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Intelligent observers of the Chicago traction controversy (p. 521) must suspect, if they do not fully realize, that much of the battling between the Union Traction company and the other companies is a contest of two large financial interests, to both of which the public interests of the city are only a shuttlecock in the game.

On one side or the other are several of the local newspapers, a coterie of corporation lawyers, the large business grafters of the city, business grafters of the East, and some members of the local transportation committee of the city council.

The animus of the local "business" interests was pretty frankly disclosed by an editorial in the Chicago Tribune of the 23d, which openly and justly attacked the Union Traction Company, but covertly urged the cause of the grafting interests of the other side of this financial fight. The following quotation from that inspired editorial is significant:

The city . . . wants more compensation for franchise privileges. It wants to deal with a company which is able, etc., etc.

There is in fact no indication that the people of Chicago want compensation for the municipal treasury, which is what the Tribune means by "compensation for franchise privileges." Only the real estate tax dodgers have manifested any wish for treasury compensation from street franchises. On the other hand, every referendum expression of popular opin-

ion has indicated emphatically that the people are opposed to franchises, whether with or without compensation. Every such expression has indicated, moreover, that the people do not wish to deal any longer with any company. They are tired of farming out the public function of street car service. After experimenting with it for nearly half a century they have found it distressingly inadequate and extremely expensive. Its policy has been plunder for the stockholders and bad service for the people, and there is no reason for believing that this policy would be altered in the future.

The Tribune realizes it all. So do all the other agencies of the local devotees of frenzied finance who are trying to extend this discredited experiment through another term, ranging from 13 years to 20, or 40, or indefinitely. They prove they know it by their pretense of ignoring the several referendum votes which have been cast in protest against a continuance of the wretched experiment. In still another way do these local financial schemers prove their disingenuousness. They are quietly arranging in their clubs for such city nominations next Spring as will give the victory to them no matter which set of candidates may lose.

On the Republican side they are maneuvering for the nomination for Mayor of either Mr. Foreman or Mr. Harlan. The former is a pliant tool of the financial interests; the latter, though not a tool, holds opinions regarding public utilities which are a guarantee of his support of the business grafters' programme. That programme is therefore secure, no matter which Republican faction wins. On the Democratic side Mr. Wacker has been picked out by the finan-

cial interests. Mr. Wacker is a plutocratic Democrat,—the very kind of Democrat whom the Democratic voters of Chicago rebuked last Fall with an adverse plurality of 100,000. He would almost certainly be defeated. But if he were to win, the traction companies would win with him. With Wacker at the head of the Democratic ticket, and either Foreman or Harlan at the head of the Republican ticket, a settlement franchise, with all its possibilities of perpetuating corporation control of Chicago's streets, would be assured, no matter how the people might vote on the matter directly as a referendum issue at the same election. This is the plan upon which the traction interests rely for defeating the popular purpose.

And that plan will succeed unless the opponents of corporate control meet it with the same degree of vigor, unity and common sense with which it is being promoted. If labor organizations insist upon a distinctively labor candidate for mayor, as a class candidate, they will play into the hands of the corporation grafters. If any anti-corporation Democratic candidate whose merits must be proved to the people at large, is put forward against Wacker, that also will play into the hands of the corporations. There is one way and only one to meet this very serious situation. It is to bring all the anti-corporation strength of the Democratic party to bear at the Democratic primaries in support of a candidate whose very name is a guarantee of purpose to prevent corporate control and of ability to execute the purpose. He must be a man whose name will not only attract Democratic anti-corporationists at the primaries, but those of all parties, regardless of their class or personal sympathies, at the election. He must be a man whose election will mean

to the public mind the defeat of the corporations and their traction schemes.

If there is such a man, no class prejudices, nor personal friendships or ambitions on the part of believers in municipal ownership, should stand in the way of calling him into service; and no considerations of personal comfort or advantage of any kind should deter him from accepting the call. That there is just such a man—perhaps the only man who at this particular juncture fully meets the necessities of the case—every intelligent voter in Chicago knows. Those who oppose the schemes of the traction corporations know it; those who favor those schemes know it equally well. As the latter do not hesitate to name him, neither should the former. Against the possibility of the candidacy of Edward F. Dunne the traction interests are already erecting defenses. They object, for instance, to his making himself a candidate for mayor while a member of the judiciary. But whether that objection is good need not be discussed. There is no reason why Judge Dunne should make himself a candidate for mayor. The question is not whether he wants to be mayor, but whether he is wanted for mayor.

If Judge Dunne is willing to allow the people to vote for him in case the Democrats nominate him, and to perform the functions of the office if chosen, that is enough. Whoever objects to such a candidacy objects to the wholesome doctrine that the office should seek the man and not the man the office. It would be much better if in our politics men were commonly called into the public service in this way, whether from private life or from one office to another. The present fashion of electing only office seekers is a bad one.

There is an opportunity in Chicago now to set a good example in that respect at the primaries. Let the Democrats at their primaries invite Judge Dunne to be

their candidate for mayor; let the people at the election invite him to be their mayor; and let him, upon his election, leave the office to which they have called him heretofore and take the office to which they call him now. This would be distinctly in the line of civic duty. The candidacy would not be an office-seeking matter. It would therefore be raised above all sincere or well-founded objections to judges becoming candidates.

This would be a case in which the office seeks the man. It would be in the public interest. It would be a most desirable innovation. And no one would object but the traction pirates, whom, as everybody knows and none better than they, Judge Dunne, if mayor, would drive away from their expected plunder.

Wholly apart from all other considerations, good street car service in Chicago depends upon some such course. Should traction interests win at this election, we should have extended franchises and renewed promises of good service; but we should not get good service. Let the experience of the past be our witness. And by some such course as this, and only so, can the Democrats hope to gain the municipal election. By this course they can gain it. After nearly 50 years of bad service by corporations which perennially promise better things but never perform them, the majority of the people of Chicago are not fools enough to vote for another corporation promise if they have an opportunity to vote against it. They are pretty well convinced by this time that good and economical service can be got only through municipal ownership and operation. Convince them that the candidate of either party stands for that reform, and stands for its immediate adoption, and they are numerous enough to give the election easily to that party.

There is something startling about the unanimity with which railroad magnates approve

President Roosevelt's elaborate scheme for regulating railroad traffic and legalizing pooling. Can it be that Paul Morton's place in the cabinet has anything to do with it all? He has "consented," it will be remembered, to remain in this body of Presidential advisers for the purpose of assisting in the good work of shackling railroad cunning. A most excellent thing, for this is a species of cunning with which Mr. Morton is thoroughly familiar. He has been a business and political protegee of Mr. E. P. Ripley, president of the Santa Fe, and in that association he doubtless learned much.

But how does Mr. Morton happen to have got into the President's cabinet at such a critical juncture for railroad interests? He is a son of the late J. Sterling Morton, who was one of President Cleveland's official household and a Democrat by political profession. Through the elder Morton's connection with railroad interests, his son Paul secured opportunity for utilizing his talents as traffic manager of the Santa Fe. Like his father, Paul was a lifelong Democrat by political profession. He remained a Democrat, nominally at any rate, until a short time prior to the late election, when his change of political allegiance to the Republican party was ostentatiously announced. Just why this announcement was made, was not immediately clear; for Mr. Morton had never been conspicuous in politics. He had no political prestige whatever nor any political following, and his change of party was utterly without public interest. But hardly had the announcement been well circulated, when the reason for it transpired. President Roosevelt needed him in a Republican cabinet as a Republican secretary of the navy. The reason for his particular appointment, like the reason for announcing his change of politics, was not clear at the time. Mr. Morton had no knowledge of naval affairs. Since the election, however, this mystery also has been

explained. Mr. Morton is in the cabinet as secretary of the navy not so much for naval purposes as for the purpose of establishing a cordial understanding between the President and the railway magnates.

But Mr. Morton's official life is still enveloped in mystery. Although his change of party was cynically explained by his appointment to office, and his naval rank somewhat incongruously by his abilities as manager of railway traffic, there is as yet no explanation of his personal sacrifice in the matter. For Mr. Morton has given up a railway salary of \$25,000 to take a government salary of \$8,000. Is this difference the price of gratifying an unwonted political ambition? Or is the sacrifice an act of patriotic devotion, analogous in the walks of peace to the sacrifices of battlefield heroes? If Mr. Morton is too modest to confess such extraordinary devotion, some of his admirers should do a little virtuous boasting for him. But what if this relinquishment of the difference between a large salary and a small one is neither a patriotic sacrifice nor the price of a political bauble? What if the financial loss is in some way financially covered? Should that be so, who is to be reimbursed and how? Mr. Morton possesses the confidence of the railroad magnates; have they thought it well to have such a representative near the wielder of the big stick—that unswerving wielder who sometimes swerves? These are only questions, to be sure. But as the facts suggest such questions, the people will do well to watch, with a very great watchfulness, Mr. Roosevelt's overtures to the railroads for regulating railroad traffic and authorizing pools.

Almost frantic in their efforts to throw upon democratic Democrats the burden of responsibility for the overwhelming defeat of the Democratic party under plutocratic control and with plutocratic candidates for President

and Vice-President, plutocratic Democrats are attributing this defeat in part to what the New York World describes as a "mass of clotted nonsense" in the platform, the clotted nonsense being the platform declaration that "protection is robbery." On that point the World fairly represented the whole brood of Democratic protectionists, when it said, in its issue of the 1st, that the majority of Democrats do not believe it and never believed it, and that in its opinion no Democratic Congress would pass a strictly free trade revenue measure. As the tariff question—involving as it does the essential principle of freedom of contract, untrammelled commerce, unobstructed manufacturing, unmonopolized transportation, unrestricted employment, and business freedom generally,—is the really vital question in our national politics, this attitude of plutocratic Democrats is an important consideration with reference to the Democratic party's future.

The assumption that no earnest purpose stood behind those brave words in the St. Louis platform doubtless accounts for the refusal of many free traders to vote for Judge Parker. If no principles were involved and the difference between the parties was only one of percentages, no wonder that apathy chilled the Presidential canvass. On a question of right and wrong, human pulses may be stirred; but whether a man shall be privileged by government to take a smaller or a larger part of the people's earnings from them in the form of a tariff tax, is an issue which affords little scope for enthusiasm. Under the circumstances, therefore, it was not strange that the nation preferred a candidate with definite avowals, to the estimable but indefinite Judge who was warmed into life only at the campaign's end.

If protection is not robbery, to what species of appropriation does it belong? If it is wrong for tariff to shelter a monopoly or trust, as tariff tinkers concede,

why is it right for tariff to shelter single individuals, engaged in occupations which enforce tribute from their fellow citizens? Is morality a question of numbers? If not, why is it immoral for the trust to pillage helpless consumers? If the kind of democracy which is cherished by those who condemn the candid anti-protection declaration of the St. Louis platform is the kind that was represented by the Democratic party in the recent campaign, then the overwhelming defeat of the party was richly merited. It was in that case a plutocratic combination with an alias,—its most urgent need the grave-digger.

True democrats who are enrolled in the Democratic party, the democratic Democrats, will decline to accept the dictum of those for whom the World speaks in this matter. They will rather subscribe to the vigorous statement of Henry Watterson, that "next after the institution of African slavery, for which the South was no more responsible than the North, the protective tariff is the most monstrous instrument of classism and greed, of legalized robbery, jobbery and corruption, which the rapacity of man and the malice of Satan have ever devised to degrade and torture humankind." The assumption that no Democratic Congress would pass a strictly free trade revenue measure is a matter upon which men may reasonably differ. Popular opinion determines what a Congress in power will do, and free trade popular opinion is fast making. Such editorials as that in the World are reminiscent of the Tory editorials of England when Cobden and Bright sought to emancipate their countrymen from protection robbery. Yet a Tory prime minister eventually executed the commands of the unpopular "fanatics." So in this country popular feeling is beginning to revolt at protection, and to demand the total extermination of this scheme of spoliation which wears the mask of a benevolent name.

Some of the exposures in Lawson's January installment of "Frenzied Finance," corroborated as they are by several of the implicated persons, may well lead one to ask whether government has not gone clear beyond its legitimate limitations, in undertaking to adjust private quarrels and to farm out its own functions through franchises. Would it not be far better if it confined its activities to the maintenance of public order, the regulation of land tenures, inclusive of highways, and the collection of the common revenues? This would cut out corporate charters, private monopolies, and public debt-collecting. It would leave individuals, where they should be left, to deal with one another on the basis of personal integrity. And why not? Why utilize public functions for the furtherance of rascally private schemes? Why not leave the rascals, little and big, to swindle one another to their hearts' content, until each comes to distrust the rest and swindling ceases to pay?

Not often are land speculators as candid in their operations as is a New York investment company of which Senator Depew is a director. In its advertisements it invites the investment of hundreds now in vacant lots which "will become thousands within the next few years," and then naively urges: "If you are open-minded and want to get ahead, let us tell you what the expenditure of over \$350,000,000 is doing for those who have intelligence and foresight, and"—mind this, now—"plant where others will till and you reap." Planting is euphemistic, of course; it doesn't mean seed-planting in the ground either literally or metaphorically, but money-planting in the promoters' office. The tilling and reaping, however, are in a way quite literal. And that is the trouble with industrial affairs. There is too much reaping by some where others till, and consequently too little reaping by the tillers themselves. Senator Depew's company has truly found the explana-

tion. There is only one way, fundamentally, of reaping where others till, and that is by owning the natural tillage place.

Some newspaper comments on the recent promotion of an active gentleman from the management of the harvester trust to the management of one of the subsidiary steel trusts, are not of a kind to stimulate moral progress. This man is described as successful, and his success is ascribed to his having been always busy. What he was busy at seems to cut no figure; his example is commended to the youth of the land absolutely without reference to the object or character of his incessant activity. Take, for instance, this reflection upon the matter by the Chicago Tribune:

The degree of a man's success, whether in money getting, or writing, or scanning the heavens for new stars, or running for office, usually depends a good deal more upon the assiduity with which he plies his trade than upon his opportunities or natural talents. . . . The successful man is usually busy, and the busy man is usually successful.

Every word of that would apply as well to a burglar, a forger, a sneak thief, or a political grafter, as to an honest worker. With a change of the personal pronoun to the feminine form, it would have applied as well three months ago to Mrs. Chadwick as it does to-day to the man whose success inspired the reflection. This does not imply that the activity of that active gentleman has not been well directed. He is possibly as useful as he is busy. Nevertheless, it is to be observed that big salaried heads of trusts, such as he, are usually selected less for their productive than for their appropriative skill.

With the death of Clinton Furbish, which occurred in New York on Christmas, there passed away a remarkable man. Mr. Furbish was intensely political in his tastes and associations, and, although never a candidate for elective office and but once an office-

holder, was widely intimate with public men. His participation in political movements dated back to the Free Soil convention at Pittsburg in 1852. He was an active Republican until the Greenback party, with Peter Cooper at its head, came into politics in 1876. For this party Mr. Furbish was one of the most effective stump speakers; and he never abandoned its doctrines, although he subsequently supplemented them with the land-tenure doctrines of Henry George, of whom he was a personal friend, and in whose campaign for mayor of Greater New York in 1897 he was a worker and adviser. With Mr. George he had become a supporter of Cleveland in 1888; and in 1892, having meantime engaged in journalism in Chicago, he was Ben T. Cable's chief assistant in managing the Western branch of Cleveland's third campaign. It was as a result of effective political work in this connection that Mr. Furbish became chief of the Bureau of American Republics at Washington, an office which he vacated soon after the close of Cleveland's administration. Although thus closely associated officially with the administration of President Cleveland when the influence of that administration was exerted against the election of Bryan, Mr. Furbish made speeches in the campaign of 1896 both in support of Bryan and of the bimetallic theory of money for which Bryan stood. To Mr. Furbish, however, bimetallicism was less attractive in itself than as a step toward the greenback doctrines which he had never relinquished. By occupation he was a patent expert, and after his retirement from office he pursued this vocation until his death. As a newspaper man, Mr. Furbish's principal work was done on the Chicago News and the Chicago Times, as editorial writer, and for the Chicago Leader, a weekly political review of which he was editor in the early 90's. A man of tireless industry, of inexhaustible resource, and of singular devotion to his convictions, Mr. Furbish was also a man of notable loyalty to his friendships.

### POTENTIAL COMPETITION AND THE TRUSTS.

A superficial concept of economic law is apparent in most of the current discussions of industrial affairs. Writers, having a general idea of the nature of competition, and no knowledge whatever of the essential conditions of monopoly, rush into the controversial arena with an assurance that kindles enthusiastic emulation in shallow thinkers, who, perceiving how easy it is, hasten to contribute their quota of misinformation to the general chaos that broods over the field of economic speculation.

More or less of this is to be expected as a matter of course; and it could be borne with patience, if it were not for the well-grounded suspicion that learned men, who probably know better, contrive to perpetuate it, for it is a deplorable fact that some of our foremost educators, preachers and editors give expression to views as amazingly puerile, as palpably invalid, as those of the veriest tyro, whose adequate incentive to literary endeavor is the poor hope of seeing his name in print.

Perhaps this is an uncharitable position to take; but the only alternative is to ascribe inexcusable ignorance of economic law, to men who are justly famed for their general erudition.

We have heard much of "public opinion" as a potential modifier of economic error. But, unfortunately, many of the foremost exploiters of this "remedy" discourage the evolution of public opinion beyond the point of mere impotent expression. For instance, they acknowledge the authority of existing statute laws, that make inequity possible, while protesting against any proposed attempt at amelioration by means of further enactments! They are willing to devote the trusts to the hazard of public disapproval, but not to the impediment of specific law. They would block the annulment of existing law by virtue of which alone the trust exists, and, leaving the trust based upon and buttressed by law, require the public to defend itself from exploitation by means of moral suasion! For how else can public opinion become effective, if its power of inducing legislation be denied?

Monopoly is a creature of legislation. How could a monopoly exist if its power was not confirmed and protected by law? If it were not for legislation no man could own a piece of land. Public opinion has resulted in legislation which secures private ownership of the source of raw materials—land. Is there any valid objection to such legislation? Public opinion has resulted in legislation that puts a higher tax upon some valuable lands than upon some other lands of less value—legislation based on difference in land values. Is there any valid objection to such legislation? Would there be any objection to legislative relief in a case where altered conditions worked flagrant injustice to the owners of land? Suppose, for instance, that a rich and highly taxed mineral tract becomes exhausted; would any sane man object to a reduction of the rate of taxation to square with the changed conditions? Of course not. Conversely, suppose that a rich mine be discovered on an old farm; could any man show just cause why the rate of taxation should not be advanced in this case? Of course not. If, then, the common sense of mankind agrees as to cases in general, how are we to account for the disagreement in the particular case of the trust? If we resort to legislation as a matter of course in 99 cases, why stick at the one hundredth? And the one hundredth case being that of the trust, what are we to think of the man who in precisely this case, and nowhere else, rises up to dissuade society from its customary recourse to legislation as a remedy for what he admits to be an evil?

What stronger evidence of the impotency of public opinion, *per se*, could be adduced than that in relation to the anthracite coal monopoly during the strike? Public opinion was intense, and practically all one way; but it had no effect whatever toward curbing the rapacity of the trust, which, on the contrary, insolently defied public opinion—and existing law, as well, it is alleged—and, in the face of a universal storm of indignant, righteous protest, advanced the price of coal beyond anything that had been known before. If practically unanimous public opinion, roused to the high-

est tension, short of revolution, was followed by the levy of an increased tribute against the public, would not the public, shorn of legislative relief, better keep its opinion to itself? So much for the effectiveness of public opinion, alone, as a remedy for the trust evil!

The public has two arms for defense: The one is legislation, the other, revolution. Public opinion expresses itself effectively only when it strikes with the one or the other of these; and it never strikes with the latter till the former is crippled. Is he a friend of peace who would cripple legislation?

There is another economic sophism, now much in vogue, that is far more dangerous than the one we have considered above, because it is infinitely less obvious, and, therefore, lends itself more readily to the uses of mystification and deceit.

Potential competition is heralded as an effective checkmate of monopoly by men who, in virtue of their social or professional standing, enjoy a large measure of public confidence. While it is difficult to believe in the sincerity of the exploiter of public opinion as a trust remedy—its absurdity being so manifest—it is not to be wondered at that thinkers of the first class, who, however, have not made a special and profound study of political economy, should fail to apprehend the limitations of competition.

The great majority of business men, forever struggling, as they are, against the buffetings of strenuous competition, entertain a nebulous notion that, somehow, some time, that same alert, aggressive principle of competition will find out the trusts, and reduce them, one and all, to the level of the common lot. True, there are some who see more clearly than the majority; but even these, for the most part, postulate the practically inexhaustible resources of nature as the ground of their hope.

The Chicago Record-Herald, of August 2, said, editorially, that President Schurman, of Cornell university, "sees great possibilities of evil in the power that the trusts possess to make the public pay exorbitant prices. He has little confidence in legislation as a remedy for trust evils, believing

that the cure can be safely left to public opinion, and to the influence of potential competition, which are, he says, 'the only two effective regulators.'"

The Record-Herald, after pointing out the ludicrousness of the public opinion "remedy," unsupported by legislation, also reads President Schurman a lesson that he ought to have learned in the A, B, C class in economics, namely, that "competition cannot be effective except where industrial conditions give it free play, and these conditions must often be established by legislation."

Intelligent readers generally will agree to this position of the Record-Herald. But what are the industrial conditions necessary to the free play of competition? Manifestly they are conditions under which the natural opportunity to compete is the same to all men. If the laws are such that one man, or some men can secure to themselves natural opportunity from which the rest of society is excluded, we have not potential competition, but potential monopoly. For inequality of natural opportunity is the basic principle of monopoly. It makes competition impossible.

Potential competition means, of course, possible competition. Is competition possible with, for instance, the anthracite coal trust? There are people who will answer yes to this question. They will say, for instance, that though the trust owns all the anthracite coal there is, yet, the price of anthracite cannot rise too high without inducing competition from the soft coal fields. No doubt if the price of anthracite be advanced too far, soft coal and other fuels will take its place. But is that competition? Suppose, for the purpose of illustration, that anthracite coal could be produced as cheaply as bituminous, and that its recognized utility value were twice that of the latter; since the monopoly owns all there is of anthracite, "potential competition" could by no means prevent the monopoly from realizing a profit equal to that on bituminous coal — plus the total selling price of the latter! If that would not constitute a case of monopoly, it is certainly so nearly like it as to preclude the need of any other term by which to designate it.

Competition and monopoly cannot coexist in relation to one thing. Effective competition is the negative of monopoly, and vice versa. But monopoly rests upon a very much narrower basis than is commonly supposed, even by students of political economy. A further quotation from the Record-Herald editorial above referred to will serve to illustrate this fact; I quote: "Any trust which monopolizes natural materials — as the steel trust some time conceivably may — would not be open to such (competitive) regulation."

The idea here seems to be that the steel trust must own practically all of the natural materials in order to forestall potential competition. But that is an error. Of course, the steel trust, so called, could not be the sole beneficiary of the steel monopoly, unless it owned all of the economically accessible sources of supply. But the effect of monopoly upon all but its beneficiaries is the same, whether the monopoly is owned by one man, or a thousand, whether by one corporation, or a half dozen. The United States Steel corporation is composed of a large number of individuals. Suppose that it come into possession of all the sources of steel supply, either by purchase, or by merging with other owners; what addition would that make to the necessary conditions of monopoly? None whatever. The consumer could be made to pay a monopoly price in either case.

But for the present, confining our consideration to the "steel trust," for the sake of simplicity, I assert that its power of monopoly will be ample if it own merely such sources of raw materials as are for the time being economically accessible. The fact that there are inexhaustible stores of iron ore at present uneconomically situated, either as to location or quality, has no bearing on the question. If the trust can supply the iron needed by the country at a lower price than it can be supplied for from remoter mines, then the trust can exact a monopoly price for its product. The existence of millions of acres of remoter mineral lands would not make competition possible.

The trust can exact a price equal to cost — plus what would be the additional cost of producing from

remoter mines, thus realizing a profit, while the operators of the latter mines would make no profit at all. The fact, therefore, that the trust can sell at a price below what it would cost to produce from mines less favorably situated, will enable it to exact a price indefinitely higher than it would cost to produce from such mines. Its power to undersell would enable it to ruin any corporation that should invest its millions with the purpose of competing. It is the consciousness of this fact that prevents capitalists from operating the unused mines.

The price that the trust actually charges is not the question. The real question is: How low a price can it accept without incurring loss? If it is within its power to supply the demand at a lower price than anybody else could accept, then, manifestly, it can defeat all attempts at competition. Whether college presidents know this or not, capitalists know it, and therefore they seldom attempt to compete so long as conditions continue as described.

Again, it is not necessary that the steel trust own even a majority of the economically accessible sources of supply in order to the maintenance of monopoly prices. It is only necessary that they that own these sources of supply, whether many or few in number of individuals or corporations, shall agree upon the plan of charging all that the traffic will bear, as the rule, and of selling at, or below cost, when necessary to destroy a would-be competitor. In a word, harmony of action among the owners (few or many, as the case may be) of the operating mines, and of such new mines as shall be from time to time put into operation — harmony is all that is necessary in order to monopoly, with all that the word implies.

The fact that monopolies do not at all times exact exorbitant prices is apt to mislead the unwary. Monopolies overdo the thing sometimes, even from the monopoly point of view, to such an extent as to seriously impair the market for their own products. Under such circumstances they may drop prices to the normal level, or even below it, for a time. They will do, in fact, and as a matter of course, whatever they shall be able to agree is for their own

best interests. If they have plundered the public so ravenously as to bring on a panic and business depression, they will, in some cases, if not in all, voluntarily curtail prices until the general condition of trade shall indicate the possibility of another successful raid.

I do not wish to be understood as saying that monopolists always exercise their power to the limit of possibility. They do that which they deem expedient for themselves. The point is, that under the existing regime, ownership of the economically accessible sources of raw materials carries with it the power of monopoly, and that this economic law is persistent. That is to say, the same will be true when ore mines that are now undeveloped shall come within the range of economical accessibility.

Legislation is the father of this evil, and nothing but counteracting legislation will suffice to cure it.

The owners are lawfully possessed of the sources of raw materials, and nothing but adequate taxation can prevent them from securing the monopoly value that is involved in such ownership.

That equitable taxation is the true potential corrective may be easily demonstrated thus: Suppose that the natural conditions in relation to the steel trust's sources of supply are such that it can produce at a dollar a ton less than it would cost to produce from any other source. Increase the rate of its land value tax to the equivalent of a dollar a ton of its product, and you thus correct the inequality of natural conditions. Its producing cost, plus the increased land tax, would exactly equal the producing cost, plus the lesser land tax of the previously undeveloped mines, thus placing the trust and its would-be competitor upon an equal footing. From this time onward the steel trust, instead of enjoying the field alone, and therefore charging all that the traffic would bear, would be compelled to court trade by means of accepting as low a price as its competitor should fix. You see, its competitor would not permit it to add the amount of its increased land value tax to the selling price of the product. The competitor is after business, and he will "make

a price" that the trust will have to meet; a price that will not only prevent the trust from adding the tax to selling price, but that will compel it to drop from the monopoly price altitude to a competitive price level.

Inequitable taxation of land values is manifestly, then, the basic condition of potential monopoly. Potential monopoly inheres in private ownership, where taxation is not adjusted to varying values. Under such conditions, the benefits of monopoly potentially accrue to the owners, lawfully and inevitably, whether the number of the owners be ten or ten thousand.

If all the economically accessible mineral lands be owned by 100,000 people, in a population of 80,000,000, then it is possible to compel the 79,900,000 to pay a monopoly price for the mineral products of the country, unless taxation appropriate the monopoly value of the mineral lands.

The law of monopoly price is to "charge all that the traffic will bear"; all that the public can stand without becoming so badly crippled as to involve the monopolist also in loss. But, possessing this arbitrary power, the monopolist sometimes inadvertently overreaches so far as to cause industrial reverse, at which point panic, or at least, apprehension, will cause the people to "retrench," which means general curtailment of demand for industrial product, business stagnation, consequent waste of capital, disemployment of labor, intensified destructive competition, widespread bankruptcy, hard times.

What then? Is the destiny of human society to be forever at the mercy of monopoly? God forbid! The essential difference between monopoly and competitive industry is that the former is rooted in the earth (to borrow a simile from the "Ethics of Democracy"), while the latter is entirely above ground. Land value is the potential root of monopoly. Increase the tax upon this "root," and you strike monopoly without touching competitive industry. Increase the tax upon this "root" just far enough, and you utterly destroy monopoly, thus permitting the beneficent natural law of competition to distribute its benefits to each individual according to his

deserts, and metamorphosing the common struggle for existence into a joyous rivalry in the pursuit of excellence of service and product, in a universal industrial field where poverty is unknown, and wherein material condition indicates the social value of the individual; an industrial field wherein hopeful, happy men and women will perform the world's work, each in his or her self-chosen sphere, and wherein the tender little children, freed from the rack of pitiless toil, will romp and laugh in the ecstasy of normal being.

EDWARD HOWELL PUTNAM.

#### EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

##### CANADA.

Toronto, Dec. 26.—Toronto is now in the throes of the annual municipal election, and in addition to the usual batch of aldermen and other municipal officers to be voted for, the following question is to be submitted to the people:

"Are you in favor of the City obtaining power from the Legislature to exempt dwelling houses from taxation to the extent of seven hundred dollars of the assessed value; said exemption to include all buildings used as dwellings but not to apply to the land, and not in any way to affect the right to vote on said property?"

This is the result of nearly two years' work. It began with the Federation for Majority Rule, which was organized largely by the efforts of Mr. Robert Tyson, and Mr. James Simpson of the Trades and Labor Council. This organization succeeded in pledging 21 out of the 22 members of the City Council for this year, to submit any question to the voters, within the powers of the City Council, when requested to do so by a petition representing eight per cent. of the voters.

In September the Single Tax Association, taking advantage of the pressure of the house famine which is very keenly felt just now, circulated a petition. After reciting the facts about the scarcity of house accommodation, and that our present system of taxation discriminates against the building of small houses, and that an exemption such as proposed would discourage the holding of land idle and would encourage the building of that class of houses of which Toronto is in the greatest need, thereby increasing the number of houses and lowering rents, this petition asked that the question above stated be submitted to the electors at the next January elections. It is estimated that there are about 40,000 names of voters on the voting lists. The number of petitioners is 3,750.

When the matter came up before the Council it was referred to a committee which unanimously recommended it.

The Board of Control also passed it, but asked the Assessment Commissioner for a report as to how it would affect the assessment generally and what class of property would be benefited and what would have to bear an increased burden of taxation. His report is interesting reading, especially in view of the fact that he is strongly biased against the measure. Following are some of his main facts and figures:

The total assessment of the city is \$148,813,071, and the exemption would reduce it to \$122,613,971, necessitating an increase in the tax rate from 19 to 23.06 mills. The exemptions would affect three classes of dwellings; those assessed for \$700 and under, upon which taxation would be abolished; those assessed at over \$700 and under \$4,000, on which taxation would be reduced; those assessed at over \$4,000, upon which taxation would be increased. He then proceeded to show that there were 20,747 houses assessed at less than \$700, 19,318 assessed at over \$700 and less than \$4,000, and only 3,290 assessed at over \$4,000. The exemption on the first class would be \$10,353,500 and on the second class \$13,522,600. Of the first class 15,125 are occupied by tenants, and of the second class 12,026; while of the third or more expensive class only 1,327, or less than half, are occupied by tenants. He then gives a table showing the saving of taxes upon a house assessed at \$1,000 to be \$12.18; at \$4,000 the tax is increased by 10 cents; on a \$10,000 house the increase amounts to \$24.46; and on a \$50,000 house to \$186.86. He then shows that vacant lot holders will have to pay \$28,420 more than they pay now.

Opponents of the measure are raising the cry that the measure will benefit the owners of small properties and not the tenants, as the owners will not reduce the rents.

The report of the Assessment Commissioner also calls attention to the fact that nearly 30 per cent. of the property benefited belongs to non-residents.

In reply to these objections the single taxers are getting out 40,000 pamphlets and as many dodgers, and will have one in the hands of every citizen by election time if possible. They are also billing the city with posters: "Vote for the \$700 Exemption and Lower Rents," and "End the House Famine." They get very little assistance from the papers, except the Star. This paper has a single tax editor, who has given Mr. A. W. Roebuck a free hand to write up the matter.

The single taxers are hopeful of getting a safe majority. Their next trouble will be with the legislature. But they declare they are in the fight to win and will stay with it until they do.

ALAN C. THOMPSON.

#### BUFFALO.

Buffalo, Dec. 25.—Another referendum vote (p. 455) is to be had here if the Referendum League can bring it about. The petition is being actively pushed under the general direction of Mr. Stockton, president of the League. It calls for a vote on three questions:

1—Shall legislation be enacted amending the charter of the city of Buffalo, by requiring that all acts granting property or franchises to persons or corporations in said city, shall be submitted to the people of Buffalo at election before taking effect?

2—Shall legislation be enacted providing for a direct primary nominating elections law for Buffalo, in substance similar to the law enacted by the people of the State of Oregon, on June 6, 1904?

3—Shall the city of Buffalo own and operate an electric lighting and power plant for the benefit of itself and its inhabitants?

The circulation of the petition is of great educational effect, as the questions have to be explained.

The municipal electric lighting plant question is of special importance just now. On December 2, 1895, the city granted to several companies the right to lay conduits in the streets for the purpose of distributing throughout the city electricity from Niagara Falls, and the grant provided that the conduits should be built of such size that as much space as was used by the grantees should be reserved for the use of the city, and if the city began to utilize it for its own purposes within ten years it should have the right to use it free of charge. There are about 15 miles of such conduits laid within the city. As the city is about to sign a five-year contract with the gas company for lighting part of the streets, an effort is being made to prevent the signing of the contract and have the city lay electric cables in the conduits and use incandescent light in the lampposts, which, with the connecting gas pipes, the city owns. This course would save the city's rights in the conduits and at the same time strike a blow at the gas company, whose action has been particularly offensive in making the citizens pay a minimum charge of 50 cents a month in express violation of the statute which prohibits a meter charge, and who have refused to make a progressive decrease in the price of gas, which the statute also requires. At the same time the gas company has been asking the city for the privilege of supplying part water gas, which their grant forbids, but which, it is claimed in some quarters, they are supplying at the present time.

A momentary wave of indignation has swept the city in regard to the franchise tax valuations of the street railway companies by the State board of tax commissioners. These valuations for the year 1905 are \$4,300,000 for the International Railway Company and \$1,340,000 for the Crosstown Street Railway Company. Hearings were had before the board, in which Mr. J. U. Adams, the

only Democratic councilman elected on the city ticket last year, and the man whom the whole city is talking about as the Democratic candidate for Mayor next year, appeared and asked for an increase in the valuation. The Corporation Counsel also presented figures to show that the International franchise was worth from eighteen to twenty-two millions. But their efforts were without effect. The statute prescribes no method for valuing franchises and the tax commission has refused to disclose the methods by which it arrives at its results.

What hurts Buffalo is that the street railroads are paying less to the city now than they did before the franchise tax law was enacted. Under a contract made with the city in 1891 or 1892 the companies pay the city a percentage of their gross receipts varying according to the amount received; 2 per cent. when under \$1,500,000; 2½ per cent. when over \$1,500,000 and under \$2,000,000; and 3 per cent. when over \$2,000,000. Under the franchise tax law these percentages are deducted from the franchise tax. The city formerly based the percentages and taxes upon the physical property in the streets. Now the physical property in the streets is included in the franchise tax, with the net result that the city loses by reason of the law.

Another matter, one which is exasperating the people in the southern part of the city, is the action of the railroads in holding up the proceedings to abate the floods in their sections. The Buffalo river and Cazenovia creek annually overflow and flood a considerable area, causing great damage to the property and health of the people by reason of the backing up of sewers and filling of cellars with water, and some of the streets are submerged to a depth of five or six feet. The floods are increased by reason of the abutments and piers of railroad bridges where the tracks cross the streams. These are fixed bridges which have been legalized by the legislature. Plans to abate the floods by straightening, widening and deepening the channel have been prepared and eminent domain proceedings have been commenced by the city to take the necessary land. These proceedings were contested by the railroads, which have two things to fear: First, new railroad bridges will have to be built, which the charter provides must be swing or lift bridges, and there is also the possibility that the national government will take a hand and prescribe the kind of bridges to be built. Second, the deepening of the channel will make the river navigable for large boats and add a large amount of available water front. The city's immense harbor facilities are at present monopolized by the railroads. The foregoing objections of the railroads were referred to a referee to hear, try and determine, and were all sus-



tained. An appeal has been taken by the city.

There are enough reasons, truly, to make this a radical city; and the people are beginning to wake up and take notice of their city government. Meanwhile, the Referendum League is the center of all radical activity and is at present the citizens' only hope of salvation.

I should like to urge all public-spirited citizens in New York State to work for the establishment of the referendum by obtaining public opinion ordinances like ours, and by asking their assemblymen and senators to pass a general public opinion law. This would strengthen our hands in Buffalo. My opinion is that radical legislation will be secured finally, not through a political party, new or old, but through the referendum.

ALBERT H. JACKSON.

**NEWS**

Week ending Thursday, Dec. 29.

Official returns of the recent Presidential election (p. 582) show the completed totals to have been as follows:

Roosevelt (Rep.).....	7,627,632
Parker (Dem.).....	5,080,054
Rep. plurality.....	2,547,578
Debs (Soc.).....	391,587
Corregran (Soc. Lab.).....	33,453
Total Socialist.....	425,040
Swallow (Pro.).....	260,303
Watson (Peo.).....	114,637
Holcomb (Continental).....	830
Total vote.....	13,508,496
Republican majority.....	1,746,768
Percentages.	1892. 1896. 1900. 1904.
Republican.....	42.8 51.1 51.6 56.4
Democratic.....	15.1 46.8 45.5 37.6
Socialist.....	0.0 0.0 0.6 2.9
Socialist Labor.....	0.3 0.2 0.3 0.3
Total Socialist.....	0.3 0.2 0.9 3.2
Prohibition.....	2.3 0.9 1.5 1.8
People's.....	0.0 0.0 0.3 0.9
Continental.....	0.0 0.0 0.0 0.1
G. Democratic.....	0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0
National.....	0.0 0.1 0.0 0.0

An uprising in the island of Samar, Philippines, was reported last week, the character of which is not very well indicated. The most definite information came from Washington in a press dispatch under date of the 24th. It was as follows:

The War Department was officially advised to-day by Gen. Corbin, commanding the Department of the Philippines, of the uprising in Samar, in which one lieutenant and a number of enlisted men

of the Philippine scouts were killed. The cablegram is as follows: "The Pulajones are on the war path in Samar in considerable numbers, as may be judged from the following: On November 10 about 400 Pulajones and several hundred volunteers joined in an attack on a detachment of twenty Philippine scouts at Oras, Samar. Killed: One hospital corps man; wounded, twelve Philippine scouts; missing, five, said to have been bolowed while in the river. All bodies badly mutilated. And again on December 16 Second Lieutenant Stephen K. Hayt and thirty-seven enlisted men, Thirty-eighth company, Philippine Scouts, killed by Pulajones at Dolores, Samar. First Lieutenant George F. Abbott requests help from military authorities. Town threatened by 1,000 Pulajones. Situation critical in both instances. I offered the Philippine government all the assistance desired. As yet none has been accepted.

Formal organization of the commission of inquiry into the circumstances of the firing by a Russian fleet into a fleet of British fishing vessels in the North Sea (p. 553) was effected on the 22d, when the commission adjourned to the 9th of January.

The Czar of Russia has advanced somewhat in the direction of acknowledging the demands of the Zemstvos Congress (p. 552), he having issued on the 26th an imperial decree directing his ministers to formulate plans for effecting certain reforms which he enumerates. In substance the reforms so decreed in principle are cabled as follows:

1. A just and equitable enforcement of existing laws, with a view to securing the harmonious administration of all the courts.
2. Zemstvo organization, with a view to giving the widest latitude and autonomy to the various zemstvos, calling additional zemstvo representatives where required, and creating smaller zemstvo units, capable of dealing directly with the local needs of the peasants.
3. Equality of all citizens before the law, this touching the much mooted question of peasant equality before the courts.
4. A scheme of workmen's assurance for the benefit and participation of factory workers throughout the Empire.
5. Security of citizens against arbitrary arrest and immunity from harsh action of the police, except in the cases of persons known to be conspiring to commit overt acts against the stability of the State.
6. The religious freedom of all subjects of the Empire without respect to creed or manner of worship.

7. Abolition of all unnecessary repressive laws, leaving in force only those designed for the participation of peasants and for the benefit generally of subjects of the Empire.

8. The fullest possible measure of liberty to the press, and the removal, as far as possible, of the various restrictive laws.

With reference to these subjects the decree orders the council of ministers to examine the best way of giving them effect and to submit to the Czar at the earliest possible date its decisions as to the further shape of these measures in their prescribed order.

**NEWS NOTES.**

—A company for the publication of a magazine to be edited by Thomas E. Watson, People's party candidate for President, was incorporated in New York on the 27th, with a capital of \$125,000 at \$10 a share.

—The first annual meeting of the American Political Science Association opened at Chicago on the 28th, jointly with the American Historical and the American Economic Associations.

—Suit was brought by the United States in St. Paul on the 27th to restrain the paper trust from doing business in violation of the national anti-trust law. It is charged that a large number of paper companies, defendants in the case, have entered into an agreement to control the output, distribution and price of print paper through the General Paper company, another defendant, as their sales agent.

—Cotton growers of the South are reported to have agreed to destroy 2,000,000 bales of cotton, in order to diminish the output and thereby restore prices. Previous to this agreement 3,000 bales were burned at Fort Gaines, Ga., on the 28th. The possible output for this year, according to government reports, is 11,848,113. For 1903 it was 8,747,669. On that showing the New York price had dropped to a point which would yield but 6 cents a pound on the plantations, whereas the cost of production is 6½.

—A call for a world's single tax conference, to be held at Fairhope, Ala., beginning February 15, 1905, has been issued by the Fairhope Single Tax Corporation. Persons expecting to attend are requested to notify E. B. Gaston, of Fairhope. The call announces that "it is not the purpose of the Corporation to seek in any way to make this an official conference or to give its deliberations any further authority than the number and character of those attending would naturally give."

—A unique dramatic production is announced for next July by the cottagers at Twilight Park in the Catskills. Un-

der the direction of Charles Trier, late stage manager for Edward Sothern, Irving's story of Rip Van Winkle is to be performed in the open air "on the very spot where the scene of the story is laid—on the southern slope of Kaaterskill Clove, in the immediate vicinity of Santa Cruz Falls," near Palenville which is supposed to be the original of Irving's old Dutch village of Falling Water.

—The London County Council, November 22, by a vote of 85 to 30, adopted a resolution in favor of the taxation of land values. At the election for members of the Glasgow Council, two weeks earlier, 20 out of the 26 candidates elected were pledged supporters of the taxation of land values. On October 25, the City Council of Bradford, England, passed a resolution in favor of the taxation of land values almost without opposition, except that the Tory members walked out of the Council chamber without voting; and on the 16th ult. the Board of Guardians of the same city unanimously decided to cooperate with the municipal and other rating authorities, in seeking powers to tax land values.

### 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. 9 of that publication.

Washington, Dec. 19-21.

#### Senate.

Without doing any business of general interest on the 19th, the Senate adjourned to the 21st (p. 493), and on the 21st, pursuant to concurrent resolution, it adjourned until January 4.

#### House.

On the 19th the Philippine bill, as amended by the Senate, was referred to the committee on insular affairs (p. 418), and adjournment was taken to the 21st, when, without further business of importance and pursuant to concurrent resolution of both houses, the House adjourned to January 4.

**Record Notes.**—Representative Baker on vulgar display at inaugural ceremonies (p. 422).

### PRESS OPINIONS.

#### THE POWER OF THE RICH.

Boston Herald (Ind.), Dec. 22.—The tremendous enhancement of the power of the rich in determining the aims of legislation and regulating by partiality the enforcement of the laws, is a national peril which must be curbed in time or it will work destruction of freedom and happiness. Unless an end is put to the avarice of uncontrolled monopoly, which regards the mass of the people as its legitimate prey, the people generally will have no share in the profit of cheapened production secured by syndicated capital. The immediate, imperative duty of government under existing circumstances is to put an end to private monopoly in all its forms. This may be accomplished and is being accomplished in some degree, so far as the smaller local monopolies are concerned, by municipal ownership of public utilities in the public interest, dispossession

ing the capitalists of their power to extort unreasonable and oppressive profits by means of invaluable franchises corruptly procured and ineffectually conditioned. But these local monopolies, evil as they often are, are not the worst, because they are limited in the scope of their operation. The railroad system rapidly being concentrated in the hands of a few men, and used arbitrarily and cruelly to promote or to crush the competition of industries, and to make those that are favored partners in their plundering motive, these and the great industrial and commercial trusts that fatten on government bounty and make it their chief end to destroy competition, demand the most serious attention of citizens who have not sunk in greed their love of right, of fairness and of country. The time is ripe for a vigorous patriotic crusade against those soulless corporations, which aim at nothing less than ownership of the political organism of the nation, legislative, executive and judicial, and its complete subordination to their selfish materialism. They would buy elections with money or subvention, and place their attorneys in every office to serve their ascendancy and their wrongdoing.

#### LAWSON'S DISCLOSURES.

Springfield Republican (Ind.), Dec. 23 (w'kly ed.).—Is it because they are true that they have been permitted to go on unchallenged? Is this the reason why a distinguished promoter of Boston, charged with bribing the Massachusetts legislature, with places, dates and other details pretty distinctly specified, has made no effort thus far to clear himself? Is this why Mr. Rogers, of the Standard Oil trust, who has figured far more conspicuously in the alleged exposures—which all the country is reading—has taken no action until the appearance of the present or January installment? Things have been alleged against the Amalgamated Copper company which, if true, would place that concern in a position under the law to conduct prosecutions likely to prove costly to the utterers and disseminators of the libel. But the company, so far as known, or the men responsible for its conduct, have taken no action. Is this because the charges are true, or because the Amalgamated insiders would prefer to let them pass rather than risk being compelled to bring the books and affairs of this blind pool into court for public exposure?

#### THE BOON OF A JOB.

Johnstown (Pa.) Daily Democrat (Dem.), Dec. 21.—How kind nature sometimes is! Just at a moment when New York charity is taxed as it never was taxed before to meet the exigencies of unprecedented illness and consequent distress a snowstorm blows up which calls for the services of 23,000 men in clearing the streets. This was almost as providential as the Chicago fire, the Charleston earthquake, the Johnstown and Galveston floods and the Baltimore conflagration. All these gave lots of work to men looking anxiously for jobs. They by so much made good times. And if people were really anxious to have good times always with them, we do not see why they don't burn a city when a snowstorm, an earthquake or a flood doesn't happen along opportunely.

### MISCELLANY

#### A FINANCIER.

For The Public.

"Oh, Dah! say, Dah! the eggs are gone—all gone!

Why do you use them up so awful fast? 'T was only one short week ago, I bought enough for more than one full month to last."

"Now, Miss," said Dah, "don't yo' goblam-in' me;

'T wan't I dat took dem aigs. O'e Mose ain't true;

He don't count straight. He mak' believe he done

Gone sell yo' many when he sell yo' few."

"So, so!" the mistress mused as she walked off;

"Old Mose defrauds me, does he, with his count?

Well, when that darkey next time brings me eggs,

I'll take good care he leaves the full amount."

Ere long old Mose jogged solemn into town, Behind a mule in harness with a steer;

His two-wheeled wagon creaking 'neath its load

Of light wood, butter, eggs, and corn in ear.

Dah's mistress sallied forth. "Unk' Mose," said she,

"I wish to buy five dozen eggs; and more Than that, Unk' Mose, I want to watch the count,

And see you number off the full three score."

"A' right," old Mose replied; "jus' yo' gi' me

Yo' bausket, un I count dese aigs, each one,

Afo' yo' berry eyes. Yo' watch me now, Un keep on watchin' 'twel' I fahly done."

Then Mose began to count. "Yeah's one, un tew,

Un thee, un fo'," he said; and then, with one

Egg resting in his hand, in much concern He asked: 'Yo' boy, whah he now done bin gone?"

"My son? Oh, he's in Charleston in a bank."

"He in a bank! Yo' don't done tole meso! Dat little honey wukin' in a bank!

Dat little fe'! Why, how oie am he, dough?"

"My son, Unk' Mose, is eighteen years of age."

"Eight-teen! Da's so; I reckon' yo' say true.

Eight-teen! Dat little boy so old as dat!

Eight-teen! eight-teen! How swifly time done flew!

"Eight-teen—eight-teen, nine-teen, twen-tee, twent'one,

Twent'-tew, twent'-thee, twent'-fo'—n yo' gal, whah she?"

"My daughter, Mose, is married—" "What! dat gal!

Sims lak I yis'day jogged huh on my knee!

"Fmpah! dat little, teeny gal done spice! Da's queer. Da's queer. Why, how oie am de gal?"

"She's thirty-four years old, Unk' Mose."

"Wha' say? She thity-fo' dat little bit Miss Sal?

"Thity-fo'—thity-fo',—thity-fi', thity-sick, thity-sev—

Why, yo', yo'sef, ain't mo'n about fo't-fi'.

"O shaw, Unk' Mose, don't you make fun of me;

I'm fifty-five years old this very day."

"Ke, ye! I reckon' I done gwine believ Dat yo' so oie as fifty-fi'—'ty-fi'!

Yo' own self, fifty-fl'! fl'-'fl'! g'way dare!  
 Why, you'se a baby, chlie, beside'n I!"

'Ty-fl'-'ty-fl'-'ty-fl', 'ty-sick, 'ty-sev,  
 'Ty-eight, 'ty-nine, un sickty! Dare's you  
 'mount;

Fl' dozen nice fresh eggs, besides one mo',  
 Dis double yelker egg, to make good  
 count."

And when Dah's mistress took the eggs to  
 Dah,  
 "Now, Dah," she said, "these eggs are  
 three full score;  
 I heard old Moses count them one by one,  
 And saw him at the last add one egg  
 more."

L. F. P.

### THE TARIFF ON MUD.

From the New York Sun of December 20,  
 1904.

In West Ninetieth street a new mud  
 bath was opened last Thursday. When  
 the barrels of a special brand of mud  
 consigned to the proprietor from south-  
 ern Italy fell into the hands of customs  
 inspectors his troubles began.

"What is it?" asked the inspectors,  
 tapping the barrel.

"Fango," said the mud man.

"What's fango?" inquired the in-  
 spectors.

"Mud," replied the proud proprietor.

"And you're importing 17 barrels of  
 mud?"

"I am."

"What's the matter with New York  
 mud?"

"It isn't medicinal."

"Oh, New York mud isn't medicinal."

The inspectors fell to and burrowed.  
 They burrowed clear through to the bot-  
 tom of three barrels. Then they rested  
 and swore. Not having discovered any  
 jewelry or lace hidden in the strange  
 importation, the next problem that pre-  
 sented itself was how much to assess  
 Italian mud. After racking their brains  
 for several weeks they assessed the mud  
 at a dollar a barrel.

So, if there are a million barrels of  
 mud in a square mile, it would cost  
 \$204,092,000,000 to import France.

### MAN WITH A HARD TIME.

The man who takes wild land on the  
 border of a village and starts in to clear  
 up and build and get a living from the  
 land by his labor is the man who has  
 a hard time. First he is compelled to  
 pay a most unrighteous price for the  
 land, since the speculator is so lightly  
 taxed that he can hold on indefinitely  
 unless the purchaser comes to his terms.  
 But houses do not build themselves,  
 nor does the land plow itself, or pota-  
 toes grow spontaneously. Usually the  
 man has not only spent all his money,  
 but is under a mortgage, with interest  
 charges to meet. The assessor can see

the house with both eyes and needs no  
 spectacles or spyglasses to find it. When  
 the house is done the speculator raises  
 the price of the next lot, but if anyone  
 says the taxes on that lot should be in-  
 creased the cry is raised: "If that thing  
 is to be done what is to become of the  
 poor widow who has invested her hard-  
 earned money in land, thinking it the  
 safest?" Nearly always the "poor wid-  
 ow" is some city speculator with super-  
 fluous cash which he wants to invest  
 where his industries and enterprising  
 neighbors will put value into his in-  
 vestments by improving the neighbor-  
 hood, and then kindly pay his share of  
 taxes for him. Why is not somebody  
 feeling sorry for the poor widow who  
 owns a house? Does not the man who  
 clears up land and builds, work as hard  
 as the man who merely owns the wild  
 land and lets other people work for  
 him? and did he not work as hard for  
 the purchase money he invested? A  
 town is improved by houses—not empty  
 lots. If a place is ever to grow, house-  
 building must not be punished as a  
 crime, the better the house the larger  
 the fine; but the properties of so-called  
 "investors" who as such do nothing to  
 improve a place but take the benefit of  
 all that is done, should be taxed as high  
 as they will stand, whoever the owners  
 may be.—J. H. Wells, in The Center  
 Moriches (N. Y.) Record.

### INTERNATIONAL SNOBBISHNESS.

The dearly beloved Anglomaniacs  
 who are so conspicuous in the Lotus  
 club of New York had a lesson from  
 John Morley the other night that they  
 ought to reflect upon. Mr. Morley was  
 exquisitely polite about it, and his  
 hearers probably did not realize that  
 he was in the slightest degree rebuk-  
 ing their peculiar form of interna-  
 tional snobbishness.

The Lotus club is strong for "Anglo-  
 Saxon unity" and for all the neurotic  
 jingoism implied in such an idea as  
 "the English-speaking people dom-  
 inating the world." Mr. Morley has  
 little sympathy with that sort of  
 thing. He desires as much as any-  
 one could the most cordial friendship  
 between England and America, but  
 he is not so "parochial" as to ignore  
 the fact that "Anglo-Saxondom" is not  
 exactly co-extensive with civilization.

"Don't let us be too exclusive," said  
 Mr. Morley. And with that pregnant  
 text he touched up the Lotus club, and  
 many like them, in this wholesome  
 style:

Gentlemen, don't let us be too exclusive.  
 I repeat, don't let us be too exclusive. I  
 myself don't find the satisfaction which I  
 believe many of you find—I don't criticise

it—with the prospect of three-fifths—if that  
 be the right fraction—of the human race  
 being of Anglo-Saxon origin within a cer-  
 tain number of years. It doesn't much  
 matter to me what those years are, but I  
 don't find any perfect satisfaction in that.  
 The important thing is not that the Eng-  
 lish-speaking race on this side of the At-  
 lantic or on my side should have an intel-  
 lectual and moral primacy, but that they  
 should enter into a generous emulation with  
 France, Germany and Italy in bringing  
 mankind at large into a primacy which  
 shall cover a great many more elements  
 than that English-speaking people shall  
 be able to cover. The president referred to  
 things that I have written, and as it hap-  
 pens, many of those writings have turned  
 upon the genius of France. Mankind can't  
 do, in my opinion, without the contributions  
 which the genius of France makes to the  
 causes of civilization.

Nor could mankind do without the  
 contributions which the genius of vari-  
 ous other races and nations, makes  
 to the world's civilization. Mr. Mor-  
 ley's good-natured protest against the  
 latest world aristocracy, which might  
 be called, in commercial parlance,  
 "The Anglo-American, Limited," de-  
 serves to exercise a wide influence.—  
 Weekly Springfield Republican of  
 Dec. 2.

### MAYOR JOHNSON'S WAY.

#### PUBLIC GAMBLING STOPPED.

From now on Cleveland is to be an ab-  
 solutely closed town so far as public  
 gambling of any description is con-  
 cerned.

According to the orders of Capt. Mad-  
 den every piece of gambling parapher-  
 nalia of any kind must be taken out. In  
 response to a question by one of the  
 roomkeepers as to what he considered  
 gambling paraphernalia Capt. Madden  
 replied:

"No card playing for money or gam-  
 bling of any description will be toler-  
 ated."

"We intend to stop all public gam-  
 bling in Cleveland and I believe we will  
 be able to do it," said Mayor Johnson,  
 last night.

"The activity of the police has been  
 due entirely to my instigation. When  
 I was elected mayor the order was giv-  
 en that there should be no roulette or  
 faro in the city. We did not particularly  
 specify poker, for the reason that  
 poker playing is a difficult thing to stop.

"But of late we have discovered a  
 tendency on the part of many persons to  
 make regular gambling rooms out of  
 places where heretofore, perhaps, only  
 an occasional game of poker was  
 played by friends. We have learned that  
 a kind of stud poker was being played  
 that practically amounted to being faro.  
 At any rate, there did not seem to be  
 any doubt but that it was nothing but

gambling and that certain of the rooms were being operated for nothing but gambling purposes. I requested the police to get active in the matter some months ago, and the order of to-day was the result."

The order of yesterday will throw something like 100 men out of the work they have been doing for over two years. Among this class of men it was said last night that if the order of the police is enforced, Cleveland will be the tightest town in the country from a gambling standpoint.—Cleveland Plain Dealer of Dec. 22.

Absolutely no attempt was made by the proprietors of the twenty or more down town poker rooms to do any business yesterday following the sweeping order of the police department to close up tight issued Wednesday afternoon. Yesterday the gamekeepers learned the full scope of the order which has turned out to be the most imperative command of the kind issued by a city administration in Cleveland for a long term of years.

Even furniture is to be classed under the term "gambling paraphernalia." Heretofore when orders affecting gambling have been issued no attempt was made to stop the playing of whist, hearts, "seven up" and similar games, games where it is not usually the custom for the players to wager sums of money on the fall of the cards. But now all this must go. No card playing of any kind whatsoever is to be permitted in public places.

"There will be no arrests," was the statement given out from police headquarters last night. "The majority of the places ordered closed have complied with the order. Tables have been removed or overturned and officers have inspected them all. In case an attempt is made to reopen any of them the police court will only be called on as a last resort. Their doors will be battered in and the outfits chopped up and thrown on the wood pile. That is the way to deal with them. If they want to sue for damages, let them do it. There will be no arrests until it is absolutely unavoidable."—Plain Dealer of Dec. 23.

#### POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY AS THE DOMINANT NATIONAL ISSUE.

For The Public.

What should be the dominant national issue in American politics?

Certainly it should lead to the ideal civilization, and along the line of least resistance.

Judged by these standards, it would seem that the dominant national issue

in this country should be the overthrow of the rule of the few by the establishment of the people's sovereignty, which means the installation of a people's veto (through the optional referendum) and a direct initiative. Until the people possess this final power as to legislation the sovereignty will continue in the few who compose the party machine or supply the campaign funds. The improved system is Guarded Representative Government.

A study of the details will show, I believe, that the establishment of the people's sovereignty will lead to the ideal civilization, and that the proposed issue is along the line of least resistance.

It is along the line of least resistance because it appeals to the people in the strongest possible manner, and invites all who are being fleeced by the ruling few—the monopolists, the liquor interests and the other interests that are openly and notoriously opposed to the public welfare.

The people's sovereignty acting through Guarded Representative Government leads to the ideal civilization, as is demonstrated in Oregon, South Dakota, San Francisco and Switzerland. The people are advancing as rapidly as the leaders blaze the way.

The splendid features of the system are but little understood, for most of the research work has been done by professors whose income is dependent upon the trustees of universities, the funds of which are largely contributed by monopolists, or by professors in State universities whose tenure of office is dependent upon party politicians. Glorious exceptions are the writings of Prof. John R. Commons, Prof. Frank Parsons, Mr. Eltweed Pomeroy, Dr. C. F. Taylor, and others. The official magazine of the Pennsylvania State Grange has recently published a 112-page special number by the writer, showing forth the evils of party government, the evolution of sovereignty and of representative government, and the line of least resistance for the establishment of the improved system. But the most striking sentence that has ever been written concerning the people's sovereignty was penned some eight years ago by Prof. Jesse Macy, of Iowa College, in a letter from Switzerland to his students, which was afterward published in the American Journal of Sociology, July, 1896. After examining the Swiss institutions from the standpoint of an expert in political and social science, he declares:

We cannot be too prompt in reaching the understanding that what we now recognize as democracy is something absolutely new on the face of the earth.

This is the statement of a mature

and level-headed scientist who is in no wise connected with any cult. What is the feature which justifies such a startling statement—a statement which contradicts not only the standard works on political and social science, but which emphasizes that which most of the Socialist party leaders ignore?

The answer is that the Swiss people are the sovereign power, and they operate through representative government. That is the something which is absolutely new on the face of the earth.

This fact has been largely overlooked because the new system of government has been termed Direct Legislation, or it has been spoken of as the Referendum, or the Referendum System. Only by squarely recognizing the improved system of representative government can one gain anything like a clear idea of the Swiss system, which is the system now being operated in Oregon, South Dakota, San Francisco, Los Angeles and several other American cities, and is largely demanded in all the States and nationally.

What are the changes in the representative system that are caused by the establishment of the people's sovereignty?

In the first place bear in mind that the primary change is the establishment of a people's veto through the optional referendum, and the establishment of a direct initiative. The final power is in the people.

To trace out the resulting changes one should first note that it is no longer profitable for special interests to invest funds in the nomination and election of the representatives, for these officials are shorn of power to finally enact legislation of any character except emergency measures. The representatives can only recommend. The people, however, adopt nearly all the recommendations without a direct vote, for the system is the optional referendum.

And upon the assembling of a legislature or congress elected under the improved system there is an equally great change. There is no incentive to lobby for special privilege laws, for the passage of such a law by the legislature would meet with a people's veto. "The first effect of the referendum in Oregon," writes Hon. W. S. U'Ren, "is the comparative absence of charges of corruption and partisanship in the legislature."

The Oregon legislature, however, refused to give all the affirmative relief that had been promised at election time. A direct nominations system had been promised, but the party machine refused to give it. And a local option law as to intoxicating beverages had

been promised, and this, too, was refused. Immediately, however, after the adjournment of the legislature the several interests that had been pushing for these two reforms each printed its bill that had been turned down, and they printed copies of a direct initiative petition, pasted them to their bills, and each circulated several thousand copies throughout the State. After a time the required eight per cent. of signatures was secured for each measure, and the bills went to a direct vote of the people. The direct nominations system was adopted by a 3-to-1 vote, and the local option measure—the sovereignty of the people as to local measures concerning the liquor question—was established, but by a majority of only two thousand votes, for the management had failed to draw their bill for local option as to all questions. Had they done so, the self-interest of all classes would have caused a sweeping victory.

The submission of a woman's suffrage amendment to the constitution was planned, but a delay in starting the direct initiative petition necessitated the postponement of the vote till the next State election.

It is evident that the people of Oregon can get whatever legislation a majority of the voters may desire.

In South Dakota the improved system was finally established March, 1899, since which time two legislatures have been in session. No direct vote on a State question has been called for by the required five per cent. of the voters. In other words, there has been no vote on any bill which the legislature has enacted, nor has there been a direct initiative. An explanation of the absence of the direct initiative is the fact that there is practically no industrial organization of farmers or wage-earners, and no local newspaper of a progressive type has an extended circulation.

In Switzerland the system has existed long enough to bring out clearly the splendid features of Guarded Representative Government.

The legislators really represent the people's interests, and their recommendations are nearly always adopted without a vote by the people.

Furthermore, these representatives are experts.

But, best of all, they are uninstructed, just as the level-headed business man employs his lawyer and architect.

And these expert representatives are continued in their positions as long as they are fitted to discharge their duties, just as business men retain their expert advisers.

Such is the system, not only in the federal congress and cantonal legislatures of Switzerland, but also in the executive departments. The heads of the executive department of the Swiss federal government are elected by the national legislature, and are elected term after term. Since 1874, when the people's veto was adopted, not a single member of the federal council has been obliged to retire involuntarily. Thus these executive officers are more free to exercise their own best judgment than is the manager of a private monopoly, for he must cater to the majority of the stockholders and a majority of the board of directors, whereas the Swiss heads of departments are absolutely free to ask for such legislation as they personally believe to be for the best interest of Switzerland. Furthermore, whenever there is a change in the men who own a majority of the stock in a private trust there is sure to be a change in the presidency of the corporation—a change in the management. But in Switzerland the expert manager continues as long as he is able to serve. And there is no fossilism for the heads of sub-departments and each clerk are free to offer suggestions, and the federal assembly is the dominant power.

The fundamental reason for these high qualities in the executive department is that the legislative power is not in a party organization. The final power is in the people, who therefore leave their agents to exercise their own best judgment, each recommendation being accepted or rejected as is thought best. But before the recommendation reaches the people from the cabinet officials it passes through the body of experts in the federal assembly, where the procedure for sifting out the salient facts is practically ideal, as the following analysis shows:

The duty of a congress or legislature is to remove such legal restrictions as impede progress and to apply such legislative measures as will promote the public welfare. Conditions are ever changing. Manifestly the procedure for getting at the facts and principles in connection with proposed legislation is all-important. Here the Swiss have advanced far beyond the dream of Bellamy or any writer who has had to rely upon imagination. The completeness of the plans of the Infinite cannot be foretold by the human mind.

The Swiss system consists first and foremost of vast universities and schools in which there is academic freedom as to social truths, and compulsory education. In no other country in the world

is there academic freedom as to social truths.

The next great departure from the existing order of things under the rule of the few is that each proposed change in legislation is subject to the criticism and advocacy of whatever interests are specially affected, which can bring forward the latest word which academic freedom and research have unearthed. This takes place in committee. Afterward there is fair and full debate in committee and in the house, followed by a recorded vote by the expert representatives, who exercise their own best judgment. Then such laws as are enacted lie before the people for ninety days after the adjournment of the legislative body, during which time a petition signed by 5 per cent. of the voters can carry any one or more of the measures to a campaign and vote by the people.

When the measures are being thus considered, either after adjournment or during the campaign which precedes a vote, there is an absence of party prejudices, for the control of the government is not at stake, and each individual and organization looks at the proposed law from the standpoint of enlightened self-interest. That, too, is ideal, for wherever a majority vote in accordance with real self-interest it promotes the general welfare.

The people look at the proposed law from the standpoint of enlightened self-interest because the actual facts in the case are brought to the people's attention. This is accomplished because the system is such that the ruling power—the people—have no incentive to deceive themselves.

When the time arrives for the referendum vote there is no vote purchasing, for there is no thought of enacting a special privilege law (except for a natural monopoly, such as the location of a railroad or county seat), and with no special privilege at stake there is no incentive to purchase votes at referendum elections.

With an absence of vote-purchasing the ignorant and indifferent voters do not come to the polls, leaving the decision of public questions with the intelligent and earnest voters. Here is an automatic disfranchisement of which none should complain. There are nine cantons, however, in which the compulsory referendum of all bills exists; and as a consequence only a few voters turn out, for the system is an absurdity. It is proposed by some that the voters be compelled by law to attend and vote, but the upshot must eventually be the adoption of the optional referendum.

The direct initiative is yet to be described—a most important part of the

system. It was adopted in federal Switzerland in 1891, and there were doleful prophecies. Some feared that the people would be induced to undertake visionary schemes. Only three measures, however, have been put to vote and two of these were rejected. The measure adopted provides that animals that are slaughtered shall be numbed before being bled to death. But the mere existence of the direct initiative has kept the representatives from continuing the entrenched privileges, such as private ownership of the paper currency and private ownership of the railways. This potential power of the people through a right to the direct initiative is exceedingly valuable.

Think for a moment what this direct initiative system is! It is a highly developed court for the trial of social questions. Eight per cent. of the voters can file a bill at any time, which will result in the taking of testimony, the hearing of arguments and a vote by the expert representatives, followed by a campaign before the people and a vote. This can be repeated for its educational effect. It is the establishment of this court of justice which has most completely transcended the imagination of idealists.

Reviewing as a whole the system of Guarded Representative Government, it is seen that the mechanism is such that society can develop with the utmost speed on which it is capable. If a truly democratic party should set itself at work along this line of lease resistance in the United States, what mighty strides we would soon be taking!

What is the actual outlook? The people's sovereignty working through representative government is in successful operation in Switzerland and in several of our American commonwealths and in partial operation in every State, and it would seem that the complete establishment of the system in the remaining States and in the nation may well be placed as the dominant issue, for the proposition to the voters is that they refuse to vote for a candidate who refuses to promise that, if elected, he will vote for their sovereignty. Candidates do not openly refuse, thus resulting in an immediate success as rapidly as candidates are compelled to face the issue.

This general plan of campaign is strong in strategic features. The people's sovereignty is the broadest possible issue and appeals to everyone, while voters readily agree to vote only for such candidates as promise that, if elected, they will vote for the people's sovereignty. This forces the candidates to pledge.

The American Federation of Labor understands this fully, for in the recent campaign the 25,000 affiliated Unions were instructed to question the candidates for Congress as to whether, if elected, they would vote for the immediate establishment of the people's sovereignty. The result is phenomenal: Twelve of the sixteen congressmen elected in Missouri are pledged, as also is the junior United States Senator, who was elected two years ago; and throughout the cities of the country in other States there are pledged congressmen wherever a live campaign was conducted. None of the candidates in these districts openly opposed the people's sovereignty. Manifestly, then, the only thing required is to force the issue and win out completely at the next congressional election! Accordingly the American Federation of Labor at its annual convention, which commenced the next week after the election, declared as follows:

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirms the referendum resolutions of previous conventions which declare, in effect, that the establishment of the people's sovereignty is the dominant issue (Resolution 270, Boston convention, 121 New Orleans convention); and

Resolved, That every voter is urged to agree with his fellow citizens that he will vote for such legislative candidates only as are pledged to the immediate establishment of the people's rule. To-day, as in 1776, the establishment of political liberty is the dominant issue. Why should voters choose between rulers when they can at once become the sovereign power?

In connection with the above the American Federation of Labor convention provided a system for the immediate circulation of petitions to Congress for the immediate establishment of the people's sovereignty in national affairs. Thus the campaign is to go on with increasing power, for the distracting features of a presidential campaign are removed. Furthermore, the State Federations of Labor are requested to consider and vote upon the advisability of instructing the affiliated central and local unions to circulate petitions to the legislatures, asking that a constitutional amendment for the people's sovereignty be submitted. And many of the city centrals will circulate petitions to the common councils, asking for the immediate establishment of the people's sovereignty in city affairs.

Thus is there a forcing of the people's sovereignty issue by organized labor—a dominant element in our political life.

And 11 State Granges have declared for the people's sovereignty, and many more of them will immediately join in the work, for they are holding their State meetings, and the National Grange

has referred to the State Granges the question of whether or not the organized farmers are to demand an increase of power in themselves as against the great trusts. And in any event the question will come before the farmers themselves in their local lodges.

All the Turner societies of the country have long been demanding the people's sovereignty.

Isn't it time for the formation of State Leagues of Democratic Clubs that shall join in the procession? Shouldn't the progressive Democrats of the country organize clubs and immediately begin work? If they do they can win the city elections next spring, the State elections next year in New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Maryland, and greatly reduce the Republican majority in Ohio. These are the only Northern States that elect legislatures next year. The following spring (1906) more of the cities can be carried. In the autumn of 1906 the national House can be carried, and in the Senate a majority vote can be secured for the immediate establishment of the people's sovereignty. This Senate vote can be secured by pledging the legislatures to instruct their Senators.

These successes will insure Democratic supremacy in 1908. The only possible failure will come from Democratic delay in coming out for the people's sovereignty. The Republicans in Oregon forestalled the Democrats in 1904 and won, while in Missouri the Democrats were first to declare for the system in 1902 and won, the Republicans trailing after. In Montana for the last two years Gov. Toole, Democrat, and his supporters have been working for the Initiative and Referendum, and the Democratic State convention of this year declared for it. Then the Republican State convention did likewise, but it came in too late, for the people recognized that they had been forced to it. Nationally the American Federation of Labor with its 25,000 Unions has not only conducted a national campaign for the people's sovereignty, but in its recent annual convention it declared that it is the dominant issue, as we have seen, and all Unions are instructed to at once circulate petitions for the people's immediate sovereignty. The Granges are likewise picking up the work. Can there be any question but that Democratic clubs should take up the issue? If they do not do so, it will be because there is not a sufficiently high degree of democracy, and the party will continue to trail in second place, as it is doing in Oregon; but if a league of clubs is organized on a Democratic basis there can be no failure.

Republican Clubs should also be organized wherever there are Republican workers who believe in the people's sovereignty.

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY,

Director of Department of Representative Government, Bureau of Research, and Chairman of People's Sovereignty League of America.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 9, 1904.

#### THE GOSPEL OF WORK.

Work is creation. Whoever puts his heart in his work is not alone at his task, but he and God work together. If it is digging a field, or sweeping a room, or moulding a sculpture, or making a new shirt waist, or singing or painting—however homely the work or however exalted it be—it is part of God's work if heart and conscience are in it.  
—John Stone Pardee, in Goodhue Co. News.

The sooner this country wakes up to the fact that brains count, and that a worthless, stupid, lazy, dishonest white man is not the equal, socially or otherwise, of the hard-working, intelligent, decent man, either black or white, the sooner the race problem and many other problems will be settled. So long as money counts, and the colorless skin counts, and birth and position count—things will be badly out of joint.—Wm. Allen White.

An ordinary echo is a curious thing; but, according to the statements of a Frenchman at a watering-place in the Pyrenees, one echo on the Franco-Prussian frontier is far from ordinary. "As soon as you have spoken," said the Frenchman, who had secured an audience of wide-eyed tourists, "you hear distinctly the voice leap from rock to rock, from precipice to precipice, and as soon as it has passed the frontier it assumes the Spanish tongue!"—Argonaut.

If the pictures in the family album were taken as long as thirty years ago, looking through it is almost as interesting as seeing a different tribe of the human race.—Atchison Globe.

A Chicago man predicts the end of the world in 1924. We haven't much faith in predictions of the end of the world. Very few of them ever come true.—Kansas City Journal.

"Were you frightened, Willard?" asked Mr. Grimes of his little boy, whom he had sent on an errand after dark. "Well, I should say so!" answered the little fellow. "The streaks

of scaredness just ran up and down my legs!"—Selected.

### BOOKS

#### TWO "UNIT BOOKS."

A most useful and attractive little volume for all students of history, and for those whose work, political or otherwise, demands a constant freshening of their knowledge of historical and political details, is the "Letters and Addresses of Abraham Lincoln," issued by the Unit Book Publishing Company (Howard Wilford Bell), New York. This book, which has been adopted as a text book for Princeton University, is the only cheap authoritative compilation of Lincoln's own writings in existence at present, and as such has had an astonishing measure of success in the year since its appearance.

The study of Lincoln's utterances brings more clearly to light than almost anything else can do, the change in basic principle of our two great political parties within the last three decades. It cannot be too heartily recommended to those who desire to have their own political convictions,—and not to follow merely along the lines laid down by accident of birth or surroundings,—to compare what the great Republican Lincoln has said on important political questions, with the utterances, and (still more important, for talk is cheap), with the policy of the Republican party of to-day.

The comparison may cause grief to some well-meaning, busy people who have no time to study the matter at first hand, but who, father and son, vote the Republican ticket of to-day because they dimly believe that party to be still inspired by the ideals of Lincoln. But there are many others whom a renewed study of Lincoln's speeches and writings may cause to see the truth of a delightful little cartoon which appeared in *The Public* not so long ago, representing the Republican party throwing away a volume (perhaps the very one we are speaking of now) of Lincoln's writings, with the disgusted remark that he "used to believe in Old Abe, but he finds him now just full of the heresies preached by Bryan, Tom Johnson, and the rest of the seditious crew," or words to that effect.

Lincoln drew his inspiration from Thomas Jefferson in his ideals of what a true republican government should stand for, and there is no better source of inspiration. This is a little fact often neglected by the tongue-allegiance to Lincoln that affects to decry Jefferson. Lincoln's remarks on mob violence; on the secret state reasons for involving a country in war; on the race question; and on a few other little matters pertinent then as now, would come somewhat as a shock to many good Republicans who have been blindly lauding Lincoln without a knowledge of what he has

left us as the expression of his life's ideals and his life work.

To return to the original object of this notice, which was to talk of books and not of politics, one of the main good points about the little volume of Lincoln's Addresses is that it is really cheap, and really good in paper, print, binding, and general and careful equipment. The idea of the "Unit Books," as they are called, is to cheapen good literature, to issue in uniform shape a number of reprints of books worth keeping, in handy size and attractive form. The price of the books is determined by the number of pages, an idea which comes from Germany and is well worth imitating. The books are 4½ by 7 inches large, bound in paper, cloth or leather, in a dark agreeable shade of green with simple gold lettering. Paper and print are alike in all bindings, and according to the Unit system the Lincoln, which contains sixteen units (a unit is a section of twenty-five pages and costs two cents) is priced at 32 cents for paper binding, 62 for cloth, and 82 for leather. The idea of the "Unit Books" has been praised by authorities on book making all over the country, and the "Lincoln" has been included in the American Library Association catalogue, as well as in the Model Library chosen for the St. Louis Exhibition.

Another volume of the same system is entitled "National Documents" and is also a remarkably useful book of handy reference. It contains the texts of almost all important state papers issued by our government since the beginnings of our history. Besides the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, the volumes contain the texts of the Mayflower Compact, Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up War, 1775; Articles of Confederation; Washington's Inaugural Addresses; Treaty with the Six Nations; Missouri Compromise, and many others, even such recent documents as the Reciprocal Commercial Convention between the United States and Cuba; and the Convention between the United States and the Republic of Panama. The value to the political student or speaker of having these important documents all together and handy for instant use cannot be overestimated. The fact that it has not been done before reminds one of the story of Columbus and the egg. Anyone might have done it, but nobody did.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

#### PAMPHLETS.

A pamphlet on "Taxation in Jamaica," published by Mr. Wellesley Bourke, a member of the bar of Jamaica and formerly mayor of Kingston, the capital city of that West Indian island, discloses the fact that fiscal problems there are drawing public attention to the tendency observable everywhere of land monopolists to escape, both through the

## The Public

is a weekly review which prints in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value. It is also an editorial paper. Though it abstains from mingling editorial opinions with its news accounts, it has opinions of a pronounced character, based upon the principles of radical democracy, which, in the columns reserved for editorial comment, it expresses fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without hope of discreditable reward. Yet it makes no pretensions to infallibility, either in opinions or in statements of fact; it simply aspires to a deserved reputation for intelligence and honesty in both. Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department of original and selected miscellany, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest. Familiarity with THE PUBLIC will commend it as a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

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law and by evasions of law, the payment of what they justly owe to their respective communities, which not only protect their property, along with other kinds of property, but also add to its value—a favor conferred upon no other kind of property owners. Confronted with this situation, Mr. Bourke wrote an open letter to the officials of Jamaica, which appeared in the Jamaica Daily Telegraph, of October 11 and 12, 1904, and in which he advocated the single tax. The Telegraph criticised his letter editorially on the 14th, and on the 19th he replied. These contributions are collected in the pamphlet before us, which is prefaced with an additional letter from Mr. Bourke, in which he explains to a correspondent how it is that he has had "the temerity to write on the Jamaican fiscal policy as he has done, in face of the influence of the large landed proprietors." The pamphlet will be found to be both interesting and instructive to stu-

dents everywhere of the questions of land tenure and taxation.

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## ANNOUNCEMENT

It has been proposed that the Henry George men of Chicago organize a lodge to be known as the Henry George Lodge of the Modern Woodmen of America. Arrangements have been made with Mr. John F. Harris, city supervising deputy of this order, to meet at his office, room 616, Ashland Block, 59 Clark Street, on Tuesday evening, Jan. 24, at 8 o'clock, to take preliminary steps towards effecting the organization of a lodge. Henry George men and others between the ages of eighteen and forty-five are cordially invited to be present.

W. H. HOLLY,  
A. V. WATERS,  
JAMES O. MONROE,  
F. H. MONROE.

Members of the Modern Woodmen of America and committee in charge of organization.

## ANNOUNCEMENT

The Henry George Lecture Association presents the following lectures at Handel Hall, 40 East Randolph Street, Chicago:

Thursday, Jan. 19, 8 p. m. Prof. W. L. Tomlin, Director Tomlin School of Music—"Music: Its Relation to a Larger Life."

Thursday, Jan. 26, 8 p. m. Clarence S. Darrow—"The Vain Pursuit."

Thursday, Feb. 2, 8 p. m. Prof. W. D. McClintock of the Chicago University—"Poetry and the Common Life."

Thursday, Feb. 9, 8 p. m. Louis F. Post, Editor The Public—"Alfred's Last Book: 'The Cost of Something for Nothing.'"

Thursday, Feb. 16, 8 p. m. Prof. W. H. E. French, Director the Art Institute—"An Hour with the Caricaturists."

Thursday, Feb. 23, Ernest Howard Crosby—"Walt Whitman: A Study in Democracy."

Course Tickets, \$1. Single Admission, 25c.

Tickets may be procured from the following: Miss Leonora Beck, 36 South Wood St., phone 625 Seeley; Dr. Anna M. Lund, 1014 Masonic Temple, phone 3691 Central; Nellie Carlin, 1202 Ashland Building; Frances L. Dusenberry, care of Purdy Publishing Co., McVicker's Theater Building.

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