# The Public

#### LOUIS F. POST, Editor

ALICE THACHER POST, Managing Editor

Vol. IX.

Number 464.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1907.
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## **EDITORIAL**

#### An Even Exchange of Compliments.

"Mayor Dunne's head is full of scrambled eggs," say his "goo goo" critics. If that were true

he would nevertheless have an intellectual advantage over his critics; scrambled eggs are better than nothing, even in the head.

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#### Prosperity.

That there is much prosperity no one can deny. The enormous expenditures of the luxurious rich testify to it in unmistakable terms. But whose is the prosperity? Are they prosperous whose labor furnishes the wherewithal for these lavish expenditures? Wealth does not fall from the stars, nor is it left over from the past. It is recreated day by day. Consequently, when one man spends a thousand that he doesn't create, others must create a thousand that they cannot spend. The greater the expenditures of the idle, therefore, the greater must be the impoverishment of producers. This is arithmetic, and there is no gainsaying it. Prosperity for idle parasites spells adversity for industrious workers.

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#### Private Interest in Public Service.

Some time ago the French Chamber of Deputies voted for the purchase by the state of the Western Railway of France, but, according to the Railway Age, it now appears there is little chance of the measure being adopted by the Senate. It is claimed that the action of the Chamber has resulted in efforts on the part of the railway to obtain the largest possible dividends without regard to service. Such conduct on the part of public utilities corporations, in Europe as on this side of the Atlantic, is and will always remain the drawback of and the objection to private railroads. All countries, with the notable exception of the United States, Spain and Great Britain, have been forced to recognize the necessity of government-owned railroads, and sooner or later all will be. folly of perpetuating privately owned public highways is becoming more and more manifest.

## Away with Referendums.

The chorus of monopoly papers for the strangulation or repeal of the referendum in Illinois is significant. They are intensely concerned lest graft ordinances be defeated by fraudulent referendum petitions. The poverty of their argument demonstrates the rascality of their motives. Nothing can be defeated by referendum petitions, be the petition fraudulent or genuine, for these petitions accomplish no more than to submit ordi-

nances or legislative bills to popular vote. If the people want to give effect to the ordinances or bills, their votes will confirm them; if the people oppose the ordinances or bills, their votes will condemn them. No matter how the referendum petition is secured, it is the referendum vote and not the petition that expresses the popular purpose. All this solicitude lest false referendum petitions be filed, is significant of a desire to secure, not pure referendum petitions, but impure legislation.

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Two Intellectual Diseases. In Garrod's book on "The Religion of all Good Men," we find this most excellent apology of the author for publishing his opinions while he has the courage of them and before he may have substituted for the courage of his own opinions "the courage only of other people's opinions." everywhere around him, he says,-his environment is Oxford,-"I hear the praise of the 'middle course,' of compromise, of suspended judgment; and I see the love of truth corrupted into the sophistic passion for believing both sides of a contradiction." And he adds a searching comment: "I see the folks of my little world the victims, all of them, of one of two diseases-the disease of having no opinions ('the balanced mind'), or the disease of not expressing them ('moderation'); yet we all know that the just balance is motionless: nor have we ever seen in history intellectual progress born of an elegant laissez-faire." How could this thing, so much needing to be said, have possibly been better said? The "balanced mind" a motionless mind; the "moderate mind" stationary. These are indeed intellectual diseases as obstructive to human development as is the greedy and the grasping mind

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#### The Ownership of an Inland Sea.

to human moralization.

Long Island Sound is a great inland sea, open at all seasons and affording constant shipping opportunity, both to the ocean and to the great railway terminals, for a string of manufacturing cities. It is the private property of one railroad company—the New York, New Haven and Hartford. The story of this monopoly has been gathered from the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission and put into readable phrase by Willis J. Abbot for Collier's, in which it appeared on the 16th. The railroad in question has control of practically all the railroad transportation that connects with the shipping of Long Island Sound,

including all the electric roads of Connecticut and Rhode Island. Only one boat line pretends to independence, and that also is believed to be controlled by the railroad monopoly. The manner in which the Sound is monopolized is graphically described by Mr. Abbot: "The water is there, the channel is there, surveyed and lighted by the United States government. The harbors are there, made by that Great First Cause to which all mankind owes all that it may be. The people are there, the business is there, all is there to invite the participation of Americans in the maritime carrying trade through this placid piece of water which leads from the metropolis of the United States to all the chief towns of the greatest manufacturing section of this nation. But if one desires to enter upon this honorable, this helpful service of coastwise shipping, the owners of the great railroad monopoly of New England hold up a warning hand. You can have no docks!' they say. And if by chance or skill or diplomacy one is able to defeat this prohibition, his first ship bringing a cargo of New England's goods to New York to be forwarded thence io customers in the West is met at the wharfs of this city by the officials of our great trunk lines, with the information that because his happens to be an 'independent boat,' his freight charges will be almost twenty per cent. higher than those exacted from the boats owned by the great New Haven corporation."

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## Public Improvements and Property Values. A typical instance of distorted reasoning

A typical instance of distorted reasoning with reference to the distribution of the financial benefits of public improvements is furnished by the leading editorial in a recent issue of the Pasadena Evening Star. A correspondent had objected to a general tax for the construction of a boulevard, on the ground that the financial benefits would all go to neighboring land owners. The Star undertakes to show that on the contrary the financial benefits would be distributed generally, and it invents numerous illustrations. One takes the form of a question: "If thousands more people come here annually to live, permanently or temporarily, will there not be a readier market at more remunerative prices, for the fruit, vegetables. butter, eggs and all the produce of the ranch?" The question may be answered by a counter question: If there should be a readier market at more remunerative prices, would not this in turn induce a larger supply and consequently a restoration of the present less remunerative prices? A similar

interrogative reply would fit the Star's intimation that there would be a greater volume of trade. and consequently a greater aggregate of profits for merchants. Would not that bring in more merchants to compete for the higher profits until they were reduced to the old level-less what the land owners appropriated in higher rents in the competition for store locations? All the numerous illustrations of the Star are like one or the other of those two. The flaw in its argument is not in its statements of primary probabilities; as far as they go these statements are true enough. But it overlooks the reactionary probabilities. Greater demand and consequent higher prices for houses and other products, caused by a boulevard, would be offset by greater supply; greater profits for merchants would be depressed by more merchandising; greater demand and consequent higher wages for workers, would be neutralized by an influx of more workers. But the higher prices and rentals for building-sites and neighboring ranches, caused by a boulevard, could not be offset by an influx of more building-lots and ranches. financial benefits of the boulevard would, therefore, under the law of competition, flow into the pockets of the owners of building-lots and ranches beneficially affected by the boulevard.

#### Labor and Land.

It is reported that a church to cost \$1,000,000 is soon to be erected in New York upon a site valued at \$2,500,000. The comment evoked by this report rarely goes beyond the point of contrasting a \$3,500,000 temple for the worship of the Nazarene Carpenter, with the humble cradle in which his infant body was laid. But there is a far more important consideration. Let it be noted that while the site is worth \$2,500,000, the structure, though a grand one, is to cost but \$1,000,-000. Now consider what that difference implies. Every dollar of structural value represents human labor; the site value represents nothing but land monopoly. The laborers who plan and erect the church, thereby adding another building to the aggregate of buildings, are to get \$1,000,000 -scant wages for their work; but the monopolists of the site are to get \$2,500,000, two and a half times as much, without adding an iota to the utilities of mankind. Here is a difference which makes a more important contrast than the comparison of an expensive temple of worship in the twentieth century with the manger in which the infant object of the worship was laid in the first century. It is the contrast between the munificent incomes which idle Christians get from the labor of their brethren for the usufruct of the Lord's earth, and the earnings that working Christians get for building objects of beauty and use—the contrast between those who get and those who earn, between Christians who eat bread in the sweat of other men's faces and those who eat it in the sweat of their own.

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#### Mallock's "Ability" Theory.

Mr. Mallock, the English essayist and lecturer who is now furnishing legalized looters in the United States with specious academic arguments in support of economic conditions favorable to their lootings, makes a grand flourish with "ability" as a factor of wealth production in addition to labor. By this he must mean either one of two things. If he means "ability" to get service without giving equivalent service, he is introducing larceny into economics; if he means "ability" to give service in extraordinary measure, he is merely subdividing "labor." And if he means to subdivide "labor" there is no end to the possibility. He could say that the factors of wealth production, besides "land," are "labor," "ability," "skill," "education," etc., etc., etc. But ability, skill, education,-these are after all only qualities of labor, tending to render it the more effective and serviceable. In the last analysis there are but two conditions of industry. One is "land," which varies in degree of serviceableness according to natural qualities and social location; the other is "labor," which varies in degree of serviceableness according to natural abilities and acquired qualities.

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#### The President's Land Message.

In a message to Congress on the 13th President Roosevelt urged the policy of leasing instead of selling public lands containing coal. Though not the best possible method, this is better than no method at all for conserving public rights in a country the great majority of the inhabitants of which are fast becoming landless. That the proposed reform comes only after half the coal lands of the West have passed from public to private ownership, is not the President's fault. But it is emphatically the fault of the preachers of contentment with whom this country has long been cursed,—those who protest against theorizing and exalt the practical. It is always impracticable with them to close the barn door until the horse is out of the stable; and after that, to mix metaphors somewhat absurdly, they object good naturedly to crying over spilt milk. There is one way of saving to the people their rights to the land of their country, even though it has passed into private hands, and that is by abolishing taxes on industry and collecting taxes exclusively from land ad valorem. While this would not get the old horse back into the stable nor the spilt milk back into the pail, it would accomplish even better results. For, dropping metaphors, it would leave the land in private control while taking annually for social uses its annual social value.

#### Child Labor.

Among the insidious excuses for child labor is the plea that children ought to do useful and remunerative work. Proceeding from this major premise it is easy to state as the minor premise that factory work is useful and remunerative, and then to draw the conclusion that children ought to work in factories. But the syllogism is chock full of holes. In the first place, the major premise is all in confusion. It is not true, unqualifiedly, that children ought to do useful and remunerative work. The truth of the statement depends upon the kind of work. Children ought, truly enough, to do some kind of useful and remunerative work; but if we classify useful and remunerative work we shall soon see that the kind that children ought to do is not the kind that the great factories offer them. While children ought to do useful and remunerative work, the work ought to be attractive in character, developing in effect, moderate in amount and mild in intensity. But factory labor for children answers to none of those requirements. It is intense, monotonous, grinding toil, and it wears out the body, stunts the mind, and paralyzes the affections. There is a vast gulf between the deadening drudgery of the factory, to which children are subjected, and the rational industry by which they would be stimulated.

#### Expert Witnesses.

The exhibition of conflicting opinions of experts in noted trials always calls out newspaper criticism, as if the fact of diversity of expert opinion proved bad faith on one side or the other. An instance is a recent newspaper suggestion to the effect that experts should not be permitted to testify if they are paid. This suggestion utterly confuses experts, who elucidate opinions, with witnesses, who narrate facts. The witness happens to be familiar with facts connected with the question on trial, and it is his duty as a good citizen to apprise the jury of these facts. To pay such a witness more than the statutory fee would be

in the nature of a bribe. But the expert knows nothing of the question on trial until he is employed to investigate it. His relation to a law suit is less like that of a witness than of a law-As the lawyer assists the judge in reaching conclusions as to the legal aspects of the case, so the expert assists the jury in arriving at conclusions as to its scientific aspects. And it is no more significant of bad faith if experts disagree on novel scientific propositions or novel applications of scientific principles than that lawyers should disagree regarding unsettled principles or novel applications of the law. Precisely as the wrangling of opposing lawyers of intelligence tends to lead an honest and intelligent judge to a sounder legal conclusion than either lawyer would come to or than he himself would come to without the wrangling, so do the conflicting opinions of experts tend to lead a jury of honest and common-sense men to sound conclusions regarding scientific questions at issue. To prohibit the payment of fees to experts would be to practically rule out experts and thereby withhold from juries the benefit of scientific advice and controversy.

#### Death of Helen Taylor.

To many Americans still living, Helen Taylor's name is more than a name. They remember her as the step-daughter of John Stuart Mill, who assisted him in the preparation of his book on the "Subjection of Women," and of whom he wrote after the death of her mother: "Surely no one ever before was so fortunate as, after such a loss as mine, to draw another prize in the lottery of life." Upon her step-father's death Miss Taylor threw herself into active political work, for which woman suffrage in school-voting afforded her an opportunity. From 1876 until 1885 she was a member by election of the London school board, and in 1885 she became a Parliamentary candidate but was refused recognition by the election officials because of her sex. She was intensely a democrat, and from the democratic point of view she advocated woman suffrage and land nationalization and sympathized with socialism. She was an ardent supporter of Henry George's work in Great Britain in the '80's and a personal friend of whom he often spoke in terms of respect affection. Miss Taylor died on the 29th of uary in her seventy-sixth year.

In every country the nation is in the cottaif the light of your legislation does not shine a your statesmanship is a failure and your sysmistake.—Canon Farrar.

#### THE RATE OF HUMAN PROGRESS.

The great scientists, Haeckel and Wallace, have given especial emphasis to the difference in the rate of progress between the natural sciences and their application to life, on the one hand, and the political and social sciences and their application to life, on the other. The physical aspects of our civilization have been revolutionized in a few generations; and now the discovery of a new truth in the scientific or technical field finds almost immediate acceptance thruout the world and its benefits are spread as widely as the social order allows. In view of this it is often almost discouraging for those who are working unselfishly for the common good to note how slowly each step in the application of well-founded social truths is made, in the face of caste and privilege. For instance, the slightest pretence to honesty of purpose would seem to demand immediate action, when the fact is published that the post-office is compelled to pay, as yearly rent for a mail car, practically the entire cost of the car.

But the rate of progress in the scientific and technical field has not, even in the nineteenth century, been advanced without a struggle. document has recently been published in the German journal Prometheus, which should be of interest in this connection. It is an article against street illumination, appearing in the Zeitung of March 28, 1819, in which street illumination of any sort was opposed in all earnestness: (1) from theological reasons, since it would mean an interfering with the divine order, an attempt to alter the plan of the universe, of which the darkness of night is a part; (2) from legal reasons, since it would be unjust that the cost of such illumination, raised by taxes, should be borne by those who have not the slightest interest in such an arrangement, whose interests rather oppose it; (3) from medical reasons, since the fumes of the gas are detrimental to health, and since, furthermore, the tarrying on the streets in the night air, which would be furthered by illumination, would favor taking colds; (4) from moral reasons, since illumination would drive away the fear of darkness, which keeps the weak from many a sin, and since drunkenness and immorality would be furthered by the lighted streets; (5) from police reasons, since the light would make thieves bold and horses shy; (6) from economic reasons, since great sums would yearly go to foreign countries for the illuminating materials; and finally, (7) from national reasons, since the impression of festive illuminations which have the purpose of arousing and raising patriotism would be weakened by the regular evening "quasi-illuminations." These ridiculous arguments, which a great newspaper in Cologne as late as the year 1819 deemed worthy of printing, are no more ridiculous than a great part of the objections daily raised in conservative journals against social and political reforms, which are only the application of demonstrated truths.

The restrictions which well-meaning conservative men think necessary in the introduction of the referendum, for example, remind one forcibly of the provision in the charter of the first German railway, that a high fence must be erected on both sides of the track to avoid the mental disorders which would be caused by the sight of a rapidly moving train.

Altho the rate of progress towards social justice has undoubtedly been much accelerated in the last two decades, it still has some similarity with the rate of progress in anatomy, when it was considered impious to dissect the human body, which must remain intact for the resurrection of the last day (other disturbing influences, of course, not considered). The science of the anatomy and physiology of the body politic has

made enormous strides, partly from dissecting the cadavers of nations, but the sick patients of today

still distrust the new knowledge.

C. J. K.

## **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. 20, 1907.

#### The Chicago Election.

Democratic primaries for the April election in Chicago (p. 1087) will be held on February 21, and the nominating convention on February 23. These primaries are under the political bosses' primary law, and fears are expressed that by means of chicanery the strong popular sentiment which all concede to be for the renomination of Mayor Dunne may be baffled by ward bosses. The indications are, however, that Dunne's renomination cannot be prevented.

Since our last report, the Hearst papers have come to the support of Mayor Dunne. The attitude of Roger Sullivan, more important at the primaries than

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at the election, was uncertain until the 16th, when Mayor Harrison called a meeting at which Mr. Sullivan was expected to declare himself, either for Harrison by attending or against him by remaining away. He remained away. From that moment Mr. Harrison's chances for the nomination were regarded as hopeless. Then the Victor Lawson papers (Daily News and Record-Herald), which had worked for Harrison's nomination in order to be able to support him for election against the candidate of their own party, Mr. Harrison being Mr. Lawson's Democratic favorite as Gov. Deneen is his Republican-these papers asked Mayor Harrison to withdraw and concentrate upon a "dark horse". Mr. Harrison refused, declaring that the contest is between himself and Mayor Dunne, and began an aggressive campaign for the nomination; whereupon the Daily News started a "boom" for Mr. Sullivan as the Democratic candidate, and followed it with an intimation of an effort to push Walter L. Fisher in the Republican convention against Mr. Busse. Mayor Dunne's managers claim the election of unanimous Dunne delegations from 18 of the 35 wards, and in addition numerous delegates from divided ward delegations.

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#### The Chicago Traction Referendum.

Opposing organizations are forming for the referendum contest on the traction ordinances (p. 1086) to occur at the mayoralty election in April. They are nicknamed "the automobilers" and "the straphangers." the former being for and the latter against the ordinances. The nicknames are explained upon the supposition that "the straphangers" use the street cars and want good service, whereas "the automobilers" only want good dividends. The "automobilers" are organized under the auspices of the Chicago Commercial Association and the Real Estate Board: the "straphangers" under the auspices of the labor organizations and a joint committee of referendum and municipal ownership bodies. Commenting upon the former organization, Mayor Dunne said: if I remember right, the same organizations a few weeks ago came out in about the same order as they are now against the referendum petition. Yet the petitions were signed by over 300,000 voters. Let the public think this out for itself. As for the ordinances, I feel quite certain they will be rejected at the polls. My mail is growing larger every day, many people writing me in praise of my stand. I got more than twenty letters yesterday and probably forty today. I think the ordinances will be beaten decisively." The Federation of Labor on the 17th denounced the ordinances and urged its constituents to vote against them.

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#### Efforts to Abolish the Chicago Referendum.

Efforts are under way in the Chicago City Council to procure such amendments to the "public policy law," under which advisory referendums are held, including the pending traction referendum, as will make the law so impracticable as to be inoperative. Without reducing the enormous number of signatures required to bring a referendum question to vote—25 per cent. of the voters, which is equal to from 80,000 to 120,000 signatures,—it is proposed to hedge in the

petitions with conditions ostensibly for the purpose of preventing fraud but obviously for the purpose of making the getting of petitions difficult if not impossible. It requires, among other things, that voters classify themselves by wards and precincts, and that each signature to be verified under oath. The proposed amendments are now under consideration in the Council committee on State legislation.

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#### The Referendum in the Chicago Charter Convention.

The Chicago charter convention (p. 942), created by appointment and not by election, to formulate a home rule charter under the Constitutional amendment of Illinois, which allows special legislation for Chicago, is approaching the end of its work. It has struck out all provisions for the initiative and referendum except on the question of revising ward boundaries and on franchise grants by the Council. When a franchise grant to a private corporation is made by a majority of the Council, its operation is to be in abeyance 60 days, and if in that time a referendum petition is filed it remains in abeyance until it is sustained at the polls. If defeated at the polls it is dead. But the number of signatures to the petition must equal 20 per cent. of the registered voters (about 80,000), and each sheet must be verified by the affidavit of a registered voter to the effect that he personally saw all the signatures on that sheet affixed by the identical persons, as he is informed and believes, whose signatures they purport to be. These conditions would make the getting of a legal petition in 60 days impossible; and the franchise, no matter how bad in itself and how corruptly obtained, would become operative by default.

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#### Woman Suffrage in the Chicago Charter Convention.

Another subject of importance and national interest which the Chicago charter convention has for the present disposed of, is that of municipal suffrage for women. At the preliminary session of the convention (p. 937) the abstract proposition was voted down by 28 to 17. When the draft charter came before the convention on the 16th, a motion was made to incorporate a specification of the existing qualifications for suffrage, but for all "citizens" instead of "male citizens" as the present law reads. Some members objected to making this question a charter issue, and it was believed that it would get larger support if proposed as a separate bill to be recommended to the legislature by the convention. Accordingly the proposed amendment to the charter was withdrawn in order that a resolution for recommending a separate bill, offered by Graham Taylor, might be voted upon. This resolution was defeated by the following vote:

Yeas—Brosseau, Brown, Cole, Dever, Dixon (G. W.). Eckhart (B. A.), Eckhart (J. W.), Fisher, Greenacre. Guerin, Kittleman, Linehan, MacMillan, McGoorty, McKinley, O'Donnell, Owens, Pendarvis, Post, Rainey, Rinaker, Robins, Shanahan, Taylor, Walker, Werno, Wilkins—27.

Nays—Beebe, Beilfus, Bennett, Burke, Church, Eidman. Erickson, Gansberger, Harrison, Hill, Hoyne, Hunter. Jones, Lathrop, Lundberg, Merriam, Michaelis, Paulin. Raymer, Rosenthal, Shedd, Shepard, Snow, Swift, Vopicka, Young, Zimmer, and the president, Mr. Foreman.—22

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#### National Woman Suffrage Convention.

The 39th annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (p. 1064) met at Chicago on the 14th and remained in session until the 19th. About 200 delegates were in attendance. The convention was formally welcomed by Dr. Howard S. Taylor as the representative of Mayor Dunne, and by Mrs. Ella S. Stewart on behalf of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, Bishop Samuel E. Fallows on behalf of the churches, and Susanna M. D. Fry on behalf of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union. The Rev. Anna H. Shaw presided. On the 15th the delegates were given a luncheon reception at Hull House, and on the 16th an evening reception at the Woman's Club.

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One of the interesting events of the 16th was the report of Miss Laura Gregg on the suffrage situation in Oklahoma. "We made a powerful battle," said Miss Gregg, "against almost overwhelming odds in the Constitutional convention. Although we lost our fight, we feel that it really was a victory. We were beaten by only thirteen votes. But we are to have the initiative and referendum, and I predict that within two years we will be on a plane of political equality with men." At the Sunday meeting of the 17th Rabbi Hirsch said that if women voted, our neglected water supply, our dirty streets and our crowded tenements would not be tolerated; and Jane Addams answered the objection that it would be dangerous to put the ballot into the hands of women of the underworld, with the declaration of her belief that "the women of this class if allowed to vote would do more to purify the police force which now preys upon them than many generations of men." Herbert S. Bigelow, at the same meeting, described "men who deny woman the right to vote," as "simply barbarians who have not refinement enough to apply the golden rule." In his view "woman suffrage is essential to man's self respect and to woman's development." Other speakers on the different days were Henry B. Blackwell of Boston, Prof. John H. Scott of Northwestern University, Mary McDowell of the University settlement of Chicago, Josephine Casey, president of the Political Equality League of Self-Supporting Women, Ellen M. Henrotin of Chicago, Alice Henry of Australia, Edward N. Nockels of the Chicago Federation of Labor, Mary E. Coggeshall of Iowa, Prof. Emma Perkins of the Northwestern University of Ohio, Louis F. Post of Chicago, John Z. White of Chicago, Laura Clay of Kentucky, Harriet Taylor Upton of Ohio, Kate M. Gordon of New Orleans, and Caroline Lexow of New York. A Susan B. Anthony memorial meeting was held on the 15th, Miss Anthony's 87th birthday, at which Mary T. L. Gannett of New York and May Wright Sewall of Indiana were the leading participants.

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The following officers were elected on the 18th: President, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw of Swarthmore, Pa.; first vice-president, Rachel Foster Avery, Pa.; second vice-president, Florence Kelley, New York; corresponding secretary, Kate M. Gordon, New Orleans; recording secretary, Alice Stone Blackwell, Boston; treasurer, Harriet Taylor Upton, Ohio;

auditors, Laura Clay, Kentucky, and Mrs. Mary S. Sperry, California.

On the 19th the President said, in closing the convention, that President Eliot of Harvard did not understand the meaning of several English words when he stated that universal suffrage exists in the United States. She continued: "I never had a party and I have only made one partisan speech. That was twenty years ago, and if the Lord will forgive me for that I'll never do it again unless I have better reasons than I had then. I am not wise enough to be a Republican, not good enough to be a Democrat, I have not suffered enough to be a Socialist, and I am not sober enough to be a Prohibitionist. Since I couldn't be anything. I decided to be everything. I have attended political meetings by the score, and I yet have to hear a candidate approach fairly and squarely the issues the people will be called upon to decide. They tell how bad the other fellow is, how good he is, and then talk about the great and glorious country, with its 'rock ribbed' shores-I never knew what 'rock ribbed' shores are, but we have them on every coast-the towering pines that point to the heavens, the giant peaks that pierce the blue, and when they are through they have said nothing." Comparing the well regulated cities of Germany with those of the United States, Miss Shaw declared that she would nevertheless rather live here than in Germany, "because in Germany citizens are orderly because they are surrounded by soldiers, while in this country compulsion does not come from armed military power without but from a desire to obey from within;" and in allusion to injustices here she added: "They are the growing pains in the evolution of a republic. The time will come when order will be evolved, but the only way it will come is by the removing of the shackles from the women of the land. The reason we are asking for the ballot is not that for one moment we consider it an end but as a means without which the end can never be attained."

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The convention on the 19th adopted the following resolutions:

That the National Woman Suffrage Association, assembled in the State of Abraham Lincoln, does affirm the principle enunciated by Lincoln, who said in 1836, when a candidate for the Illinois legislature: "I go for all sharing the privileges of government who have a share in its burdens, by no means excluding women." That we rejoice in the fact that more women have obtained full suffrage during 1906, than during any previous year, through enfranchisement of all the women of Finland; also in the extension of municipal suffrage to the women of Natal, in Africa; also in the generous support given the equal suffrage cause in the Chicago charter convention, when municipal suffrage for Chicago was disapproved only through the adverse vote of the chairman. In view of the fact that in only fourteen out of the forty-five States have married mothers any legal right to the custody and control of their minor children, we urge the women of the other thirty-one States to work for the enactment of laws giving mothers equal right with fathers in the custody and control and the earnings of their minor children. That the traffic in women and girls which is carried on both in the United States and other countries is a heinous blot upon civilization. That we urge upon Congress and the State legislatures the enactment of a law prohibiting the employment of children under 16 years of age in mines, stores, and factories. That we favor the adoption of State constitutional amendments establishing direct legislation through the initiative and referendum. That we rejoice in the advance of the cause of peace and arbitration, indicated by the proposed calling of a second Hague conference. That we extend our sympathies to the members of the Woman's Social and Political Union of England in their heroic struggle for liberty; and we glory in the fact that there are women today who are so imbued with the love of liberty that with sublime courage they are willing to suffer stripes and imprisonment that women may be free.

The resolutions also embody a protest against the proposed plans for the Jamestown exposition, and request the management to subordinate the representations of military and naval spectacles to those representing the triumphs of the arts of peace, education and industry, and the educational, industrial, and philanthropic development of the nation.

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#### English Woman Suffragists Mob Parliament.

Woman suffragists of England on the 13th made a more determined and better organized demonstration at the doors of Parliament than ever before (pp. 801, 854, 856). The Chicago Inter Ocean's special dispatch states that from an early hour on that afternoon "until 10 o'clock at night a large force of police had their hands full in defending the precincts of Parliament from suffragists' raids. Every entrance to the House of Commons was guarded by detachments of policemen, while other officers of the law were engaged in clearing adjacent streets, and a body of fifty constables was kept in reserve for emergency. Some of the police were mounted and at one time during the demonstration they drove their horses on the gallop into the crowd of women, knocking down and injuring several of them. As the House was about to adjourn Claude George Hay, a member of the House, called attention to the disturbances, and protested against using the houses of Parliament as a fortress to be filled with police to protect the members against women. Home Secretary Gladstone replied to Mr. Hay, saying that he had little knowledge of what was going on outside, but that the measures employed were for the general convenience of the members, and he was sure no unnecessary violence had been used." In all about eighty women were arrested. On the next day fifty-six of these were arraigned in the police courts, charged with disorderly conduct and resisting the police. All were sentenced to pay fines or go to prison for 21 days or two weeks. All elected to go to prison.

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A private bill was introduced in Parliament on the 14th by Mr. Dickinson, for conferring the suffrage upon women. Its introduction will at least force the Government to take a position on the question.

The London County Council.\*

Nominations for the London County Council (p. 895) are to be made on the 22nd, and the polling comes on March 2. The campaign is earnest and

even bitter. The issue, according to the London Tribune, is the universal monopoly issue—that "between the schemes of private financiers and the civic good sense" of the people. The Interests are represented by the Moderates, who have raised the cry of criminal extravagance on the part of the Progressives. This charge the latter violently repudiate, claiming that it is based upon "faked figures." The Tribune gives the following statistics in reply to the charges of the Moderates:

The County Council is only responsible for a comparatively small proportion of the debt of London and of the rates that Londoners have to pay, and the County Council's rate has not increased with the same rapidity as that of other public bodies. This is how London's total debt of £105,576,030 is made up:

Water Board	238,575,517
London County Council (excluding Education).	33,542,430
Borough Councils and City Corporation	13,639,809
Education (formerly School Board)	11,691,768
Poor Law	4,393,351
Asylums Board	3,464,669
Police	268,486

It must be remembered that not all of the debt of £33,542,430 was created by the County Council. Of this sum £17,500,000 was inherited from the Board of Works, the Council's predecessors. Then, from the remainder, there must also be deducted the remunerative or "revenue producing" debt of about £7,500,000.

This leaves, approximately, £8,500,000 as the net unremunerative (but essential) debt for which the County Council is responsible.

Here are the facts expressed in another way, by means of the respective rates:

	8.	α.
London County Council	. 1	5
Education		•
Borough Councils, etc	. 2	0.54
Poor Law	. 1	6.46
Asylums Board	. 0	5.12
Police		5
Unemployed		0.14

These figures show that of the rates paid by Londoners the portion demanded by the County Council is considerably less than one-fifth.

There is just another table that is worth giving. It proves that in ten years, while the average total rate in London has increased by more than 1s 3d in the pound—that is to say, by about 17 per cent., the County Council rate has only gone up 2d—or a little under 12 per cent.:

	L. C. C. rate.	London rate.
	s. d.	a. d.
1896		6 2.42
1897	1 3	6 2.20
1898	1 2	6 1.21
1899		6 6.22
1900		6 6.36
1901	1 2.50	6 6.63
1902		6 9.28
1903	1 8.50	7 2.80
1904	1 4.75	7 2.90
1905	1 5.75	7 2.77
1906	1 6	7 6
1900		
_		1 9 58

The Tribune also asserts that the debt of London is in comparably less in relation to its taxable property than that of the larger provincial cities, and that the County Council's stock stands at a higher figure on the stock exchange than that of the German government.

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<sup>\*</sup>See page 1120 of this Public.

ernment. On the 4th Mr. John Burns in a campaign speech summed up the situation as "London against monopoly." He called London "the last discovered gold mine"—"a place where gold could be got without digging, and silver without mining," "by introducing a bill into Parliament to give a few unscrupulous men, mainly not Londoners, the opportunity of exploiting this great city, and extracting from it a net profit of anything from one and two to ten millions a year in the supply of electricity in bulk." He also asserted that as results of the Council's labors epidemic diseases in London had been pulled down by 44 per cent., phthisis by 32 per cent., and the general death rate from 20 per cent. to 14 per cent. They had a cleaner river, a purer atmosphere, and London was not only the cleanest but the healthiest amongst all the great cities of the world. He could remember when the death rate in a part of London was 40 and even 50 per cent. Battersea had trebled its population and halved its death rate. Eighteen years ago London had forty parks and open spaces of 2,600 acres. It had now 110 parks of 5,000 acres. Since the trams had carried people to the parks the increase of games in 1906 had risen over those of 1905 by 47,000 cricket, tennis, and other games. The Tribune sums up the situation in saying that "a Moderate victory would mean much more than a halt. It would mean an unchecked career for all the private interests, whose ambition it is to capture for themselves the profits which municipal enterprise is securing for the common good."

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#### A Degree of Home Rule Proposed for Ireland.

Mr. Augustine Birrell, new Chief Secretary for Ireland, gave formal notice in the House of Commons on the 14th that a bill "to establish an Irish Council, and for other purposes connected therewith," would be introduced. This bill is to be brought forward in fulfilment of the pledge of the Liberals to the Nationalists to give Irish legislation a foremost place in the present session of Parliament. Dispatches state that the bill will provide for a Council in which the elective element will predominate. A number of nominative members are retained in order to placate the Liberals, who are opposed to an entirely representative body. It is understood also that this Council will have extensive administrative powers, but its right to legislate will be limited. This feature has been accepted by the Irish leaders.

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#### Sweden.

Stockholms-Tidningen for January 26 states that Mr. Vennersten, a prominent and wealthy manufacturer, and a member of the Swedish Riksdag, has introduced in the lower house of that body a bill providing for taxation of the unearned increment of land. The bill provides for such a tax only for the cities, and the taxes collected are proposed to be used only for municipal expenditures. But the bill does not exclude the idea of later extending this tax to the country, and then to make provision for the national government.

The telegraph department of the Swedish government has issued a statement that from the first of January this year the minimum fee for felegrams will be 6.75 cents for five words, with a charge of 1.35 cent for each additional word. The government owns and operates the telegraph lines between all important places in the country. The length of its lines is at present about 6,000 miles. The surplus derived from the operation of telegraph lines has varied between 15 and 18 per cent. of the total receipts during the years from 1896 to 1902. The system is not new or experimental, having been in operation for more than fifty years.

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#### France Working Out Her Separation Law.

Mr. Briand's "eighteen-year contracts," at first believed to be entirely satisfactory to the church authorities (p. 1090), met with objection from the Vatican, and have received modification. On the 19th the Chamber of Deputies sustained the Government's policy of adaptation by a vote of 389 to 88. In speaking for the policy Mr. Briand declared that the Government had not and would not abandon its conciliatory policy. The regime of the separation of church and state should not be made a cloak for religious persecution. "We stand for liberty for all."

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#### The United States and the Congo Problem.

Senator Lodge's Congo resolution (p. 871) was passed by the Senate in executive session on the 15th in much amended form. According to the press dispatches it has been changed to meet the objections of Senator Bacon and other Senators who felt that the United States ought to go slowly in its suggestions regarding European affairs. As the resolution was adopted it advises the President that he will receive the cordial support of the Senate in any steps he may deem it wise to take in co-operation with or in aid of any of the powers signatories of the Treaty of Berlin for the amelioration of the condition of the natives of the Congo Free State, provided such steps are not inconsistent with treaty or other international obligations.

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#### California's Japanese Question.

The questions of the segregation of Japanese schoolchildren in San Francisco, and the admission of Japanese coolie labor into California (pp. 924, 1018, 1091), have obtained at least temporary settlement. After conferences between President Roosevelt and Mayor Schmitz and several members of the San Francisco Board of Education, an amendment to the immigration bill then before Congress was drafted by Secretary Root, relative to the admission of coolie This amendment was accepted by the Senlabor. ate and House conferees on the 13th. The conference report was adopted by the Senate, without roll call, on the 16th, and the bill passed the House on the 18th by a vote of 187 to 101. The amendment runs as follows:

That whenever the President shall be satisfied that passports issued by any foreign governments to its citizens to go to any country other than the United States or to any insular possession of the United States or to the canal zone are being used for the purpose of enabling the holders to come to the continental territory of the United States to the detriment of labor conditions therein, the President may refuse to permit such citizens of the

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sountry issuing such passports to enter the continental territory of the United States from such other country or from such insular possessions or from the canal sone.

The Chicago Tribune says that to understand the exclusion to be enforced by this amendment it should be understood that at the present time the Japanese government is refusing to give Japanese subjects passports to go directly from Japan to the United States. This is done on the general principle that there is not a sufficient opening for the Japanese in this country, and their home government therefore, as a police regulation, will not give them passports directly destined for the United States. But the Japanese government has been granting passports to Hawaii, Mexico, Canada, and many other countries. Once an emigrant from Japan has left his own country, he is outside the jurisdiction of his home government, and there is nothing to prevent his lying over a steamer and continuing on to the United States. This has been the course of the Japanese who have been pouring into California at the rate of a thousand a month. They have all left Japan with passports for Hawaii, have stopped in the islands a few days or weeks, and then have continued their migration to California or some other of the Pacific States. In addition to this effort at exclusion the President promises that when normal conditions have been restored and irritation in Japan has abated, he will take up with Japan the negotiation of a new commercial treaty entirely excluding Japanese unskilled and skilled labor.

In return for this movement toward the exclusion of Japanese coolie labor from California, Mayor Schmitz and his educational coadjutors have promised the following amendments to their segregation order of October 11, 1906:

Section 1. Children of all alien races who speak the English language, in order to determine the proper grade in which they may be entitled to be enrolled, first must be examined as to their educational qualifications by the principal of the school.

Section 2. That no child of alien birth over the ages of 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 years shall be enrolled in any of the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, or eighth grades, respectively.

Section 3. If said alien children shall be found deficient in their ability to speak or deficient in the elements of the English language, or unable to attend the grades mentioned in section 2 by reason of the restrictions mentioned therein, such children shall be enrolled in special schools or in special classes established exclusively for such chil-

Constitution-Making in Oklahoma. While the constitution of the new State of Oklahoma (p. 898) will confine the suffrage to male citizens, it will include provision for the initiative and referendum. The constitution clause follows the Oregon law, except that a petition of 15 per cent. of the voters is to be required; and in addition, the initiative and referendum have been reserved to districts, counties and municipalities for local purposes. The insertion of these provisions in the constitution was made a party question, the Democrats having been pledged to it in the campaign for delegates, and the Republican press and organization having opposed it to the end.

Legal Regulation of Railway Rates.

The example set a year ago by Ohio (vol. viii, p. 766) in fixing passenger fares at 2 cents a mile is being widely followed. According to a report of the Chicago Tribune of the 15th "the legislatures of West Virginia and Arkansas have sent 2 cent fare bills to the governors for their signatures. In lowa. Indiana, Missouri, and Pennsylvania the 2 cent bill has passed one or the other of the two houses of the legislature. In only one State so far, South Dekota, has the 2 cent fare bill been definitely defeated. The movement is more general in its scope than the famous granger legislation of many decades ago, when many States of the middle West cut passenger fares to 3 cents a mile. Their right to do so was upheld by the United States Supreme Court after a bitter legal fight." Following is a summary of the status of the 2 cent fare legislation in the various States as reported by the Tribune:

Arkansas-Passed without giving the railroads a chance to present their side of the case.

Indiana-Senate bill making a passenger ticket rate of 2 cents per mile and 21/2 cents when collected on trains passed House; final passage certain.

Iowa-Passed House on 12th; now before railroad committee of Senate.

Illinois-Bills pending before House; committees not yet reported.

Kansas-Bill pending in one branch of legislature.

Minnesota-Pending before the Senate committee on railroads: certain to pass. Missouri-House and Senate both passed bills; now

awaiting conference over amendments.

Nebraska-Bill drafted by joint House and Senate committee; both houses favorable to bill.

North Carolina-House passed 2 cent bill; Senate considering 21/2 cent fare bill.

Ohio-Two cent fare bill passed in Spring of 1906. Oklahoma-Two cent fare proviso will be included in

the constitution if the plans of the constitutional convention carry.

Pennsylvania-House passed 2 cent bill on 14th; goes to Senate.

South Dakota-Bill defeated.

West Virginia-Two cent fare bill passed by both houses of legislature.

Wisconsin—Pending before the State railway commission. Decision not expected within the next two or three weeks: legislature waiting report.

Since the above compilation the State Railway Commission of Wisconsin has announced its decision, ordering railways to reduce passenger fares from 3 to 21/2 cents a mile; the Nebraska Senate has passed the pending bill; the Missouri Senate has passed the amended bill; and the Mississippi Railway Commission has ordered the 2 cent rate to go into effect in 30 days.

Organized Labor and Taxation.

At the meeting of the Boston Central Labor Union on the 17th, with nearly 600 delegates present, the following significant resolution was adopted unanimously:

That the Bureau of Statistics of Labor be requested to report on the existing methods of taxation in Massachusetts, with special reference to their effect on labor interests, and to recommend such reforms in the tex system of this State as may tend to ameliorate the condition of the laboring class.

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## **NEWS NOTES**

- —The new Reichstag (p. 1065) was opened by the German Emperor in person on the 19th.
- —The latest reports of elections to the second Russian Douma (p. 1090) indicate still greater radical majorities.
- —The Department of Superintendence of the National Educational Association will meet at Chicago, in the Music Hall of the Auditorium, on the 26th, 27th and 28th of February.
- An initiative and referendum bill is pending in the Pennsylvania legislature. It is promoted by the Pennsylvania Referendum League, which has quarters at Pittsburg (lock box 305).
- —In spite of the prohibitions of the Presidents of the United States and Mexico (p. 1092) Nicaragua and Honduras are marching troops to their frontiers, and six hours of fighting was reported on the 18th.
- —Consul Albert Halstead writes that the English city of Birmingham is securing control of the street car systems there. Early in January the municipality instituted electric traction covering 80 miles of trackage.
- —To force the printers of Butte, Montana, to reduce the union scale of wages 50 cents a day, and to make other modifications of their rules, all the newspapers of Butte have declared a lockout and suspended publication.
- —The reform government of Philadelphia was ousted at the city election on the 19th by the election of John E. Reyburn, regular Republican nominee for Mayor, over William Potter, the joint nominee of the Reform, the City and the Democratic parties, by 35,000 majority.
- —The Greek Chamber of Deputies has decided to commemorate the battle of Marathon, which was fought in September, 490 B. C., in 1910, exactly twenty-four centuries after its occurrence. The commemoration will take place simultaneously with the next Olympic games.
- —Albert C. Ellithorpe, a Chicago pioneer, died on the 19th at the age of 83. He had been a printer, an anti-slavery editor, a carpenter, a manufacturer, a gold seeker, a politician, a school teacher, a regular army officer, and a promoter. Air cushions for elevators were invented by him.
- —A Pulajane raid (pp. 851, 876) was reported from Occidental Negros in the Philippine Islands on the 13th. Several schools were burned and two American teachers were reported missing. No cause for the uprising could be assigned. This is the first disturbance in this province in four years.
- —Arrangements in the Province of Alberta, Canada, for the construction of the first long link for the Alberta Government telephone system, have been practically completed. The Public Works Department will be ready when the weather permits to go ahead with the construction of the line from Edmonton to Lloydminster.
- —Giosue Carducci, the Italian poet and critic, died at Bologna on the 15th. Born in 1836, Carducci

- became the poet of the Italian struggle for independence. He "sang the new song for Italy free." He has been ranked, not only as Italy's greatest mod ern poet, but as one of the world's greatest poets during the nineteenth century.
- —Henry S. Olcott, the associate of Madame Blavatsky in the organization of Theosophists in America, died at Adyar, India, on the 17th, at the age of 75. He was a native of New York, was for many years an agricultural experimenter and editor, served as a Union officer in the Civil War, practiced law until 1874, when he became interested in Theosophy, and in 1878 established his home in India.
- —Mexico is about to take absolute control of more than two-thirds of the entire existing railroad mileage of the country. According to Collier's Weekly this step is being taken in order to protect the transportation system against possible foreign interference, and to assure a management that shall be in the interests of the people of Mexico. A great holding company, capitalized at \$225,000,000, is the method devised for accomplishing this nationalization.
- —Wm. J. Bryan lectured in Chicago on the 19th. He refused to be interviewed on Chicago politics, but of national politics he said: "Events have been speaking for me. The President, too, has been making my speeches for me. In fact, it has reached the point where I am afraid to say what I used to say ten years ago for fear the Republicans will accuse me of plagiarizing from the President. I appreciate the support the President is giving to great public measures."
- —The Canadian Engineer states that although the citizens of Fort William, Province of Quebec, pay only \$2 a month for business telephones and \$12 a year for residence, the city during 1906 realized a profit on its municipal telephone plant of \$3,300, after providing for a sinking fund and interest, and ten per cent. of the gross receipts for depreciation in value of plant. The profits of the electric light department amounted to about \$1,000, the gross receipts being \$34,000.
- —The insurance losses by the San Francisco earthquake and fire (p. 278) have been made public by the committee representing the 35 insurance companies which acted in unison in settling the losses. The estimated round value of the destroyed or damaged property insured by the 233 companies in San Francisco, was \$315,000,000 on which there was a net insurance loss of \$180,000,000, covered by 102,000 policies. The gross loss of all kinds by the disaster is estimated by the committee at \$1,000,000,000.
- —In the lower house of the Alberta (Can.) legislature on the 14th the minister of public works for the Province, in outlining the policy of the ministry on the telephone question, said that the government is going to supply all the cities, towns, rural municipalities and local improvement districts that want them with telephones at the lowest possible price, the Province undertaking the installation, operation and maintenance of the whole system. The minister did not state any figure, but private members announced their belief that Alberta could supply the farmers with 'phones at \$10 to \$12 a year, and give

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long distance connection for little more than the cost of a postage stamp.

—By the wrecking and burning of an electric propelled express train on the New York Central railroad in upper New York City in the early evening of the 16th, about 30 passengers were killed, and about 150 injured. The bodies of the dead were very shockingly mutilated, and the injuries sustained by the survivors were in many cases of a very dreadful character. Investigation seems to confirm the first impression in regard to the cause of the disaster—that it was produced by the spreading of rails.

—The proper pronunciation of the name "Missouri" was the subject of a concurrent resolution introduced into the Missouri legislature on the 19th. The following section gives the pronunciation which it is desired to have authorized:

The only true pronunciation of the name of the State, in the opinion of this body, is that received from the native Indians, and that it should be pronounced in three syllables, accent on the second syllable. The vowel in the first syllable is short "!"; in the second syllable long double "o" or "oo"; in the third short "i"; "s" in the two syllables in which it occurs has the sound of "s" and not "z".

—Consul F. W. Mahin reports that the price of illuminating gas in Widnes, Lancashire, England, is now 32 cents to small consumers, but will be reduced to 30 cents on July 1. Large consumers will pay from 22 to 26 cents. This is claimed to be the cheapest gas in the world. The town has about 30,000 population. The price of gas is remarkably low everywhere in Great Britain, whether under public or private control, the general range of price being 40 to 70 cents. English municipalities, unlike most American, have realized that gas companies exist for the convergence of the public, not the public for the exploitation of the gas corporations.

## PRESS OPINIONS

THE SINGLE TAX.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), February 11.—The single tax is the simple tax and it is the equitable tax. And it is the only tax that is so. Every other tax is necessarily inequitable, necessarily burdensome and necessarily oppressive in its character and effects. . . Such a tax would solve the whole fiscal problem and put an end to the injustices and inequities that are now everywhere known to exist under prevailing systems.



THE DREADFUL REFERENDUM.

The Chicago Examiner (Dem.), Feb. 15.—Chicago's streets would now be owned by the traction kings under the terms of practically perpetual franchises but for the referendum. Mr. Morgan's agents in the Council have done all they could to deliver Chicago's traction interests to their master. They have over-ridden Mayor Dunne's veto. They have bound every Chicago straphanger, so far as their ability went, to the Morgan charlot. But the referendum intervenes. The people have still the last word. They may kill these ordinances if they will. The referendum to the franchise grabbers, is like the sheeted ghost to the slayer of Macbeth. It will not down. It mars the boodle feasts with its "death's head." It is inopportune and persistent. Hence the referendum must go. The lords of franchise brokerage and special privilege have decreed it. This aberration of the people, that

they still have the final voice in government, must be checked.

THE BEST WOMEN.

Woman's Journal (Eq. Suf.), January 12.—Jane Addams received the largest vote out of many candidates as "the best woman in Chicago," on a vote taken by the Chicago Tribune from between four and five hundred well known Chicago women. Miss Addams lost some votes from society women because in the school board fight she has generally sided with Margaret Haley and the Teachers' Federation; and she lost some votes from the extreme adherents of the Federation because she has not sided with it in everything. Nevertheless, she headed the list Mary McDowell, who came second, and all the women who stood high on the list, are suffragists. What now becomes of the assertion that "the best women do not want to vote"?

#### RADICALISM IN THE SECOND DOUMA.

The London Tribune (Lib.), January 31.—Were it not for the experience of last year, it would seem incredible that any Opposition party could find its way into the Second Douma at all. We remember only too vividly our despondency then, when we read of meetings dispersed, papers suppressed, candidates arrested, and electors terrorized, and our surprise when a defiantly Radical Parliament emerged from it all. Unformed parties, untrained leaders, electors who had never in their lives seen a free public meeting or a secret ballot-box did somehow contrive to improvise the tactics which suited the occasion. One year more of repression can only have sharpened that precocious political instinct.

#### THE PROGRAM OF THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY.

The (Woolwich, Eng.) Pioneer (Lab.), December 28-The year 1906 will be remembered as the year of the beginning of the representation of Labour in the British Parliament. In its first month, 30 Labour members were returned to Parliament out of 670; that is, 85 per cent. of the people obtained direct and independent representation through the votes and voices of nearly 5 per cent. of the members of the House of Commons. . . . The work of the Labour Party for 1907 is to make clear to the world what the Labour movement and Labour representation really mean. The Labour Party in Parliament has practically no voting strength, it is but a voice. It must sound loud and clear. It is the voice of unorganized and unskilled labour, as well as of trade unionists. of the rural worker as well as of the townsman, of women as well as men, and the voice of all the myriad workers of varied race, language, and color in the Empire, as well as of the workers of Britain. It has to make itself heard, not only in legislation, but also in home administration, in the government of India and the colonies and in all relations with foreign countries. While labor is denied access to land, and women to citizenship. while the Indian subjects of the Empire are slain by famines, and its British citizens bred in slums, the work of the Labour Party remains undone. Till then it works for the union of all who labor by hand or brain, in the service of all the disinherited, all the unenfranchised, all the oppressed.

#### RESTRICTING IMMIGRATION.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Feb. 16.—The proposed amendment to the pending immigration bill, under which the President is empowered to shut out immigrants from any country whenever in his judgment the admission of such immigrants would be detrimental to American labor, is the most monstrous proposal which has ever been made by the restrictionists. Naturally enough it comes from President Roosevelt himself and it is understood to have been prepared by Elihu Root. It

is the proposed basis of compromise with the Californians and it is the price Mr. Roosevelt is willing to pay for a victory over the San Francisco school board in a fight in which he has mixed up without rhyme or reason. . . We doubt if a more monstrous thing than this ever received serious consideration in the Congress of the United States. Yet the Republican majority appears to be ready to jam it through at the President's behest. Not a Republican protest has been raised. In order to save their party on the coast at a critical time when a presidential election is looming large on the horizon they are willing to put in Mr. Roosevelt's hands a club of most dangerous character and of untold possibilities. It would confer upon him a power exceeding that held by any potentate on earth. It would mark him as the arbiter of the labor market of the country. It would make it possible for him to shut the door of hope in the face of the Irish, the Germans, the Scandinavians and all the other peoples who have contributed so much to the growth, the development and the material prosperity and progress of this country.

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#### THE JAMAICA LETTER.

The (London) Labour Leader (Lab.), January 25 .-Whatever may be the explanation of the letter of the Governor of Jamaica requesting in "jocular" terms the American admiral to withdraw his troops from the island, it is gratifying to know that the American people have, on the whole, taken no great offense at the incident. The Governor's conduct, if he was really guilty of writing the alleged letter officially, in no way affected the common interests and relations existing between the two countries. Yet such is the touchiness of nations on such points that diplomacy had at once to intervene to avert a dangerous misunderstanding between Great Britain and the United States. It is evident from the affair that highly organized commercial communities are not much more self-restrained in their national tempers than were the smaller tribal and monarchical communities of bygone centuries. Education, science and art have only civilized them skin deep as yet. The Stock Exchange man, the professor, and the shopkeeper lose their heads almost as quickly where points of "national honour" are concerned as did the tribesmen and yeomen of the untutored past. The incident has one clear political lesson for us. It shows that so long as we have armies and navies they may at any moment create war. It is with nations as with individuals. If they have weapons handy they will use them whenever their tempers flare up. It has not been by every one of us carrying pistols in our hip pockets that the practice of shooting each other in the streets has come to an end; but by each and all of us giving up the practice of carrying firearms. Were there no armies there would be no war.

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#### BRYAN

San Francisco Star (ind. Dem.), February 2. - Mr. Bryan's stay in San Francisco was short, and, as becomes a man who is firm in his belief in the sanctity of the Christian Sabbath, it was quiet. His journey is not a political one. He is traveling on his private business, making money honorably-and, we hope, in considerable sums-by delivering lectures. There is something refreshing in the simplicity and democracy of the man. The acknowledged leader of a great political party and almost surely destined to fill the exalted office of President of the United States, he goes quietly on his way, earning his living by active work, and enjoying everywhere the heartiest manifestations of respect, good will and affection. His dignified simplicity and manly urbanity are indeed welcome to a public very weary of truculence, almightiness and big sticks. It is too early yet to forecast the action of the Democratic national convention, but it seems as sure as anything in the future

can be that Mr. Bryan will be the nominee of that convention. There is no other candidate who can measure up to the standard of his rectitude, ability and enormous popularity, though there are many able, upright and popular men in the party. Bryan tops them all. A comforting and reassuring thing it is that this man's great popularity is not built upon the tricks of the demagogue. There are none of the Hearst methods in evidence where Bryan goes his even, manly way among his fellow citizens. He has the saving salt of decent self respect. He is a politician, and a masterly one; but he does not deem lying, noise, bluster and trickery to be part of a political equipment. He is a politician as Webster was, as George F. Hoar was, as Abraham Lincoln was-from head to heel armed in triple plates of truth and honor. We think he will be nominated by the Democratic national convention, and we believe he will be elected the next President of the United States.

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#### ERNEST CROSBY.

The New Age (London, Eng.), January 17.—Tolstoy and Henry George more than other teachers influenced Ernest Crosby in the course of his life, but he was something of a prophet himself—quite fearless and plainspoken as a prophet should be. Had he lived it is difficult to say how far Ernest Crosby would have gone as a writer. He cared much more about right living and right thinking than about the niceties of style. This may be said, that he delivered his message faithfully, and ordered his life as a good man should, and the world is the poorer place for his death.

## IN CONGRESS

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Recerd, 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, Feb. 11-17.

#### Senate.

The Senate passed the army appropriation bill with amendments on the 11th (pp. 2739-2756), and devoted the 12th to miscellaneous business and the discussion of the bill regulating appeals in criminal cases (p. 2784). This bill was further discussed on the 13th (p. 2881) and passed (p. 2888); after which a bill providing for an agricultural bank in the Philippines was considered (p. 2896), and at an evening session a large mass of private legislation was enacted. On the 14th the bill to regulate immigration was further considered (p. 3010). The 15th was devoted to private legislation, and the 16th largely to further discussion of the immigration bill (p. 3161).

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#### House.

Appropriations and District of Columbia affairs occupied the attention of the House on the 11th; and appropriations, some of them evoking Philippine discussion. on the 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th. On the 17th memorial services were held in memory of the late Representative Robert R. Hitt.

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#### Record Notes.

Speech of Representative Sulzer on the restoration of the American merchant marine (p. 2840). Text of Senate immigration bill (p. 2874). Speech of Representative Gilbert on the Japanese school question (p. 2991). Speech of Senator Bacon (p. 3124) and Senator Tillman (p./3138) on the restriction of immigration. Protest of thewGreat Northern Railway Co. against reductions in pay Apr railway mail transportation (p. 3209).

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## RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

#### THE DECIDING VOTE.

For The Public.

IN THE CHICAGO CHARTER CONVENTION.
On Taylor's motion to make the question of Woman's Suffrage the subject of a special bill to be introduced in the legislature by the convention a tie vote of 27 to 27 resulted.

"I vote nay," said Chairman Foreman. "Motion's lost."
—Chicago Tribune, Feb. 17, 1907.

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What part am I of social thought or need,
To force their failure on a struggling State?
How dares my arrogance their fate to read
Undreamed by slaves whose freedom must not wait?

The sacred hope of ages torn with strife Am I to save by clutching at its throat To murder it, just as its grasp of life Needs but the courage of a single vote?

What part am I, and of whose rights a part,
To shout defiance to a helpless half;
To thrust my power o'er its truer heart
And at its tears with scorn and sneering laugh?

Voice of the State, its autocrat am I,
To check, to censor and to crush with hate
The soul whose service must my pride deny,
While greater ruin shall my force create.

Ho, fools! What mother's son has grace to yield Some near approval of her gentle sway, That by my potency is well repealed Unto the glory of my master's day.

Then be it so,—the vote, the vice, the void
That press apart with long distress the need,
The human need,—the confidence destroyed
By vicious votes whose selfish schemes I plead.

More than a vote I vote my coward fear 'Gainst equity of sex, that still supreme My lord shall hold his sure dominion dear Above the sighings of a childish dream.

Put ballots in the box! Yea, stuff it full.

Their destiny is mine alone to read.

For mine shall bellow as a frenzied bull,

The bluff and bluster of his brutal creed.

GEORGE E. BOWEN.

## THE END OF A WAR.

From The Advocate of Peace (Boston) for January.

A class of lads in Aoyama College, Tokyo, Japan, was asked by the president, Rev. Benjamin Chappell, to bring in, on a certain morning, essays on "The End of the War," the theme having been suggested by the imperial review of the returned soldiers. One of the boys wrote, in part, as follows:

#### From My Diary.

The end of the war has come. Soldiers and officers have returned to their homes. But, alas! they who were killed have not returned. When on my way to the parade ground to see the military review, I met a young, but tall, noble-looking captain who very much resembled my brother. I stopped. I stood. I stared at him. I gazed into his face. I

fixed my eyes on his eyes. But I was disappointed. Of course he was not my brother. The end of the war has come, and the survivors have returned. But my elder brother, who used to play with me, will never come home again!

## \* \* \* OUR FINANCIAL LETTER.

For The Public.

Wall Street, Feb., 00.—The principal feature of today's market was U. S. Printing Co., common, which gained three full points and was steady at the close. The reason generally assigned for this was the announcement that the Onion Specific Ry. Co. would increase its capital by printing \$350,000,000,000 more stock.

Most of the watered stocks showed a decided tendency to seek a lower level, although Rubber evinced great elasticity and was strong on reactions.

Considerable uneasiness was expressed over the popular disapproval of the recent efforts of the Secretary of the Treasury to bolster the market.

U. S. bonds of all kinds were easy money at the City National Bank and were readily discounted. American Consuls for foreign shipment were plentiful.

During the early trading a disquieting rumor was current that a certain prominent financial desperado was suffering from a severe attack of toothache. A decided slump was the result, followed by a complete recovery when the ticker announced reassuringly that the offending molar had been extracted and that the patient was convalescent.

Foreign Titles, common and preferred, were unsettled by rumors of another big divorce scandal. President Roosevelt will be asked to come to the relief of the market by interceding as peacemaker.

ELLIS O. JONES.

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#### **OUR AMERICAN OLIGARCHY.**

How the Remedy for the Ever-Increasing Danger to Our Republican Institutions Through the Trust-Con-

trolled Senate Lies in the Hands of the People.

Ernest Crosby in the March Cosmopolitan.\*

Our republican institutions are in danger. That is a moderate statement of fact, and to make light of it is to offer certain proof of a lack of insight into things as they are. We are rapidly drifting into the hands of that most odious of all forms of government, the oligarchy. The self-interest of a real de-

\*Note by Editor of the Cosmopolitan.—It is with much sorrow that we publish this article, since at the moment of preparing it for the press the news of Mr. Crosby's sudden death has reached us. It is therefore his last contribution to the Cosmopolitan. Thousands of our readers have come forward to express their admiration of the short, terse essays which have appeared regularly in these pages during the past year, and no doubt everyone of them has been set to thinking by Mr. Crosby's foreging logic. He was one of the clearest thinkers on economic subjects that this country has ever produced. His life was devoted to obtaining a "square deal" for our indistrial millions from the rapacious capitalist class. His influence will grow, and a decade hence he will be known as one of the great prophets of political and social refers.

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mocracy tends to make it just. The centralization of power in a king is apt to produce a sense of responsibility, free from petty ambitions and rivalries, and this makes for impartiality and fairness. But there is nothing which can keep an oligarchy straight. It has all the faults of all other forms of government, and none of their virtues. It has the absolute power of a monarchy without any sense of responsibility. It has all the rivalries and envies of democracy in aggravated form, and its self-interest, instead of neutralizing this defect by a broad appeal to equality, is on the contrary, the sure creator of special privilege, inequality, and monopoly.

Venice was a conspicuous example of the baneful effects of a commercial oligarchy, such as we are building up at present. With all the advantages of her position on the highway between East and West, with all her wealth and enterprise, with her mastery of the seas, she yet fell the victim of that internal corruption which inheres in every oligarchy by the very nature of its constitution—the prey of insatiable, unscrupulous, unrestrained, self-conflicting greed. And it is an ominous fact that in Venice the seat of this disease was the Senate!

There is a difference between the Venetian and the American Senate. The grand seigniors who ruled and ruined Venice sat in the Senate hall themselves and passed daily from the counting-room to the legislative chamber. We have specialized things to a higher point than they ever did, and we are more economical of our time. Our lords of finance for the most part send their stool-pigeons to the Senate. It would be an unexpected act of condescension for any one of the half-dozen biggest men of Wall street to accept a senatorial chair. They are not in that class. If by chance one or two of them have bought a legislature and a seat, it is recognized as a foible, or as a concession to the ladies of the family, affording a good excuse for passing the winter at a pleasant watering-place like Washington. Nobody takes such a legislative career seriously, and the great man of dollars is rarely found in his place. It is the clerks and employes of the first rank that must attend to such vulgar business.

And what is the chief business of our official Senate at Washington, controlled by the unofficial oligarchy of Wall street? It is to prevent any change in the present status of the business world, which, as experience has fully proved, is peculiarly adapted to the needs of financial graft-a system which produced the oligarchy, and which the oligarchy naturally intends to perpetuate. The fountain of wealth which gushes out from the natural resources of our country in response to the labor of man ought to irrigate fairly the whole surface of the land, and its waters should circulate in abundance wherever men contribute their volume. Instead of this, we find it dammed up in certain places far beyond all reasonable requirements, and at other points there are stretches of undeserved desert from which every drop has been drawn.

Some months ago I walked up Fifth avenue with a man who is prominent in finance and innocent of any subversive ideas. "Do you know who lives in that house?" he asked, indicating a handsome residence. "No," was my answer. "His name is Blank. Did.you ever hear it before?" "Never." "Well, he's worth forty millions." A few rods further on he re-

peated the same question with reference to another house, whose owner I had never heard of, and who was the possessor of twenty-five millions. And still a third time he put a similar question and obtained the same answer. "I don't know what we're coming to!" he added. "Every week I'm hearing the names of these men, utterly unknown to me, who are worth twenty, thirty, forty, and fifty millions!" And in corroboration of this I may say that I saw the death of a millionaire in one of our cities mentioned incidentally in the papers, some time ago-a man whose name was altogether new to me-who was said to have left an estate of one hundred and eighty millions! Doesn't this look just a little bit like unhealthy congestion, in a country, too, where the number of paupers and tramps is continually increasing? We call in the surgeon when the circulation of a human being swells up in places like this. Is it a more wholesome symptom in the body politic?

The immense accumulations of "watered stock" in our telegraph, telephone, and express companies show how much more we have to pay for their services than they are worth, and if it were possible to ascertain the original cost of our railroads the same thing would appear with reference to them. The railroads obtain one-tenth of their gross earnings from extortionate mail-contracts with the government. Why? Because the Senate is there to prevent any interference with the railway, express, telegraph, and telephone monopolies.

Our senators could at a single session break up the steel trust by reducing the tariff, the express trust by establishing a parcel-post, the telegraph and telephone trusts by adding these analogous services to the postoffice. They could thus go a great way toward diverting the flow of wealth from the pockets of the people into those of the monopolists. Why don't they do it? Because they are the servants, not of the people, but of the monopolies. Away with the oligarchy! Let the people elect their senators!

## THE MAN-SUFFRAGE BANNER.

From a Poem Read at the Woman's National Suffrage Convention in Session in Chicago, by Miss Jane Campbell.

The Charter day was coming fast
When through Chicago town there passed
A man who bore, mid snow and ice,
A banner and this strange device,
"Man Suffrage!"

"Please wait," called out a dainty maid;
"To clean our streets you need my aid."
"Oh, no, I don't." He shook his head.
"I like our dirty streets," he said.
"Man Suffrage!"

"Try not the cars," a woman cried:
"You'd better walk than in them ride.
I'll help improve." "You can't," said he,
"Improve our traction company."
Man Suffrage!

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Teacher (sternly): "What were you laughing at, Robert?"

Bobby: "I wasn't laughin', ma'am; my complexion puckered, that's all."—Woman's Home Companion.



## WORK OF THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL.

Milo R. Malthie in the Chautauquan of February, 1907.

The government of London is a queer intermingling of ancient and modern, of aristocratic and democratic institutions, of conservatism and radicalism. The City Corporation, which governs approximately a square mile of area in the heart of the metropolis, has a history of centuries, freighted with traditions and outgrown customs. Great upheavals in the political life of the nation have eddied about it, making almost no impression. Radical movements have gained a foothold elsewhere, but the "City" still remains as a monument to a past age and past theories of governmental organization.

The newest additions to the long list of local authorities are the twenty-eight borough councils which first saw the light of day in 1900, They succeeded to the powers of many scores of petty bodies which had cumbered the ground for generations. These borough councils naturally have no traditions; they breathe the air of the locality in which they live, and certain of them are as radical and as "socialistic" as any public bodies in England. Besides these borough councils, there are over 260 authorities with varying functions, organization and utility. American legislators would sweep them all into the rubbish heap and substitute new and simpler machinery, but the conservative, slow-going Britisher hates novelty and distrusts new methods.

It was with great reluctance that Parliament in 1888 began to reform London administration and created the first representative body with a large area and large powers—the London County Council. But even this step was taken haltingly because of the dislike for radical changes. The new body was to have jurisdiction only over the County of London and not over the whole Metropolis, although all the densely populated areas are within its bounds. Greater London has a population of about 7,000,000, the area presided over by the County Council about 4,700,000.

Inasmuch as the County Council is but one of some three hundred authorities that govern the metropolis, or one of ten public bodies which look after the welfare of each individual citizen, its functions in certain directions are curtailed. The police, for example, are under the control of the national government. The care of the poor and the sick belongs to special authorities. The recently municipalized water system is in the hands of the Metropolitan Water Board; likewise the conservancy of the Thames River. The borough councils have to do with public baths and washhouses, free libraries, municipal tenements, electric lighting, street paving and cleaning, food inspection, sanitary administration and the enactment of by-laws to protect the health and safety of the public. With these important eliminations, it is evident that the range of activity of the County Council is somewhat prescribed; but there still remain elementary education, sewage disposal, parks and playgrounds, fire protection, street improvements, tramways and several matters such as housing, public health and highways, concerning which the county as well as the boroughs has certain duties.

The Council consists of 118 members elected by the voters, and 19 aldermen elected by the councillors. When the first election was held in 1889, the question of the proper scope of governmental activity at once became the principal point at issue. Two municipal parties were formed, a thing which has not been done anywhere else in England. The Progressives came out for increased municipal functions, a collectivist policy. The Moderates pinned their faith to "that government is best that governs least" and said that all matters except the well-known and long-exercised governmental duties should be left to private initiative.

At the first trial of strength, the Progressives won by a considerable margin, electing a majority of 28 out of 118. In the five elections that have since been held—the entire council is elected every three years—the Progressives have secured a majority every time but one; in 1895, the two parties split even, and for three years the balance swung first one way and then the other. But surveying the whole period from 1889 to 1906, the increase in municipal activity stands out clearly, for even the Moderates have felt the effect of continued defeats and have supported measures which would be dubbed "socialistic", by the ultra-conservatives. example, the steamboat service upon the Thames which had been run by private companies from the beginning, was taken over by the Council about two years ago at the request not only of the Progressives but of the Moderates. The service had been abominable and although it was hardly expected that the boats could be made to pay, they were sure the service would be greatly improved under municipal management. Financially the steamboats have been a failure, but many of the Moderates have been as firm in defending the change as the Progressives.

Probably the subject which aroused most discussion was the taking over of the street railways. Under a general act passed in 1870, local authorities have the right to purchase lines twenty-one years after the granting of the franchise. The grants began to fall in in 1891, and the Council, with the Progressives in the saddle, decided to buy up the lines and operate them. There was a dispute over the price to be paid, and the case passed through several courts, finally reaching the House of Lords, which decided in the main in favor of the Council. As other franchises have terminated, the policy has been continued, although not all of the lines have been operated at once because the rights were acquired piecemeal and disconnected sections could not be worked by the Council to advantage. Upon April 1, 1906, the Council began operation of practically all of the lines north of the Thames within the County of London. With the southern system which had been municipalized earlier, the Council now owns and operates all of the surface lines within the county, except a few small sections still in the hands of private companies. Before acquisition, the horse car dragged its weary length throughout the Metropolis, but as soon as the Council took hold, electrification began and as rapidly as new lines have been turned over, the change has been extended. The overhead trolley was repudiated, and the more attractive and safe, but expensive, conduit system has been installed. There is also a short line of subway under the new Aldwych street which is to be extended under the Strand, down the Embankment and over one of the bridges possibly.

All of this work has been carried out in spite of much opposition in Parliament. The Progressive party is largely composed of Liberals. The national government has been controlled by the Conservatives from 1889 to the present, who have opposed the increasing activity of the County Council. Consequently, it has been difficult to get the necessary authority to construct an adequate system of street railway transportation. For example, Parliament has steadily refused until recently—the Liberals are now in power-to give the Council the right to run cars over any of the bridges, or even to connect their lines with omnibuses. Consequently, the tramway passenger who wanted to go from his home south of the Thames to his office in the center of the city had to change at the bridges, get into a private omnibus and pay another fare.

Yet in spite of all these difficulties the department has reduced fares—over one-third of the passengers ride for one cent—improved the service by running more cars, well lighted and cleaned, has raised wages, reduced hours of labor and paid considerable sums to reduce taxation. When one remembers that these satisfactory results have been attained during the reconstruction of the lines and that traffic drops to a negligible quantity while the work is under way although fixed charges go on as before, the credit to be given to Mr. A. L. C. Fell, the general manager of the system, and to the wisdom of the Council in adopting municipal operation, becomes very evident.

No one who has visited the poorer districts of London will deny the imperative demand for better housing facilities. Neither will anyone deny that conditions have greatly improved within the past ten years. The County Council has contributed largely towards this result through the condemnation and removal of insanitary dwellings, the erection of new buildings, contributions to other local authorities to aid them in their work and inducements to laborers to move out to the suburbs. The Council has completed or has in process of construction housing accommodations for over 85,000 people, covering areas of nearly 400 square miles and to cost nearly \$21,000,000. The largest scheme embraces 225 acres outside of the county in a suburban district, where accommodations will be provided for 42,500 persons at a cost of upwards of \$10,000,000. The cottages will be two stories in height, containing from three to five rooms each, with a garden, sanitary conveniences, etc., at rents ranging from \$1.50 to \$3.50 per week probably. This district alone will have a population equal to that of a good sized city.

A large proportion of the work of the London County Council is devoted to the development of good citizens. Not only has the park area been nearly doubled in the last ten years, but the number of amusements and attractions has been very greatly increased. Forty-one special gymnasia for children have been provided in addition to generous facilities for cricket, golf, football, bowling, tennis and other games. During the past summer band concerts were given in upwards of a hundred places, and many

were in the central part of the city during the noon hour so that the workers employed in the office buildings could enjoy the music at luncheon time. One of the most popular moves of the Council has been the reduction of prices in the park restaurants so that everyone could make use of them—a suggestion which might well be copied in the United States.

The most important function recently handed over to the Council is education, transferred in 1904, which hitherto had been administered by a special board. America has little to learn from England in popular education. The schools have so long been under the guidance of the Church, and sectarian questions have so long hindered proper development, that America has taken long strides while England has marked time. However, the schools are quite as good as those of the provincial towns and do contain some very excellent features. There are schools-"centres"-for cooking, laundering, housekeeping and manual training. Special schools have been provided for the mentally and physically defective and polytechnics for advanced students. Penny banks are maintained to encourage thrift, and loan libraries to stimulate reading. Meals are given to underfed children, and in a few instances vehicles convey crippled children to and from school. The newer buildings are equipped with gymnasiums, and public baths are being urged as a necessary part of the equipment. There is systematic medical inspection of school children to determine who are mentally and physically defective and to prevent the spread of contagious diseases. Out of school hours, the buildings are rented to various cultural associations at modest charges, the aim being to make the school a powerful factor in the development of good citizenship in every direction.

The attitude of the Council towards its employes is that of a model employer. They are paid the standard rate of wages and are required to work only the standard number of hours. That the same treatment shall be given to employes of private contractors, "fair wages clauses," clauses requiring the contractor to pay trade union rates and to work under trade union conditions, are inserted in all contracts. The attempt throughout is to avoid on the one hand "sweating" and inadequate wages, and on the other the creation of a privileged class of employes by over-payment and under-work.

In order that the working man might be fairly treated and the taxpayer might get the worth of his money in public work, the Council established in 1892 the "works department." By this means the Council became its own contractor, employing workingmen, buying supplies and directing the work through its own staff of engineers. The procedure is as follows: When the engineers' estimate of the work to be done by any committee of the Council is referred to the Works Department, it reports whether it can do the work for the estimated amount or not. If it says it can, the job is assigned to the Department. If it says it cannot, the work is given to private contractors. From this point on the Department is treated as a contractor, and its work supervised as if it were a contractor in reality. During the first years of its history, many difficulties were encountered and the question is still an open one whether the practice paid; but in view of the unsatisfactory work done by certain contractors, the dif-

ficulty of obtaining honest work where inspection was difficult, e. g., sewers and underground construction, the high prices that were charged, and the collusion said to exist among a ring of contractors, it is now generally believed to have justified its existence. Whether it saves any large sum for the Council may be a question, but it tends to keep the contractors within bounds by the competition it affords. During the year 1904-5, the average number of employes was 3,382 and the total cost of the work performed nearly \$1,200,000.

Measured according to the standard of municipal expenditures in American cities, London gets off very easily. New York with about three-fourths the population spends much more than London. The budget of the County Council taken alone is about one-quarter of the total, approximately \$27,000,000. Its indebtedness in the Spring of 1905 was about \$375,000,000, but a good proportion of this was incurred to raise money to loan to other public bodies, for which the Council acts as banker. The Council also owns several revenue producing undertakings, such as tramways and tenements, so that still another portion does not impose a burden upon the taxpayers. One of the most interesting cases of successful financial management is the new avenue cut through from the Strand to High Holborn. The principle adopted was to acquire every piece of property of which a portion was taken for the avenue, to then rearrange the odds and ends left and to rent good sized plots for 50 to 99 years. As a result, the interest on the money loaned to put through the scheme will be paid by rents from the remaining property if all the property is rented upon the terms fixed, as now seems to be likely.

One ought not to close this brief review of the functions of the County Council without reference to the men who direct the machinery. Nearly all are elected by the people and serve without salary; I almost said without pay, which would not be strictly true, for while there is no financial remuneration there are rewards which attract the most able men. Public service is regarded almost everywhere in England with the greatest reverence. Honor, dignity, and social prominence attach to public office, and the belief is general that the successful man owes the community a debt which can be discharged only through gratuitous service for the public welfare.

The members of the Council come from every class of society. There is the labor leader, the capitalist, the titled peer, the university professor, the barrister, the doctor and "the butcher, the baker. the candle-stick maker." The successful business man who has retired from active work in the business world, is probably the most numerous. All give generously of their time and labor, for the work of the County Council is heavy and exacting. Indeed, there are instances where men have been elected from active life and have relinquishd their business obligations in order to serve the public. Where there is such civic patriotism it is not surprising that government is wisely and efficiently conducted.

She: What glorious sunsets you have here.

He: Yes, aw-especially in the evenings.-The Tatler.

## Publishers' Column

## The Public

is a weekly review which prints in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias all the news of the world of historical value. It is also an editorial paper. Though it abstains from mingling editorial opinions with its news accounts, it has opinions of a pronounced character, based upon the principles of radical democracy, which, in the columns reserved for editorial comment, it expresses fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without hope of discreditable reward. Yet it makes no pretensions to infallibility, either in opinions or in statements of fact: it simply aspires to a deserved reputation for intelligence and honesty in both. Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department of original and selected matter, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest.

Familiarity with The Public will commend it as a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

Published weekly by The Public Publishing Company, First National Bank Building, Chicago, Ill.

Entered at the Chicago, Illinois, Postoffice as second class matter.

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#### OUR WAR FAD.

#### For The Public.

The following representative men and women, with others, all members of the Advisory Board of the Jamestown Exposition, issued on January 4 a protest against "the diversion of the Exposition to the service of militarism" (p. 971): Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Edwin D. Mead, Rev. Edward Everett Hale, Cardinal Gibbons, John Mitchell, Miss Jane Addams, Miss M. Carey Thomas, William Couper, Prof. James H. Dillard, Joseph Lee, J. Howard McFarland, Frederic Allen Whiting, Prof. C. M. Woodward, Prof. Charles Zuebiln.

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Washington, Feb. 9.—Senator Hale to-day presented to the senate a protest from a number of bishops of the Episcopal church against the mflitary features of the approaching Jamestown exposition. "In common with many others we have been surprised and shocked," they say, "at the transformation of the programme which has now gone so far as only too fully to warrant the announcement which is made that the exposition will be primarily a military and naval celebration."—Chicago Chronicle.

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A passing fad
That never had
Excuse for being!
Yet he who made
Perceived it paid—
All are agreeing.

In every clime
There are sublimeLy idiotics,
Who smile—and pay—
While on them prey
Ghouls from Greed's tropics.

In every age
There is a rage
For being swindled.
Some play the game
In Humor's name—
But these have dwindled.

The cult of War

Now takes the floor

With tricks becoming.

Deceit, you know,

(The Jamestown show)

Sets things a-humming.

In every zone

We hear the tone

Of adulation

Of War—the fad— And that is bad For any Nation.

But—shame of shames!— Secure the names Of War-despisers

To boost the show
Transformed—you know—
For sympathizers.

A fad supreme,
There is a gleam
Of hope appearing:

Reduced to that, Peace stands where sat. War, lately, leering.

So advertise
The show's true size:
"War's 'ticing splendor."
A Ghoul might gloat

On such—I vote:
The show—suspend 'er.
EDWIN ARNOLD BRENHOLTZ.

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## Announcement

Dinner of The Public Policy Club of Chicago on February 28.

The next dinner of the Public Policy Club will be held at the Washington Restaurant, N. W. Corner Wabash Avenue and Adams Street. Chicago, on Thursday, February 28th, at 7 p. m. sharp.

The question of public policy to be discussed is the proposed amendment to the State Constitution repealing the provisions that require all property to be assessed for revenue at its full cash value, and providing that taxes shall be uniform upon the same class of subjects within the territorial limits of the authority levying the tax and shall be levied and collected for public purposes only.

There will be speakers present representing the Illinois Manufacturers' Association and the Chicago Civic Federation, both of which, as well as other organizations, are favoring this proposed amendment.

Among these speakers will be E. Allen Frost, Ex-Senator Geo. William Dixon, and Jay D. Miller.

This discussion ought to interest all the readers of THE PUBLIC in Chicago. All are invited to be present. The dinner will be table d'hote at 50 cents per plate.

H. W. McFarlane,

Chairman of Committee.

## **BOOKS**

#### JOHN FISKE.

John Fiske. By Thomas Sergeant Perry. The Beacon Biographies. Small, Maynard & Co. Boston. Sold by The Public Publishing Company, Chicago. Price, 75 cents. Postage, 5 cents.

The various books known as the Beacon Biographies are, in the main, excellent little volumes and unite in themselves three very desirable qualities: notable subjects, well chosen authors, and a due regard for the limited time at the disposal of the average reader. We could not ask for a more interesting character than John Fiske, and an hour or two given to the reading of this small book is sufficient to put one in possession of the main facts concerning him. There is at times, however, a certain baldness of expression that leads us to wish for a more perfect blending of thought and style, a little more of that grace of utterance that characterized John Fiske's writing. But overlooking this defect, the reader will be given an epitome of a remarkable life, and will find himself looking eagerly for the fuller biography that is said to be in preparation.

Truly, John Fiske's was a remarkable life, but rather because of what he thought than in what he did. The marvelous thing about him was his mind—such a mind as is at once the admiration and the despair of those less gifted and less persevering. Something little less than omniscience seeming to have been his goal, few men in our day have come nearer to attaining it. What Bacon was in his age, that was Fiske in ours.

As a child he was precocious in the fullest sense of that term, and what is equally remarkable, the promise of those early years was never belied. There was no retrogression, no moral or physical deficiency, no eccentricity of genius to be accounted for and excused. His was an almost perfect instance of that rare combination of sound mind and sound body. Languages, classic and living, history, science, music-all were his; and he evinced what is not always a quality of the studious mind-an interest in men and material things. Though not what would be called a practical man, he was yet ever on the alert for information, and no journey of his many journeys but added some new fact or idea to his already rich store. And this store was not a jumbled heap of facts without order or sequence, as is so commonly the case with those possessing unusually retentive memories. His mind was essentially orderly, systematic. In his early years it was a pleasure for him to tabulate events and datesusually considered the dryest and most tedious of mental operations; and one of the strong points in his historical method of later years was the ease with which he grouped events and marshaled his facts.

His first important writings were philosophical, but he will be best and most widely remembered as a writer and lecturer on historical subjects. The Carlylean method of building history upon the lives of a few strong individuals had "had its day and

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ceased to be," and Fiske was one of the first to reverse the old order. Evolution had taught him a new method. "There are no life histories in his volumes: the generation before him had given that picturesque work abundant attention." Fiske conceived of history as the outcome of certain racial and inevitable social laws.

"To one trained like Fiske to see in the movements of mankind not merely the force of individual action, but also those greater impulses that sweep through all society, the work of the historian is different. It became his duty to show not merely what things were done and who did them, but to make clear why they were done."

There is no doubt that he gave a sensible direction to the writing of history and will be a model for future historians; yet it cannot but be regretted that he wrote history at the expense of philosophy. Our life and thought, it is true, are inextricably woven with those of the past, and the study of that past has its value; but philosophy has no age and is as vital to-day as it was yesterday. But Fiske was not free from the pressing and often dwarfing necessity of writing for a living—and philosophy "doesn't pay." We notice that in his travels over the country between the years 1888 and 1893 he delivered only 14 lectures on philosophy to 527 on historical subjects.

But what he did write will remain as a monument not less noble and enduring than the larger mass of historical works. Who that has read the two large volumes of Cosmic Philosophy but has felt his horizon broadened, his thoughts directed and clarified and his mental grasp strengthened? In this work he attempted to sum up the world's knowledge viewed in the light of the, at that time, recent researches of Darwin and Spencer. He published also four small volumes in which he set forth his philosophical and truly religious views; while several collections of essays give evidence of the vast extent of his knowledge and the breadth of his interests.

In all his books there is the same marvelous clearness and charm, the same ease and wealth of learning. One is somehow reminded, by very contrast, of Cowper praying to be defended "from the toil of dropping buckets into empty wells, and growing old in drawing nothing up." John Fiske's intellectual well seems bottomless and out of it the thinking world has drank and been refreshed.

MARY HEATH LEE.

## AMERICA'S AWAKENING.

The Triumph of Righteousness in High Places. By Philip Loring Allen. Fleming H. Revell, New York, Chicago, Toronto and London. Price \$1.25 net.

This book consists of brief recapitulations of some of the recent political achievements of President Roosevelt, Senator LaFollette, District Attorney Jerome, Governor Folk, Mayor Weaver, Mayor Johnson and State Senator (N. J.) Colby. An excellent portrait accompanies each subject. The essays are all commendatory and the author avoids any attempt at criticism, seemingly contenting himself mainly with an enumeration of facts.

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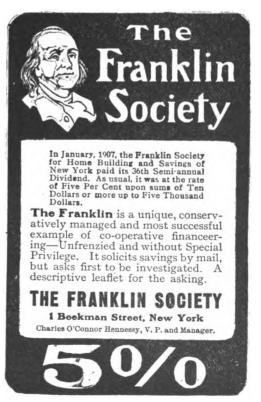
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ir applicability to every one's taste; for instance, ardent admirer of President Roosevelt will read h self-congratulation that the author finds nothwanting in him. Equally will the supporter of m Johnson appreciate the candid recognition acded to him. For this and other reasons the book ht to interest a wide circle of readers, while at same time it will have a decided tendency to arm prejudice among many.

JOSIAH EDSON.

## **BOOKS RECEIVED**

-Labour and Capital. By Goldwin Smith. Published The Macmillan Co., New York & London. 1907. ce, 50 cents net.

-The Ancient Lowly. By C. Osborne Ward. Two lumes. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. 7. Price, \$2.00 per vol. postpaid.

-Where the Rainbow Touches the Ground. By John Henderson Miller. Published by Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York & London. 1906. Price, \$1.00 postpaid.

—The Proprium, or What of Man is not his Own. As Expounded by Emanuel Swedenborg. With an Introduction by John Bigelow. Published by The New Church Board of Publication, New York. 1907.

## **PAMPHLETS**

The Bible in Sociology.

Louis Wallis's "Sociological Significance of the Bible," a pamphlet reprinted from the American Journal of Sociology (Chicago), presents a contracted outline of Mr. Wallis's interesting theory that the Bible is a scientific fact for sociological as well as literary and historical consideration—that "it is a fact for sociology before it is a fact for theological

discipline." The first stage in this scientific evolution is that of literary criticism, the second is that of historical inquiry, and the third, now beginning, is that of sociological study—the sociological being distinguished from the historical as motive from narrative. Accordingly Mr. Wallis regards the Bible as not imposed upon the social process, according to the old theology, but "as a part of the process." For, "long before the religion of the Bible became a fact in the world there was going on within society the same struggle of 'good and evil' that is taking place around us to-day," the forms of the struggle varying, but men striving everywhere "to make other men do what they conceive to be 'good' and avoid what they regard as 'evil.'" Considering the function of the three stages of evolution regarding the Bible, after the crude theological stage, Mr. Wallis holds that it is the merit of the literary stage to show the nature of the documents, of the historical stage to emphasize the fact of development, and of the sociological stage to show how this development took place. Defining "sociology," he considers it as "the name for the correlation of the material of the different social sciences in simple perspective."

#### **PERIODICALS**

With the active co-operation of Robert Tyson, Ralph Albertson and George H. Shibley, Dr. Taylor, the publisher of Equity (1520 Chestnut St., Philadelphia), is making of that periodical a most valuable compendium of current news on the movement for direct legislation and proportional representation. The number for January is rich in news matter on these subjects. Eltweed Pomeroy assists in the editorial work, but, owing to prolonged illness, not as actively as has been his habit and is still his desire.

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The newspapers that are reproducing the attacks upon municipal ownership which emanate from Wall street "news" syndicates, would find it to the advantage of their readers, even if not to themselves, to tell about the municipal gas and water works of Duluth. The latest official report of the water and light department of that "city of the unsalted seas" shows that "the earnings of the department from both gas and water have increased from \$271,105.28 in 1905, to \$304,456.83 in 1906," while the expenses of operation, maintenance and interest have only increased from "\$244,528.24 in 1905, to \$261,883.86 in 1906," and that the net surplus for the year 1906 is \$47,572.97 as against \$26,577.04 for the preceding year. Meanwhile, there has been no change in rates for either gas or water. In comment the Commissioners say: "So far as the operation and maintenance of the gas and water systems are concerned, this board is confronted with very easy and simple problems. Both systems are money-making propositions, and notwithstanding the reductions in the price of both gas and water that have been made since the city acquired these plants, and notwithstanding the fact that during the last year the consumers of gas and water have had to pay the additional interest on the cost of the Duluth Heights

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## Mr. John Z. White's Engagements for Period Between Feb. 28th and April 1st, '07.

Thursday, February 28th—Waukesha, Wis. Y. M. C. A. J. F. Judin, Secretary Y. M. C. A., Correspondent.

Friday, March 1st—Colby, Wis. Dr. E. V. Kautsky, Correspondent.

Saturday, March 2nd—Neilsville, Wis. Prof. A. A Kiehkolz, Correspondent.

Sunday, March 3rd—Minneapolis, Minn. S. A Stockwell, 304 Andrus Bldg., Correspondent.

Monday, March 4th—Duluth, Minn. Didie Dion, 122 1st St., Duluth, Correspondent.

Tuesday, March 5th—Marshfield, Wis. Dr. E. Wahle, Correspondent.

Wednesday, March 6th—Oshkosh, Wis. R. T. Mac-Donald, 112 Eagle St., Correspondent.

Sunday, March 10th, Noon—Church of the Redeemer, Cor. Warren Ave. and Robey St., Chicago. Rev. A. Eugene Bartlett, Pastor, 691½ Washington Blvd.

Sunday, March 24th, Noon—Church of the Redeemer, Cor. Warren Ave. and Robey St., Chicago. Under auspices of Tuttle Study Club.

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