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EDITORIAL

The Chicago Traction Steal.

In all probability this steal cannot be consummated. For the gigantic referendum petition, the largest and cleanest ever yet obtained, which rolled up with amazing and unprecedented rapidity, is an earnest of the determination of the people of Chicago to vote down this latest des-

perate effort of the Wall Street gang and their local brethren to hold the transportation interests (p. 1034) of Chicago forever in leash. Nevertheless, though the steal cannot be consummated, it can be utilized, as were the 99-year claims, as a basis for protracted litigation; and under cover of that, the companies may continue their plundering by forcing future compromises.



This opportunity is furnished by the passage of the ordinances by the Council. They should have been adopted in committee of the whole, with an understanding that if sustained by the people they would be passed by the Council and if voted down by the people they would be voted down by the Council. That was the procedure recommended by the late Judge Tuley and adopted by the Council last year. But by passing the ordinances completely and finally in the Council, though subject to referendum, the opportunity for harassing litigation is created. After the people have voted the ordinances down at the referendum, the companies can set up the claim that the referendum condition is mere surplusage, and that the ordinances were completely enacted when the Council passed them. This they will certainly do. What of it if they lose in the end? They lost their 99-year claims in the end, but the end was long coming and the interval was a profitable period for the companies.



The legal opinion of the special traction counsel, Mr. Fisher, to the effect that the best judicial authorities support the view that legislation subject to referendums not authorized by law, stands or falls by the result of the referendum, or at the worst fails altogether instead of taking effect when the condition is held to be illegal, is probably sound. But even that opinion, delivered though it was under the stress of evident anxiety on Mr. Fisher's part to promote the immediate adoption of the ordinances by the Council, discloses the fact that the courts recognize two sides to the question and that one side, should it prevail, would validate these ordinances even though the people were to vote against them a hundred to one. Common prudence, therefore, should have dictated extreme caution on the part of the Council. But there was no prudence. An overwhelming majority forced the passage of the ordinances, incontinently rejecting every protective amendment, at a

session of the Council which was held down to its work, on the very evening of the committee's final report recommending thirty or forty amendments, throughout the night and far into the morning hours. There was no public necessity for this extraordinary haste, nor is there any possible legitimate explanation. In the light of the history of such performances in this city and State, and indeed throughout the country, the only possible explanation lies in the inference that corruption was rife.

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This inference is emphasized by the circumstances. On the majority side were lined up every notorious gray wolf who takes his provender raw, and every notorious greyhound who likes his cooked. "Reform aldermen" with a shrewd eye to business, and "bad aldermen" with a rheumy eye for boodle, trotted along most amicably at roll call side by side. City Hall rumor has it that two million dollars has been distributed to secure the passage of these ordinances—one million to aldermen and one million to newspapers. But Dame Rumor is not always good at figures. So the rumor may be wrong. It is even possible that there has been no corruption fund at all. The extraordinary unanimity of "reform" aldermen and "boodle" aldermen, of aldermen in precarious business condition and aldermen with political ambitions, of corrupt political machines and of Dugald Dalghetty newspapers, and withal of the traction companies themselves—this comprehensive unanimity of multifarious elements may possibly have been due solely to a pentecostal revival of public spirit in unexpected places. All those elements may have truly regarded these crooked ordinances as straight, and their imprudently hasty passage as a public duty imperative. But we don't believe it, nor is it likely to be generally believed.

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The most pitiable figure in the whole affair is Alderman Werno, chairman of the committee on local transportation. That committee was organized nearly two years ago with a majority to support Mayor Dunne's traction policy, and Alderman Werno was accordingly made its chairman. Until recently Mr. Werno has had the Mayor's confidence and given every sign of deserving it. His name has heretofore been associated with those of Dever, Zimmer, Finn, Kohout and the others who have valorously and as yet successfully in spite of their being in the minority, supported the municipal ownership programme. But Mr. Werno has recently manifested

a change of purpose, and on the day of the passage of the ordinance he appeared conspicuously as a thick and thin advocate both of the crooked ordinances and of the "jamming" process by which with inexplicable haste they were put upon their passage. It is not his change of purpose, however, that makes him so conspicuously pitiable, but his absurdly wretched efforts to cover his retreat into the enemy's camp.

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Mr. Fisher, the special counsel, had refused, at the meeting of the local transportation committee, to explain the haste in passing the ordinances, giving as his reason that as legal counsel for the committee it was not in his province to comment upon policies. Thereupon the same question was put by the same questioner to Chairman Werno. Mr. Werno answered: "I do not feel called on to reply"! And he has not replied. So far as anything to the contrary yet appears, Mr. Werno does not know of any reason for the haste. Nor is this remarkable, perhaps, for no one not completely in the confidence of the companies does know. Mr. Werno again appeared in a humiliating role when upon being confronted by Alderman Dever with a perfectly reasonable amendment calculated to keep open the way to municipal ownership, he explained that the companies would not accept this amendment and therefore it would be destructive of the ordinances! But the most remarkable of all Mr. Werno's interesting displays in his new role came as a reply to Alderman Dever's proposition to strike out the requirement of municipal operation as a condition to the purchase of the lines from the companies for municipal ownership. The evident purpose of the companies in insisting upon this condition is to prevent municipal ownership. For while the city can legally own, it cannot legally operate; and it never can acquire legal authority to operate so long as traction interests can control councils and prevent the submission to referendum of an operating ordinance. Alderman Dever's amendment was intended not to prevent operation but to deprive the companies of the "cinch" they were demanding, and thereby to clear the way for public operation—to make ownership possible and the way to operation easy. Now, behold Alderman Werno's reply: "I can't understand these advocates of municipal ownership, who, with all sincerity, no doubt, insist on municipal ownership without municipal operation"! A regularly retained lawyer for the corporations could not have turned the merits of the question inside out more gracefully, nor could any

alderman have turned himself into their spokesman more awkwardly.

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But if Alderman Werno has abjectly degraded himself Alderman Dever has made a splendid record for faithfulness and ability. His amendments were not palatable to the traction ring, but they were enlightening to the people. His questions cut the ground from under the combine. His speeches, while temperate in tone, were vigorous as well as ready in thought, and they mercilessly probed the pretenses of the ordinance jammers. As a net result, it clearly appeared, in spite of Alderman Werno's pettifogging defense of the "Africans" in the ordinances, that the ordinances are designed to settle the traction question in favor of Pierpont Morgan's traction ring.

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When the people come to consider these ordinances for the purpose of deciding how to cast their referendum vote, they will find them to be as disgraceful a piece of compromising with civic sin as any people have ever been pestered with. To call them "rotten" is to slander putridity. There are pretenses of universal transfer rights when no such rights are secured. There are reservations in favor of the companies in case of strikes, but no requirements to prevent provoking unnecessary strikes. The city cannot purchase except for municipal operation; but there is no way of getting legal rights of operation, no matter how strongly the people may be for it, so long as a bare majority of aldermen can be bribed or coerced by these powerful corporations. To cap all, the companies are permitted by the ordinances—aye, it is actually provided for in the ordinances—to expend such sums in rehabilitation as to increase the purchase price many millions beyond the \$75,000,000 at the disposal of the city for purchase, and this sum cannot be augmented so long as a bare majority of the Council can be bribed or coerced by the corporations. That the two latter points are vital is evident from the attitude of the corporations toward them. Although no genuine business question is involved, although no legitimate right of the companies would be prejudicially affected, the companies persistently refuse to assent to any amendment that would allow the city to purchase for ownership without operation, or that would keep the purchase price within the means of the city to buy, or that would provide now for augmenting its means to buy. The purpose is plain. It is nothing else than a determination to prevent purchase by the city. Municipal ownership is thereby obstructed, both as a

general policy and as a reservation for insuring good service.

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That Mayor Dunne will veto these ordinances goes without saying, for he has been consistently true to his pledges to the people of Chicago. That they will be passed over his veto is to be inferred, since the companies already have more than two-thirds of the aldermen in one or another of their corrals. That the people will vote the ordinances down at the municipal election is evident from the avidity with which the referendum petitions have been so numerously signed. That the companies will then nevertheless try to hold the ordinances valid in the courts on the ground that the referendum clause is nugatory, is certain. That in the end they will lose on this question in the courts is more than probable. Whether in the meantime the brigand crew is routed and their throttle hold upon the rights and conveniences of Chicago finally loosed by the taking over of the traction service by the city, will depend upon whether or not the people back up their condemnation of the ordinances with the reelection of Mayor Dunne and the selection of aldermen who will cooperate with him instead of cooperating with the brigands as so many of the present aldermen have done.

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The Referendum in Chicago.

It was a rude awaking that of the Chicago newspapers and aldermen and lynx-eyed "business" men when their loud assertions that the people wanted no referendum on the traction ordinances (p. 1040) was met with the biggest and strongest and cleanest set of petitions ever filed for a referendum vote. The time had been reduced to a minimum, in the expectation of making the effective circulation of the petitions impossible. The petitions had been clamorously denounced as saturated with fraud and forgery, and the conspirators, to make good, had "planted" upon the petition-collectors scores of thousands of false and forged signatures. One of their methods was to "plant" whole sheets of names with no genuine signatures upon them and so keyed as to enable men in the secret to pull them out of a pile of sheets apparently at random. Had this trick prevailed, some 300 sheets, "taken at random," would have been exploited by the subsidized newspapers as proof of fraudulent "saturation." They had even gone so far as to take steps in the Council to appropriate money for the "discovery" of this evidence of "saturation." But Mayor Dunne himself had the inspection done, and after all suspi-

cious sheets had been thrown out, 141,000 signatures remained. From this number a large deduction was made as allowance for joke names, individual frauds, and errors, which reduced the unimpeachable list to 112,000. As the number required was 87,000, this made the petition complete. Afterwards additional sheets with over 60,000 signatures came in and these were not inspected, for it was unnecessary. At once there was a painful silence. It was that kind of silence after noise which awakens the heaviest sleeper. The "business" interests, the clubs, the newspapers, realized that public opinion is not confined to the "Loop." And the newspapers—especially the Tribune and the Lawson publications—learned a much needed lesson. They learned that by their hypocritically false news reporting they have at last forfeited the confidence of their readers.

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Marshall Field's Personal Property.

From the inventory of personal property of the late Marshall Field which has been filed in the probate court, it would seem that his personal property amounted to something more than \$40,000,000. But an examination of the inventory discloses the fact that an overwhelming proportion of this personalty consists in fact of certificates of interests in real estate—railway stock, mining stock, railway bonds, etc.—and these are not truly personal property. Though the law so regards them, they are nothing economically but evidences of title. The property they represent is solid earth, and the value of the certificates depends upon the value of that earth. Yet we often hear it objected to the exemption of personal property from taxation, that it would allow great fortunes to escape.

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Professor Starr's Significant Discovery.

The "proud Caucasian" may find food for reflection, if he has any tenderness in his nature, in the remarkable statement by Prof. Frederick Starr implying a moral inferiority in the white race. Mr. Starr's papers on his recent sojourn in interior Africa among the natives, are of an exceedingly high order, both in point of interest as a story of travel in strange places, and for their value as a report upon original anthropological investigation. In one of these papers, appearing in the Chicago Tribune of the 2d, Prof. Starr says:

Returned from the Congo country and a year and more of contact with the dark natives, I find a curious and most disagreeable sensation has possession

of me. I had often read and heard that other peoples regularly find the faces of white men terrifying and cruel. The Chinese, the Japanese, other peoples of Asia, all tell the same story. The white man's face is fierce and terrible. His great and prominent nose suggests the tearing beak of some bird of prey. His fierce face causes babes to cry, children to run in terror, grown folk to tremble. I had always been inclined to think that this feeling was individual and trifling; that it was solely due to strangeness and lack of contact. To-day I know better. Contrasted with the other faces of the world the face of the fair white is terrible, fierce, and cruel. No doubt our intensity of purpose, our firmness and dislike of interference, our manner in walk and action, and in speech, all add to the effect. However that may be, both in Europe and our own land, after my visit to the blacks, I see the cruelty and fierceness of the white man's face as I never would have believed was possible. For the first time I can appreciate fully the feeling of the natives. The white man's dreadful face is a prediction; where the fair white goes he devastates, destroys, depopulates.

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The Black Man's Devotion.

In uncomplimentary contrast with the observation of Prof. Starr on the cruel expression of the white man's face as it appears to men of other races, is this tribute of a Canadian woman to the generosity of the blacks of Kingston, Jamaica, at the time of the earthquake. We copy it from the Toronto Daily Star of the 30th:

The black servants, for whom I have come to have the profoundest reverence in this hour of trial, crowded round apparently less frightened than the whites, and with only one desire—to be of aid, to run, fetch, and carry, saying comforting words of religion, for they seem to have naturally a deep faith, and doing all that love and devotion could conceive. What we would have done without these eager feet and hands, those unconfused heads, in those first moments I could not say.

It would do white men no harm to reflect upon the possibility of there being in the "inferior" races a human quality in comparison with which the domineering qualities of the all-conquering white man may be as those of beasts of prey. Ability to conquer is not necessarily evidence of superiority—not of human superiority.

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A Reductio ad Absurdum.

Secretary Shaw has "gone the limit" on the question of protection. He proposes the establishment of a "free port," into which materials may be imported free from all parts of the world, to be there manufactured into finished goods, and be thence exported to the world's markets. The "free ports" would be separated by tariff restrictions from the rest of the country, so that only

the foreign world would get the benefit of the cheaper products. The idea is a good one, which might be vastly improved by enlarging the boundaries of the "free ports" so as to include within them the whole country. If American manufacturers can pay American wages for the manufacturing of American products to be sold abroad in competition with the "pauper labor" of Europe, they can pay American wages for products to be sold at home. The advantage of the "free ports" would be not low wages, but free materials. This is another recognition of the truth that cheap goods do not come from low wages. High wages usually mean low cost of production. It is high taxes and not high wages that make high prices.

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THE PROTECTION PRINCIPLE AND TARIFF REDUCTIONS.

It is with much interest and added respect for the American Protective Tariff League that we read its reply to the inquiries of the National Association of Manufacturers regarding tariff modifications. The League stands for protection as a principle, just as we stand for free trade as principle, and it plumply refuses to be drawn into any compromising relations with manufacturers who want tariff reductions on the products of others but not on their own. These manufacturers remind the League of Josh Billings's remark "that the best place to have a boil is on the other fellow."

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"Reciprocity," in the technical sense, is rightly regarded by the League as "a breeder of hoggishness" that "would take the blue ribbon at any county fair." And "of all forms of tariff revision or tariff reduction," it argues, "reciprocity is the most outrageous and abominable, because it begins by discriminating against one group of domestic industries and in favor of other industries, and ends by discriminating in favor of some foreign countries and against other countries." The League sees in such reciprocity, what we also see, that "it would carry with it the downfall of protection." For the same reason, therefore, we look with favor on what the League opposes.

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The League stands for protection unmitigated and undisturbed. That is where it ought to stand, if it stands for protection at all. For protection is either a fundamental principle of general benefit, as protectionists say, or else it is a method of creating special favors. If it is a principle for

the general good, then the more completely and rigidly it is applied the better will it be for the whole country. But if it is a method of creating special favors, then it cannot be torn up by the roots too soon. That the League believes it to be for the general good is evident from its stand on proposals to modify. If tariff revision is to come, the League prefers that it come at once, so that we may the sooner "find out the folly of it." The League opposes a permanent "non-partisan" tariff commission for the purpose of taking the tariff question out of politics, and for this opposition it gives the best of reasons. It truly says that there is no such thing as non-partisanship on the tariff question except among fools. It thinks that if a bi-partisan commission were appointed it would be constantly at loggerheads and command no one's respect, and that a commission wholly of protectionists would be derided by free traders. And it doubts the willingness and denies the right of the proper Congressional committees to surrender their functions to a commission. All this is perfectly sound and genuine. It points to a consistent protection policy, with all the faith of men who believe in it for patriotic and not for financial reasons. It raises the one and only issue that can be candidly raised, namely, protection or free trade. There is no middle ground. Protection with free trade features or free trade with protection features, would be special privilege in disguise. If protection is good, let us have plenty of it; if it is bad, let's get wholly rid of it.

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THAT CAVE OF ADULLAM.

Patience is important in moments of perplexity when public interests are in the balance, but I am often impatient and indignant when I see from time to time the abominable methods that are pursued by the Plunderbund of Chicago to continue their hold upon public property. Not content with having already robbed the people of millions of dollars, they not only insist on their right to continue their iniquitous course but their newspaper allies revile those who are heroically waging war upon them and trying to see justice done.

Recently one of the Chicago dailies which pretends to great fairness in treating all controverted subjects had this to say regarding leaders in the efforts to prevent a traction settlement by the pending ordinances and without a referendum:

The cause of the opposition is the cause of a motley band of Adullamites. Tone, Haley, Grossberg, Blakely and Doty are the preachers of discontent, and their names give a pretty clear idea of the

movement they are leading. They speak for visionaries and malignants, for people who could not be satisfied in a thousand years. It is fortunate for Chicago that the number of these cave dwellers is so small. A city that should have to submit to their dreams and their rancor would be a bedlam, with the inmates as governors.

Most of these persons, let it be recalled, are leaders in or connected with the Referendum League of Illinois, which organization has secured nearly every public policy petition thus far voted on in Chicago or the State.

The term of derision, "Adullamites," "cave dwellers," which this newspaper uses, is quite a favorite with plutocrats and their defenders. And on a superficial reading of the Bible passage to which it refers, the citation might seem appropriate. But any one well acquainted with Scripture would not use it as a term of reproach.

Governor Tanner of Illinois applied the term in derision to the followers of Governor Altgeld, saying: "A political cave of Adullam like that of old, is thus opened by these men, where every one who is in distress and every one who is in debt and every one who is discontented may gather together to the end that some arch-demagogue may become a captain over them." Tanner said this when he himself was doing things which no honest man would have done.

They who use this Scripture incident forget that the leader in the cave was one David, who, before he fled into the cave of Adullam, had been by divine direction anointed to become king over Israel in place of the rejected King Saul. David in the cave of Adullam was in the right; Saul in his contentment was in the wrong. In that cave the Messianic hopes of the world centered. The band in the cave hourly increased and finally delivered the country from the tyranny of Saul.

If, as the newspaper says, "Tone, Haley, Grossberg, Blakely and Doty" are "Adullamites," they are in the right. They are leaders of those who demand justice—are leaders of the common people; and as all progress has come from democracy in the past, it is reasonable to believe that in the present fight between democracy and plutocracy, not only in Chicago but throughout our nation, the former will prevail.

JAMES P. CADMAN.

* * *

A young scoffer once told Dr. John Hall that the religion he preached might be good for old women, but it would not do for men. Dr. Hall answered: "Sir, the religion that I preach is either true or it is not true. If it is true, it is good for everybody; if it is not true, it is neither good for old women nor for anybody else."—Afloat.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

AUSTRALIA.

(See page 919.)

Corowa, N. S. W., Australia, Jan. 5th, 1907.—Federal elections for the House of Representatives and half of the Senate were held on December 12th. Though many individual changes were made, the state of the parties was altered very little:

	Last Parliament.	
	House.	Senate.
Ministerialist	19	6
Opposition	31	16
Labor	25	14
New Parliament.		
Ministerialist	18	3
Opposition	31	18
Labor	26	15

As at the election of 1903, only about half the electors voted, and the effect of sectarianism was noticeable, especially in some of the cities. The opposition party in the House may be divided into Tariff Reformers (on a protectionist basis) 11, and Fiscal Trucers, 20. It is probable that the first business undertaken will be tariff revision.

Mr. Max Hirsch was a candidate for the Wimmera electorate in Victoria, but was unsuccessful. Some really democratic members of the last Parliament were defeated, notably Mr. E. Lonsdale, of New South Wales.

A referendum on the question of altering the constitution so that elections may be held in the autumn instead of the summer, was taken, but the result is not yet known.

The local government extension act was passed by the New South Wales parliament just before Christmas. Copies are not yet obtainable.

ERNEST BRAY.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

Week ending Wednesday, Feb. 6, 1907.

The Chicago Referendum.

The referendum petitions on the Chicago traction question (p. 1040) were successful beyond all precedent, notwithstanding the exceptionally unfavorable circumstances. The petition authorized by the City Council, but which the Council did nothing to circulate, leaving that duty entirely to the Mayor, was subjected, at the Mayor's instance, to the scrutiny of Raymond Robins, James Mullenbach (superintendent of the municipal lodging house), and George E. Hooker, secretary of the City Club. On the 31st they made the following report:

To the Voters of Chicago: At the request of Mayor

Dunne we have been engaged since Monday morning in examining and preparing for filing with the Election Commissioners such "single question" petitions as have been presented at the Mayor's office, asking for a referendum vote, at the April election, on the pending traction ordinances, under the City Council resolution of the 15th instant. As a result we have now filed with the Election Commissioners a "single question" petition having approximately: (1)—112,000 signatures, which after personal examination by us appear to be and, with allowance for inevitable errors, are in our judgment, the signatures of that number of registered voters of Chicago. (2)—10,832 signatures, a portion of which we are unable, after such examination, to approve as presumptively genuine. (3)—62,054 signatures which arrived to-day too late for examination, but which appear on casual scrutiny to be up to the average of genuineness reached by those already examined. We do not regard ourselves nor the Mayor as authorized to exclude arbitrarily any petitions presented, but we feel it our right and duty in a public matter of this sort to classify and state the facts as above. The signatures which we have dealt with in this case have been presented by the City Departments, by citizens and by the Referendum League. Some of us have had experience heretofore in examining similar petitions. It is our unanimous judgment that the petition we have just filed contains the bona fide signatures of a very considerable number of the registered voters of Chicago in excess of 87,000. A petition of this sort is unavoidably open to abuse, but the evidences which have come to us of care and of a sense of responsibility in connection with its preparation, together with the results of certain detailed checking up that has been done, lead us to regard it as being essentially as we have indicated.

Besides the signatures so reported, about 30,000 were omitted in order to allow for good measure, and about 30,000 were rejected as fraudulent. The total number of probably genuine signatures therefore aggregated in round numbers 215,000. Though in less degree, the three-question petition also was successful, the signers of this aggregating 107,459. As the first question of these three is the same as the sole question on the Council petition, many signatures were duplicated in the grand total of 320,459; but the 107,459 to the other two questions carries these questions also to the "little ballot." The three questions to be voted upon in April will therefore be as follows:

(1) For the approval of ordinances substantially in the form of the pending ordinances reported to the City Council of the City of Chicago on January 15, A. D. 1907, authorizing the Chicago City Railway Company and the Chicago Railways Company, respectively, to construct, maintain and operate street railways in said city, and providing further for the purchase thereof by the said city or its licensee.

(2) Shall all ordinances granting franchises to public service corporations be submitted to the people and by them approved before final adoption by the City Council?

(3) Shall the Legislature repeal the Sunday closing laws, which forbid, under penalty, attending or taking part in amusements or diversions, maintaining open bars, and engaging in business or work on Sunday?

* * *

Passage of the Chicago Traction Ordinances.

Subject to the vote on the above referendum, the traction ordinances (pp. 993, 1016, 1040) were passed by the City Council in the early morning of the 5th. The matter was first taken up in the afternoon of the 4th by the local transportation committee. After working from 3 o'clock in the afternoon until 7

in the evening, the committee had adopted more than 30 amendments, most of them described as "merely verbal," and soon afterwards the chairman of the committee, Alderman Werno, calling up the ordinances in the Council, moved their immediate passage as so amended.

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At the meeting of the local transportation committee Mayor Dunne protested against the "unseemly haste," amounting "almost to indecency," with which the measure was being rushed. Among the spectators was George E. Hooker, secretary of the City Club who, upon getting permission to speak, asked the special traction counsel, Mr. Fisher, for "the reason for haste in passing the ordinances." Mr. Fisher replied that he was the legal counsel for the committee and was not called on to comment on policies. "Well," said Mr. Hooker, "I will ask Chairman Werno the same question." Chairman Werno promptly answered, "I do not feel called on to reply." Prior to this, when Alderman Bennett moved that the ordinances be brought before the Council "at this evening's session," and the motion prevailed against the opposition of Aldermen Dever, Zimmer and Finn, Mayor Dunne arose and asked: "Does this mean, gentlemen, that you intend to press the ordinances for passage to-night?" Alderman Bennett curtly replied: "Exactly what it means."

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At the Council meeting, when the ordinances for the City Railway (south side) was called up by Alderman Werno, Alderman Dever moved to defer consideration until the next meeting of the Council. But Alderman Werno moved to table this motion, and it was tabled by a vote of 55 to 14. Alderman Werno then moved the committee amendments, one after another, and they were adopted by about the same vote. A motion by Alderman Derpa to require the company to submit all differences with their employes to arbitration was tabled on motion of Alderman Werno by a vote of 37 to 32. Alderman Dever moved that "no action be taken by the City Council toward the final passage, either conditionally or unconditionally," of the ordinance, until after the election, and that after the election it be passed only in the event that a majority of the votes cast on the proposition at the election be favorable; the motion was tabled by a vote of 36 to 13. The referendum clause adopted makes the ordinance effective "in the event, and only in the event, that it is approved by the referendum vote." Other amendments proposed by Alderman Dever were as follows:

To enable the city to buy the south side lines subject to the debts incurred by the company in rehabilitation, as is to be permitted in the purchase of the north and west side lines. Tabled by 56 to 13.

To allow the city to purchase for municipal ownership without the obligation of municipal operation. Tabled by 53 to 13.

To so limit the expenditure for rehabilitation as to keep the purchase price at which the city may buy, within 85 per cent. of the amount of Mueller certificates that the city may at the time have the right to issue. Tabled by 51 to 10.

To provide that the city's share of net receipts shall

be equal to not less than 8 per cent. of the gross receipts. Tabled by 50 to 13.

To allow any licensee of the city to purchase on the same terms as the city, and without the 20 per cent. penalty, upon agreeing to a 4 cent fare. Tabled by 48 to 9.

It was long after 3 o'clock in the morning of the 5th when the vote was forced on the City Railway (south side) ordinance. It resulted in its passage by 56 to 13. Immediately thereafter the Union Traction Company (north and west sides) ordinance was altered by amendments in bulk, and at 4 o'clock in the morning this also was passed by 56 to 13. The vote on the passage of both ordinances was as follows:

Yeas—Kenna, Coughlin, Dixon, Foreman, Pringle, Dailey, Martin, McCormick, Young, McCoid, Bennett, Snow, Moynihan, Harris, Flick, Scully, Hurt, Cullerton, Hoffman, Riley, Considine, Harkin, Maypole, Smith, Nowicki, Schermann, Brennan, Conlon, Powers, Bowler, Stewart, Reese, Foell, Sullivan, Dougherty, Werno, Jacobs, Hahne, Krumholz, Dunn, Williston, Lipps, Reinberg, Stewart, Blase, Herlthy, Wendling, Golombiewski, Burns, Bradley, Roberts, Fisher, Badenoch, Hunt, Bhl, Race. Total—56.

Nays—Harding, Richert, Derpa, Zimmer, Uhlir, Bellfuss, Sitts, Dever, Finn, Larson, O'Connell, Kohout, Nolan. Total—13.

* *

The Chicago Election.

The contest for Mayor of Chicago (p. 1039) is advancing, with Mayor Dunne and ex-Mayor Harrison for the Democratic, and Postmaster Busse as the most probable candidate for the Republican, nomination. The Hearst papers have introduced a new element by tentatively opposing both Dunne and Harrison, and suggesting William Prentiss as a third candidate. This nomination is generally regarded as impossible. If pressed, however, it would obstruct the nomination of Dunne and might possibly result in the success of Harrison. In that case an independent candidacy at the polls, supported by the independent Hearst papers, would be possible (as it would not be as against Dunne), and an independent nomination against Harrison would result in the election of Busse. As the matter now stands, therefore, the opposition of the Hearst papers to Dunne may by possibility defeat his nomination. Should it do so, Harrison would be the candidate. In that case the Independence League, backed by the Hearst papers, would make an independent nomination, and thereby Harrison would be defeated at the polls and the Republican elected. The probabilities, however, favor the Democratic nomination of Dunne, against whom it would be impossible to induce the Independence League to make an independent nomination, and Dunne would without reasonable doubt be elected.

*

The Prohibitionists have nominated William A. Brubaker for Mayor.

* *

The Mayoralty Contest in Springfield.

A municipal election of interest wherever the municipal movement is attracting attention is promised for Springfield, Illinois, in April. Frank H. Bode, who as the Democratic candidate for alderman carried

a strong Republican ward last Spring (p. 7) and afterwards made a fine record as a democratic Democrat in a contest with the public utilities corporations in the City Council (p. 373), has resigned as alderman in order to take an independent Democratic nomination for mayor. He resigns now, so that his successor may be elected at the coming municipal election, thereby saving the expense of a special ward election. Among the pledges to the people which Mr. Bode makes are promises to stamp out wine rooms, to close disorderly saloons, to conserve the right of orderly persons to the use of orderly beer saloons at all times, to suppress gambling, to try to abolish favoritism in taxation, to respect the will of the majority, to abolish the levying of tribute on vice, to promote honest and ideal methods of securing franchise values for the common good, to prefer union labor and to utilize the municipal lighting plant for general consumption. At a meeting on the 30th, described in the Illinois State Register as "the most enthusiastic political mass meeting ever held in the city of Springfield," Mr. Bode presented his platform, and resolutions were adopted unanimously demanding his nomination by the Democratic party. "If the Democratic machine organization," says the Register, "refuses to recognize the demand of the rank and file and place Alderman Frank H. Bode before the people for mayor, then there is every probability that Alderman Frank Bode will go before the people at the spring election as an independent candidate." Mr. Bode is well known in Springfield as a believer in the land and labor doctrines of Henry George.

* *

The New Senator from New Jersey.

Senator Dryden has withdrawn from the Senatorial race (p. 1016) in New Jersey. He did this on the 2d, and on the 5th the State Treasurer, Frank O. Briggs, was elected as the Republican candidate. He received 41 votes, and was elected over the Democratic candidate, James E. Martine, who received 35. Mr. Briggs was Mayor of Trenton in 1899, and is chairman of the Republican state committee. He graduated from West Point in 1872 and served five years as second lieutenant in the Second United States cavalry.

* *

National Woman Suffrage Convention.

The annual convention of the American Woman Suffrage Association is to meet at Music Hall, Fine Arts Building, Chicago, from the 14th to the 19th of February. Among the subjects of special current interest that are to be discussed is municipal suffrage for women, in connection with which Anna E. Nicholes will speak on "The Ballot for Working Women," Mrs. Raymond Robins on "The Civic Duty of Women," Kate M. Gordon on "Some Experiments in New Orleans," and Lilla D. Monroe on "Municipal Suffrage in Kansas." This discussion will take place on the 14th at 3:15 in the afternoon. There will be a symposium on the 15th at 3:15 on industrial conditions for women and children, led by Florence Kelly, and participated in by Graham Romeyn Taylor, Mary McDowell and Alice Henry (of Australia). The list of other speakers includes Oliver Stewart at 8 o'clock

on the 14th, Jenkin Lloyd Jones at the same hour on the 15th, Mary E. Coggeshall, Emily Perkins and Louis F. Post at the same hour on the 18th, and Harriet Taylor Upton, Caroline Lexow and Dorothy Dix at the same hour on the 19th. On Saturday, the 16th, there will be a musical session at 3:30 in the afternoon, at which addresses will be made by Herbert S. Bigelow, Jane Addams and Emil G. Hirsch.



The German Elections.

The last of the reballoting in the elections for the new Reichstag (p. 1039) came off on the 5th, with results which further emphasize the Government's victory at the first balloting on the 25th. The Social Democrats have lost nearly half their strength. All other parties have gained, including the Government's opponents, the Clericals. The following is the result of both ballotings, compared with the composition of the last Reichstag:

	New.	Old.
Conservatives	81	74
Socialists	43	79
Agrarians and anti-Semites.....	26	21
Clericals	108	104
National Liberals	56	51
Radicals	48	36
Poles	20	16
Irregulars	12	16

Press dispatches assert that the Government has obtained the desired Conservative-Liberal majority, on which it can rely on purely national questions, and for the support of its colonial policy.



The Russian Elections.

Elections for the new Douma (p. 850) are in progress in Russia. As the elections are not direct, but as it were to one electoral college superimposed upon another, it is difficult to forecast results. The primary elections for members of the lower house came to an end on the 30th in 38 provinces, comprising one-half the total electorate in Russia. According to administration figures the electors were divided approximately as follows:

- Conservative monarchists, 35 per cent.
- Moderate progressives, 40 per cent.
- Constitutional democrats and other extremists 25 per cent.

These returns are admitted to be untrustworthy as a guide to the final result, but they assure the presence of a strong Conservative wing. It was reported on the 4th that Count Heyden, leader of the party of Peaceful Regeneration, and Professor Kovalevsky, leader of the Democratic Reform party, had been defeated for re-election to the Douma in the elections of the land owners of Pakoff and Kharkov provinces respectively. The Count was defeated by a Radical, and the professor was beaten by a member of the Octoberist party. It was reported later that Count Heyden still had some chances of re-election. Mr. Annikin, leader of the "Group of Toil" in the last Douma, was elected in the first stage of the balloting, but has been disqualified by administrative order. On the representations of the St. Petersburg prefect of police that Professor Milukoff, leader of the Constitutional Democrats, is not entitled to franchise, the senate removed the name of the professor from

the electoral list. It appears that Mr. Milukoff secured a license to trade, with the object of obtaining a vote in St. Petersburg, but the license must be a year old before the holder is entitled to a franchise, and that period has not yet elapsed.



The Prime Minister, Mr. Stolypin, sent a letter to the governors of all the provinces of Russia on the 31st. The letter set forth the programme of the government in regard to the elections and the new Douma. The Premier pledged the government to work with the Douma to bring the country to order, peace and prosperity. He declared that disorders would be suppressed firmly, but lawfully, and that justice and not oppression will rule. He replied to the charges of unfairness and the suppression by the Government of the votes of the Opposition, by instructing the governors to guarantee complete electoral freedom. He recommended the officials to refrain from taking an active part in the elections and ordered severe measures to be taken against revolutionary propaganda.



The French Republic and the Church Approach an Understanding.

The Chamber of Deputies on the 30th adopted a public meetings bill by 550 votes against five. This bill consists of four sections. The first authorizes meetings without previous declaration of intention; the second repeals the restrictions contained in the acts of 1881, 1905 and 1907; the third instructs the mayors of France to place the existing meeting places at the disposal of the public, and the fourth holds the organizers of meetings responsible for damage. This law will become operative as soon as it passes the senate. During the debate upon the bill the Premier, Mr. Clemenceau, took occasion to designate the declaration of the French bishops drawn up at La Murette, and offered as a possible modus vivendi for the church (p. 1041), as "an insolent ultimatum." Mr. Clemenceau said further: "The bishops will not obtain anything beyond the common law. We will not concede anything, but we will hold the line of battle with unexhausted resources." But Mr. Briand, Minister of Education and Worship, while also regarding the proposition of the bishops as unacceptable, is reported as differing from Mr. Clemenceau as to the propriety of rejecting it altogether. He is said to hold that the war with the church has gone far enough, and that if it is possible to reach an adjustment the door of conciliation should not be closed. He has succeeded in delaying harsh measures proposed by Mr. Clemenceau, and on the 3d caused an "urgent" circular to be sent to the prefects of all departments for communication to the mayors, recognizing the entire freedom of the mayors, with the authorization of the municipal councils, to grant leases of churches, rent free, to common law associations or clergymen. The only restriction is that the duration of a contract may not exceed eighteen years without the approval of the prefect. The lessee is merely held responsible for all repairs, while the essential condition is that the edifice shall remain attached to the denomination by which it was used before the separation law became effective until

it is legally disaffected. The circular recognizes the standing of clergymen desiring to act as lessees, and their right of consultation with their bishops. The promulgation of this circular is regarded as a more extended stride toward the solution of the church question than had been expected of the Government, by the most optimistic; and the moderate Catholic organs as well as the lay press have warmly welcomed it, regarding it as especially conciliatory, since the Minister frankly concedes the Vatican's demand that the clergy and the hierarchy be accorded respect. On the other hand, the Socialists strongly oppose this liberalism on the part of the Government, and the Premier himself is not in sympathy with the move, though the Cabinet has formally approved the circular.

NEWS NOTES

—Members of the theatrical trust were indicted at New York on the 31st for conspiracy in restraint of trade.

—The universal suffrage bill promised at the opening of the Swedish Parliament (p. 1017) was introduced in the Parliament on the 2d.

—According to the annual report of the Forest City Railway Company, the "Threefer" of Cleveland (p. 1040), it has been making money since last November.

—The second trial of Cornelius P. Shea (p. 1020) and his associates of the Chicago teamsters' strike began on the 2d. The jury panel has not yet been filled.

—Parcels post has been established between the United States and Bermuda, as a result of a parcels post convention between representatives of the United States and the British colony.

—According to a dispatch from Peking dated the 31st, the Chinese authorities, with a view to paving the way for constitutional government (p. 777), have issued telegraphic instructions to the various viceroys, governors and Tartar generals throughout the Empire to give expression to their views on the subject.

—Nicaragua and Honduras are reported as in dispute over military incursions back and forth across their mutual boundary, started by some Honduras malcontents. A court of arbitration is sitting in San Salvador to handle the case, but the people of Nicaragua are said not to be satisfied with this method of settlement.

—Consul-General J. P. Bray of Melbourne reports that the gross revenue received from the government railroads of Victoria during the fiscal year 1905-6 was the largest on record. There were 3,394 miles of lines in operation. After the working expenses and interest on the railway debt account were deducted, a surplus of \$966,840 was returned into the treasury.

—Hugh O. Pentecost died on the 2d at New York. A printer as a youth, he became first a Baptist minister and then a Congregational minister. In 1887 he left the ministry and later became a lawyer. Recently he has practiced law in New York City, and on Sundays has preached as an independent minis-

ter. Mr. Pentecost was drawn into radicalism by reading Henry George's "Progress and Poverty," and for a time he was active as a leader in the George movement, which he left in 1889. He was a son-in-law of the inventor of the Gatling gun.

—A new passenger tariff has been adopted by the government lines in Germany, according to a report by Consul Thomas H. Norton of Chemnitz. The following rates are agreed to: For first-class, 2.7 cents per mile; for second class, 1.7 cents per mile; for third class, 1.15 cents per mile, and for fourth class, 0.75 cents per mile. It may be added for comparison that first and second class must be considered as corresponding to our parlor-car service, third class to our coaches, and that we have no accommodation corresponding to the German fourth class.

—The monthly statement of the United States treasury department (see p. 996) for January, 1907, shows the following for the fiscal year up to and including that month:

Gold Reserve Fund	\$150,000,000.00
Available Cash	244,708,206.50
Total	\$394,708,206.50
On hand at the close of last fiscal year,	
June 30, 1906	328,087,283.25

Increase

.....\$66,620,923.25

—The House of Representatives of South Carolina voted on the 30th, 74 to 48, to abolish the State dispensary, and the Senate is reported to be committed to the same policy. This law was enacted in 1892. It provides for the sale of liquors purchased by a State commissioner who is a teetotaler, to county dispensers in packages of not more than five gallons or less than a half pint. It also provides for a State board of control and county boards of control, the members to be strict abstainers and their duty being to make rules for the sale of intoxicating liquors in the various counties.

—The monthly treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government (see p. 996) for January, 1907, shows the following for the fiscal year up to and including that month:

Receipts	
Tariff	\$193,993,318.45
Internal Revenue	158,697,038.55
Miscellaneous	31,008,260.66
	<u>\$383,698,617.66</u>
Expenses.	
Civil and miscellaneous	\$ 76,334,169.34
War	64,684,827.96
Navy	57,213,998.99
Indians	9,864,354.34
Pensions	81,020,345.25
Public Works	42,820,259.81
Interest	19,299,494.53
	<u>\$351,237,450.22</u>

Surplus

.....\$32,461,167.44

—By a vote of 71 to 24 the lower House of the Tennessee legislature on the 1st passed a senate bill providing for the extension of what is known as the Adams prohibition laws to the entire State. This action is the culmination of a temperance fight of fourteen years. The law originally provided that no intoxicants should be sold within four miles of public schools. Later it was applied to towns of under 2,000

population, and still later to places of 5,000. Then the Adams law was passed prohibiting the incorporation of any town under 5,000 population without the prohibitive clause. The present bill extends the provisions of that law to all cities of 150,000 and less, according to the census of 1900, which means the entire State.

—Earthquakes were reported from the island of Tasmania, south of Australia, and from various points in Illinois and Indiana, all on the 29th. A steamer arriving in San Francisco on the 31st brought word that the Solomon islands, lying between Hawaii and Australia, were visited by a fearful earthquake several months ago, and so heavy was the force of the temblor that the earth was opened and deep gorges created. The entire appearance of the islands was changed by the great upheaval, but as far as can be ascertained there was no loss of life. This may have been the same earthquake which produced similar results on the island of New Guinea and in the Bismarck archipelago, reported in the latter part of November (p. 825). These latter islands lie directly west of the Solomon islands, in the same general group.

PRESS OPINIONS

THE RAILWAY CRISIS.

The American Monthly Review of Reviews, February, 1907.—The railroads have had plenty of warning and abundance of opportunity to keep well abreast of the development of the country. No condemnation of their failure to do this is likely to be too drastic or to state the facts with serious exaggeration. . . . We have simply reached the climax of a situation that has been coming on for years, and that could have been met without very serious difficulty. . . . Whatever may be the objections to government ownership,—and those objections are very great,—it would be better than the indefinite continuance of an irresponsible and uncontrolled private management in the interest of a ring of plutocrats.

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THE CHICAGO TRACTION SETTLEMENT.

Chicago Inter Ocean (Rep.), Feb. 6.—After an all night wrangle the Council has passed the traction settlement ordinances deemed satisfactory by the professional solvers and the trust press. It may be noted in passing that all the aldermen termed "gray wolves" by the "reform" leagues and their newspaper organs voted for the ordinances. "Business" makes strange bedfellows. . . . The ordinances provide that they shall not go into effect until approved by the people, although it is evident that in the "reform" program this provision amounts to nothing. Viewed as an isolated fact, the ordinances on their face open a practical way for giving Chicago, in time, a better traction service. Of course, municipal ownership always was impracticable, and in discarding it the Council has done that which legislatures are created to do, and by shirking which they become useless and a mere expense without benefit. Heretofore the Council has shirked its plain duty. But viewed historically the ordinances are a most brazen public confession of arrant hypocrisy on the part of their leading advocates. Now that these ordinances have been passed, it would be interesting to know what are the financial rewards which made the settlement acceptable to the "reformers" and their newspaper organs.

THE SOCIALIST DEFEAT IN GERMANY.

(Milwaukee) Social-Democratic Herald, Feb. 2.—There can be no doubt that our party in Germany, as a parliamentary party, has suffered a great defeat. The Social-Democratic party of Germany, after the election of 1903, had 83 representatives, but during the last four years they have lost four seats by death, resignation, etc. At the time of the dissolution of the Reichstag, there were still 79 Social-Democrats in that body. In the general election held on January 25, 1907, the Social-Democrats elected only 29 members as compared with 55 elected in the general election of 1903. It is true, at the Stichwahl (secondary election) which takes place on February 5, the Social-Democratic party will compete in 76 districts. . . . But the chances are very slim indeed that the Social-Democrats will get more than 20 (or at the utmost 24) additional seats in the Stichwahl, because all the other parties usually unite against the Social-Democrats. In fact even the Centrists, who this time are in the opposition, have given out this order. The strength of our party in the next Reichstag will not exceed 50 or possibly 52 seats. And the fact is that we have lost about three-eighths of our strength in the Reichstag. This looks like a veritable disaster. But it is not, if we know the conditions in Germany. In the first place, a heavy vote was polled in Germany this year, while the vote in 1903 was very light. . . . There is also another point to be taken into consideration. The constitution of Germany was adopted in 1871. It stipulates that one member of the Reichstag was to be elected for every 100,000 inhabitants. And accordingly Germany at that time was divided into 397 electoral districts. On that basis, Berlin was then allotted 6 members, Hamburg 3, Breslau 2, etc. Since then, the same movement of the population towards the large cities has taken place in Germany as in America. The large cities have grown tremendously, while the country districts have remained stationary or have even gone backward in population. Accordingly to the growth of the population, Berlin ought now to send 25 members—of whom the Social-Democrats would have at least 20—instead of electing 6, of whom we have 5. Hamburg ought to elect 7, all of whom would be Social-Democrats, instead of electing only 3. . . . Under these circumstances, even at the best an election in Germany gives no adequate measure of the strength of the Social-Democracy in that country. And whether the claim of the Berlin Vorwaerts that the Social-Democratic vote in Germany has gained 10 to 15 per cent. since 1903 is correct or not, this much seems to be certain that we have held our vote. And this is the main thing. . . . At the same time, I am free to say that the Social-Democratic party of Germany, in order to be a real factor, will have to change its tactics considerably. That party has evidently reached the limit of its power with its present tactics. It has virtually all the votes it can possibly get and hold as a purely negative party—for a time to come. . . . It is clear that 3,000,000 voters and over cannot be held in line very much longer with the mere promise of a Socialist republic in the distant future. If the party does not change its tactics there may be worse defeats in store.

IN CONGRESS

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

Washington, Jan. 28—Feb. 2.

Senate.

The bill for the regulation of child labor in the District of Columbia was under consideration on the 28th (p. 1818). Its consideration was continued on the 29th (p. 1864), and followed by the discussion (p. 1865) and pas

sage of the diplomatic and consular appropriation bill (p. 1866), and the fortifications appropriation bill (pp. 1867, 1868). The question of the issuance of land patents occupied most of the time on the 3d (pp. 1913, 1938), and was continued on the 31st (p. 1991) and the 1st (p. 2040), the session of the latter day being closed with memorial addresses on the late Senator Gorman (p. 2045). On the 2d the Indian appropriation bill was under consideration (p. 2089).

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House.

No business of general interest was done on the 28th. On the 29th the agricultural appropriation bill was further considered (p. 1879), and after still further consideration on the 30th (p. 1943) it was passed (p. 1963). The river and harbor bill was then taken up (p. 1963). Its discussion extended over the 31st (p. 2004), the 1st (p. 2058), and the 2d (p. 2108), but without action (p. 2112). Memorial addresses on the late Senator Gorman concluded the session of the 2d (p. 2113).

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE CHILD-TOILERS.

For The Public.

O Children caught beneath the burdened wheels
Of modern Business! soon the unpurchased breath
Of God shall move the greed-mist which conceals
Our baseness that we profit by your life-long death.

Then shall we see ourselves as Justice sees:
Blood-guilty of these stunted lives, these graves.
Then shall we ask ourselves: What profits knees
Bent in God-worship while these live and die like slaves?

Then shall we know the doom that has denied
Soul-growth to us while satisfied with this.
O ye child-toilers! curst is wealth, and pride
Of place and power, so purchased by the things ye miss.

The greed-mist lifts; for those who see, thank God!
Loud voices now, uplifted 'gainst this wrong!
Ye are avenged, O Children, for the nod
Of Business stays the souls that else were justice-strong.

Avenged are ye: the final loss is ours.
Base slaves to Business, believing we are free,
Constrained to close our eyes continually,
Greed hath one gift for us—and with the hard heart
dowers.

Avenged are ye!—since, sowing, we must reap.
Accurst the toll-won coin accumulates,
Blood-stained, to bloodshed bring. The end relates
To those who make their souls like Child's forced labor—
cheap.

But Business shall not blast Child-lives for aye.
Men shall be Masters e'en of Business, soon,
Decreeing your release from toll. The boon
Ye pray for now shall come in Man's sane Justice-day.

EDWIN ARNOLD BRENHOLTZ.

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THE HIGHEST BRIDGE IN THE WORLD

From The (London) Labor Leader of November 16, 1906.

The engineering world of America is just now absorbed in the project of hanging a suspension bridge over the Royal Gorge, in the Grand Canon of the Arkansas. When completed, it will be the highest bridge in the world, 2,627 feet above the surface of

the foaming stream below. The precipitous sides of the gorge are 230 feet apart. According to "The American Inventor," the spanning of this fearful chasm by a bridge must be recorded as one of the most difficult and dangerous projects yet attempted by engineers. Not less than half a million pounds is to be expended in developing the scheme, which is for the most part devoted to the interests of wealthy sightseers and globe-trotters of all nationalities. When we think of the probable death-roll of the working engineers before their task is accomplished, we could wish that it and every other engineering feat in the world might be delayed until the bridge between the workers and the enjoyment of the fruits of their labors had been built to endure for all time.

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ANTE-BELLUM VS. POST-BELLUM SLAVES.

Extract from an Article by John M. Dorney in the Painter and Decorator of November, 1906.

The great mass of the toilers, the wealth producers, the farmers, mechanics, small traders and laborers of this boasted republic are still slaves, and setting aside sentiment, the idea of political freedom, the condition of the average black man and white man as well, is worse in this year of grace, 1906, than was that of the black slave of Virginia in ante-bellum days. The slave was always sure of enough to eat, of clothes to wear, of a place to sleep, that in case of sickness or accident he would be taken care of, for he was of financial interest to his master. The thieving tariff, the giving to private individuals the power to levy taxes, has generated those modern bandits, the trusts, so that every necessity of life, from a tack up to a coffin, is absolutely under control of a few dying worms, with the result that they have grasped the labor products of the millions to such an extent that they have rotted morally and the millions suffer, while five hundred thousand men have been transformed into houseless, homeless, hopeless tramps, our modern Goths and Vandals.

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OUR WASHINGTON LETTER.

For The Public.

Washington, —00.—The bill to abolish colds and catarrh, promises to meet with a chilly reception when it comes from the committee. A powerful lobby has been organized by the handkerchief manufacturers who will make the claim that the bill, besides practically destroying one of the most important American industries, would be an unconstitutional interference with personal liberty. The handkerchief interests are being aided by the laundry interests. Representatives of these two interests met last night to iron out their program and it is reported they have mapped out a plan of campaign which is not to be sneezed at.

The bill to curb back-fence operatics is still in the hands of the peace committee of the Senate. As originally reported from the House, the bill provided that the government should pay one dollar per head for each cat delivered at the sub-treasury dur-

ing banking hours. The bill has been emasculated and, it is believed, rendered inoperative by reducing the price to thirty cents. The friends of the bill in the house claim that the bootjack interests are responsible for the emasculation as the extermination of cats would practically ruin the bootjack business.

Senator Nue from one of the Western States committed a serious breach of senatorial courtesy this morning by making a speech. Considerably more than half of those present were awakened.

Senator Depew was not in his seat to-day.

ELLIS O. JONES.

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AN AGE DOMINATED BY FEAR.

Extract from "Prisons, Police and Punishment" by Edward Carpenter—Reprinted in The Conservator of Philadelphia.

The outer life of society to-day is animated first and foremost by Fear. From the wretched wage-slave, who rises before the break of day, hurries through squalid streets to the dismal sound of the "hammer," engages for nine, ten, or twelve hours, and for a pittance wage, in monotonous work which affords him no interest, no pleasure; who returns home to find his children gone to bed, has his supper, and, worn out and weary, soon retires himself, only to rise again in the morning and pursue the same deadly round, and who leads a life thus monotonous, inhuman, and devoid of all dignity and reality, simply because he is hounded to it by the dread of starvation; to the big commercial man, who, knowing that his wealth has come to him through speculation and the turns and twists of the market, fears that it may at any moment take to itself wings by the same means; who feels that the more wealth he has, the more ways there are in which he may lose it, the more cares and anxieties belonging to it; and who to continually make his position secure is, or thinks himself, forced to stoop to all sorts of mean and dirty tricks; over the great mass of people the same demon spreads its dusky wings.

Feverish anxiety is the keynote of their lives. There is no room for natural gladness or buoyancy of spirits. You may walk the streets of our great cities, but you will hear no one singing—except for coppers; hardly a ploughboy to-day whistles in the furrow, and in almost every factory (this is a fact) if a workman sang at his work he would be "sacked."

We are like shipwrecked folk clambering up a cliff. The waves are raging below. Each one clings by handhold or foothold where he may, and in the panic if he push his neighbor from a point of vantage, it is to be regretted certainly, but it cannot be helped.

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CONFERENCE OF THE SNOOKS COUNTY BENEVOLENT AND PROTECTIVE FEDERATION.

For The Public.

Gullem, Snooks County, Neb., Feb. 1.—A meeting of the Snooks County Benevolent and Protective Association, an organization composed of the principal farmers and horse thieves of this county, was held here last evening. Hon. June Schoenberg presided, and opened the meeting with a large number of

well-chosen remarks about the necessity for the varied interests of their thriving county getting together and establishing a community of interest. He explained that for some time there had been evident feelings of mutual hostility between the farmers and the horse thieves, but with the organization of the Benevolent and Protective Federation an era of better things was dawning. Instead of distrust and suspicion between two important classes of the community, he hoped that in future there would prevail a policy of good will and co-operation.

Quoting from Justice Holmes, of the Supreme Court, President Schoenberg pointed out that it was a great mistake to suppose that the farmers were injured through having a certain number of their horses stolen each year. Depriving these farmers of their horses did not really diminish the total property of the community, and it was not of so much importance who owned the property, as what use was made of it.

Hon. Batty E. Gumbers, speaking for the farmers, said that he entirely agreed with their worthy President. For his part he was glad to share his surplus horses with other enterprising citizens of Snooks County, and he believed that the fact of having a certain number of their horses stolen each year was a great benefit to the farmers, as it created a market for their surplus stock. Besides, the surreptitious removal of some of their horses was an incentive to the farmers to work harder in order to replace them. He could see no reason why in the future the farmers and horse thieves should not live and work in harmony.

After President Schoenberg had exhibited samples of a new felt hoof-pad, which he has found highly efficacious in preventing unnecessary disturbance in connection with the distribution of property in horses, the meeting adjourned until April 1st, when a representative of the Civic Federation will address the farmers on "how to maintain harmony between monopoly and labor."

WHIDDEN GRAHAM.

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WALL STREET AND "GRAFT."

Ernest Crosby in the February Cosmopolitan.

Wall Street is rotten. It has been probed in a dozen different places during the past few months, and the operations have revealed nothing but gangrene. It was possible at the beginning to suppose that the particular cases of dishonesty were exceptional, but that theory is no longer tenable. The institutions investigated stood at the head of American finance. The men implicated in the worst forms of malfeasance are among the most distinguished leaders in the Street. Every one of them is connected with a score of more of other directors and firms, and the natural inference is that these are all run in the same way.

Wall Street is rotten—and it is most fortunate that this is so. Symptoms of disease are not bad things; they are good and only good. They are the danger-signals that give us an opportunity to cure. Evil conditions ought to produce rotteness. They are not calculated to produce anything else; and if by some miracle saints and heroes could thrive in an atmosphere of gross injustice, we should have

to despair of the universe. Wall Street is rotten for the same reason that the Russian court and imperial family are rotten, and that is because unlimited power and wealth will corrupt anybody. The Romanoff clan has been an offense to humanity for some centuries past, not because its members are naturally worse than other men, but because they have had free access to the earnings of the Russian people and absolute power over their destinies. Our ruling class in Wall Street is fast advancing to the same position of power, wealth, luxury, and graft, and it goes without saying that its morals have been swept away in like manner. Why should we go on with these investigations? When you have made an analysis of the water of a reservoir at many different points, and it always shows the presence of the same pollution, it is a waste of time to repeat the experiment, and it is unwholesome work to handle an infected liquid. It is impossible to put each drop into the test-tube, and it would give no more satisfying results if we could. We know all there is to be known about it now. There is just one thing to do, and that is to remove the conditions which produce the impurity.

And first of all, each one of us is partially responsible. We have all been worshipers in the temple of Mammon. We have all looked upon money as the chief end of man. In our estimation, art and literature and science and religion have had to yield the primacy to finance. The one test of worth is, "Has he made money?"—which means, "Has he succeeded in getting possession of other people's money?" Now money is a very necessary and useful thing, but the handling of it, apart from a preoccupation for its immediate usefulness, is not, and never has been, a noble form of human activity. The usurer, the money-lender—these are not the types for a nation to mold its standards upon. Money may be necessary to fertilize the commercial world, but nevertheless activity in the dust-heap is not ideal work.

Money-lending in Wall Street does not differ in character from money-lending in the Bowery. It is glorified pawnbroking, that is all, and the great financiers who hover around bankrupt nations and bankrupt trusts, and pocket their extortionate rake-offs before they pay out a penny, are near relations to the typical "Uncle," with his modest sign of the three balls; who is on the alert to make something out of another man's losses. We have turned the heads of these men by our admiration and emulation, and have contributed our part toward condoning the low standards of ethics which they hold. The very convergence of our own low ambitions has produced at the focus the fetid atmosphere in which these standards flourish.

But, beyond this, we have created the artificial opportunities which open the way for these gentlemen into other people's pockets. Great accumulations of property in the control of a few men are a frightful political and social evil, and in a justly organized society they could never occur. No man could "make" twenty million dollars in a long series of lifetimes under any approximately equitable system. The foundation of such fortunes is not the ability to create, but the ability to annex. And this ability to annex we have presented to the men who make

use of it. Our tariff is the root of the power of the steel trust to roll up dividends on oceans of water. The rights-of-way which we abandon to railways and street railways and subways and lighting companies are just so many instruments for exacting tribute from us and piling it up in the coffers of the few. We have the same story to tell of mining-rights and banking-rights, of the favors accorded to the depositaries of government moneys, and of the privilege allowed to private individuals and corporations to retain the unearned increment of site-values.

It is upon such meat, of our own raising and providing, that these our Caesars feed, and if they are as surfeited and unhealthy as hogs in a sty, it is because we have deliberately gorged and fattened them. And it is well that we should see the scandalous results of our own imbecility. We ought to be thankful that the laws of nature have not ceased to act, and that evil trees continue as in the past to bring forth evil fruit. It is a waste of time to shed tears over the present decaying, worm-eaten crop. Let it go. But the trees of industry are still there, and they can be dugged about and pruned and restored to health. To put our orchard in good condition again, we must abolish once for all the opportunities for the old kinds of "graft," which in our ignorance and folly we have ourselves created.

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UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL THE BAD OYSTER AND THE LITTLE STATE OF TEXAS.

Printed from the Original Manuscript.

Dear John: Once upon a time a Bad Oyster met up with the Little State of Texas and said, "Hello, here I am—pepper and salt and a dash of lemon. What do you say?"

But the Little State of Texas turned the Bad Oyster over with his spoon and replied: "The salt is here, and the pepper, and the dash of lemon all right, but the date on your can was a trifle dim, and—"

"Oh, nonsense!" said the Bad Oyster; "just swallow me down, and if I'm bad—I'll come up."

Now the Little State of Texas had oodles of brains, but none in his portcullis department—no, not one. So he said: "Nothing strikes me harder than a fair proposition when it is also easy. Here goes!" and he swallowed the Bad Oyster down, down; because, you see, it was so very easy for it to come up.

Then the Little State of Texas fiddled with his spoon and looked thoughtful for a time, and then he smiled a woven hickory smile and said: "Ask the band to play 'Away down South in Dixie,' and to play it rather fast, for I have met a confidence man and want to think of other things."

What do I think of municipal ownership? I allow that people's ownership is all right as far as it goes, but it should extend to councilmen and legislators. Why, 20 years ago and more, Philadelphia owned her own gas works. Seemed to work fine, too. She sold gas for two dollars a thousand, as against three twenty-five by the private companies of Boston. Boston was highest. Philadelphia and Wheeling were the only towns in the United States that owned their own gas works and sold cheap gas.

But there was graft in it at that. You see the gas was easy then—made out of nothing at all and a little bituminous coal. Now they make it out of wind and water and a dash of crude petroleum. There is nothin' at all to it, gas, till you get to makin' out the bills; then you touch somethin' solid. Well, there was a fearful profit at two dollars a thousand feet. Ask the gas men who get seventy cents now. Who got the rake off? Why, a body of Celestials called the Philadelphia Gas Trust. The title "trust" was then a respected and honored name. The Philadelphian uttered it with reverence. The Gas Trust revered itself. Why, I mind when the Ninth and Mifflin street gas works were finished the Gas Trust went in a body to inspect them. The street car fare was a nickel down from the City Hall, but the Gas Trust must not soil its wings, and went down in thirty shining black carriages, at city expense, a hundred of 'em or so. Philadelphia was impressed. The Gas Trust was itself impressed. And what was the Philadelphia Gas Trust? Why a body of ring heelers and politicians from the City Hall, the running gears of the Republican party machine, that boa constrictor which only got its back broken for the first time last fall. Those holy men were absorbing the profits with all the moral unction and social nonchalance of a private "interest." No, sir; the people must not stop at works. They must own their City Council. But it is remarkable the way the "interests" do stick to their graft, how mighty hard it is to break the bull dog teeth of special privilege once set:

Arms nor the man I sing,
Observe I humbly beg,
How steadfast Traction pulls upon
Your Uncle Sam, his leg.

It's a little hard, too, for me to tell every time who my friends, my real friends, are. I see a man turning the public wheel till he's red in the face, and directly I see he has a private axe to grind. If I could get an old-fashioned president—a G. Washington or an A. Lincoln—I'd set great store by him, and he might help me to make the shift from the prosperity of fortunes to the prosperity of working men and working women and working little children, and do it without smashing two-thirds of the working hive.

I see the shift is a comin'. Prices can't keep on raisin' and raisin' forever without a comin' down. When they drop they'll go below the level. Wall Street will pass through a wringer. Water will flow, and swollen fortunes will come out mere diaphanous wisps.

Whom can I get?

I think a heap of Bryan, but the Democrats seem to be out of the presidential habit.

Taft is standin' in the sunshine with his hat off, but Taft is not well grounded in Americanism,—thinks a republic can monkey with colonies. He's a good man, Taft. He'd make a rattling good minister for George the Third, and if the old boy was livin' I'd give Taft a letter of introduction right off.

Fairbanks of Indiana is scanning the horizon for "sign," alert and watchful as Meissonier's "Vidette;" but the Wabash never flows up hill, or at any rate not steadily so.

There, too, is Roosevelt the perennial, out with an explanation that he doesn't mean it; that the

trusts do not understand him; that he is really a friend. The railroads must have more capital, and so far as he cares they may carry away all they can lug home.

That leaves William Randolph Hearst, and a good man he is. You can't charge him with being a Democrat, as he favors army and navy and colonial possessions; nor I don't recall his cuttin' any particular dash in either of the Bryan campaigns. The machine got off a rhyme the other day that set me thinkin':

I feel it when I sorrow worst,
I fear it when I cheer the most,
Atlantic or Pacific coast.
Baer is for Baer, and Hearst for Hearst.

Perhaps you noticed the talk of war between me and Japan. Nothin' to it. I'm not anxious for a fight, and I doubt if the Japs would want to risk the chance of me bindin' them over to Russia to keep the peace; and you, too, John, as an active ally, wouldn't care to lose Canada. No, nothin' to it—except the ship subsidy bill. I guess Theodore has agreed to sign it, and is playin' scared so I'll justify him. I shouldn't wonder if the scare would subside after the boys make their suction hose fast to the treasury.

Anyway, I've no idea I'll stand to have Japan boss my common school system yet awhile, and Theodore might as well break it to 'em first as last. If the general government hasn't nerve enough to stand for home rule of the district school, it had better abdicate.

UNCLE SAM.

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THE JUNGLE—ITS PURPOSE AND ITS AUTHOR.

A Paper Read by Jesse F. Orton Before a Meeting of the
Scribner Street Baptist Church, Grand Rapids,
Mich., Nov. 1, 1906.

The church which meets the demands of the present time must have for its motto the saving of society, and not merely the saving of individuals. Even if all individuals were saved, there might still remain much to be done before society would be saved as a whole. Old systems might survive whose injustice would not be apparent even to persons whom we would consider saved as individuals. I have known many good people who could not see the unrighteousness of some of the most glaring social wrongs. The saving of society requires not only goodness in individuals, but also knowledge and intelligence; it requires the devising and inaugurating of systems which will accomplish the good results we would like to obtain. The saving of society in the aggregate, that is, the establishing of just and righteous relations between its members, is one of the most effective ways of saving individuals. For example, it is easy to see that the slums in large cities are making criminals and sinners faster than we can save them by individual methods. If we could wipe out the slum by removing its cause, we should do more toward saving individuals than we can do in any other way.

In order to help in saving society we must know what society is, how it lives and what its troubles are. Society has many phases or aspects, and it needs more or less of saving in all of them. For

example, we need better laws and practices in the matter of education, in the matter of marriage and the safeguarding of the home, in the matter of government so that the people may be correctly represented; we need better customs in the matter of dress and fashion; we need better ideals in every social relation of life. Improvement in all or any of these, may be a part of the saving of society. But the storm center in the present struggle for saving society seems to be in the industrial relations of men. The question of bread and butter has always been the most important question in sociology, and it will never be lacking in interest. It is the foundation question of life. The fundamental material needs of men must be provided for, before intellectual or spiritual development can become a possibility. The industrial tragedy that is going on in what we call modern civilized life, is tragic enough in its destruction of the bodies of individuals; but it is infinitely more tragic in the resulting destruction of minds and souls, in its strangling of the intellectual and spiritual in their very beginnings.

Few of us can know social conditions at first hand, except in a fragmentary and imperfect way. We must depend largely upon the descriptions of others who have seen things with their own eyes. The book entitled "The Jungle" is a story intended to picture the modern industrial tragedy. Its author, Mr. Upton Sinclair, appears to be a master in the art of picturing. His attitude toward present industrial conditions may seem to some persons excessively harsh and critical. What is it that determines the attitude of any of us toward this world or its institutions? In the first place, it is our own individual experience. In large measure we believe the world to be good or bad, just or unjust, merciful or cruel, according as it has treated us in one way or the other. It may, therefore, be impossible for anyone truly to picture the industrial tragedy unless he has been through it and has felt its joys and sorrows with his own senses. In this respect Mr. Sinclair is qualified in some measure at least. He gives in the October number of *The Cosmopolitan* a glimpse of his own life struggle, and shows that he has had a taste of the industrial tragedy. In the second place, our view of life, of the world and its institutions, may be influenced by what we see in the lives of others. This requires something of the imaginative faculty, the ability to picture in our own minds what we see others feeling and suffering. Some of us, unfortunately, are deficient in this faculty. It requires also the quality of human sympathy, the quality of unselfishness and love. If we care only for self, if it is a matter of indifference how our brothers are living, then we are capable of realizing the industrial tragedy only as it happens to grind upon our own bodies and souls; we look upon suffering and injustice or we read descriptions of them, but it means nothing to us. He is unfortunate who is able to perceive wrong or injustice only as it bears heavily upon himself; he is lacking in the first and most essential element of Christian character. Mr. Sinclair, besides feeling the burden of industrial conditions upon his own life and the lives of those near him, has been powerfully moved by the conditions that affect the lives of the multitude. He has taken the trouble to see the worst with his own eyes, and the picture which he presents is prob-

ably the most terrible and soul-harrowing that exists in all literature.

Briefly stated, "The Jungle" is the story of a Lithuanian family of immigrants who came to America as to a land of promise. They abandoned their safe and simple life in the forests of their European home, to become a part of the strange and complex industrial system of the city of Chicago, and more particularly of the meat-packing industry that centers in the stock yards. The hero of the story, Jurgis, was a young man, strong of body, fairly intelligent, honest, and containing all the elements of good citizenship. The book records the losing fight made by this typical immigrant family, against the industrial, political and social forces which they found in this land of opportunity, forces which took this honest and well-meaning citizen through the many gradations of severe toil and disappointed hopes down to the limit of actual despair, robbed him of his wife and child and all family associations, and finally made him a criminal of necessity. From being a vulgar criminal, he naturally passes into the role of a hired political worker, a man of leisure and of easy virtue. Losing this position of influence by the cruelty of fortune, he becomes a hopeless tramp, anxious to work but unable to find the opportunity, and compelled to pass the nights in police stations in order to keep from freezing upon the streets. Finally, wandering into a meeting on a cold winter night for the mere purpose of keeping warm, he hears what he finds to be a gospel of hope for the working classes; he seeks further light and secures work by the aid of his new friends; he takes courage and begins life again, a mere wreck, however, stripped naked of all that men hold dear except life itself. The meeting in which he learned this new gospel, was a meeting of socialists, and the book closes with an exposition of the principles of socialism as a remedy for the industrial ills already pictured. Whether the writer is right or not in thinking that nothing short of socialism will be an adequate remedy, he has presented the conditions of present industry in such a way that men everywhere must acknowledge the necessity for a radical cure.

The book is so terrible that there is little pleasure in reading it, although the story is told with great dramatic force and the human interest is stimulated to the utmost. Yet once begun, it can scarcely be laid down; its horror oppresses one and impels him to read rapidly to the end, from the mere inability to rest until it is over. Is it a true picture of the industrial life in Chicago and, more particularly of the packing industry? The author says:

I would sit in their homes at night; and talk with them, and then in the daytime they would lay off their work, and take me around, and show me whatever I wished to see. I studied every detail of their lives, and took notes enough to fill a volume. I talked, not merely with workmen and their families, but with bosses and superintendents, with night-watchmen and saloonkeepers and policemen, with doctors and lawyers and merchants, with politicians and clergymen and settlement workers. I spared no pains to get every detail exact, and I know that in this respect "The Jungle" will stand the severest test—it is as authoritative as if it were a statistical compilation. (*October Cosmopolitan*, p. 593.)

While it is probably true that so many harrowing incidents would not be likely to come into the life

of one family, yet I believe that the incidents are typical ones and the book fairly presents the conditions under which the masses of the workers live in the industry described. I would not advise children or very young persons to read this book; it is too terrible to impose on child or adolescent life. To those who have reached years of discretion I would say: Read the book if you are not determined to live a selfish and self-centered life, if you care to get a glimpse of how thousands, yes, millions, of your brothers and sisters are living even in this land of boasted opportunities. Do not read the book for entertainment or for the story. Read it as you would read your bibles, praying for light upon your duty with reference to the horrible facts it reveals.

There is scarcely any phase of industrial or political injustice and graft prevalent in our time which is not clearly and forcibly set forth in "The Jungle." In it we find the cause of child labor and its blighting effects upon the bodies and souls of its innocent victims, that curse of civilization, of which even savages would be ashamed; here also we find the explanation and a terrible picture of that darkest of industrial phenomena, in which we see woman, honest and home-loving, driven to sell body and soul for the privilege of keeping soul and body together; here we find set forth the way in which ignorant and careless voters are corrupted and manipulated by the virtuous and wealthy pillars of society and the church; here we read how public property, the rightful inheritance of every citizen, is stolen by franchise-buying and franchise-grabbing corporations; here also we find how the poor toiler is cheated in the spending of his meagre income, how he buys a home that is a lie and a sham, covered over with a fresh coat of paint and with a deeper layer of false representations; we learn how his food lacks three-fourths of the nourishing virtue it should possess; and we find that most of those grafts can be traced back to pretty much the same source, the same men who work him like a pack-horse until he is worn out, and then turn him off for some fresh migrant. In this book we see how a business man's government, miserably dishonest and grafting, is so incompetent and stupid that it cannot make its own streets safe for its inhabitants; and the children of the poor, having no other playground than the street, actually drown in the lakes and rivers into which the streets are converted after every fall of rain. We find here also the picture which has become so common in American cities, the sworn officers of the law, police officers and even judges, levying tribute upon vice and swelling their bank accounts with the blood money wrung from society's unfortunates; we see how the supposed means for the enforcement of law, the raid by the police and the penalty inflicted by the court, are only a bitter lesson and warning that the private demands of the officers must be met without questioning.

As the scene of this story is largely in the packing-house district, we find many startling revelations of the methods used by the proprietors in their preparation of food products. Here commercial graft is reduced to an exact science. Every part of the slaughtered animal must help in the

payment of dividends, and no part is used for fertilizer or soap which can possibly be used as food for human beings. The sham of government inspection, as it was, is revealed in all its mockery. Some of the secret devices are laid bare, by which the sickness, poisoning and poor nutrition of the public have been capitalized into splendid palaces, steam yachts and dowries for foreign titled vagabonds. The owners of the packing-houses have denied the truth of these statements about the methods employed, but the report of the government commissioners of what they actually saw in their official investigation, shows the probability of the truth of everything Mr. Sinclair has written. The government commissioners reported nothing that was told them, however authentic might be the story; they told simply what they saw with their own eyes on this visit, when the packers knew they were coming and had a chance to get ready for them. If the permanent and visible conditions were as horrible as the commissioners reported them to be, we may well believe that the more secret and easily changed conditions had been as bad as we find them pictured in "The Jungle."

The exposure, in this book, of the frauds and crimes of the meat packing industry, has attracted more attention from the public than the other features of the book. It caused a great furor, made necessary a government investigation, and the enactment of a new inspection law, which at least pretends to be more effective. "The Jungle" was not intended as an exposure of packing-house methods; it was meant to be a picture of the industrial tragedy. And although it is the darkest and most vivid picture yet painted in literature, a great part of the reading public failed to be impressed by the tragedy in the lives of their brothers, and sisters, but were impressed only, or at least most strongly, by the revealed dangers to their own digestion. On this phase of the subject Mr. Sinclair says in the *October Cosmopolitan*:

I wished to frighten the country by a picture of what its industrial masters were doing to their victims; entirely by chance I had stumbled on another discovery—what they were doing to the meat-supply of the civilized world. In other words, I aimed at the public's heart, and by accident I hit it in the stomach. I smile whenever I think of it now; I was so unpractical that I did not realize the bearing of this discovery. I really paid very little attention to the meat question while I was in Chicago. When I had once studied out the universal system of graft which prevails in the place, the meat-graft seemed to me simply a natural and obvious part of it. I saw a great deal of it, of course; but I did not see half as much as I might have seen had I tried harder.

"The Jungle" is more like "Uncle Tom's Cabin" than any other book that has been written. Mr. Sinclair says that in many respects he had Mrs. Stowe's book in mind as a sample of what he wished to do. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is a much more pleasant book to read than "The Jungle." There was tragedy enough in the story of human slavery; but there was also a great deal of comedy. As Mr. Sinclair says, the slave at least had a happy childhood. He was too valuable for his master to ill-treat or underfeed him. And many slaves were loved and well treated by their masters. But the story of modern industry in a great commercial and indus-

trial center has little of comedy in it. No one cares whether the child of the wage-earner lives or dies, so far as industry is concerned. If he dies, another will take his place and the wheels of industry will keep moving. In like manner, it makes little difference to captains of industry how fast a workman is worn out; when he is unfit for labor, there is another anxious to take his place. Indeed, some large companies have already inaugurated the policy of keeping no men after they arrive at the age of forty or some other fixed age at which every man ought to be in the prime of his strength.

In the portrayal of the tragic conditions of industry, Mr. Sinclair is an artist, perhaps a genius. Is he equally capable in his indication of the remedy? His remedy is socialism, a system of society in which the state takes the place of the captain of industry, a system which I believe to be entirely possible and which might be made just, humane and Christian in comparison with the terrible conditions now existing. But I do not at the present time accept this remedy as a necessity. I believe that possibly it would remove some desirable elements of our present system, chiefly perhaps the elements of individual initiative and responsibility. I may be wrong; but however that may be, a simple review of the modern industrial tragedy as shown in this book and as we all know it at least in some degree, will reveal certain things which absolutely must be done before the present injustice and cruelty can be removed. The industrial tragedy is essentially the anomalous fact that with the productive power of the people multiplied many hundredfold by machinery and inventions and increase of skill, the workers are still either in a position of actual or threatened destitution, or are receiving only a scanty share of the necessities and comforts which they produce; and it seems to be necessary to avail ourselves of the body-and-soul-destroying labor of little children and to take from many children too young for labor the care and attention of the mother. Those who do the work of production are compelled to accept wages fixed in the competitive market, and to pay for their living the prices fixed by the monopolies which control the necessities of life. I believe that socialism is not necessary as a remedy, because we have never given individualism a trial. What we have tried is favoritism and special privilege, the division of the product of industry in accordance with a most unnatural and unjust system. We must sweep away the unjust features of our system and provide a fair and open field to everyone. We must give individualism a decent trial or we shall never have a chance to give it a trial; for the rising tide of socialism, in view of the tragic conditions existing, will finally sweep everything before it.

If we would save individualism we must give to every individual, the child of the slum as well as the child of the palace, his rightful and equal share of the bounties of our common Father, his equal right to the surface of the planet on which we live, to the riches of the soil and the stores of fuel and valuable minerals hidden in the earth for the common use of mankind. In other words, we must deny forever the right of any man to own and monopolize the natural means of production which

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have been given by the Creator to us all. If this were done, individuals could enter upon productive industry with something like an even chance. Then millions of dollars' worth of products made by the toil of the workers would not be consumed by a few who do absolutely no work, who are supported in idleness merely in return for their permission that the workers may live and labor upon the earth. We must then free the transportation systems, both national and local, from the private and tyrannical control in which they are now placed. Equal rights upon the highways are just as necessary as equal rights to the riches of the earth, for it is upon the highways that every article produced must be taken to market, and upon them we ourselves must go from place to place. The right to take private tolls upon the public highways, is the right to enslave and rob and oppress. The right to use the streets of cities for the furnishing of gas, electricity, telephones and other necessities of modern life must be exercised in the interest of the whole people and not for the enrichment of a few, who by the mere legal possession of these franchises, exact an unfair price or oppress the people by discrimination. With the land monopoly destroyed, with the local and national arteries of transportation made in fact what they are now in theory, public highways, with franchise monopolies in cities conducted for the common benefit, I believe that individualism would create fairly equal and just conditions. But one thing more is needed: the government must be responsive to the wishes of the people; indeed, it must be actually in the hands of the people, so that government may be honest, efficient and impartial, so that graft and oppression may cease.

"The Jungle" is a great work. Its author is a true missionary of the cross just as certainly as any man who ever sailed to a heathen shore. If Christianity means love and unselfish devotion to the uplifting and succoring of our less fortunate brothers and sisters, then all who like him are blazing the way toward justice, who are fixing our eyes and forcing our attention upon the wrongs that we permit to exist, all such are showing us our sins and pointing the way toward repentance and new life. They are helping to save both us and our unfortunate brothers who are in the depths of industrial misery and despair. Their work is effective for the saving of individuals in a larger and broader sense than is possible for any merely individual gospel. It aims to apply the ideals of Christianity to every relation which men sustain to each other, to make Christian the foundation principles and institutions of society.

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Mrs. Chugwater: "Josiah, this paper says 'municipal ownership is an ignis fatuus.' What is an ignis fatuus?"

Mr. Chugwater: "That's so plain that anybody ought to know what it means at first sight. 'Ignis' means fire. 'Fatuus' is fat. The fat's in the fire."—Chicago Tribune.

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There is an old saying about it's not being easy for a rich man to get into heaven; and the rich man if he ever thinks about it at all, thinks that

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Of the New York Bar

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it means a queer place full of fire and brimstone, and laughs incredulously. And, poor soul, he never realizes that the dreadful punishment is being paid out to him, day by day; that he is attending God's universal all-star operatic performance—and that he does not understand the language! Infinite, unthinkable wonder and rapture the Great Composer has poured into his music—earth, sea and sky his orchestra—health and labor, prayer and joy and thankfulness his theme; and here sits the great audience of seventy-six million, decked in their jewels and fine raiment, surrounded with all their marvelous toys—and never understanding one note of their life's irrevokable symphony!—Upton Sinclair in *Wilshire's Magazine*.

BOOKS

PROTECTION AS IT OPERATES.

The Tariff and the Trusts. By Franklin Pierce, of the New York Bar. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York and London. Sold by The Public Publishing Company, Chicago. Price, \$1.50 net; postage 12 cents.

Mr. Pierce is a free trader who, knowing that a certain kind of book on this subject ought to be written, and wearied of pleading with others to write it, has written it himself. He has not written the book because he wanted to be an author; he has written it because it was in him and had to come out. It has been born, not made; consequently it is a real book.

It deals but little with the principles and theories of trade, but almost wholly with the facts of American experience under protection. Yet in marshaling and explaining the facts, which are voluminous to a degree, it does not ignore principle. In other words it is not a hodge-podge of more or less significant facts, but an orderly arrangement simply of those facts that count for testimony. And unlike so many tariff discourses of this sort, it considers the rights and interests not only of American producers but also of American consumers.

The chapter on the tariff as the mother of trusts is especially important. No foolish contention is made that the abolition of the tariff would abolish the trust. Mr. Pierce sees that there are "causes for the existence of combinations aside from protective tariffs," observing that "any combination of men who obtain ownership or control of the natural supplies of a necessary life has even a more complete foundation for monopoly than exists by reason of a tariff like ours." This is a complete answer to the argument that as free-trade England has trusts, therefore the American tariff does not account for American trusts. The real point here is the one that Mr. Pierce makes, namely, that protection, by restricting competition to a limited area, protects local monopolies. For this reason, although England has industrial monopolies they are comparatively few and weak, for they are in constant competition with the production of the whole world and not with that of England alone.

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the declaration that "permanent prosperity comes from abundance." It is so simple and self-evident as to seem almost trite. But its value will be appreciated upon considering that all protection arguments and many replies to them, take it for granted that prosperity consists in high prices. This is like assuming that people are twice as prosperous with a quantity of commodities costing a hundred dollars as with the same quantity and quality costing only fifty dollars. Were we to attempt an improvement of Mr. Pierce's characterization of prosperity, we should alter it no further than to make it read: "Permanent prosperity comes from abundance in conditions of brisk exchange." But this is really implied by him; for brisk exchange merely means lively trade, and the highest possibility for lively trade is free trade.

The chapter on the effect of tariff upon labor is one of the best in the book. It proffers what is most needed on this phase of the tariff subject. In the way of larger generalizations, nothing surpasses Henry George's presentation of free trade to the view of workingmen; Mr. Pierce has happily supplemented this with a variety of the minute particulars and minor generalizations which a more complete presentation of the subject requires.

Our tariff history, the free trade movement in England, and the tariff in Germany, are interesting and instructive parts of the book.

But the remedy proposed for protection, though truly the one remedy that can avail, will be regarded as a surprising climax to a book so intensely concrete and practical. It is popular discussion directed straight at the issue and untrammelled by party ties,—something that can be accomplished only by the referendum. "The traveler through the mountain passes in Switzerland," concludes Mr. Pierce, "will find in many villages liberty halls where the people assemble and discuss these public questions. The referendum is the cause of this discussion. If we would stimulate discussion upon public questions and preserve our free institutions, the attention of the people must be directed not to political parties, not to party leaders, but to the merits of proposed legislation; and no way will be found more efficient to attain this end than the direct submission to the people of important laws. Submit directly to the people the question of the continuance of the Dingley tariff, give them due opportunity to discuss among themselves the matter upon its merits, and take their decision thereon unaffected by allegiance to political parties, and the great mass of the people would vote against this system."

* * *

PRINCIPLES OF INVESTMENT.

The Art of Wall Street Investing. By John Moody, author of "The Truth about the Trusts," etc. Published by the Moody Corporation, New York. Price \$1.00 net.

This book embodying, as Mr. Moody informs us, "the concrete results of sixteen years' experience and study of Wall Street," is written in evident sympathy with that institution as a great central mart for current securities, but without approval of any of its traditional thimble-rigging devices for parting the fool and his money.

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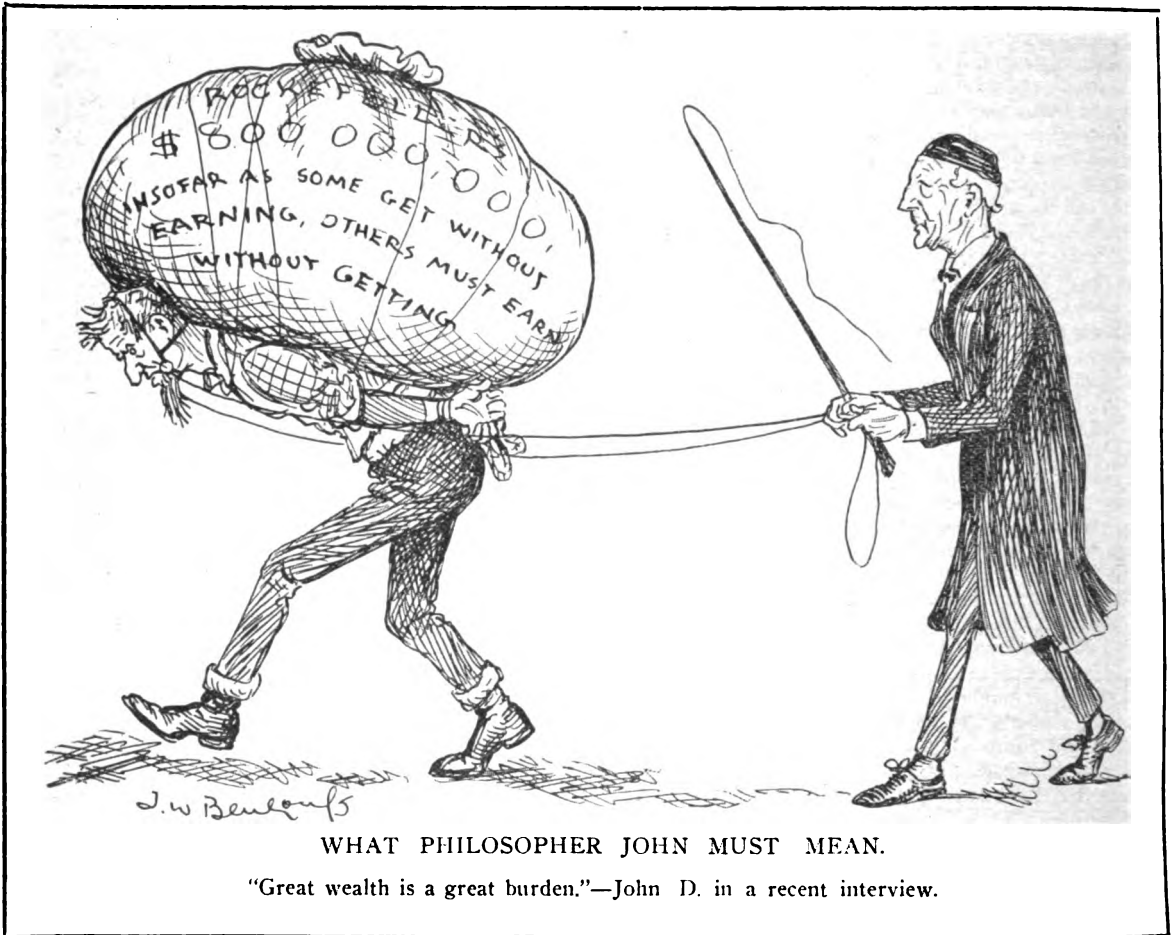
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BOOKS RECEIVED

—*Fraillities of the Jury.* By Henry S. Wilcox. Published by Legal Literature Co., Chicago. 1907. Price \$1.00.

—*Newer Ideals of Peace.* By Jane Addams. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York & London. 1907. Price \$1.25 net.

—"Of Such is the Kingdom," and other stories from life. By Richard L. Metcalfe. Lincoln, Neb.: The Woodruff-Collins Press.

—*Wilshire Editorials.* By Gaylord Wilshire, Editor Wilshire's Magazine. Published by the Wilshire Book Co. 200 William Street, New York. Price \$1.00.

—*Federal Power over Carriers and Corporations.* By E. Parmelee Prentice. Published by The Macmillan Co. New York & London. 1907. Price \$1.50 net.

PAMPHLETS

The Question of Capital Punishment.

In his pamphlet entitled "The Crime of the Law," many things are well said by John Emerson Roberts (Minister of the Church of This World, Kansas City, Mo.). This lecture against capital punishment

ment might profitably be read now when the little reaction toward more severe crime penalties is in our midst.

The gallows [says Mr. Roberts] is not a means of grace. Statistics show that 25 per cent. of all criminals are born either epileptic or insane. Of the life prisoners in the state penitentiary of New York 40 per cent. have been adjudged insane. And I say to you, if the criminal be broken and wounded, the gallows does not blind up. If he be vicious and sunken, the gallows does not reform. If he be darkened, the gallows does not enlighten. If he be weak and wayward, the gallows does not lead him back to right. And I say to you that, however vicious or sunken or degraded, however weak or abandoned or wayward the guilty man may be, he is still our brother.

And when we are horrified by an old-fashioned man-to-man crime of violence, a reminder such as the following may not come amiss:

The man who, in hot blood, and under the stimulus of a restless passion, has killed a fellow being is not the most dangerous man in society. The man who adulterates milk, the food that is fed to babes, the man that sells diseased or unwholesome meats, the man who makes short weights or measures, the man who oppresses the poor by usury, the man who destroys his competitors by rebates and illegal discriminations is vastly more dangerous. The murderer kills a single man. The number of victims of the others God alone can know.

A. L.

PERIODICALS

One of the most able and unbiased statements of the facts of the present railroad situation published in any monthly magazine is made the leading feature of the general review section of The American Monthly Review of Reviews for February. As this magazine always has proven itself as impartial, and in fact as far more conservative than radical in its tone, this article is of so much greater importance. It states plainly and forcefully that government operation could be no less efficient than are our present private managements, and that the crimes of the railroads are not inventions of the sensational press, but established facts. The Wall street railroad manager is severely criticised, and held responsible for the poor condition of our railroad systems.

E. O.

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An article on "The Work of the London County Council," by Mlio R. Maltbie, comes out in the February Chatauquan (23 Union Square, New York). A brief explanation of the make-up and powers of the Council is followed by a clear and able account of what the "Progressives" have recently been doing for the good of the municipality.

A. L.

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The January number of Forestry and Irrigation (1311 G Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C.) urges upon the public and upon Congress the great and immediate necessity for the passage of the pending forestry bill. This bill for national forest reserves in the Southern Appalachian and White Mountain regions has been passed without dissent by the Senate and unanimously reported out of the House

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committee; yet it is in danger of neglect in these last days of the session.

A. L.

✦

Mrs. Chugwater: "Josiah, what is this single tax I've heard so much about?"

Mr. Chugwater: "Nothing you need to worry over. You're married."—Chicago Tribune.

EDWARD F. DUNNE MAYOR OF CHICAGO

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

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ANNOUNCEMENT

Concerning Changed Dates of the Chicago Lecture Course.

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

The concluding lecture is:

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

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

All lectures begin at 8:15 P. M.

F. H. MONROE, President,
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Tom L. Johnson's Career

A very interesting biographical sketch of Tom L. Johnson, written by Louis F. Post, appeared in *THE PUBLIC* about a year ago, with portrait of Mr. Johnson accompanying, as a supplement. In view of the general public interest at this time in the work of Mr. Johnson, we would like to hear from all who may care to have extra copies of this sketch, for themselves or for distribution to others. We can make an interesting suggestion in this matter.

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