general applica-

tion with reference to the representation in Congress of States that restrict the suffrage, was introduced in the House on the 8th by Congressman Morrell, of Pennsylvania. This bill proposes to reduce the representation in Congress of any State whatever which, after March 4, 1907, denies the right of suffrage to any of its male inhabitants, or in any way abridges such right, "except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the reduction to be proportionate to the denial of the right of suffrage. The bill makes it the duty of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor to ascertain, through the census bureau, by means of a biennial census, the number of such citizens in each State to whom the right to vote is so denied. The radical difference between this bill and the Platt bill in the Senate is that the Platt bill reduces the representation only of the Southern States and by name.

As these bills were doubtless provoked by persistent local legislation in the South against Negro suffrage, a speech by Gov. Vardaman, of Mississippi, made at the opening of the cotton and corn carnival at Jackson on the 12th, and with reference to the attitude of the South on the question of reducing representation in proportion to disfranchisement, is pertinent. Gov. Vardaman is reported in his speech to have rebuked Southern apologists for disfranchisement and to have said:

Instead of going to the Congress of the United States and saying that there is no distinction made in Mississippi because of color or previous condition of servitude, tell the truth and say this: "We tried for many years to live in Mississippi and share sovereignty and dominion with the Negro, and we saw our institutions crumbling; we saw the public funds squandered, we saw the civilization that our forefathers had fought for passing away, and the law of self-preservation being the first law we observed it. We rose in the majesty and highest type of Anglo-Saxon manhood and took the reins of government out of the hands of the carpetbagger and Negro, and so help us God from now on we will never share any sovereignty or dominion with him again."

Parliamentary proceedings in Hungary were stopped on the 13th by a violent demonstration at the opening of the Hungarian par-

liament at Buda-Pesth. The cause of this demonstration is not very clear from the reports, but its immediate occasion appears to have been the placing in the chamber, by the Ministerial leaders, of armed guards. The leaders of the Opposition, Count Apponyi, with a former premier, Banffy, Francis Kossuth, and Count Zichy, backed by the other deputies of their party, marched in a body to the parliament building. At the door the police commissioner ordered them to enter singly, but they thrust him aside and, marching into the chamber, drove out the guards. They then smashed the furniture, built a gallows of some of the wreckage, and hanged in effigy the premier, Tisza. In the midst of the uproar the premier appeared in the chamber, but soon retired to a ministerial council which subsequently sent an official announcement to the chamber that the opening session of the chamber of deputies had been abandoned for that day.

#### NEWS NOTES.

—The Anglo-French colonial treaty (p. 490) was ratified by the French senate on the 7th by a vote of 252 to 37.

—Earl Grey was installed on the 10th at Halifax, Nova Scotia, as governor-general (p. 358) of Canada, he having arrived at that port during the night of the 9th.

—The Supreme Court of the United States decided on the 12th that the Pennsylvania Railroad Company had the right to remove from its right of way the poles and wires (vol. vi., p. 121) of the Western Union Telegraph Company.

—By a referendum vote in Switzerland last November the people adopted the principle of popular election of judges. Hitherto judges have been appointed by the Federal Council, the executive committee of the Federal Assembly.

—A biography of the late Henry D. Lloyd, by his sister, Mrs. Caro Lloyd Withington, is in preparation, materials for which are solicited by Mrs. Withington, to be sent to her in care of Henry W. Goodrich, 49 Wall street, New York.

—In the case of George B. Perry, formerly mayor of Grand Rapids, Mich., charged with accepting a bribe in connection with a water-supply franchise, the jury disagreed on the 11th, standing, as reported, 2 for conviction and 10 for acquittal.

—After meeting on the 12th, the committee of the Chicago council in the mat-

ter of the bribery charges made by Alderman Butler (p. 568) reported to the council that the charges were "untrue and without substance," and recommended Butler's expulsion.

—After a secret trial in St. Petersburg, Sasonoff, charged with throwing the bomb that killed Plehve, the late secretary of the interior of Russia (p. 264), and his accomplice, Sikorisky, were convicted and sentenced on the 13th, the former to imprisonment for life at hard labor, and the latter to twenty years' imprisonment.

—The monthly statement of the United States treasury department (see p. 505) for November shows on hand November 30, 1904:

Gold reserve fund.....	\$150,000,000 00
Available cash.....	143,344,658 93
Total.....	\$293,344,658 93
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1904.....	319,027,242 39
Decrease.....	\$ 25,682,584 36

—The monthly treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government (see p. 505) for the month ending November 30, 1904, shows the following:

Receipts:	
Tariff.....	\$110,278,883 37
Internal revenue.....	100,521,025 49
Miscellaneous.....	21,802,228 87
	\$232,601,947 73
Expenses:	
Civic and misc.....	\$66,107,525 01
War.....	82,949,259 73
Navy.....	51,330,661 24
Indians.....	5,469,879 65
Pensions.....	60,944,404 84
Interest.....	11,730,016 75
	\$258,531,747 22
Deficit.....	\$ 25,929,799 49

—Luther Burbank, of Santa Rosa, is reported on the 14th from San Francisco as having, by artificial selection, produced a flower which retains its beauty and fragrance for months after it is picked. Mr. Burbanks is said to have evolved this flower by careful crossing, recrossing and selection from a half-hardy annual discovered in west central Australia. He has named it the "Australian star" flower. It blooms early and long; and the blossoms are described as very fragrant, of a beautiful crimson color, and as growing in large clusters.

—By 2 to 1 the Supreme Court of Colorado decided, on the 14th, in the election cases before it (p. 551), to throw out the entire vote of Precinct 7, of Ward 8, in Denver. This decision is made upon the legal theory that the court has acquired equitable jurisdiction of the whole subject matter. "Frauds cannot be fully prevented," says the chief justice, "unless the court assuming jurisdiction to prevent them has the power to undo them in all cases where they are committed in violation of its orders. A court of equity has the inherent power to effectuate its orders."

—As reported in the dispatches, J. C. Keller, of Cleveland, president of the National Association of Letter Car-

riers, and Frank Cunningham, of Omaha, president of the Association of Free Delivery Carriers, had lobbied with Congress for increased salaries in their respective lines of public employment and had defeated for reelection Congressmen who had voted against the increase, for which reason they were removed from the postal service by the postmaster general. It is further reported that the Postmaster General has informed Mr. Cunningham that if any members of his association support him as their representative before Congress those members will be dismissed from the service.

**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. 39 of that publication.

Washington, Dec. 5, 1904.

**Senate.**

The third session of the 58th congress was opened in the Senate on the 5th of December by the President pro tempore, Senator Frye, of Maine. After prayer by the chaplain, Edward Everett Hale, and announcements of the deaths of Senators Quay and Hoar (p. 1), the Senate adjourned for the day. The annual message of President Roosevelt was read on the 6th (p. 15). On the 7th consideration of the House bill regarding the Philippine Islands was begun (p. 57). Adjournment was taken on the 5th to the 12th.

**House.**

The third session of the 58th Congress began in the House of Representatives December 5th, with Speaker Cannon in the chair, the opening prayer being made by the chaplain, Henry N. Couden, D. D. (p. 2). The first business of general interest was the reading of the President's message on the 6th (p. 11). The recommendations of the Presidential message were apportioned to appropriate committees on the 7th (p. 59), and on the 8th the legislative, executive and judicial appropriation bill was taken up (p. 70). After further considering and passing this bill on the 9th (p. 117), the House adjourned until the 12th.

**Record Notes.**—Text of President Roosevelt's annual message (p. 15); text of Senator Platt's bill restricting Southern representation in Congress (p. 49).

**PRESS OPINIONS.**

**THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.**

Nashville Daily News (Dem.), Dec. 7.—"The time has come," the walrus said, "to talk of many things—of shoes and ships and sealing wax, of cabbages and kings." The above conversational melange is recalled by President Roosevelt's message, in which he gives us his views on almost every topic of present interest and discussion. Like a college boy in his graduating speech, Mr. Roosevelt seeks to crowd all his opinions in this document, and he does not hesitate to express himself on the ethics of family life and the morale of society as well as on matters of national polity.

United States Daily (Ind.), Dec. 7.—No more brandishing of the big stick over the heads of bad trusts; no more advocacy of publicity as the specific, infallible remedy for the trust evil. Mr. Roosevelt, inventor and advocate of the publicity cure, turns about and prescribes secrecy as the only

proper treatment. The policy of his bureau of corporations, which was instituted to lay bare the secrets of conspirators against the public weal, he now declares to be "refusal to issue incomplete reports." And he does not say when, if ever, the bureau of campaign contributions expects to complete any reports or make a trial application of his loudly advertised remedy. The most that he promises is that some day the bureau of secret investigation will make a special report on "the beef industry," not on the "beef trust" that was to be smashed by injunction a year ago. Mr. Roosevelt's message is like all of his writings, whether official or literary, admirable. But we have to ask whether he will live up to it. Is his famous backbone on his tongue only?

**A NEW JERSEY MOVEMENT.**

Elizabeth Evening Times (Dem.), Dec. 12.—A movement is reported afoot to organize the single taxers in New Jersey. Now that the Democracy has been so overwhelmingly overthrown, the economic faddists will be in their element. Still, Henry George was no fool, and the fact that those who fear single taxation most are the moneyed kings and the big monopolies, constitutes a very good argument in favor of a show of renewed interest in the idea. There will be no harm done, in any event, in threshing it out.

**BUSINESS CONFIDENCE.**

Cole County (Mo.) Daily Democrat (Dem.), Dec. 12.—What is it that makes Carnegie's paper so valuable? The steel roller mills, the blast furnaces, the Bethlehem steel works? No, no; not that. Just a few words written on the records at Washington. Blot out those words and in a single year you deprive the steel trust of almost as much money as Andrew Carnegie has given to libraries and charities in his whole lifetime. Mrs. Chadwick's paper and Andrew Carnegie's paper are both much of the same kind and character. Mrs. Chadwick relied upon the ignorance of the bankers, and Mr. Carnegie relies upon the ignorance of the American people.

**MISCELLANY**

**COLORADO.**

For The Public.

On the soil of Colorado,  
Where the lawless make the laws,  
And the greedy stand behind them  
In their cursed, unrighteous cause,  
Is there hope of peace impending?  
Business halts, and men await;  
Must we like the foreign nations  
Drink the bloody cup of hate?

Yes, you slaves of money barres,  
Warring with your sons of toil,  
Thrusting men in cattle corrals,  
When they strive to free the soil.  
Yes, you slaves of implish morals,  
Who for all your mocking prayers  
Shall receive the worse damnation,  
Which a righteous God prepares,  
For though joy and peace are furnished,  
Victories which all may win,  
Rage cries out at honor tarnished,  
And a judgment answers sin.  
Sin disgraces all the nations,  
Righteousness is much abused,  
Till it sometimes loses patience,  
And the dogs of war are loosed.

Saith the Lord who made the creatures,  
And the land on which they live,  
Made the equities of holding,  
Made to give, and to forgive:  
People, take your soil, and plow it,  
Ease, by all in human ken

Shall the landlord whet My plowshares,  
Furrowing the backs of men;  
In their backs' be welts and furrows,  
With the grime, and with the blood;  
Let them seed the ground with curses  
Who have turned from freedom's God.  
Man, I made, but when the spirit  
Will no more its God obey,  
Let them cry, if such can hear it,  
To their gods of iron and clay.  
There are pictured heavenly glories,  
Pictured in My book of fate;  
Once their coming seemed less distant,  
Now again it lingers late;  
Now on man's estate the sunlight  
Is obscured by clouds of trial,  
And I see the hands of progress  
Falling backward on the dial.  
Are they broken? Do they mock Me?  
By My wrath their God shall tell  
Other stories to the dreamers  
Who have thought there was no hell.  
Where the golden-crowned Belshazzar  
Fattens dully in his greed;  
Where the tory courtiers flatter,  
I will give them words to read.

Up, awake, the sleepless spirit  
Of the God of storm and night—  
Cries to him with ears to hear it,  
Grasps his pen of flame to write.

**Colorado, Colorado.**

When th' adulterous woman came  
With the priests prepared to stone her  
As the scape-goat of their shame;  
Then the righteous Master stayed them,  
Shamed them in their thirst for gore,  
Saying simply to the woman:  
"Eise, and live, and sin no more."  
Can you rise, O sullied creature?  
Can you walk the ways that bless?  
Can you find a manual token  
Signing moral earnestness?

Yes, the ground which thieves have taken,  
Drenched with Christ's and Abel's blood,  
When you give it to the people  
Shall your sons be sons of God.  
You have children. Do them honor;  
Rise in might and truth divine;  
Let them every one inherit,  
For the land is theirs and thine.  
Then the children of the woman  
Shall have bruised the serpent's head,  
Peace and righteousness shall flourish  
Where the virtues seemed so dead.

**Colorado, Colorado.**

In the eyes of every State,  
Answer fairly to the issue,  
Which is now so big with fate.  
But and if you will not answer,  
All you vain and faithless ones,  
I who made would fain unmake you,  
Satan take you for his sons.  
Kings must reign a little longer,  
Tyranny awhile must be,  
For this weak and wicked people  
Are not ready to be free.  
But your God has endless ages  
To convert this slavish seed,  
And to raise a race of free men  
Who shall be his sons indeed.  
CHARLES HOWARD FITCH.  
Dec. 9, 1904.

**THE SIMPLE LIFE.**

Simplicity is a state of mind. It dwells in the main intention of our lives. A man is simple when his chief care is the wish to be what he ought to be; that is, honestly and naturally human. And this is neither so easy

nor so impossible as one might think. At bottom it consists in putting our acts and inspirations in accordance with the law of our being, and consequently with the Eternal Intention which willeth that we should be at all. Let a flower be a flower, a swallow a swallow, a rock a rock, and let a man be a man, and not a fox, a hare, a hog, or a bird of prey: this is the sum of the whole matter. — Pastor Charles Wagner.

#### LAND NATIONALIZATION.

A private letter from W. L. Price to Bolton Hall, published with their permission.

The nationalization of land is ethically all right if it be all nationalized; but this does not seem to me the best and simplest way of reaching the result desired.

It does not seem clear that because the community is entitled to the rental value of land it is entitled to own the land itself. There seems to me to be no reason why the people collectively, more than the individuals that compose it, should hold title to the land itself. It is the individual that we have to consider, not the man-created state.

If these municipalities that own enough land to pay all the taxes, do no more than that, the benefit is very slight comparatively speaking; for the rest of the land will be speculated in (at least to a very great extent), and the fact of there being no taxes will simply make the other land more desirable, and therefore increase rent, as of course you know.

But even if all land were held by the state, the system would be inferior to the Single Tax for this reason, although it would be precisely the same thing as a tax; and is, so far as it is already taken by the state. Where the titles are left in the hands of individuals there is a natural automatic method for the adjustment and readjustment of tax (rent) value. The land is always worth more to the new man than to the old, or he thinks it is, and this haggling of the market provides this constant readjustment of values which are at once shown by such transfers and subleases. If the state has the ownership, it is upon one of the two horns of this dilemma: either it must give possession to any piece of land upon a higher bid for it, which would destroy security of possession; or it must readjust this tax (rent) upon this offer, which would open the door to all sorts of corruption.

In any case it, the tax (rent), must be arbitrarily fixed by officials rather than by the people themselves; and this

seems to be fatal to the scheme, at least as compared with Single Tax, which seems to be ultimate and just as far as the land question goes, for this reason: if we are not all altruistic the single tax scheme would see that the man using the better lot should pay the higher tax; while if we should all become altruistic the man who had the better lot would insist that he pay the difference of advantage held, over to the crowd, even if there were no system or no state.

We should not, however, oppose a movement in the direction of land nationalization or in any other socialistic direction, for probably when men have righted some of the grosser wrongs of our present system they will be forced to turn to the Law. The Law will attend to that.

The Arts and Crafts movement is very largely in the direction of hand work, which is only brain work put to the test of practice, which is only soul work, building soul for the sake of other souls. Now the Socialist proposition seems on the face of it to be the very antithesis of this idea; but suppose their Mecca were reached, and we did all the work by pushing buttons? What then? As sure as there is a soul, or something that will do instead, in man, we would turn to the doing of something worth while as the best means by which that something should grow—the only way, for there is no other way of growth than through creative thought and work, and man's very necessities and weaknesses have compelled him to become the giant that he is, and "what he shall be coth not yet appear." So I am not fighting socialists; the disease will furnish its own antitoxin, and "he also serves who stands and kicks."

#### THE NEGRO'S CAPACITY FOR BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT.

Editorial in The Freeman, of Indianapolis, for December 3, 1904.

From the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle we learn that the present owner of the "Jefferson Davis plantation," in Mississippi, is I. F. Montgomery, a colored man. He was a bright youth, and Joseph Davis, the brother of Jefferson Davis, owned him. Mr. Davis, attracted by the boy's sprightliness and good qualities, had him educated, and he was a famous pet on the plantation. He was always respectful, grateful and obedient as a bondman. He was faithful to the persons and interests of the Davis family during the war and after it. He was permitted to purchase the old plantation, and nobody objected. He has the esteem of all Missis-

sippians, and is now worth about \$300,000.

With this example before their eyes, the Mississippians ought to be able to admit that the Negro has ability to own and farm land on a large scale, as well as the white man. Also, that he may be such a good citizen as to enjoy general esteem. Now, really, would it not be safe to trust such a man with the right to vote?

Mr. Gideon B. Thompson, in his recent letters to the News, of this city, from Mississippi, mentioned the fact that some distance south of Vicksburg was a community inhabited exclusively by Negroes. They elect all the officers, collect and disburse all the taxes, and manage all the financial affairs of their town. There is no complaint of grafting, dishonesty or inefficiency, but those in charge exhibit full capacity for self-government.

Mr. Thompson mentions another case which establishes the same point. Thirty miles east of Vicksburg is the place where the celebrated battle of Champion Hill was fought, ending in the defeat of Pemberton by Grant. The battle took place on a plantation of 3,000 acres, owned by the widow Champion. After the war the place was much involved in debt, all the stock having been destroyed, the fences burned and other damage inflicted. Mrs. Champion tried to manage the place, but failed, and about 20 years ago turned all her business over to a Negro man. Since taking charge this manager has paid off \$60,000 indebtedness, restocked and improved the place, brought order out of chaos, and made his employer wealthy. Meantime he has acquired the ownership of much stock on his own account, and out of gratitude Mrs. Champion intends to give him 40 acres of land. He employs hundreds of men to work the plantation, looks after the sale of all the crops and superintends this large business with utmost integrity and ability. Gen. McGinnis, our postmaster, who commanded a brigade in the battle of Champion Hill, recently visited the scenes of his struggles, and was royally entertained by Mrs. Champion. From her he learned all about her Negro manager, and tells of him in an interview published in the News since his return to this city.

Now, does not this case fully refute the charge constantly made by Southerners that the Negro is "shiftless," has no capacity for business, and can only work under the direction of white men? Thousands of other instances might be mentioned of other Negroes in various Southern States who have accumulated property for themselves, and exhibited a high order of ability as farmers, merchants and all-round business men.

These three well-authenticated cases are mentioned because they are in the State of Mississippi, presided over by Gov. Vardaman, who insists that "the Negro is ruined by education." The truth is, many Negroes in Mississippi have proved equal to tasks where white men have failed, and that many others would do equally as well if given equal opportunities. Do we not see in this the real solution of the much discussed "race problem" in the South? Give all men equal rights before the law, a square deal in business opportunities, and the so-called problem will solve itself.

**A LITTLE MOTHER'S CHRISTMAS SHOPPING.**

A little maid of the tenements went out to do her Christmas shopping.

She was a little German girl, which meant that she must buy a present for each member of the family. It meant, also, that she did her Christmas shopping on Avenue A, between First and Eighth streets, in that exciting little village of Christmas booths which springs up there as if by magic just before Christmas every year.

The little girl of the tenements said that the explorer might go along with her while she did her shopping, and the explorer was glad to go.

She was a little mother, but she managed to leave "my baby" at home for just this one day. It is very wearing to have the baby along when one goes shopping.

She had three brothers and three sisters, counting in the baby. And her father and mother made eight to buy presents for, and she had exactly 25 cents. The explorer thought it would be profitable and interesting to watch this Christmas shopping.

The little maid had been to school and knew very well that she had three cents to spend on each one and a cent over, probably to add to her mother's present. But really, the baby would hardly need three cents. That would be extravagant for a baby, who cannot be expected to appreciate expensive presents.

Two gay little tin balls, one gilt, the other crimson, tied together with a bright cord, and rattling when they are shaken—that will please the baby, and they cost only a cent.

A candy chair, quite perfect, rounds, back and everything, catches the shopper's eye next. An Italian boy is selling them for a cent apiece. One of these will do for the next baby. He was the baby until six months ago, and he will admire the chair and then eat it.

And so there are two presents bought and only two cents gone.

There is a wine glass, too; only it

isn't wine, but only make believe, and the man selling them is telling people what a good joke it is to invite one's friends to have a drink out of it. That would please Johnny, who is big enough to see a joke. One cent for Johnny. It is wonderful how money holds out, anyway, especially in the hands of a skillful shopper who knows what things are worth.

But Mamie Rose must have her full three cents. Mamie Rose is old and critical. She knows the value of things. A doll's washbowl and pitcher—it costs three cents, but it is worth it. There is a vine painted all up and down one side of the beautiful white crockery.

A little washboard for 'Lizabeth costs only two cents. 'Lizabeth is not so critical. She will be pleased with anything one gives her.

And then a drum for the third brother costs another three cents. He must have something to make noise with, and this is the noisiest thing for the money.

Only 11 cents spent, and six presents bought. That means 14 cents to spend for father and mother. Seven cents apiece.

It is much more difficult to buy expensive presents than cheap ones! The astute little shopper hesitates and ponders long. She goes up and down the village of booths many times, and even condescends to ask the explorer's advice.

Eventually she decides on a bright, silvery thimble for her mother, cunningly imbedded in a dainty little box of its own, with plush all around it and roses on the outside of the box. She is well satisfied with this purchase, but she hesitates long over the gift for her father. Men are so hard to buy presents for.

At last she stops at a crockery booth and decides on a cup and saucer, which will do for father's coffee in the morning, for he always has coffee, it being the main part of his breakfast. The cups and saucers are ten cents. But she displays the last remnant of her funds, the nickel and the two cents clasped tightly in her little icy hand, and firmly demands the coffee cup.

Some sharp bargaining ensues. The salesman orders her to go home and get more money. But when she finally turns to go he weakens, and the cup and saucer are hers.

Eight presents, all suitable, new and welcome, and the little maid's quarter is just exactly gone.—N. Y. Sun.

**LAND VALUES OF NEW YORK. A STUDY OF THE LATEST REAL ESTATE ASSESSMENT LISTS.**

The real estate assessment lists for the city of New York have been issued,

showing the assessed value of each parcel of real estate, with the land value stated separately, also the size of lots, height of building, owner's name and location. These lists can be bought at the city hall separately for 25 cents each, one for each section or ward; for Manhattan the total cost is \$2, and for the entire city \$10.50. Every resident interested in taxation should have at least the list for his section.

As the land values are stated only as a basis of comparison and do not affect the tax, the figures have not always been changed when a reduction has been allowed. Nor are all the volumes added up, while some totals include exempt land. It is impossible to give the exact assessment of land value, without examining the tax books, and adding the entire roll. However, the total can be computed within \$20,000,000, and the following table gives in round figures the taxable land value at the lowest estimate (which is probably within \$5,000,000 of the exact amount), and the percentage to the total assessment of taxable ordinary real estate.

	Per Ct.
Manhattan borough .....	\$2,410,000,000 69
Bronx borough .....	150,000,000 67
Brooklyn borough .....	400,000,000 47
Queens .....	70,000,000 57
Richmond borough .....	20,000,000 48
New York city .....	\$3,050,000,000 62
Improvements, estimated,	\$1,681,000,000.

(The value of improvements is not officially stated, but is computed here by deducting the land value from the total realty.)

The most valuable sites are in Manhattan, as is also most of the high value land, and the assessments for that borough correspond to those for the central portion of a large city, while Brooklyn is largely a residential and manufacturing section. In Brooklyn, were it not for the vacant land, the percentage of land value would probably be only 35 per cent.)

Besides the above sum there are about \$100,000,000 of improvement values included in the special franchise assessment. If all improvements were exempted from taxation, the present total assessment of all taxable property for 1904 of \$5,640,542,657 would be reduced to \$3,858,762,963.

To raise the same amount as at present the tax rate would have to be changed as follows (omitting decimals):

	Present Rate.	New Rate.
Manhattan and Bronx .....	1.51	2.21
Brooklyn .....	1.57	2.35
Queens .....	1.57	2.31
Richmond .....	1.50	2.37

(Variations between boroughs are due to county expenses. City expenses are paid from one treasury.)

To state the change in another way: Every property owner whose land value is less than two-thirds of the total value of his real estate will be benefited. Every owner whose land is only one-third of the total value will pay but one-half the amount of tax he now pays.

Land in Manhattan, which contains about 22 square miles, has become too valuable to be used for private dwellings, except costly ones. The cheapest city lot at street grade, 25 by 100 feet, is worth \$3,000 to \$4,000. Consequently many of the older dwellings are occupying such valuable land as to be themselves practically valueless. There are rows and rows of houses where the assessments run \$8,000 for the lot and \$9,000 for the total value, when the building could not be reproduced for \$4,000. On other rows off Fifth avenue land is assessed as high as \$60,000 and the total only \$65,000. Were improvements exempted, owners of such poorly improved property would be encouraged to put up buildings suited to the site.

Lower Fifth avenue, changing from residence to commercial use, affords a striking illustration of the extent to which improvers pay the taxes of non-improvers. Adding all properties in four blocks (Eighteenth to Twenty-second streets) shows these totals for the two classes of property:

	Recently Improved.	Old Improvements.
Land value.....	\$5,980,000	\$4,007,000
Improvement value...	4,495,000	806,000
Present taxes.....	138,528	72,840
Taxes under exempt'n.	132,148	88,564

Although these recent improvements are fine modern 8 to 14-story buildings, they do not in the aggregate or in individual cases equal the value of the land on which they stand (with one exception that is only a trifle more valuable.)

Likewise, the finest office buildings, department stores and Fifth avenue residences, with rare exceptions, do not equal the value of the site on which they stand. Here are some typical high values:

	Land.	Building.
Empire Building.....	\$2,050,000	\$1,700,000
Fiat Iron Building.....	1,500,000	1,200,000
Hanover Bank.....	1,985,000	1,015,000
R. H. Macy & Co.....	3,500,000	2,800,000
Siegel & Cooper.....	2,600,000	1,500,000
864 Fifth Ave., residence..	750,000	400,000
873 Fifth Ave., residence.	100,000	100,000

And here are a few contrasts:

Broadway & Wall, 4 st'ys.	530,000	5,000
Borce; Bldg., 8 story.....	2,414,000	200,000
Fifth Ave. Hotel.....	4,000,000	500,000

This article is written as the Review is ready to go to press, and space does not permit more detailed instances of valuation of business properties. But everyone is interested to know how small homes will be affected by proposed changes in tax rates.

The following assessments are typical of large areas unaffected by abnormal speculation, and show various classes of homes in Brooklyn, with the amount of the tax now paid and the amount which would be paid were improvements exempted:

	Land.	Bldg.	Present Tax.	New Tax.
Brooklyn: Street.....			\$44	\$8
Troy.....	\$340	\$2,460	50	191
52nd Street.....	800	2,400	60	19
Moffat.....	800	3,000	79	17
Forty first.....	700	4,300	86	38
Old flats.....	1,600	3,900	139	38
New flats.....	1,600	7,200	361	70
Manhattan:				
W. 88th, residence.....	8,000	7,000	227	176
W. 88th, residence.....	12,000	18,000	460	266
Old flats.....	10,000	5,000	227	221
New flats.....	11,000	27,000	575	243

The last items show the only class of "small" houses now being built in Manhattan, and typical flats in which persons of moderate means reside.

Vacant land in the outlying districts is generally under-assessed, sometimes at less than half its value. In Brooklyn the land value of improved property has not always been carefully computed. With an exact assessment of land values it is not unlikely that personal property could be exempted as well as improvements without raising the rate above \$2.25.

But on the whole, the work of assessing has been well done, in Manhattan especially, where in most sections the values fixed for real property seem to be from 90 to 95 per cent. of the normal selling values, and the land values have been stated with care and accuracy. Despite some obvious inequalities and typographical errors in the printed lists, the tax department must be congratulated on having conscientiously complied with the spirit, as well as the letter, of the new requirement of separate assessment of land and publication of the lists.—A. C. Pleydell, in The Single Tax Review.

CHRISTIANITY AND DEMOCRACY.

A letter to a friend, a zealous Christian and an ardent Republican, from a fellow church member.

My Dear Mr. A.:—I have known you for a good many years, and have had a very sincere regard for you, based on what I have regarded as sterling honesty and integrity; but whenever we discuss the practical matters of life, I find, as in the case of too many of my friends, that your views are wholly divergent from my own, and altogether inexplicable on the basis of the common Christianity which we both believe in. We both have, I am inclined to think, a fair share of ability to recognize facts and to draw reasonable conclusions. I am sure that I try to be honest in my observation of facts and in my mental processes, and I give you

and my other friends the benefit of any doubt on that score. When therefore we come to absolutely divergent opinions, where shall we look for the explanation? There is a large and important screw loose somewhere. My own self-respect as well as the fact, for instance, that I have no difficulty in recognizing and acknowledging the shortcomings of men who are prominent in the party whose principles and policies I am more or less in sympathy with, and the further fact that I have stood ready, when that party has betrayed the confidence of the people, always to withdraw my support, have afforded me the satisfactory evidence that mine was the open mind and mine the honest and logical conclusions. Naturally I have attempted to dissect and analyze the opinions and mental processes of my friends, in the effort to discover the common sources of error, and I feel like saying to most of you, what I said to my brother, when he called my attention to the fact that President Eliot had announced his intention of supporting the Republican party, and asked if I thought President Eliot was either dishonest or ignorant. I said: "The fact that President Eliot voted for McKinley at his second election in spite of his assertion that if the administration had done the things which it had done in the Philippines, with clear intent from the beginning, it ought to be removed from power, showed that he cared less for the awful injustice and suffering in the Philippines, and the unconstitutional and revolutionary assumption of power on the part of the administration, than he cared for the possible disturbance of the 'business interests' of the country from the election of a man, whom the predatory classes had asserted to be a demagogue, but whose only demonstrable fault lay in his seeking to secure the masses of the people from the benevolent 'protection' of the classes; and I prefer to be in a class of one with my conscience and God and the moral law, than in line with any number of President Eliots in the support of so-called benevolent policies based upon criminal aggression and the denial of justice. I wish, my dear brother, you would get your facts together, brace up your mental processes, and form some opinions which will not have to be buttressed with great names."

It seems to me there is something radically wrong with the thinking of a Christian man who finds it easier to sympathize with so-called conservative or tory principles and policies, than with the everlasting principles of righteousness and justice. Of course my

conservative Christian friends deny this charge, but are they justified in their denial? They profess to be the admirers and followers of the Christ who came to earth to establish the Kingdom of Heaven; and yet they are almost uniformly to be found giving their influence, sympathy and votes to the cause which represents, not the poor, downtrodden and oppressed, or even the common everyday masses of the people, but the men who arrogate to themselves the wisdom and the virtue of the whole people, and claim that they can govern the people better than the people can govern themselves, but in fact always give two thoughts to their own interests for every one devoted to the good of the common people. With rare exceptions the ministry and the church have maintained their loyalty to every system of oppression and graft, whether slavery, land monopoly or vicious and inequitable methods of taxation, so long as they could hold up their heads in decent society. They have satisfied their consciences with charity and mercy, and have shut their eyes to justice and righteousness. They expend their energies in snatching sinners from a hell that they know very little about, the ultra conservatives from a hell that no intelligent twentieth century man believes in; and they shut their eyes to much of the injustice of the present social and industrial system, which makes life a veritable hell on earth for so many of the victims. Tell the average, prosperous and self-satisfied Christian man about these unfortunates and he will assure you that they are the victims of their own vicious habits. The Sunday before the last McKinley election, with a country friend I went to hear the pastor of the Wesley M. E. church. In his prayer he showed his loyalty to the conservative interests by praying that "the country might be saved from the domination of the unworthy discontented." If there is not a hell for that kind of Christians, it will be because justice is very largely tempered with mercy. But I am not sure that Dr. M. is not fairly representative of the average, smug, pious and prosperous churchman. My own observation and experience look strongly in that direction.

I take it that the chief mission of Christ on earth was to make men conscious of a common brotherhood as well as of a common sonship. How long do you think it will take to bring about such a state of mind on the part of the laboring masses, while the great body of the professed representatives of the Christ throw all their influence in

the direction of making more pronounced the chasm between the masses and the classes? Of course you do not admit that as a fact, but it is largely true.

I think I once heard you say that you would never vote for a Democrat, since such a vote was always a vote for rum and Romanism. You lately remarked that the Democratic party has no statesmen. Both remarks were unworthy of a man of your intelligence, and yet the average churchman and the average citizen in the ranks of your party would probably say amen to them. You call that man a statesman who successfully reaches high station by taking advantage of the ignorance and greed of men, and succeeds in "doing things" by keeping himself in touch with and loyal to the powers that prey upon society. The man who unselfishly, uncompromisingly seeks to secure to the people, the common people, the whole people, equal rights before the law, you denounce as a demagogue, or at the best damn with faint praise (and very faint). So long as you and men like you continue in this attitude of subserviency to vested rights, to special and protected interests, so long will you be a practical atheist in the eyes of every man of democratic instincts and discerning mind, since to such men, and they are the representatives of the toiling masses, such a Christianity is simply unthinkable. No amount of religious profession and zeal will take the place of loyalty to God's common people. Dr. George A. Gordon says that while the doctrine of human brotherhood was distinctly stated by Christ, it was contained in prevalent Christianity only as a latent element until the last 100 years. Another writer declares that the reformation of Christianity during the past 30 years has been greater than that of Luther, since the former is a change in the spirit, while Luther's reformation was largely of the letter. It has always seemed to me that the men who have so much distrust of and are so free to condemn the Catholic church, are as truly lacking in the spirit of human brotherhood, in which the Catholic church has long led the Protestant, as they are lagging behind in their apprehension of a reasonable Christian theology.

Here, then, I believe is the trouble with the average Christian man, the man who always disagrees with the political theories and principles which appeal to me as the only reasonable and correct ones. He has been trained to believe in a theology which represents the Almighty as having placed untold

millions of men upon the earth with the distinct knowledge and purpose that a large part of them would, either through ignorance of a way of escape, or through a perverse spirit, inherited or acquired, be subjected to some kind of suffering through the endless ages of eternity; that God has done this for his own pleasure; and finally (as we all believe) that man can only find salvation through the benevolence and mercy of God. Such a conception of God as a fiendish tyrant simply incapacitates the individual holding it from a reasonable appreciation of the overwhelming importance, in any system involving the relations of man to his fellows or to his creator, of justice as the primary, essential and fundamental fact. Mercy and charity have no place as fundamentals in such a system. Their only place is in the mitigation of the results of injustice. The first fruit of love is and must be simple justice.

Theologians have done all in their power to send the race to perdition by their irrational conception of the Almighty and their libelous treatment of man; and to-day quack sociologists by their attempts to substitute various forms of benevolence in the place of justice, and by formulating theories of the rights of man on the basis of that iniquitous substitution, have done and are doing all in their power to stupefy the conscience of the social pirate, and to perpetuate the conditions which render social piracy possible.

I am willing to concede that an honest and intelligent man may believe, as thousands of such men have believed, that God is at once selfish and tyrannical and unjust, and at the same time actuated by love, mercy and benevolence; that with such a belief as a basis, he could believe in the divine right of kings, in the righteousness of the dominion of the strong over the weak, of the rich over the poor, of the wise over the simple, and, as a matter of course, of the good and respectable over the less fortunate.

I do not understand how, and I most emphatically deny that a sincere believer in the person, the religion and the ethics of Jesus Christ, can entertain such opinions, unless the foundations of his mental machinery are so warped that his mind is incapable of responding to the reductionem ad absurdum. Most sincerely and faithfully yours,

EDWARD J. BROWN.  
Minneapolis, Minn., Nov. 11, 1904.

The Rock Island depot master at Topeka is a roaring Democrat—about the only one connected with that road's

service at the Kansas capital. The day after the election one of the conductors dropped off his train at the depot and said: "Hello, Jim! You voted for Roosevelt yesterday, didn't you?" "Not by a blankety blank sight!" said Jim, with bristling indignation. "Well, somebody did," said the conductor, as he swung on the train; "I thought maybe it was you."—Kansas City Journal.

#### A KNOCK FOR "TEDDY."

For The Public.

Hark! Teddy, bold and free,  
Hark! Opportunity  
Knocks at thy door—  
Nay, more;  
She gravely waits on thee,  
What may thy pleasure be?

Hall, Teddy, bold and free,  
Hall Opportunity—  
Nay, bid her enter in,  
That thou mayst win,  
Perse,  
A crowning victory.

Hark! Teddy, bold and free,  
Hark! Opportunity  
Knocks at thy door  
As ne'er before,  
What may thy pleasure be?  
Ah, Teddy, bold and free,  
Wilt face the common WE,  
Who bid thee lead the way,  
And yet, who—watch and pray?

J. S. THOMASON.

Women in a Massachusetts town actually have compelled the street railroad company to increase the number of cars at busy hours by refusing to pay fares when they could get no seats. There are some things that women can do better than men.—Buffalo Express.

Rojestvensky, tell us whensky

You will make our place your goal;  
And we'll hike ski down the pikeski  
And pick out a bombproof hole.

—Louisville Courier-Journal.

## BOOKS

### HUMANIZED ESSAYS.

He who reads stories for the story alone, will be economical of praise if he gives his honest opinion of "A Little Fountain of Life" (Chicago, New York and London; Rand, McNally & Co.), by Marion Foster Washburne; for the story is subordinated throughout to the wholesome lesson it is designed to exemplify. But read as an essay on the influence of spiritual equilibrium upon bodily health, the book is human and interesting, as well as uplifting.

It really is an essay in the form of a story which outlines a sectional view of certain contrasts in city life. If the story fails as a story it is not for lack of literary art, but because by presenting just a sectional view it offers something like an artistic architectural rather than an artistic perspective picture of the events and characters that fig-

ure in it. A rich young woman, with nothing to do, but foster a subtly selfish spirit which in turn expresses itself in a mysterious and unyielding nervous debilitation, has the good fortune, after many experiments, to come under the professional charge of a physician who understands how to minister to a mind diseased, and who cures his patient by awakening her interest in some of the victims of the kind of social selfishness of which she and her "set" are individual examples. Among the characters that pass through this story—just a little like human beings of only two dimensions; which is correct for a sectional view, but would not do for perspective—are several quaint denizens of the slums, besides the wise doctor, the plutocratic father of his patient, her meek and foolish mother, and a waif of a babe which finds no place in this great big world whereon to rest its trespassing little feet.

Another of Mrs. Washburne's volumes, "Early Day Essays" (same publishers), which stands forth unabashed in its true character as a collection of essays, is a fine example of this author's mastery of the light and inviting yet invigorating essay. She frequently avails herself of the story form, but for the sake of making the idea concrete rather than of enabling some idler with the reading disease to while away another useless hour. It is in the keen but good natured comments which a little incident or a little sample of individuality personified enables her to make, that Mrs. Washburne's pen flashes.

And there is much opportunity for this brilliant comment in such a collection of humanized essays as "Every Morning's Comedy" in the household; "Mother and Child," in which there is a husband, too; "The Day When Everything Went Wrong," and "Aunt Catharine's Busy Day."

What makes Mrs. Washburne's work so delightful is that she is always serious but never solemn, always jolly but never frivolous, always optimistic but never superficially so. She tells things, moreover, as they appear to her and not as somebody else may think they ought to appear. In "Coming Down in the World," for instance, she offers no sacrifice on the shrine of conventional pretense, but comes promptly out with the confession that—

It is easier to bear success than to bear failure. There are those who, in theory, doubt this statement; but in practice everyone is eagerly willing to assume whatever burdens success may impose. To succeed is to put a certain polish on the cheapest word. Although the coarse grain may be chiefly thrown into relief, some one is sure to admire it, and it has to any eye a certain force and individuality. Failure, on the contrary, dims all that it touches. The whole world questions the value of the man whose outlines are blurred by it. Everyone knows why he has failed, and nearly everyone tells him so. A dozen times a day, while the wound is fresh, zealous friends drench it with mustard. He winces

—and this is, to them, another evidence of weakness. The worst of the pain lies in the pride that will not die at once—that, far from accepting these friendly diagnoses, has quite another explanation to offer.

Mrs. Washburne's preaching is so sound in substance, so attractively witty and humorous in form, so gentle yet vital in spirit, and withal so much needed in our literary wilderness of aimless stories and vapid essays, that her books should find ready acceptance among readers who are weary of all this deluge of tomfoolery.

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

—"Chante Communal." By Horace Traubel. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. To be reviewed.

—"Citizenship (Series of Ethics for the Young)." By Walter L. Sheldon. Chicago: W. M. Welch Company. Price, \$1.25.

—"Duties in the Home (Series of Ethics for the Young)." By Walter L. Sheldon. Chicago: W. M. Welch Company. Price, \$1.25.

—"The Supremacy of Jesus." By Joseph W. Crooker. Boston: American Unitarian Association. Price, 90 cents net. To be reviewed.

—"Pillars of the Temple." By Minot J. Savage. Boston: American Unitarian Association. Price, 90 cents net. To be reviewed.

—"Arbitration and the Hague Court." By John W. Foster. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, \$1 net. To be reviewed.

—"John Gilley; Maine Farmer and Fisherman." By Charles W. Elliot. Boston: American Unitarian Association. Price, 60 cents net. To be reviewed.

—"Under Other Flags. Travels, Lectures, Speeches." By William Jennings Bryan. Lincoln, Neb.: The Woodruff-Colins Printing Company. To be reviewed.

—"Rebels of the New South." By Walter Marlon Raymond. Illustrations by Percy Bertram Ball. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company. Price, \$1.00. To be reviewed.

—"The Struggle for Existence." By Walter Thomas Mills, A. M. Chicago: International School of Social Economy, Masonic Temple. Price, \$2.50, postpaid. To be reviewed.

—"The Wandering Host." By David Starr Jordan, President of Leand Stanford University. Boston: American Unitarian Association. Price, 90 cents net. To be reviewed.

—"Mrs. Maybrick's Own Story. My Fifteen Lost Years." By Florence Elizabeth Maybrick. New York and London: Funk and Wagnall's Company. Price, \$1.20 net. To be reviewed.

—"The Touch of Nature: Little Stories of Great Peoples." Retold by Augustus Mendon Lord. With illustrations by Edith Cleaves Barry. Boston: American Unitarian Association. Price, \$1 net. To be reviewed.

—"Monkey Shines. Little Stories for Little Children." By Bolton Hall, author of "The Game of Life," "Things as They Are," etc. With 22 illustrations by Leon Foster Jones. New York: A. Wessels Company. Price, \$1.00. To be reviewed.

### PAMPHLETS.

Gen. Henry E. Tremain's campaign pamphlet, "Parker's Question Answered," (Bonnell, Silver & Bowers, 48 West Twenty-second street), is of more than campaign importance. Though marred by touches of indiscriminate partisan prejudice, it makes one fact very clear—the fact that some of the Southern States are controlled by an oligarchy which not only dominates the local population, white and black, but thereby secures inordinate political power in the nation. When, for instance, the average vote for Congressmen in the eight dis-



tricts of Mississippi is only 2,257 per district. Gen. Tremain is justified in saying public opinion on questions of government does not determine elections in that State. And he is right when he denounces this custom as oligarchical and not democratic.

**PERIODICALS.**

Some 80 pages of the Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor for November are devoted to the subject of Building and Loan Associations in the United States.

The fourth in a series of nine papers by Frederic Austin Ogg, on "Social Progress in Europe," appears in the December Chautauquan. It describes the Era of Social Speculation and Experiment.

The United States Daily, published at Detroit, and of which Willis J. Abbot is editor, makes a unique application of the trading stamp device. Its trading stamp is printed in red on the right hand corner of the first page, and is a valuable asset to the holder. Full explanations are given in the paper. The editorial policy is not exactly what Mr. Cleveland would call "safe and sane."

Dr. M. R. Levenson, of Brooklyn, has a four-column article on the Single Tax in the Nebraska Independent, of November 24, restating with force and clearness certain fundamental principles.

Like many writers on the subject, Dr. Levenson criticises the term single tax, but, like others, he bows to common usage. The article is well worth reading, in spite of the fact that some of the conclusions at the end may seem to the reader remote and unnecessary. J. H. D.

C. E. S. Wood's article on railroads, in the Pacific Monthly (Portland) for December, presents the individualistic view of the railroad problem with Col. Woods' characteristic independence of thought and simplicity of statement. Except that he seems to treat the right of way as private property subject to regulation, instead of regarding it as an open public highway subject to competitive use, his argument stands good and strong for the latter theory of railroad operation.

The article by ex-Congressman John DeWitt Warner, which appears in the Cornell Alumni News under the title "Simplicity and Economy in Student Life," is an earnest and intelligent call for lower expenditures and higher educational ideals in college life. It notes that the expense of student life at Cornell is 50 per cent. greater than before 1885, and that of this at least 33 1-3 per cent. is not justified by the cost of anything that students ought to find it worth their while to buy.

Speaking of John Morley's parting

speech, the Nation, of December 1, says: "He confessed that, out of the 22 years during which he has given up to public life what was meant for literature, he has been for 18 years in the minority. What an acknowledgment to make to an audience worshipping success!" Yet, as the Nation says, there is no sourness in his words. He recognizes the fact that there are two meanings to success, and that there is truth in the saying that "the history of success is the history of minorities." J. H. D.

The report to the general convention of the Episcopal church of the commission on the relations of capital and labor, is outspoken and decisive on one point. "This report," says the commission, "is designedly general in its terms, but there is one matter which we are constrained to commend in particular to the consciences of Christian people. We do not undertake to say how much of the blame of child labor belongs to the employer or how much to the parent. But we do say this: That the employment of children in factories and mills depresses wages, destroys homes and depreciates the human stock." The report, together with other allusions to social problems at the convention, is printed in the November issue of Hammer and Pen (New York). J. H. D.

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*J.W. Bentley*

#### FARMER AND PLUTOCRAT.

*Farmer*—Look here, what do you mean by telling me that taxation of land-values would hurt the farmers? The land in these two cities alone is worth more than all the farms in the country!

*Plutocrat*—Come away—that's very injurious reading matter for simple minds like yours!

ture," by Murray E. King, leads in the International Socialist Review (Chicago) for December. Its chief significance is the evidence it gives of the growing tendency of the time away from bald materialism. Although it asserts the doctrine that might is right as the philosophy of socialism, it proceeds, in "horse-chestnut-ergo-chestnut-horse" fashion, to demonstrate that right is might, and so to identify socialism with morality. Even more, it seriously realizes the old satire that if there were no God man would soon make one, by declaring that "God is in the making," and explains that "the will of man, freed out of the elemental reactions of the universe divine, is turning to the making of God." The central criticism of Mr. King's really strong and valuable paper is that it puts last things first—might before right, and man before God, right being created by might and God by man. This inversion, however, is in harmony with the whole philosophy of scientific socialism. Mr. Simons, the able editor of the Review, points to the lessons of the socialist vote. His paper will be more valuable for comparison four years hence than it is for guidance now; but the

inferences he draws are moderate and reasonable enough, considered simply as speculations.

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