

# The Public

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## EDITORIAL

### Democracy and God.

"Democracy cheapens God," said a distinguished professor the other day. So much the better for democracy. God ought to be cheap—so that all can reach him.

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### and Poor.

The words and true ones were those of the Mayor of Massachusetts this year who in his inaugural message admonished the people that

"the envy of the poor for the rich is a sinister influence, but so is the condescension of the rich for the poor."

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### Self or Other Self.

"Life," which is usually sensible as well as humorous, thinks, apropos of Tolstoy's "Great Iniquity"—the monopoly of land,—that everybody agrees with the argument but hardly anyone is willing to see the conclusion enforced, because we are all selfish creatures. "Only when the majority are convinced," says Life, "that their last personal chance of a look-in is gone, will they seriously consider abolishing the game and inaugurating a new one." Is this true? Of course it is true of the selfish—wholly true of the wholly selfish; but is it true of mankind in the mass? In moving the mass is there not something more potent than individual selfishness? If not, how happens it that the world has gone forward instead of backward?

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### Tom Johnson's Hard-Earned Triumph.

After six years' work of the hardest kind, full of perplexities, often disheartening, and sometimes apparently futile, Tom L. Johnson is now upon the threshold of complete success in his campaign for the establishment of municipal ownership in Cleveland. The reason he is only on the threshold, is because the law at present permits him to go no farther. But the traction combine of his city is at the end of its fighting possibilities and has offered to surrender. Nothing remains to be done, so far as it is concerned, but to appraise its property fairly and execute the documents.

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### The Traction Issue in Chicago.

In Chicago the traction situation is still shrouded in shadow. Mayor Johnson's success in Cleveland remains to be accomplished in Chicago. It has taken him six years of constructive effort to win; Chicago has had but two years of opportunity for constructive effort. What Cleveland has done, Chicago can do. But one of the conditions is patience, which is just as important in moments of perplexity as activity and enthusiasm are at other times.

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The settlement ordinances which a City Council and a tricky press backed by tricky "business" combines, all devoted to corporation interests, are try-

ing to thrust down the throats of the people of Chicago, are devices for turning over the traction rights of Chicago to the same piratical crew that has exploited this city for years by means of somewhat similar franchises not altogether differently acquired. It is said that these ordinances effectuate the purposes of the "Werno letter," which outlined Mayor Dunne's plan of settlement. They do nothing of the kind. While pretending to follow the lines of that excellent letter, they are so drawn as to make the defeat of its purpose easy to accomplish. One particular is enough to name. They allow the companies to expend in rehabilitation without other limit than the check which Councils may from time to time interpose. They actually contemplate an immediate expenditure of some \$50,000,000. Add this sum to the agreed price of the present property, \$50,000,000, and we have \$100,000,000 as the sum the city must pay in order to take over the property. But the city has no other resources for this purpose than Mueller certificates, and the authorized issue of these is only \$75,000,000—\$25,000,000 less than the sum necessary to purchase. Nothing more would be needed, therefore, to balk municipal ownership and defeat the purpose of the "Werno letter," than to prevent, in ways well known to all traction managers and some aldermen, the passage of any ordinance allowing the people to vote on a further issue of Mueller certificates. But against this possibility the companies arbitrarily and without reason refuse to insert protecting words.

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The refusal to guard against that contingency is the best kind of circumstantial evidence of conscious and intentional fraud. Add this to the indefensible methods whereby all possibility of securing a popular discussion of the ordinances on their merits has been practically closed by a trick referendum clause, and we have a situation which calls for popular action against the traction combine more emphatically than it was ever called for before. No official can urge the passage of these ordinances as they stand, without risking his reputation for ability or integrity or both. To adopt them as they stand, is to put the city of Chicago again at the mercy of the Morganatic gang of Wall street; and no one will be able to plead innocence when, if the ordinances pass, the fraud becomes manifest.

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#### Personal Property Taxes.

In remarking that the prevailing method of collecting personal property taxes "would be a

serious menace to democratic institutions were it not so generally recognized as a howling farce," the New York tax commission has made a just comment by adding: "But it is not a farce to those who are fully assessed. These are chiefly the widows and orphans who are caught when their property is listed in the probate court, retail merchants and others, incorporated or unincorporated, with stocks of goods, and the small investors who are not skillful enough to make non-taxable investments. The tax of 1½ per cent. is equivalent to an income tax of 25 per cent. on a 6 per cent. investment. A general income tax of 10 per cent. would create a revolution, yet we take a quarter of their income or more from the most helpless class in the community." And this is done for the benefit of privileged classes—the classes that get their bread in the sweat of other men's faces,—and by authority of the votes of the victims themselves.

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#### Death of David Overmyer.

In the death of David Overmyer last week, the State of Kansas lost a citizen who was not only a popular lawyer of pronounced ability and enviable distinction, but a man of high social and political ideals, whose essential democracy was sensitive and whose courage was always at the call of his opinions.

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#### The Socialistic Ideal.

In a recent issue the Chicago Daily Socialist made a pointed reply to those critics of Socialism who object to it because it contemplates "common ownership of toothbrushes," etc., and in concluding its reply it presented a succinct statement of what Socialism does propose with reference to common ownership. "Common ownership is not advocated," it says, "by the Socialists as a scheme; it is simply recognized as the characteristic feature of the coming social stage," the characteristic feature of that social stage being "common ownership of the things whose private ownership at present enables a small portion of the population to exploit all the others." Thousands of things, the Daily Socialist explains, "would always remain privately owned, because their ownership interfered with no person's opportunity to produce and enjoy the product of his labor." Socialists who agree to this limitation upon common ownership under Socialism, would find many men not Socialists agreeing with them as to the wisdom of making the ownership of everything within those limits common. The only question is the analytical one as to what things in the Socialistic category of

tal are capable or not, if privately owned, of offering with the opportunity of persons not being them to produce and enjoy their products, under conditions in which things that fundamentally do so interfere are owned in common. The heart of the whole social controversy in its economic aspects, is the power of labor exploitation; and the conditions that arise are chiefly due, as it seems, to failure to distinguish between the kinds of capital the ownership of which gives this exploitation power, and the kinds of capital which give it only in appearance or as an effect of the ownership of some other kinds of capital.

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**s Five Dollar Slaves.**

One of the Wall street circulars which drifted upon the editorial table—the circular of Jones & Co., of December 19, 1906—we have a significant estimate, by financiers and not bankers, with reference to the iron ore deposits which the steel trust has leased from James J.

According to this estimate the royalties in 50 years will amount to \$1,190,000,000. This is equal to the earnings of one man, at the extraordinarily high wages of \$5 a day, for about 100 years. Or, if that amount of labor be divided for 50 years, it represents the annual output for half a century of 16,000 men. In other words, the royalty that Mr. Hill (or his representatives) is to get for 50 years to come, on the basis of one transaction, will be equal, year by year, to the total earnings of an army of 16,000 five-dollar-a-day workers. And what is the quid pro quo? Nothing. Absolutely nothing. Nominally it is a grant of permission to the working force of the land to utilize those coal deposits which Nature has been storing up for ages. But that is no consolation. For the earnings of a labor force equal to 16,000 men yearly for 50 years, Mr. Hill demands nothing but permission to utilize natural resources, and in the last analysis that is nothing; those bounties would be just as useful if he and his assignors had never lived. What, then, is the essential meaning of the fact that in this way he commands a labor force equal to 16,000 five-dollar-a-day men for 50 years? Simply that he has 16,000 slaves whose labor he can sell for 50 years. That no particular five-dollar-a-day man is his slave, makes no difference. That he does not personally know his slaves nor they their owner, makes no difference. The essence of it is that he commands that much labor force without returning an equivalent in labor force of his own. The totality of labor force loses some

of its product if any of its product is diverted from the earners. And if this is true of Mr. Hill's ore mine instance, it is true in greater or less degree of every instance in which some men receive products of labor for allowing labor to utilize natural advantages or the industrial advantages that monopoly of natural advantages commands. Aggregate these instances, and instead of slavery to the extent of 16,000 five-dollar-a-day men, we have a demonstration of slavery to the extent probably of many millions of men.

\* \* \*

**EDWARD F. DUNNE.**

This is a notable anniversary week in the political history of Chicago, an anniversary moreover which profoundly concerns the people of all other American cities and in the subject of which they have exhibited intense interest. It is the second anniversary of what is known as "the Tuley letter."

Two years ago the late Murray F. Tuley, Chicago's beloved judge and First Citizen, addressed a letter to the people urging them to save their streets from J. Pierpont Morgan's traction conspirators by demanding the nomination and voting for the election of Edward F. Dunne, the municipal ownership leader, as Mayor. To that call the people of Chicago promptly and enthusiastically responded, and Mayor Dunne has now almost completed the term for which they elected him.

That he has thus far baffled the traction conspirators, every one who knows the circumstances of the traction controversy is well aware. But for his election, the city of Chicago would before this have been bound again, hand and foot, by "the law of the land," to the stock jobbers of Wall Street. The sordid plan was already arranged when Mayor Dunne's election frustrated it.

If he has not yet also accomplished the affirmative municipal ownership policy for which he stood and still stands, the fault is not with him. While he could fight a negative fight with his power of veto, and has done this successfully, he could not do constructive work, nor could any other person in his place, without the co-operation of a majority of the City Council. And this he has never had.

\*

When the people of Chicago elected Mayor Dunne two years ago, they commissioned him to establish as speedily as possible municipal ownership of the traction system. At the same time they condemned, by a vote of 150,785 to 64,391,

the settlement ordinance then under consideration by the City Council, and by a vote of 152,125 to 59,013 they opposed the granting of any franchise to any company.

But upon coming into office Mayor Dunne found himself hampered by the City Council and the local transportation committee of that body. A majority of both were irreconcilably hostile to the municipal ownership policy so emphatically endorsed at the election. He was therefore obliged to work not only without the co-operation of those bodies, but against their active opposition.

Notwithstanding, however, the difficulties which the majority of the Council interposed, Mayor Dunne endeavored to co-operate with that body and its transportation committee as cordially and as fully as was possible without yielding the essentials of the policy to which the circumstances of his election no less than his own genuinely democratic views of government had committed him. It was in this effort that he submitted two plans of procedure to the Council on the 5th of July, 1905—three months after his election.

One of these plans contemplated direct steps for acquiring municipal ownership. The other proposed the organization of a temporary "holding" company to construct and operate. This company was to operate without profit, other than a moderate brokerage fee for financing and five per cent. on actual cost, and the surplus earnings were to go into a sinking fund for the purchase of the system by the city. Under all the circumstances then existing, Mayor Dunne preferred and rightly preferred the latter plan, named "the contract plan," and recommended its adoption.

But the majority of the transportation committee refused to consider this plan upon its merits. After an indifferent and unintelligent discussion of a few of its clauses, they decided by a vote of 8 to 5, on the 11th of September, 1905, to defer its further consideration, in order to invite proposals for a settlement from the traction companies. The majority of the committee never afterwards permitted a consideration of the "contract plan" in committee, and a majority of the Council sustained them in that refusal. The constructive work of the committee was confined wholly to humiliating negotiations with the traction companies for a settlement, and to the formulation of extension franchises contrary to the demands of the people and in harmony with the demands of the traction companies.

In order to secure compliance with the popular vote for municipal ownership and against a set-

tlement by means of profit-making franchise extensions, Mayor Dunne did all that could possibly be done.

He addressed a message to the Council recommending that body to "direct the local transportation committee to cease consideration of the proposed franchise extension ordinances," and to report to the Council for its action "the contract plan" described above. This recommendation was defeated in the Council by a vote of 45 to 18.

He then addressed a message to the Council recommending that the local transportation committee be directed in accordance with the will of the people, expressed by a referendum majority of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 1, "to cease forthwith all negotiations with the existing private companies except as to the purchase of their properties by the city of Chicago." This recommendation was defeated in the Council by a vote of 37 to 27.

He then addressed a message to the Council recommending the adoption of an order instructing the local transportation committee, in co-operation with the legal advisers of the city, "to proceed without delay to prepare an ordinance for the purpose of acquiring ownership of the street railways of Chicago under powers conferred by the Mueller law," and to allow the preparation of that ordinance to take precedence over all other matters then before the committee. This order was defeated in the Council by a vote of 45 to 21.

He then addressed a message to the City Council recommending proceedings "without further delay, to establish municipal ownership of the traction service under and pursuant to the Mueller law," at the same time proposing a draft of an ordinance prepared by his official legal advisers for submitting the question to the people as required by that law. With the same object he also addressed a message to the Council recommending submission to the people under the Mueller law of the question of municipal operation, and for that purpose submitted therewith a draft of an ordinance also prepared by his official legal advisers. These messages were referred to the committee on local transportation. Afterwards Mayor Dunne's proposed ordinances came before the Council as a report of a minority of that committee; but the committee as a whole, governed by its majority, ignored them.

The hostility of the Council and its committee was unyielding, stubbornly or worse, throughout.

Meanwhile, the majority of the local transportation committee had, as stated above, confined the

tructive work of the committee to the formu-  
n of ordinances contrary to the demands of  
people and in harmony with the demands of  
raction companies.

his work they finished on the 27th of Novem-  
1905, when they caused the committee, by a  
of 7 to 4, to adopt a set of franchise-extension  
nances. But one month later they shrank  
1 completing their arrangements with the  
ion companies, and both the majority and  
minority reports were, on the majority's initia-  
referred back to the local transportation com-  
ee. Upon the subsequent refusal of the trac-  
companies to make concessions, the committee  
n recommended the extension ordinances, but  
amendments; and when this report came be-  
the Council for action, it was defeated by the  
titution for it of the minority report. So in-  
nsible were the franchises proposed by the ma-  
y report then seen to be, that the majority re-  
was defeated by a vote of 38 to 27.

1 consequence of this temporary change in the  
ude of the Council, the franchise-extension  
nances were finally defeated, and the people  
1 allowed to vote authoritatively, under the  
ller law, at the election last April, on the ques-  
ion of municipal ownership and operation. As  
will remember, a majority voted in favor of  
propositions.

asmuch, however, as a three-fifths vote is  
ssary under the Mueller law to authorize  
icipal operation, that proposition was lost for  
time. Until a three-fifths favorable vote shall  
1 been obtained, the city of Chicago cannot  
ate street cars. But in consequence of the ma-  
y vote in favor of issuing \$75,000,000 of  
ller certificates, the city is now authorized to  
and own the street car system, provided the  
reme Court of the State does not reverse the  
sion of the lower court, which holds those cer-  
ates valid.

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1 these baffling circumstances, and in view  
he renewed hostility to municipal ownership  
majority of the Council, Mayor Dunne pro-  
d steps, not only wise but necessary at that  
1, to secure the co-operation of all interests,  
ic and private, in the formation and accept-  
1 of an ordinance or ordinances adopting sub-  
tially "the contract plan" described above, but  
1 the existing traction companies instead of a  
company as the construction contractor and  
porary holding agent.

his seemed feasible. The existing companies  
lost most of their coercive power, in conse-

quence of the then recent decision of the Supreme  
Court of the United States which held their 99-  
year claims to be invalid. They were no longer in  
a position to dictate terms upon the basis of any  
controlling claims of their own. The only hostile  
position of importance open to them, rested up-  
on the possibility that the courts might invalidate  
the Mueller law or the referendum under that law.  
Aside from this possibility, such rights as they  
had were in great degree at the mercy of the city.  
But they did have rights that were entitled to fair  
treatment; and upon the supposition that if fair  
treatment were assured them by the city they  
might deal fairly with the city in return, Mayor  
Dunne formulated an offer in a letter to Alderman  
Werno which is now known as "the Werno let-  
ter."

His general object, as stated in that letter, was  
to secure, first, the accomplishment of municipal  
ownership of the street railway system; and, sec-  
ond, the improvement of the street railway serv-  
ice while municipal ownership was being estab-  
lished. The specific methods proposed were (1)  
reconstruction by the companies, (2) unified serv-  
ice, (3) universal transfers, (4) operation under  
revocable license, (5) an agreement by the com-  
panies to sell their present property to the city  
at any time at a fair valuation agreed upon in  
advance, (6) a fair return to the companies mean-  
while, (7) the city to take over at any time upon  
paying the present appraised value plus actual  
authorized investment in reconstruction.

Such an ordinance Mayor Dunne was then will-  
ing and doubtless still is willing to recommend.  
But there are the best of reasons for believing that  
he is not willing to recommend any ordinance  
which, while purporting to give legal form to the  
Werno letter, does in fact or may by possibility  
restore to the traction companies their old powers,  
and deprive the people of Chicago of their right  
to take over and operate whenever they desire and  
are legally and financially able to do so. To de-  
feat any such ordinance he is already pledged,  
and his pledges are proved to be worth face value.

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Whether the ordinance now before the Council  
would when completed effectuate the purpose of  
the "Werno letter" or nullify its purpose, no one  
can say. Indeed, no one knows its intended pro-  
visions and but few know its present provisions,  
notwithstanding that a great uproar has been  
made by the traction interests to have it appear  
that the people are hungering and thirsting for  
its immediate adoption, without popular discus-  
sion.

In the form in which it appeared prior to last Tuesday, one of the ordinances was confessedly imperfect for its ostensible purpose of effectuating the object of the Werno letter; until then the other did not exist in any form. Mayor Dunne rightly declares, therefore, that he will not commit himself. Until the ordinances are completed, with all their defects of which he is or may be advised completely cured, and cured not only by promises but in fact, he has assured the people that they shall not have his approval.

And he has promised that meantime, no matter how desirable he as an individual may regard the ordinances when they shall have been perfected, he will not approve them as Mayor unless the people approve them. To this he declares himself irrevocably committed by pre-election pledges. His adversary in the mayoralty campaign likewise committed himself, and so did the members of the Council. In these circumstances Mayor Dunne asserts that there is no room for honest evasion of responsibility, both Mayor and Council being bound in honor to submit to referendum any traction-settlement ordinance whatever, before giving it legal vitality. It should be noted in passing that a majority of the Council has voted to evade this responsibility. But Mayor Dunne has not.

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Even if the Mayor were indifferent to his pledges to the people, as the traction papers urge him to be, the circumstances have been and still are such as to demand a referendum simply as a matter of reasonable precaution.

The first full draft of the ordinance now before the City Council for adoption, was made by attorneys for the traction companies. As they were to do the financing, that seemed reasonable enough, provided they were acting in good faith; but the ordinance they submitted was so significantly defective as to imply bad faith. Changes were suggested, however, some of which were promptly made while others were promised; and as the work of preparation proceeded, a conclusion in entire harmony with the spirit and purpose of the Werno letter seemed reasonably probable. But subsequent events were well calculated to disturb confidence. The unanimity and pertinacity with which the trust newspapers, the plutocratic clubs and the other organs of the Allied Interests of Chicago that have been and still are opposed to municipal ownership, began to demand the instant passage of this ordinance, without public scrutiny, were of a character to disturb the confidence of any one familiar with traction company tactics in the past.

In these circumstances, it was possible even to the extent of probability that an ordinance would be precipitately adopted, effecting a final settlement of the traction question wholly contrary to the interests and wishes of the people, and in the interest and wholly according to the wishes of the traction companies. While Mayor Dunne would have vetoed any such ordinance, it was legally possible for two-thirds of the Council to pass it over his veto; and the denial by the Council on the 7th of January, 1907, by nearly a two-thirds vote, of the Mayor's request that it renew its pledge of a year before requiring a referendum as a condition precedent to the passage of any ordinance settling the traction question, was a strong indication of what might be expected of it in dealing with a veto. The two-thirds vote for a bunco method of referendum on the 15th was almost conclusive.

After the sinister vote of the 7th, Mayor Dunne issued his letter of the 10th of January, 1907, to the citizens of Chicago, calling upon them to demand a referendum under the Public Policy law, so that any traction settlement ordinance that might be before the Council for passage should be first subjected to public scrutiny and a formal expression of public opinion. This has brought the Council to the position of authorizing a question for referendum, but under bunco conditions which confirm the widening and deepening impression that a majority of that body, regarding the people as their puppets and the traction companies as their masters, are determined to "jam through" such an ordinance as the companies demand.

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Throughout this long and bitter contest Mayor Dunne has been opposed with consummate subtlety by financial interests of enormous magnitude, and with shameless dishonesty by newspapers that make loud but hollow professions of decency. Yet he has been steadfast to his pledges and faithful to his official obligations. Whatever may be the outcome, his courageous fidelity to his trust as Mayor of Chicago will remain conspicuously unique in the history of the office he holds.

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In his steadfast adherence to principle with reference to the traction question and the use of the referendum, Mayor Dunne's conduct has been typical of his whole administration. It is charged that he has made mistakes; and we hope he has, for error is human. It is said that his business qualities are weak; but this is merely the "business" man's interpretation of the fact that his conscience is strong. No one charges him with

dishonesty. On the contrary, every one admits that he is an honest man. This is enough in itself to give the people of Chicago a new sensation and to give Mayor Dunne honorable distinction in local public life.

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Mayor Dunne's honesty in public office has not been of the wax doll variety. It is easy to be honest according to petty conventional standards, and the fact that a public official does not rob the public treasury in indictable ways is no test of his inherent honesty. The true test in these days of Fierce Finance and Business Graft, is that the official withstands the temptations and defies the thunderbolts of great financial interests. This is the test by which Mayor Dunne has been tried and found true.

All the great public utility interests have been in alliance to thrust "honorable" greatness and "honest" fortune upon him, if he would but be their man, and to ruin him politically and personally if he thwarted their predatory purposes. They have, indeed, asked of him no favors for the granting of which he could be sent to the penitentiary if detected. They have asked nothing that would make him disreputable as the standards of "business" respectability go. They have solicited only such co-operation against the public good as respectable newspapers with side interests in finance openly stand for. He could have yielded and been accounted able and good. Nevertheless he has stood as a granite wall against both their blandishments and their assaults. Mayor Dunne is the only Mayor in the history of Chicago since the era of the Allied Interests began, whom those Interests have not controlled. Neither by flattery nor by favor nor by fear have they been able to seduce him. He has not only been honest, but he has been courageously honest.

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Whether Mayor Dunne shall be re-nominated and re-elected is of comparatively little concern to him. His personal interests are not best served in public office. But he has made his record a memorable one and one of high character. The question of his retention as Mayor depends not upon any political maneuverings of his own or of his friends, but upon whether the resentment of the Allied Interests has been effective in fooling the people of Chicago. He would be re-elected in a perfect cyclone of enthusiasm if the people knew him and his administration as well as the Allied Interests do.

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What labor needs is not protection, but justice.—  
Tom L. Johnson.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### PUBLIC OWNERSHIP IN CANADA.

Winnipeg, Manitoba, Jan. 11.—The returns from the "plebiscite," or referendum, on the question of public ownership of the telephone business in Manitoba (p. 750), show that the question as it was put to the voters carried by large majorities in the larger towns, while it was defeated in a number of the rural municipalities. The total for the Province, however, was about 10,000 for, to 7,000 against. In consequence the Government has now called for tenders for poles for 1,000 miles of line. Mr. Edward Brown, the leader of the Liberal party in Manitoba, who kept a discreet silence regarding his own proposals—giving as his reason that he did not wish to mix politics with the affairs of the municipalities—has now made an announcement of the Liberal program on this question. This program is favorable to public ownership of the 'phones, but differs from the Government's program in that it would have the 'phones owned and operated by the Provincial government only, instead of by the municipalities and the Government jointly, as the Government proposes. The executive of the Union of Manitoba Municipalities on the 9th inst. thanked the "Provincial Government for its action in giving practical effect to the representations of the Union of Manitoba Municipalities, thereby recording recognition of the paramount importance of municipal rights in regard to the ownership and control of public utilities," also suggesting certain courses of action with respect to the construction of the system.

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In the new Province of Alberta much progress is reported along the line of public ownership. A government owned and operated telephone system is reported in project between Edmonton and Lloydminster. Edmonton might be called the Glasgow of Canada. In addition to a progressive system of taxation she also owns her own street railway, telephones, water works and electric lighting system. A number of the new towns throughout the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan are following the same course.

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In Toronto, Ont., a large majority has just voted for cheap electrical power which is to be owned and operated by the city, and to be brought from Niagara Falls. A significant victory has also been won by the single taxers of that city in the election of one of their number, Mr. J. W. Bengough, the cartoonist of *The Public*, to the city council.

PAUL M. CLEMENS.

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Perhaps we can forecast the career of woman, the citizen, if she is permitted to bear an elector's part in the coming period of humanitarianism in which government must concern itself with human welfare. She would bear her share of civic responsibility, not because she clamors for her rights, but because she is essential to the normal development of the city of the future.—Jane Addams.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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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.

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Week ending Wednesday, Jan. 16, 1907.

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### Mayor Johnson's Traction Victory.

Tom L. Johnson's victory over the monopoly traction company (p. 966) in behalf of the city of Cleveland grows in magnitude with each new development.

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At the public meeting called by the City Council for the 10th, upon receiving news of the sweeping anti-monopoly decision of the Supreme Court, the "Concon" (Cleveland Electric, the private monopoly company) made an offer to operate during a truce of 30 days the Central and Quincy avenue lines (expired grants according to the Supreme Court decision), upon a three cent fare, including transfers, and at the termination of the time, if three cents shall have proved to yield a profit, to pay the profit over to the city. It also offered arbitration as to the amount of its profits since March 22, 1905, when its franchises expired, agreeing to pay over the arbitrated amount.

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At the same public meeting, the Low Fare Railway Co. offered to operate on Central and Quincy avenues (the same territory to which the "Concon" offer applied) for a three cent cash fare, with transfers to and from all other street railways; this company to use the "Concon" tracks, poles and wires, and to pay for the use thereof a rental of 6 per cent. on their value, to be appraised by two arbitrators and a referee. The offer included also an alternative proposal to buy the "Concon" property outright at its appraised value plus 10 per cent. It was further proposed by the Low Fare Company that its own franchise rights on the streets should be terminable by the city upon demand.

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The Municipal Traction Company (the "holding" company for the city), of which A. B. du Pont is president, offered at the same meeting, through Mr. du Pont, to operate the Cleveland Electric property on a leasing basis similar to that under which it is operating the Forest City ("Threefer") lines, the plan to include a readjustment of the Cleveland Electric's stock upon a basis of the value of the company's tangible property, with the right of purchase at \$1.10 on the dollar. The purpose of this offer is to enable the Municipal Traction Company to acquire the whole traction system of Cleveland at a liberal tangible property value, for the purpose of turning the system, fully equipped, over to the city as soon as the city acquires legal power to own it.

After these offers had been made, the Council adjourned to the 11th, and at this meeting an all-around arrangement was made which is to last 30 days. During this period the Forest City Railway Co. ("Threefer") is to extend and operate its lines to the Public Square; the Cleveland Electric ("Concon") is to operate the Central-Quincy lines on three-cent fares; and a permanent arrangement is to be made if possible. The temporary arrangement was perfected by the adoption of a resolution by the Council in committee of the whole. Concurrently therewith the committee of the whole adopted a further resolution declaring it to be the sense of the city officials that a general settlement should be reached, and recommending to the immediate consideration of the Cleveland Electric ("Concon") officials, as a basis for settlement, the proposition made on the 10th by the Municipal Traction Company, namely, the execution of a contract similar to that existing between the latter company and the Forest City or "Threefer." This offer was made by Mayor Johnson a year ago to the "Concon," at the purchase price of 85 cents on the dollar for its stock, which was then selling at 80. Its stock is now fluctuating between 61 and 68. The three-cent service actually began on the 12th.

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When the City Council met in regular session on the 14, it approved the action of the committee of the whole, accepted the arbitration offer of the Cleveland Electric ("Concon"), and received a formal proposal from this company for final settlement. The proposal asked for a franchise on the basis of seven tickets for a quarter, with universal transfers, and requested a referendum thereon, but added:

The company, however, realizes the existence of a general public sentiment in favor of the settlement of the long drawn out controversy on the subject of the operation of street railways in this city, and if in your judgment it is not in the public interest to settle the matter by granting to this company a franchise upon the lines above referred to, we are, of course, willing to consider propositions or suggestions along other lines; and, if as we understand the action of your body last Friday, it is your wish that we do so, this company will give careful business consideration to a proposition for a lease of its property and franchises to some other company, together with an option to the city to purchase, and to this end our president will be glad to confer with Mr. A. B. Du Pont.

The Council referred this communication to the street railway committee, at the same time adopting a resolution declaring it to be the sense of the Council that negotiations between Presidents Andrews and du Pont be entered into, and that conclusions reached be reported to the Council.

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The injunction asked for against the Low Fare Company (p. 967) was refused by Judge Babcock on the 9th, after a full hearing.

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Commenting on the whole situation on the 12th. in reply to a question propounded by the Cleveland Press, Mayor Johnson made the following interpretation of the significance of events:

The two significant developments are: First, the fact



that 3-cent fare has actually come on both sides of the river, and has come to stay—3-cent fare and universal transfers; and, secondly, that the minds of all parties concerned have turned towards the holding plan as the only practical solution. The only question now in dispute is the price which must be paid by the public company to the private company.

The Cleveland Electric Railway Co.'s stockholders have a right to be fairly and fully paid for their physical property, and they are fairly entitled to the present worth of their unexpired franchises.

In previous negotiations the fixing of a value on physical property has never been difficult, but the franchise value has had two elements upon which agreement has been hard to get. One was the actual date of franchise expiration, and the other was whether or not the remnants of franchises should be appraised on a monopoly basis, or with consideration of the fact that there is actual and low fare competition to be reckoned with.

The United States Supreme Court has settled forever the theory of perpetual grants or indefinite extensions by implication, and the existence of low-fare competition is a physical fact.

So then the only question is one of price, and this can be arrived at between the parties, subject to the consent of the people of the city and the Council.

The holding plan, as proposed by Mr. du Pont to the Council should be well understood by every citizen of Cleveland.

Mr. du Pont has offered the Municipal Traction Co. as an instrument ready to hand, but when he did this he suggested that the membership of that company should be changed in any way that may be agreeable to the Cleveland Electric Railway Co., and all other interests.

The purchase of the stock or of the property of the Forest City Railway Co. by the Cleveland Electric Railway Co., is, of course, out of the question. That cannot be thought of for an instant in the face of the public ledges of the lessees of the Forest City Railway Co.

The holding plan is intended, primarily, to remove private interest from public service. This is done by limiting earnings and forever forbidding the watering of securities. The plan as now applied to the Forest City Railway Co. is by du Pont's offer applied to the Cleveland Electric Railway Co., with one exception, namely, at while the Forest City Railway Co. is leased on a basis that strips it of all franchise value, the Cleveland Electric Railway Co. is conceded the right to be paid franchise value—but not so much as may be thought considering the elements of low fare competition and exceeding short life of those expiring grants.

The practical way to work this out would be for the Cleveland Electric stock issue to be shrunken in volume so that it is on an equal basis with the Forest City Railway Co.; that is, until each \$100 share of the Cleveland Electric stock represents an actual value of \$90, and this stock a rental-dividend of 6 per cent. would be held by the holding company. The total issue of the watered stock would then be equal to the total physical and franchise values of the Cleveland Electric properties agreed upon. Each \$100 share would then be held, by option, to a top value of \$110.

The water being as far as possible eliminated from the stock no more could get in, as further securities could issue only for new money actually put into new construction, and no stock to be issued for betterments for out of surplus earnings.

The plan worked out, we will have in Cleveland a commission of men, chosen and trusted alike by the city, gives the franchises, the people who use the cars the investor who furnishes the money. These men have but two obligations: one to pay a fixed return on absolutely limited capital, and the other to give the best possible service to the public. With speculation eliminated, private gain cut out and a practical trustee-between public and public servant, Cleveland will be

able to turn her energies to new and greater things—to be Free Cleveland.

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### The Traction Question in Chicago.

Chicago is not advancing toward municipal ownership of her traction system (p. 967) as satisfactorily as Cleveland. A belief is gaining ground among municipal ownership advocates, which appears to have been for some some time a settled conviction among the adversaries of municipal ownership, that the pending ordinances will, if adopted, make municipal ownership almost an impossibility. These ordinances, however, are not yet completed. Although reported into the City Council on the 15th they are still subject to amendment. They were agreed to by the local transportation committee on the 14th.

✦

Aside from the intrinsic merits or demerits of the ordinances, a serious question regarding referendum has arisen. Mayor Dunne is pledged not to sign any ordinance for a settlement of the traction question unless it is approved by referendum. So are the members of the Council and the Council itself. It was in consequence of the apparent disposition of the local transportation committee to evade a referendum that Mayor Dunne appealed to the Council last week (p. 967) to make good its referendum pledge, and upon the refusal of that body that he issued his letter to the people (p. 968). Three organized bodies responded to that letter: the Referendum League, the Chicago Federation of Labor, and the Municipal Ownership Delegate Convention. Through a joint committee they proposed and began to solicit signatures for the submission of the following questions:

Shall the City Council proceed by condemnation under the Mueller law to acquire and equip a complete, modern, unified street railway system, with one fare and universal transfers for the entire city, instead of passing the pending franchise ordinances?

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

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

✦

On the 14th the local transportation committee completed its work on the ordinance and by a vote of 9 to 3 recommended their disposition by the Council and with reference to referendum as follows:

Resolved, That 100,000 copies of a petition in the following form be printed forthwith by and at the expense of the City of Chicago:

"To the Board of Election Commissioners of the City of Chicago: We, the undersigned, registered voters of the city of Chicago, respectfully petition that the following question of public policy be submitted to the voters of the city of Chicago at the regular election to be held in and for the said city of Chicago on the first Tuesday in April, A. D. 1907:

"For the approval of ordinances substantially in the form of the pending ordinances reported to the City Council of the City of Chicago on January 15, A. D. 1907, authorizing the Chicago City Railway Company and the Chicago Railways Company, respectively, to construct,

maintain and operate street railways in said city, and providing further for the purchase thereof by the said city or its licensee."

Be It Further Resolved, That copies of these petitions be placed in the public offices of the city of Chicago and be distributed by the Mayor and the members of the City Council and the heads of the departments of the city government to such persons as may wish to sign the same or circulate the same for signatures.

Be it further resolved, That the ordinances hereinbefore referred to, being the ordinances reported to the City Council by its Committee on Local Transportation on the 15th day of January, A. D. 1907, be placed on final passage by the City Council after (but not before) the 2d day of February, A. D. 1907, and that if, on said date, the above mentioned petition has been signed by the requisite number of legal voters to entitle the question of public policy therein set forth to be submitted to the voters of said city at the election to be held therein on the 2d day of April, 1907, and has been filed with the Board of Election Commissioners of said city, then and in that event the said ordinances shall be then placed on passage, after being amended by inserting therein a provision that such ordinances, respectively, shall not take effect until a majority of the votes cast upon said question of public policy at the said election shall be in the affirmative.

Alderman Dever tried to change the proposition from negative to affirmative, by moving that if at the election the proposition should receive a majority of the votes, "then the City Council should pass the ordinances" at the first regular meeting after the election, and if it should not receive a majority vote that the Council should place the ordinances on file. This amendment was defeated 54 to 12. Another amendment offered by Alderman Dever provided that if on February 2nd the petition has been signed by the requisite number of legal voters to entitle the question of public policy therein set forth to be submitted to the voters at the election to be held on the 2nd day of April, 1907, then the ordinance shall not be placed on passage until after the ballots have been counted and the result of the election determined, and immediately thereafter the ordinances shall be taken up and disposed of by the City Council in accordance with the decision of a majority of the votes cast at the election. This amendment also was defeated, 48 to 18. The committee's proposition quoted in full above, was then adopted by the following vote:

#### Yeas.

Kenna, Coughlin, Dixon, Foreman, Pringle, Martin, McCormick, Young, Bennett, Snow, Moynihan, Harris, Scully, Hurt, Cullerton, Riley, Considine, Harkin, Maypole, Smith, Nowicki, Schermann, Conlon, Powers, Bowler, Stewart, Reese, Foell, Sullivan, Dougherty, Werno, Jacobs, Hahne, Krumholz, Dunn, Williston, Lipps, Reinberg, Siewert, Blase, Larson, Herlihy, Wendling, Golombiewski, Burns, Bradley, O'Connell, Roberts, Fisher, Badenoch, Hunt, Bihl, Kohout, Race—54.

#### Nays.

Harding, Dalley, Richert, Derpa, Zimmer, Uhlir, Bellfuss, Sitts, Dever, Brennan, Flinn, Nolan—12.

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Prior to the voting President Mitten of the Chicago City Railway Company, submitted the following statement:

The Chicago City Railway Company desires that your committees and the City Council should clearly understand the position of the company with relation to the clause proposed to be added to the ordinance providing, in case of a referendum, that the ordinance should only

take effect in case a majority of the votes cast upon the question should be in favor of the ordinance. The company is advised by its counsel that said proposed clause will be legal and valid and the company will, in no event, and under no circumstances, make any claim to the contrary. In case a referendum as proposed, if a majority of the votes cast are not in favor of the ordinance, the company will make no claim that the ordinance is operative and will make no claim to any rights under the ordinance. The company does not desire to undertake the reconstruction of its street railways under any ordinance which is disapproved by a majority of the people of the city. The company is willing to execute any formal contract which may be desired by your committee to further protect the city in the matter above referred to.

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#### Mayor Dunne for Re-Election.

Edward F. Dunne, Mayor of Chicago, announced on the 16th his candidacy for re-election at the municipal balloting in April. His formal address will not be made public until the 17th.

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#### Senatorial Elections.

Several elections for United States Senator were held on the 15th. The following persons were elected:

Montana—Joseph M. Dixon, Republican.  
Massachusetts—W. Murray Crane, Republican.  
Tennessee—Robert L. Taylor, Democrat.  
Colorado—Simon Guggenheim, Republican.  
Nebraska—Norris Brown, Republican.  
New Hampshire—Henry W. Burnham, Republican.  
Maine—William P. Frye, Republican.  
Delaware—Harry A. Richardson, Republican.  
Idaho—William E. Borah, Republican.

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The election in Texas has been postponed, in consequence of the charges against Senator Bailey (p. 657). The lower House of the legislature on the 15th adopted a resolution calling upon the Attorney General to submit for consideration all documentary evidence in his possession implicating Senator Bailey in dealings with the Waters-Pierce Oil Company.

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#### The Pope Addresses the French Church.

The text of an Encyclical addressed by the Pope to "Our venerable brothers, the cardinals, bishops and clergy of the French people," was promulgated on the 11th (p. 970). Some of the paragraphs cabled over are as follows:

We have been accused of prejudice and inconsistency. It has been said that we refused to approve in France what we had already approved in Germany. But this reproach is unjust and unfounded, for while the German law is commendable on many points and was only accepted in order to avoid greater evils, the situations are different. The German law explicitly recognized the Catholic hierarchy, which the French does not.

As to the annual declaration required for public worship, it did not offer the legal guaranty that the church had the right to expect. Nevertheless, to obviate worse evils the church might have tolerated making declarations; but the law, laying down that the clergy shall be only occupants of the churches without any legal status and without the right to perform any administrative act in the exercise of their ministry, placed them in such a vague and humiliating position that the making of declarations could not be accepted.

It remains to examine the law recently voted by the Chambers. From the point of view of church property

w is a law of spoliation and confiscation and has imated the pillage of the church. . . .  
 new law aggravates the law separating church and We can only condemn it with precision and with-  
 ambiguity. Certain articles of the law throw new  
 n the real aim of our enemies. They wish to de-  
 he church and de-Christianize France without at-  
 g too closely the attention of the people. If their  
 was really popular, as they pretend it is, they  
 pursue it openly and take all the responsi-

efore we await fearlessly the verdict of history,  
 must be that with our eyes fixed unceasingly on  
 onscendent rights of God we did not intend to  
 ate the civil power nor combat a form of govern-  
 but only to safeguard the spiritual temple of

: we demanded and demand for the church, of  
 France is the eldest daughter, is respect for her  
 hy, the inviolability of her property and liberty.  
 had been granted the religious peace would not  
 een disturbed, and the day our demand is heeded  
 ged for peace will be restored.

dispatches state that the promulgation of  
 cyclical is regarded in some quarters as indi-  
 that the Pope desires fresh negotiations on  
 bject of the separation between Church and  
 though he may not consent to take the initia-



French bishops met in special session at the  
 u de la Muette, near Paris, on the 15th.  
 prelates were in attendance. Their answer  
 Pope's question as to what attitude the epis-  
 would adopt in the event of further persecu-  
 s reported to be as follows:

development of events must be awaited. In the  
 ile worship will continue provisionally without  
 tion and without yielding. No arrangements for  
 ire will be made and the new laws will be sim-  
 red. The parish priests will leave their churches  
 i compulsion and on the advice of the bishop.  
 ests will not take the initiative.

nissions were elected to consider the follow-  
 sions:

- consider the question in connection with wor-  
 high must remain public for the present. Mgr.
- the bishop of Dijon, having brought a formal  
 om Rome not to consider the contingency of pri-  
 rship.
- the question of funds.
- the support of the clergy.
- the seminaries and primary schools.



**Earthquake Disaster.**

earthquake followed by fire nearly destroyed  
 n, Jamaica, on the afternoon of the 14th.  
 a, the largest of the British West India  
 lies a little south of Cuba. Kingston, sit-  
 n a beautiful harbor on its southern coast, is  
 tal and largest city, containing about 50,000  
 ants. Information as to the details of the  
 y is very meager, as the direct sea cables  
 ngston were ruptured by the earthquake  
 There seems to have been a succession of  
 the first the most violent, throwing down  
 number of buildings, including all public  
 s; and within ten minutes after the first  
 fires had started in a score of places. The

fire department was naturally demoralized and the  
 citizens thoroughly terrified. The number of dead  
 is variously estimated at from 400 to 1,000, or even  
 more; and the number of the injured is put in the  
 thousands. Among the dead is a distinguished Eng-  
 lish visitor, Sir James Fergusson.



Earthquake shocks (p. 945) were felt on the 10th  
 in Christiania, Norway, in Stockholm, Sweden, in  
 Yekaterinburg, Russia, in Honolulu, Hawaiian  
 islands, and in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and  
 Menominee, Mich. Christiania suffered another  
 shock on the 15th. Mail advices report that  
 the seismograph at Apia in the Samoan islands,  
 recorded on December 21 the severest shock that  
 has ever been anywhere recorded. Apia felt the  
 shock severely, but the center of disturbance is be-  
 lieved to have been about 900 miles south of the  
 Samoan islands, beneath the waters of the South  
 Pacific.



A tidal wave causing great loss of life and prop-  
 erty was reported on the 11th from the Dutch East  
 India islands, which lie in the northern part of the  
 Indian ocean. On the 14th Mauna Loa on the Island  
 of Hawaii was reported as being in violent erup-  
 tion. Three streams of lava were flowing down the  
 western side of the mountain, one of them having  
 reached the sea thirty miles away.

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**NEWS NOTES**

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—A bill for 2-cent per mile railroad fares was in-  
 troduced in the lower house of the Illinois legislature  
 on the 15th.

—A typhoon swept over the islands of Leyte and  
 Samar, in the Philippines, on the 10th. A hundred  
 lives are reported as lost on Leyte.

—It is reported from Cleveland that Mayor John-  
 son is likely to be the Democratic candidate for  
 Governor of Ohio at the next State election.

—A total eclipse of the sun occurred on the 15th,  
 visible in central Asia. The period of total obscura-  
 tion was two minutes. The eclipse was satisfactorily  
 observed.

—The unidentified man who fatally shot General  
 Pavloff in St. Petersburg on the 9th (p. 970), was  
 tried and sentenced to death on the 10th, and exe-  
 cuted in the early morning of the 11th.

—The Standard Oil Company and its allies in Ohio  
 were indicted 939 times on the 14th by a grand jury  
 of Hancock county, Ohio, which has been investi-  
 gating charges of maintaining a trust for a con-  
 spiracy against trade.

—The Negro who is native-born in Oklahoma, ac-  
 cording to Grant Foremen, writing in Collier's, is  
 much better educated than the Negroes who have  
 emigrated there, "thanks to the Indians, who have  
 maintained schools for him."

—The Ohio river, which is greatly in flood, on the  
 15th cut a channel across the Big Horseshoe bend  
 between Evansville, Ind., and Henderson, Ken., and  
 was reported as flowing through the new cut at a

tremendous rate. If the cut-off becomes permanent it will leave Evansville five miles from the Ohio river.

—The body of Charles Coghlan, the playwright and actor, which had been lost since the Galveston storm of September 8, 1900, has been found in its metal coffin on the mainland in an out of the way place. Hunters came upon the coffin almost buried in a marsh, hidden by weeds. It had been lifted in the flood and carried nine miles from the Galveston cemetery.

—A national Peace Congress called by representatives of the American peace organizations and others, is to be held in New York City in the spring, to voice the sentiment of the country in regard to what shall be done at the approaching second Hague Peace conference, the calling of which, it may be noted in passing, seems rather unaccountably delayed (p. 732).

—The promised Filipino legislative assembly was given definiteness by the general election law passed by the Philippine Commission in Manila on the 9th. The election for which it provides will take place July 30. The law arranges for a constitution and an assembly. It divides the islands into 80 districts—the Moro and non-Christian provinces being not included (p. 970).

—Representatives of organized labor met with prominent men and women of wealth on the 13th at the residence of Mrs. Potter Palmer in Chicago, for the purpose of undertaking the organization of a Chicago branch of the National Civic Federation. August Belmont and ex-Mayor Low, of New York, and Wm. D. Mahon, president of the Amalgamated Association of Street Railroad employes, were the principal participants.

—The demand made vainly in New York for a generation by self-respecting, responsible women that though unescorted they should be served in hotels and restaurants after six in the evening, just as during the day, has at last prevailed. The Waldorf-Astoria is reported to have posted this notice: "Ladies without escort will be served in the restaurants hereafter at any hour." It is reported further that there is now only one restaurant in New York where women cannot dine without an escort after six o'clock—the Cafe Martin.

—The monthly statement of the United States treasury department (see p. 876) for December, 1906, shows the following for the fiscal year up to and including that month:

Gold Reserve Fund .....	\$150,000,000.00
Available Cash .....	238,997,076.10
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$388,997,076.10</b>
On hand at the close of last fiscal year,	
June 30, 1906 .....	\$328,087,283.25
<b>Increase .....</b>	<b>\$60,909,793.85</b>

—For the purpose of damming the breach in the banks of the Colorado river through which its waters are pouring into the Salton Sink (p. 923), President Roosevelt asked Congress in a special message on the 12th to appropriate \$2,000,000. The President reviewed the history of the settling of the Imperial valley, now threatened with destruction, under the auspices of the California Development Company;

and severely arraigned the company for its criminal negligence in cutting as it did for irrigating purposes the soft banks of so powerful a river, flowing by a vast region lying much below its own level, without establishing controlling works to regulate the flow and prevent diversion of channel.

—The Hawaiian-Japanese Daily Chronicle of December 12 publishes in its English columns a remark from an Englishman which is mainly interesting for the paper's comment on it. The item runs as follows: "A certain member of the British parliament asked the question, 'What if America and Japan open hostilities? Would there be a carrying out of the articles in the treaty making the Anglo-Japanese Alliance?'" Says the Chronicle quaintly: "He was certainly a passionate man." The Chronicle also brings up the race question: "The London Times stated that if Americans believe that it was improper to sit with Japanese, then the Japanese also will believe the same." This the Chronicle stoutly repudiates, saying: "But we are not so narrow-minded yet."

—A patent apartment house invented by Mr. Otto Fick, is now running itself in Copenhagen, and is exciting emulation in other European cities "from Christiania to Budapest," says an item afloat in the press. "The cooking is all centralized. Electric lifts carry their meals up to the tenants' dining rooms. Knives and boots are cleaned by machinery. The vacuum cleaner is used for windows, stairs and periodically for flats. Washing is done 'on the premises,' and the washing up after meals falls to the central staff, employed by the establishment as a whole. . . . The central kitchen is found to be thoroughly economic, and the total cost in the Copenhagen building of a three-room flat for one person is not quite \$8 a week. For three persons the cost per annum is between \$730 and \$750."

—The monthly treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government (see p. 778) for December, 1906, shows the following for the fiscal year up to and including that month:

<b>Receipts.</b>	
Tariff .....	\$164,806,664.19
Internal Revenue .....	138,621,232.67
Miscellaneous .....	25,033,221.08
	<b>\$328,461,117.94</b>
<b>Expenses.</b>	
Civil and miscellaneous....	\$ 65,026,245.29
War .....	56,774,984.43
Navy .....	48,498,827.19
Indians .....	9,168,607.07
Pensions .....	70,556,729.45
Public Works .....	25,484,647.89
Interest .....	17,900,157.85
	<b>\$303,410,209.17</b>
<b>Increase .....</b>	<b>\$25,050,908.77</b>

—African civilization is elementally akin to our own, according to Professor Frederick Starr, who has just returned from the heart of Africa (pp. 945, 961). Reports of his descriptions of the Kasal country in the far upper Congo region, include the statements that agriculture is universal among these people, and every free man does some planting. The government, based upon customs and principles which are the common law of the land, protects the people in their lives and property. Justice is regularly administered, and native lawyers present

sides of every case that is brought before the at King Ndombe's capital. The industries and sions include blacksmiths, doctors, merchants, weavers, matmakers, woodworkers, besides is of the government, such as chiefs, tax col-s, sheriffs and soldiers. The people have a of civilization, and it does them credit.

**PRESS OPINIONS**

**S FROM SOMEWHERE.**

lway Age, Dec. 14.—The directors, managers and officials of our railways, in this day, with few ex-ns, are known as upright, conscientious, law-abid-God-fearing, men-loving individuals, and their per- influence and example are having powerful effect aping the lives of their subordinates and in mak-the railways increasingly factors for good citizen-

**ERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF RAILROADS.**

ams County (Neb.) Democrat (Dem.), January 4.— Government Ownership Club formed in Omaha, last t, is only the first club in a movement that will cause litical earthquake before it goes out of business. The rnmnt ownership of railroads is much nearer be- ing a living, breathing political issue than most men ose. That rate bill passed by Congress was the be- ing of the campaign for government ownership. Men Roosevelt, Bryan, La Follette, Tillman, and the many rs, who sincerely labor for railroad regulation are tting government ownership sentiment every day. se men are not far apart, by any means, and some of se days they'll join hands. Then look out. Mean- e the education goes on. Taking over the railroads s like a stupendous undertaking. That fourteen bil- dollar debt looks awful, and is magnified to look like t many quadrillion dollars. After a few billions of ter is squeezed out it won't look so big.

**IE CHICAGO TRACTION FIGHT.**

The Austin (Chicago, Ill.) Vindicator (local), Jan. 11.— stin people have been watching the street car situa- n for the past two months with more than usual in- est and have just recently awakened to the fact that e "settlement" is a gold brick handed to the people Chicago and supported by a united newspaper alliance ich is phenomenal. The cry of immediate settlement rised to try to stampede the ordinance through the ty Council and fasten a contract which will last for- er. The provisions as offered are so constructed that oher corporation or even the city will ever be able pay the price fixed, and our posterity will be paying cent fares as long as time lasts. We owe it to future enerations to look well at the bargains we are now aking. Our present Mayor is now standing between e of the greatest frauds and the interests of the people at ever any one man faced. He is almost hopelessly st with a united press against him. He needs the pro- ction of thinking men who have no private interests t stake. Here is an example of some of the ways things re done. We are told to cry and vote for "immediate ttlement" because the service is so awfully bad. (Who akes it such?) Now lately the present companies have ysteriously given to the daily press their net earnings, which show a profit of \$6,000 a day, and yet will not pro- ide half enough cars to carry the people. The excuse s that they have no franchise yet. We know that they ave an unexpired franchise on all the streets in Austin with 45 years yet to run! Why don't they give Austin people service! The reason is that the Masters of High

Finance are trying to force us to a settlement. Take the ordinance that has been recommended. No one has been able to see it. It has never been published.

**GOVERNOR HUGHES OF NEW YORK.**

Parkersburg (West Va.) Sentinel (Dem.), January 4.— About the worst upset crowd of political managers in all the land is the Republican machine of New York. Their new governor, Hughes, with whom they defeated Hearst, appears to have fallen into the Hearst camp the first thing, and many of the more important suggestions in his message to the legislature were the identical things advocated by the Independence League before the election. The bankers and other "vested interests," which spent over five hundred thousand dollars to elect Mr. Hughes, are somewhat put out. They had no idea they had caught such a Tartar in their trap. It was expected that Mr. Hughes when elected would become the usual submissive instrument, and that there would be no breakers to obstruct smooth sailing. Now everything is upside down, and the well laid schemes for safety and sanity in the governor's mansion are in danger of going astray.

**"WE ARE SEVEN."**

The (Lincoln, Neb.) Commoner (Dem.), January 4.— When Bellamy Storer was added to the list of public men who have been denounced as falsifiers by President Roosevelt, the list included just enough to remind one of the poem which was one of the lessons in Dr. McGuffey's old "Third Reader," and entitled "We Are Seven." The Albany Argus has been reviewing the matter for the purpose of classifying, if possible, the different kinds of "liars" mentioned by the president, and discovers that Judge Parker was "an atrocious liar," that Mr. Whitney was "a deliberate liar," that Mr. Chandler was "a deliberate and unqualified liar," that Mr. Bowen was "a disingenuous liar," that Mr. Wallace was "an utter liar," that Mr. Shields was "an inventive liar," and that Mr. Storer was "a peculiarly perfidious liar." It was a prophet of old who exclaimed in his haste that "all men are liars," but it seems that he was in too much of a hurry to catalogue and classify them. Mr. Roosevelt seems to have found the time to at least make a beginning on the work of classification.

**WHO ARE THE "GOO-GOOS"?**

Detroit Civic News, Dec. 29.—We sometimes hear the members of civic reform organizations denominated "Goo-Goos." We have taken some pains to learn what the special characteristics of a goo-goo are. The consensus of opinion seems to be that goo-goos are people whose experience is so limited that they cannot live comfortably in the same community with ordinary folks, or else people whose experience has been so bad that they need to take on a "holler-than-thou" attitude to throw other folks off the trail. Goo-goos pass resolutions to induce other people to be as good as they think they are. Goo-goos—or goody-goodies—do not fight. Goo-gooism should be carefully distinguished from the creed of the earnest reformers, who are willing to make some sacrifices for their principles. Those citizens who are most strenuous for "personal liberty," meaning by that liberty to make public nuisances of themselves, are likely to shout "goo-goo" at the first approach of restrictive legislation, administration or agitation. "Personal liberty" may involve the right to drink liquor, but it does not involve the right to get drunk and beat one's family, make a spectacle of one's self on the public street, or go off to a bawdy house on a carouse. "Personal liberty" may give one the right to smoke, but it does not give one the right to blow his smoke into another man's face, or to vitiate the atmosphere in a room where another

man who does not like smoke-polluted air has a right to be. "Personal liberty" may give a man a right to cultivate "art" in any way he sees fit, but it does not give him the right to make a public nuisance of himself or to post pictures in his windows or on the billboards to smite our eyes, and school our children in the ways of vice and crime, whether we like it or not. "Personal liberty" may give people the right to corrupt their own bodies and fool with their own health, but it does not give quack doctors the right to issue circulars and newspapers, to print advertisements full of base lies calculated to mislead the young and inexperienced into the notion that nature's laws can be violated with impunity. "Goo-goo" is a term of disrespect. When reformers have fight in them, the epithet will not often be slung at them. It is suitable only for people who are too "good" to live and too "holy" to fight.



#### "PLAIN CITIZEN GUGGENHEIM."

Bryan's Commoner (Dem.), Jan. 11.—Mr. Guggenheim, the prospective Republican senator from Colorado, declares that "if he goes to the Senate he will not go to represent the smelting company or any other company or any interest." Mr. Guggenheim's attention is respectfully called to the passage in the Bible in which it is declared in plain language that no man can serve two masters. Mr. Guggenheim will prove no exception to the rule. He may not intend to represent the smelter and other corporations, but he is so accustomed to looking at the interests of the people through corporation spectacles that he will be quite sure that that which is good for the corporations will be good for the people. Of course he will expect to have demagogues find fault, and he will count as demagogues all who do not put corporate interests first. The people of Colorado will soon have a chance to see the difference between Plain Citizen Guggenheim industriously guarding the interests of predatory wealth, and Senator Patterson who conscientiously guarded the interests of the whole people. One of the objections to our present method of electing United States senators is that men like Mr. Guggenheim can secure a seat in that body by putting up some very respectable candidates for the legislature who will be tied by a secret promise to the capitalist who backs them. Plain Citizen Guggenheim will probably feel that the people of Colorado are opposed to the election of senators by direct vote, but his election will do more to convince the public of the necessity for this reform than anything that has happened recently. As a horrible example, Mr. Guggenheim may prove a useful member of the Senate; as a representative of the people of Colorado he will be a failure from the beginning.



Chicago Voter, Jan.—That there is nothing new under the sun, not even in the methods of office seekers and their managers, is shown in the story of Simon Guggenheim, who by this time next month will have been elected United States Senator from Colorado to succeed Thomas M. Patterson. The expectant Senator, sometimes disrespectfully referred to as the "smelter trust senator," but more often spoken of as the savior of his party, has for years devoted himself to the Republican legislative ticket in Colorado. During that time it is said that he has spent over \$1,000,000, but what is that to a man if it brings him that which his heart desires? And it seems that Mr. Guggenheim's patient waiting and judicious expenditures for the benefit of his party are to be fitly rewarded. But that which makes one ponder over the sameness of men and methods is a little side light given in a newspaper story on the methods employed by Richard Broad, his manager. This story records that "Mr. Broad is a great sportsman and it is said he often has made wagers that some candidate he wanted elected would not be elected, giving odds of several hundred to one. He

always lost such wagers, which were invariably in connection with the election of some member of the legislature."

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## IN CONGRESS

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

Washington, Jan. 12, 1907.

#### Senate.

Discussion of the dismissal of Negro troops by the President was resumed on the 7th (p. 699), and on the 8th the employers' liability bill was the principal subject under discussion (p. 753) as it was on the 9th (p. 810) and 10th (p. 870), being passed on the latter day (p. 900). The legislative appropriation bill was under discussion on the 11th (p. 951). A bill on the shortage of railroad cars (p. 1,031) was under discussion on the 12th (p. 1,031), as was the question of the dismissal of Negro troops (p. 1,034). Adjournment was taken to the 14th.



#### House.

The Crumpacker bill for the prevention of abuses regarding fraud orders in the Postoffice Department was discussed on the 7th (p. 719), and passed (p. 724); and on the 8th (p. 768), 9th (p. 833) and 10th (p. 902) the army appropriation bill was under consideration. The work of the 11th was on private bills, and adjournment was taken to the 14th.



#### Record Notes.

Crumpacker bill for prevention of abuses regarding fraud orders in the Postoffice Department (p. 718). Speech of Senator Gearin of Oregon on the Japanese question (p. 741).

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## RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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### COAL IN THE PHILIPPINES.

From the Filipino Students' Magazine for December, 1906.  
Published at Berkeley, California.

Sufficient coal deposits have been found in the Philippines to supply these islands for one hundred years.—Newspaper Item.



The Philippines are full of coal;  
Keep it dark;  
Tell this secret to no soul;  
Keep it dark;  
Mum's the word, now don't forget it;  
If you tell it, you'll regret it;  
For John D., he will get it—  
Keep it dark.



### FIFTY YEARS OF STATE RAILWAYS IN SWEDEN.

For The Public.

The Swedish state railways celebrated, last December, their fiftieth anniversary, and it is therefore of interest to note the following remarks in "Engineering," of London. "Engineering," by the

way, does not entertain municipal and state ownership ideas as a special hobby. It is too much in accord with the "interests" in Great Britain for that. But it is a fair engineering journal, willing to report the facts as they are, a thing which we can not say of some of the railway journals in this country, in regard to governmental ownership.

Says "Engineering":

It is hardly too much to say that all concerned in the development and management of Sweden's state railways are to be congratulated upon the admirable results which have been attained in every direction. The Swedish government has always displayed both great foresight and untiring energy in extending and perfecting the country's railway system, and Sweden has in many respects, in none more, perhaps, than as regards thoroughly comfortable railway carriages and a civil and obliging staff of railway servants, acted the part of a pioneer. The Swedish state railways have opened out, and are still opening out, vast portions of the country, thereby giving an immense impetus to the exploitation of their vast and varied natural resources; and viewed from the standpoint of the exchequer, the result must be looked upon as entirely satisfactory. . . . The section which pays the best is the Malmberget (Gellivara) to Lulea line, which for 1904 yielded 7.08 per cent; but both the West, the East, and the South main lines yielded very satisfactory revenues (6.68 per cent. to 5.05 per cent.).

So far "Engineering." And after fifty years of such results government ownership, according to the "experts" which the "interests" send to Europe, is still only in its experimental stage, and a comparative failure at that. It would sometimes be well if the "experts" went somewhere else than to Great Britain. England is not the whole of Europe by any means. In Europe it is considered a very small portion indeed. Things are done even in countries where English is not spoken. But perhaps the "experts" speak only English and therefore can not profit by going elsewhere.

ERIK OBERG.

+ + +

## WATER POWER FOR THE ELECTRIFICATION OF RAILROADS.

From *Railway Machinery* for January, 1907.

While electrification of railroads has been considered in many cases a matter of too great an expense to be seriously contemplated for the great trunk lines of the country on account of the cost of keeping the large power plants in operation, there are ample possibilities for the electrification of railroads in such countries where there is an abundance of water power.

The Scandinavian Peninsula, as is well known, is in this respect better provided than any other country in the world, Switzerland excepted, and the people of Sweden have for this reason been contemplating for some time the electrification of the main trunk lines of the government railroads. It is intended, if possible, to eliminate steam motive power entirely, or at least to eliminate it for passenger service.

As the state owns a large number of water falls and exerts a large control over the remaining ones, working upon the principle that these falls are natural gifts which belong only to the nation as a whole, the electrification can be carried out with far less expense than would otherwise be the case. Some of

the private railroads have already contracted for electrical equipment and installation of electric traction.

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## LETTER FROM NEPHEW JACKSON TO UNCLE JIM.

Some Lately Discovered Correspondence.

For The Public.

Dear Uncle Jim: In reply to your inquiry about the graft business, I would say that it is very probable that people in general are as good as they know how to be, and that a large part of the money spent for courts and judges and penitentiaries and police might better be used to run some schools that would teach the difference between right and wrong. Lots of folks in the high places as well as in the low, don't know the difference between stealing things and earning them. The glitter of the diamonds and the color of the gold blinds their eyes to the pains and aches of the poor lash-driven slave that dug the shining things from the earth, and people fall down and worship the possessor of wealth, ignorant of the vile wrong done to the producer. It is possible that ignorance is responsible for more crime than the saloons, though statistics to support this assertion are not as plentiful and available as those in regard to the saloon business.

I must confess that these ideas are not original with me, but my friend Dobbs, who is the real author of them, thinks seriously of getting up some statistics to prove their truth, and if he does they will be hard to controvert, for he is a lightning calculator and delights in multiplying millions by quadrillions, and playing football with the square root and quadratic equations.

To tell the truth about the matter, Dobbs was so enthusiastic at first that he compiled four full sheets of solemn looking figures and submitted them to me.

I could not presume to contradict them, because the five figures in the ignorance column taken from the nine figures in the crime column certainly left a balance that was fully as formidable as the balance of trade that our professors of economics and the rest of us fall down and worship.

So I admitted the truth of Dobbs's figures, and asked him where we are going to get the teachers for these schools of righteousness. It is a pretty certain thing that we can not get any from the Chicago City Council, for they are all tangled up over the meaning of the word "graft," and in such a condition of mind that they would be liable to accept a present from somebody that wanted a franchise, under the mistaken impression that such action embodies the genuine essence of the Golden Rule. If we want teachers of right and wrong we must look among people who are not so innocent as the members of the Common Council.

Dobbs thought we might make a text book out of the cyclopedia installments that President Roosevelt is sending to Congress; but on consideration we saw that the installments had not gotten very far down in the alphabet, and that it might be a long time before he got down as far as "stealing" and "ship subsidies," even if he went straight through the alphabet, and in the meantime people would go on stealing and voting for ship subsidies under the impression that it is the proper thing to do.

Dobbs thought that Rockefeller might be induced to give a few lessons to the people on the difference between stealing and earning; but we came to the conclusion that even his integrity and wisdom had not been able to make the Standard Oil crowd see the difference between "mine" and "thine" and "ours," and so we concluded not to ask Mr. Rockefeller to teach in our Sunday School.

Now, Uncle, this is as far as we have progressed in our scheme of teaching the people the difference between right and wrong.

We are delayed on account of a controversy which arose as to whether the woman in the parlor, who hires another woman to do everything for her, should look down on the woman in the kitchen who does everything for herself and most everything that is done in the house for everybody else, or whether the woman in the kitchen should look down on the woman in the parlor.

Dobbs sticks to it that the woman in the parlor is the superior creature. As a matter of pure stubbornness I have taken the position that the kitchen maid occupies the higher station, and is the one to do the looking down, if any looking down is to be done.

We are likely to have to settle this problem before taking up the stealing and earning again. I will keep you fully informed in the matter.

From your favorite nephew,

JACKSON BIGGLES.

\* \* \*

### "THE ALAMEDA CITIZEN."

Reprinted by Request from the Editorial Columns of The Public of February 8, 1902.

Over the bay from San Francisco lies the city of Alameda. It is one of the bedrooms of the metropolis of the Pacific, where an army of San Francisco toilers of the clerk class go from their daily work for refreshment and sleep.

Many of these clerks own little homes, more or less mortgaged, which gives them an invigorating consciousness of having a stake in the country. Nor is this the only stimulating fact in their lives. As their days are spent at work in the midst of great commercial and financial affairs, laboring with their coats on and not for "wages" but for "salaries," they have a feeling, shared even by such of their class as do not own homes, either mortgaged or free, that they are strictly in the swim with the business interests of the nation in general and of the Coast in particular.

They are, therefore, not workingmen, but business men. Toward workingmen, even toward those whose wages are double their own salaries, they are deliciously supercilious. The workingman belongs in a lower social class, you see. And they take no interest in labor problems beyond the vital question of how to get labor cheap, whereas in business problems their interest is active and profound.

\* \*

After each daily round of business duties "over in the city," the clerkly denizen of Alameda is said to retire to his more or less mortgaged domicile across the bay, there to enjoy a few hours of hard-earned surcease from respectable toil.

Entering his home, he surveys with satisfaction an interior modeled upon that of the luxurious house of the old man—the millionaire whom he assists in business—as closely as a narrow salary and a little cottage upon a contracted building plot permit. His evening dinner over, a function also remotely modeled after the corresponding function at the old man's, our Alameda friend withdraws to his study, like the old man except on club nights, and dons his smoking jacket. A tawdry and ancient thing, that smoking jacket, threadbare and frayed, perhaps, but undeniably it is a smoking jacket, what remains of it; and a thrill of pleasure follows the thought that, broadly speaking, this is the distinguishing part of the sartorial array of the old man when he settles down to a sociable smoke with himself at home.

Thus properly garbed, the complacent Alamedan takes his meerschaum from its case with a loving caress and tenderly fills the capacious bowl with Bull Durham. Cigars would be preferred, but good cigars are dear, while poor ones are in bad form, in addition to being otherwise objectionable; and next to cigars, aye, even along with cigars, a meerschaum pipe is correct. Indeed, a meerschaum pipe may even supersede cigars, as a better-class indulgence, if it develops rich color, which the owner may laboriously conserve and progressively admire. To be sure, the pipe ought to be loaded with Turkish instead of Bull Durham, but that is a detail which in the privacy of home cuts no figure. Besides, there is in the use of the fragrant but plebeian Durham a suggestion of sturdy indifference to style, which distinguishes the denizen of Alameda from the mere dude.

With his pipe alight, the Alamedan smokes and dreams—dreams as the Turk dreamed—of a future when suppliant knees will bend before him, even as his own now bend before the old man. Maybe his wife sits by him, and they dream together, he swelling out with a delightful sense of headship within the walls of his more or less mortgaged castle, and she blooming with pathetic confidence in his latent powers of business.

That is the daily routine, with immaterial variations induced chiefly by social obligations and changes of season, of the Alameda habitant in his leisure hours. In his business hours over in San Francisco he strives to copy the manner and manners of the old man with all fidelity. And to his credit it must be said that, comical as he often appears, he is as a rule as diligent in business as the best type of "good nigger" in slavery days.

It is in political times, however, when questions affecting business are at issue, that he becomes most interesting. For then our Alameda habitant blossoms out into the Alameda citizen—comical, diligent and dangerous.

\* \*

In political issues in general his interest is only properly languid—like the old man's. Whether government be centralized or localized, he cares little, provided the government is good, because that is the way the old man looks at it. Whether the suffrage be general or limited makes no difference to him, provided it is sufficiently limited to exclude the unfit, which is also the old man's idea. Excessive taxation doesn't trouble him, if it is indirect; though



he is sensitive to direct taxation, partly because the old man objects to it, and partly because it is prejudicial to real estate interests, in which he is concerned. For inherent human rights, except his own, he does not care a fig; and is rather inclined to agree with the old man, who approves the conclusion of modern college professors, that the theory of inherent human rights has been exploded. If he knew that socialists also inculcate the doctrine that there are no inherent rights, he might recoil; for the old man abhors socialism, whatever that may be, and of course he abhors it, too. Once in awhile he becomes indignant about bad government, just like the old man; but he is no more a theorist than the old man is, and if you turn the rascals out and put good officials in he is quite content. But when politics meddles with business questions, so as to excite the old man, the Alameda citizen is indeed on fire.

He is not on fire, however, with the fuel of his own independent thoughts. He never thinks independently. He does not consider it good business form for a subordinate in business to do so. The old man thinks for him at the office, and does it well; why not at the polls?

So the Alameda citizen votes the old man's ticket, and holds in supreme contempt everybody in the establishment who does not. When a subordinate is "fired" for not taking a delicate hint at election time, he gets no sympathy from the Alameda citizen. How can he expect to eat the old man's bread, even if he does give the old man his time and sweat in exchange, and then vote against the old man's interests without being "fired"? Besides, doesn't the old man know better than any inside subordinate or outside agitator, what is good for the whole force? Isn't he a millionaire because he knows how? Very well then. If he says protection, protection goes, just the same as when he says buy or sell, or mark up or mark down. If he says "sound money," then sound money it is and ought to be with every voter in the place. If he says "leave well enough alone," then the party in power must be kept in power. If he says "give us a change," then the party in power must be turned out.

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There is your "Alameda citizen," as Arthur McEwen, a journalist distinguished on both Coasts, discovered, and with a degree of humor we should not attempt to imitate, described him. But the "Alameda citizen" works in many places besides San Francisco and lives in many places besides Alameda, though elsewhere he might be better distinguished by the name "peanless plute." He is ubiquitous. Wherever you find a ten-dollar clerk who glances down as from a pinnacle upon twenty dollar mechanics, the chances are more than even that you are in the presence of an "Alameda citizen." Sound him on politics and you are almost certain to get an echo of the plutocratic sentiments in the midst of which he humbly works.

The successful business man is the "Alameda citizen's" god. Success in business is his heaven; failure his hell. He knows his hell is densely populated, but there is so much room, so very much room, in his heaven. And as he is in his own estimation possessed of exceptional business qualities, he expects to climb over the heads of the seething mass of

"poor devils" who are doomed not only to failure but to destitution. All unconscious that he himself is part of the seething mass, and 999 to 1 always will be, he hopes to make it a stepping stone to a comfortable seat in his roomy heaven. And the one rule upon which he relies to achieve this bare chance of success is implicit obedience, even in the matter of voting, to the commands of his god—the successful business man.

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The "Alameda citizen" is as comical as an organ grinder's monkey, and for similar reasons. His one virtue, taking him as a class, is diligence in business. But both his diligence and his comicality are obscured by the overshadowing fact that he is dangerous.

Any class of voters is dangerous which votes under orders. Such voters are more dangerous, far more dangerous, than voters who are bribed. And the "Alameda citizen" does vote under orders. Without thinking independently on public questions, he simply adopts the sentiments of a coterie of successful business men. The effect is to multiply the voting power of that coterie. Instead, therefore, of getting an expression of citizenship at the polls, we get, so far as the vote of the Alameda citizen is concerned, only a magnified expression of a limited business interest which is selfishly desirous of making and maintaining such maladjustments of industrial affairs as tend to enrich them at the expense of the labor of the masses.

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One thing the "Alameda citizen" has to learn, if with his narrow brain and narrower selfishness he is capable of learning anything, is that the activities which he calls business are not all of business; that is, they are not all of the industrial life of which business, so-called, is but a dependent part. Another thing he needs to know is that success in business does not depend alone upon diligence, nor yet upon this and all the other industrial virtues combined. It ought to, but it does not. If inherent human rights were recognized and conserved, it would; but they are ignored, and in consequence legalized privilege in some degree and form is an absolutely necessary condition of business success.

To make business success the reward of the industrial virtues alone, legalized privileges must be abolished or undermined. But that can be done, otherwise than by revolution, only by voting to do it. When the "Alameda citizen" shall have learned this, his intelligence will be sufficiently stimulated, perhaps, to see that in voting the old man's sentiments instead of his own he is probably voting not to abolish or undermine legalized privileges, but to perpetuate them. By that time he will be competent to decide for himself how best to serve with his vote the interests of the people, of whom he is one, instead of those peculiar "business" interests in which his share is seldom more and is usually less than that of the worker in shirt sleeves whom he affects to despise.

But when he does this he will no longer be an "Alameda citizen." He will then be an American citizen, devoted above all things else, as a citizen, to the perpetuation and realization of those human

rights of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" which the American Declaration of Independence declares to be in their nature inherent and inalienable, and which no college philosophy, no pseudo science, nor any counting room code of ethics can set aside.



**A SPECIMEN ALAMEDAN.**

For The Public.

Those who understand the Alameda type of citizen, so ably portrayed by Mr. Arthur McEwen, cannot help but be impressed, if they mix much with people in hotels, on the streets, or in the stores, that this class makes up a large percentage of our population. They are here in large numbers, and each one has a vote. This is a matter of much political significance, for they all vote alike. Their presence can be accounted for by reason of the prevailing un-economic condition that tends to inhibit independent thought as well as action; or you can explain their existence on the hypothesis that there is a chump born every minute.

Recently I was walking down Michigan Boulevard with an Alamedan, as a horde of Italian immigrants were pouring out of the Illinois Central depot.

My companion viewed them for a moment; then turned to me and said in an indignant tone: "I have no use for these ignorant foreigners. Why, in a few months those little, flea-bitten, bandy-legged Dagoes will have a vote, and it will count for as much as yours or mine!"

"Suppose it does? Where's the kick?" I asked.

"What will they know of our system of government, or our political methods? Without this knowledge how can they vote intelligently?"

"Let's see now, Jim," I replied. "You're one of our free and independent American citizens, 50 years old, born in this country—never been out of it. And I infer that you consider yourself pretty well posted in everything that goes to make up an 'intelligent voter'."

"You bet I do."

"Well, Jim, what do you know about the primaries?"

"Bah! The primaries are for the politicians to look after; I've never had time to bother myself about them."

"Yes, Jim; but it's at the primaries that we are supposed to select our candidates. If this be true, then surely the primaries are very important."

"Now, then, Jim; what do you know about taxation?"

"Only this, that I have never paid any."

"You astonish me. Of course you pay for your board, clothing, room rent and luxuries."

"To be sure I do, but just the same I've never seen a tax collector."

"Eight-ninths of all taxes raised in this country are levied upon articles of consumption such as I've just mentioned. Surely a matter for 'intelligent voters' to consider."

"Now, Jim, as you are very much interested in protecting our ballot from ignorant voters, of course you are equally interested in adopting anything that would improve our system of government. What do you know about the Initiative and Referendum?"

"Only that it's some damphool scheme for reform-

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"How's that, Jim?"

"The straight Republican ticket."

"Jim, anyone could take a lead pencil and a blank and teach that whole Dago bunch in five minutes how to vote the straight Republican ticket. When they would be as intelligent on the vote question as you are."

"Well, d—n 'em, I don't like 'em, anyhow."

C. L. LOGAN.

+ + +

**QUIT KNOCKING.**

For The Public.

What's the use of knocking always?  
Tell me, pray,  
What's the use of knocking someone  
Every day?  
Let the other man alone;  
For your own sins try atone.  
Drop your hammer in a sewer;  
Do not groan.

When you see a man who's tipsy,  
Lend a hand;  
Do not push him in the gutter  
Where he'd land.  
If a brother has a "skate,"  
He'll pay for it soon or late.  
Put your hammer in the stove—  
Its proper fate.

If the lady's not a lady,  
What's the use  
Of your crushing her beneath  
The more abuse?  
She's the one her sin has hurt;  
You're not grovelling in the dirt.  
Drop your hammer; you'll find good  
If you're alert.

Do you think that you are all  
That you should be?  
Why is it your own faults  
You cannot see,  
While the other fellow's soul  
Looks to you as black as coal?  
Chuck the hammer; try his virtues  
To extol.

Turn the spot-light on yourself  
Some quiet day,  
Then you'll find the hammer business  
Doesn't pay.  
Let the guiltless one alone—  
Bruise his brother with a stone.  
Drop that hammer in an alley,  
Then atone.

R. E. CHADWICK.

+ + +

"You can't beat the Irishman for wit," says Robertson, "and he takes advantage of his native pro-ty in all his business enterprises. While walk- ing in one of the business thoroughfares of Pittsburg year my attention was arrested by a display of its in a haberdasher's window, which for variety of un- set colors far excelled a Turner landscape in the sun is red and low, and there in the win- dows in glaring green type a large sign read, 'Lis- ton'—Argonaut.

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## BOOKS

### AN ANIMAL BIOGRAPH.

**White Fang.** By Jack London, author of "The Call of the Wild," "The Sea Wolf," etc. Published by the Macmillan Co., London & New York. Price \$1.50.

If the reader has enjoyed that pathetic narrative of the woes of a working horse, told in "Black Beauty," he will undoubtedly find "White Fang" much to his liking. Both stories are translations of the lives of man's greatest and most abused friends.

There is this difference in favor of Mr. London's creation, that unlike the horse his wolf-dog is not a passive victim but strikes back, or is even aggressor in his quest of life; and, besides, his experiences unfold naturally from birth in flowing paragraphs that explain everything from the dog's consciousness as it grows into knowledge of environment. The other tale labors slightly under the artifice of making the horse tell his own story.

Mr. London has given a straightaway story that never halts nor drags, of a dog who fights for existence mid the terrible vicissitudes of a frozen and silent land.

White Fang was born in a cave. His efforts some three weeks later to investigate that part of his home whence the mysterious light came, were sternly repressed by the growl-talk of his anxious mother. One day during her absence, however, the pup's curiosity led him, shaking, straddling, sprawling on his weak legs, to the light-world at the mouth of the cave. His feet knowing only the plane of the floor of the lair, falled him in the descent to earth which lay a few inches below. He fell, rolling and yelping down the declivity. His terror was gradually dispelled when gravity and a level spot brought him to rest. After a little he continued his tour of the world, and by dint of waddling, tumbling and rolling found himself in a ptarmigan's nest. His nose and next his tongue came in contact with the bird's eggs. He cranes one, and lo! it is good. His hunger-fest is broken into by the return of the mother bird. At first his hold upon her wing is shaken off in the quaint, fantastic fight that follows between these midget forces. White Fang retires, trembling, cowering, whimpering in the tumult of his emotions. But the hunger instinct, whetted by the plunder of the nest, drives him again to the fray. Again, as the story runs, "a rain of pecks fell on his ill-used nose. The flood of fight ebbed down in him, and, releasing his prey, he turned tail and scampered off across the open in inglorious retreat." Thus ends the first battle of the young dog. He renews his adventures and gains strength and courage day by day.

Not long afterward he falls into the hands of the fire-gods. He again lost his balance in coming out of the cave and rolled down the terrible steep into the midst of a band of Indians. His mother in attempting his rescue becomes captive with her offspring to one of the number who had owned her in the days before she had fled to the wild from his abuse. In the camp life, soon after bereft of his mother, the wolf-strain in White Fang excites the

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malignant and unceasing persecution of the domesticated dogs who fear and hate the wild and all that comes from it. Embittered by the struggle forced upon him, the latent capacity for love is dwarfed, hunted off into venom for his kind.

Still in the domain of hate, he next appears as a prize fighting dog under the management of a brutish white man who bought him to turn his savagery into gold. He becomes notorious as victor in these fierce contests, until a "death-clip" upon his throat is taken by a bull dog. His life is saved by the prompt action of a resolute, warm-hearted miner who stops the fight, and nurses him back to health of body and finally to kindness of nature.

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This is White Fang's story in crudest outline. This is the surface story. There is another beneath pregnant with a philosophy of existence. Mr. London's fiction centers all the light of evolution upon the dog who shares with the horse the sympathetic, and loving consideration of the best part of mankind, and from that standpoint reflects the human struggle. White Fang in this under-story is a parable, and his life fable was intended to appear as a parable of all animate existence.

W. H. S.

\* \* \*

**DR. BLAND'S REMINISCENCES.**

Leaders of Progress. By T. A. Bland. Published by T. A. Bland & Co., Chicago. 1906. Price \$1.25.

In this book of 250 pages the author sets forth his personal recollections of thirty-two prominent and typical citizens of the United States. Among these are found such names as Abraham Lincoln, Ulysses S. Grant, William Lloyd Garrison, Susan B. Anthony, Sam W. Thomas, Henry George, John Boyle O'Reilly and Richard T. Ely. The recollections are in the form of very brief biographical sketches, interspersed with some of Dr. Bland's own experiences with his famous acquaintances and many anecdotes. The friendly Introduction is by the Rev. Dr. Hiram Thomas.

ANGELINE LOESCH.

**PERIODICALS**

In "The Ethics of Internationalism" in the International Journal of Ethics (Philadelphia) for October, Mr. J. A. Hobson, of London, points out the cause of the failure of commercial intercourse to produce that universal peace of which Richard Cobden dreamed as a result of free trade. "What Cobden and his friends failed to take account of," writes Hobson, "was the continued power of certain classes of interests within the nation, as distinguished from the national interests conceived as a whole—the power of certain people to misrepresent the people." Mr. Hobson's ideal is a world republic; "a form in which the power of the people is

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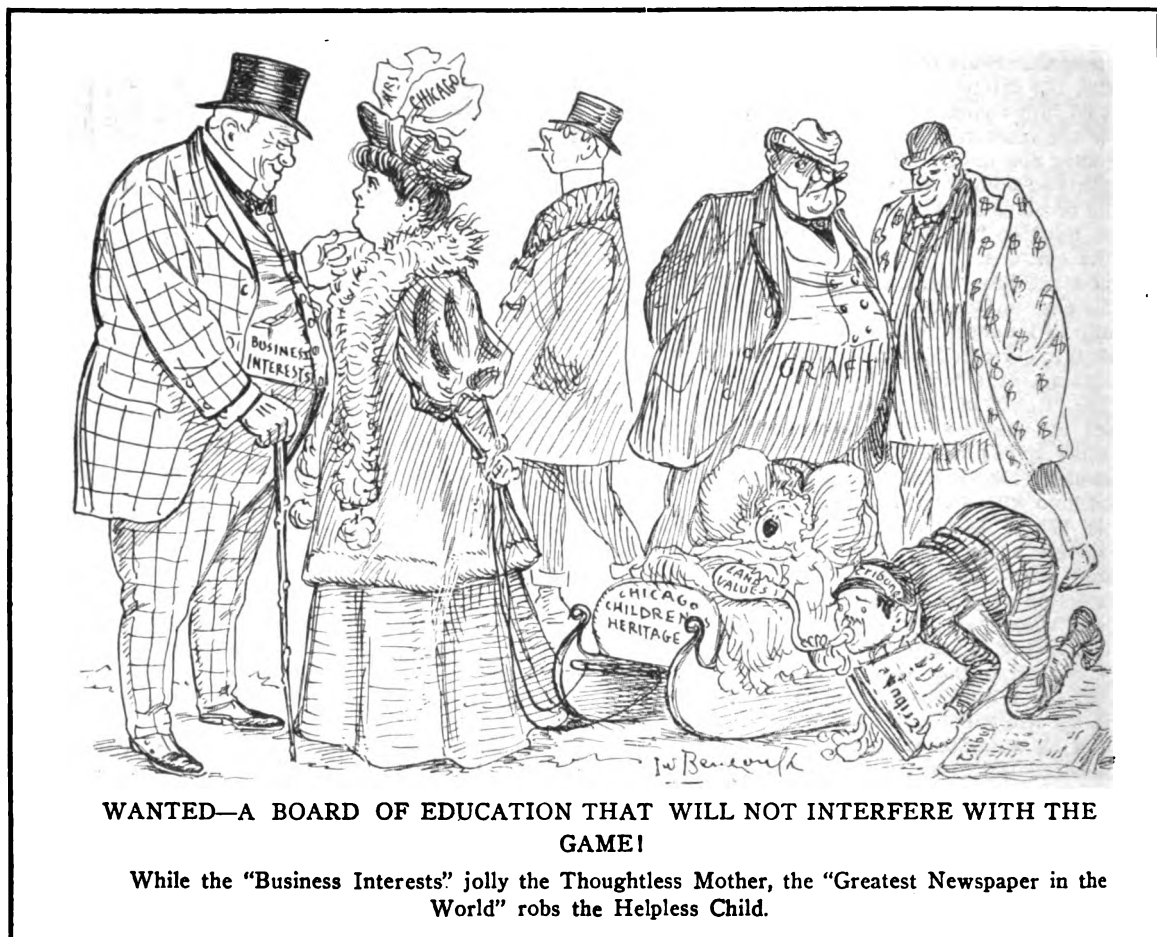
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Elliot Flower's story of "Cagler's Clean Record" in the Red Book (Chicago) for January, carries a great big moral for political reformers of all kinds, and without in the slightest degree lessening the interest of the tale.

+

The January "Free Trade Broadside" (6 Beacon street, Boston), edited by William Lloyd Garrison, is an inspiring example of the genuine democracy that animates the doctrines of free trade. It proclaims the fact boldly that freedom of trade is a human right and not a mere commercial policy.

+

Persons interested in psychical phenomena will doubtless find it worth their while to become acquainted with the Journal of the American Society for Psychical Research, of which the first monthly number appears with the opening of the year. The editor is Dr. James H. Hyslop. No assurance of the good faith of Dr. Hyslop's work is needed, and its

value is gradually gaining recognition. (Rooms of the American Society for Psychical Research, 519 W. 149th street, New York City.)

+

The Dial (Fine Arts Bldg., Chicago) has made a valuable year's experiment with "What's in the Magazines" (price 5 cents a copy, and 50 cents a year), which is thoroughly what its name suggests—a monthly guide and index to the current periodicals. Not a mere jumble of magazine tables of contents, but a simple, exact and varied arrangement and classification, it gives in each issue full information—subject, author, etc.—regarding the bill of fare of the magazines of the current month. This novelty in periodicals is entitled to be regarded as the magazine reader's best friend, for in a few words it lets him know what there is especially for him in all the confusing mass of magazine literature month by month.

+

Pennsylvania employs more children under sixteen years of age in its manufacturing industries than any other State in the Union, and "more than are employed in North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Missouri and Texas combined." To bring this startling fact home to the public, the Philadelphia Industrial Exhibit was re-

cently held through the united efforts of many reform organizations. The real facts about sweatshop and child-labor were most vividly presented by means of photographs, elaborate and exact models of wage-earners and their work, and even in many cases, by the actual living workers shown at their daily labor in rooms fitted up in exact imitation of their usual surroundings. The attendance for the week was 25,000, and the resultant effect on public opinion has already been most gratifying. These facts and other interesting details, along with many pictures, Mabel Hay Barrows Mussey contributes to the *Charities and Commons* for Jan. 5. In the same number another good and beautifully illustrated article, by Crystal Eastman, describes the work of a Swedish immigrant sculptor, Charles Haag, whose real talent is meeting with a growing recognition. Through all his art he brings forth his pure democratic ideals and a deep sympathy with his fellow workingmen. One of his sculptures has just been accepted by the Metropolitan Museum in New York, and another, "Organized Labor," is a striking vision of the true brotherly spirit behind the Labor Unions. *Charities and The Commons* promises many good things for the coming year. Ten additions have been made to its editorial staff in as many different cities, and the list of social reform articles announced for the future is noteworthy both as to subjects and writers.

A. L.

+

The February number (the third) of *The Times Magazine* will offer a rich variety of unusually interesting special articles, in addition to the serials. Its new magazine steadily grows in excellence, faithfully reviewing the times from a fundamental democratic viewpoint, and giving a rich assortment of able discussions of subjects of great popular interest, with good illustrations. The serials now running are the novel; "The Giant's Strength," by Basil King; "A Woman's Utopia," by Charlotte Perkins Gilman; and the "Natural History of American Orals," by Franklin H. Giddings. Prof. Giddings so contributes an illustrated editorial review of the times and the manners, in excellent style and very rich to the point. Of the special articles, "The Fight for the Schools," by William Hard, will undoubtedly attract a great deal of attention. It is the continuation of the absorbing story, begun in the January number, of the great work of Margaret Kelly in fighting tax-dodging corporations and graft in Chicago, for the welfare of the public school, children and teachers. The article is illustrated with photographs. A most timely contribution is "Government Railroads in Japan" (illustrated), by Henry George, Jr. "Cleveland, a City With Ideals," by Frederic C. Howe, is an illustrated article of great value and interest. "Safety for the People's Savings," by George C. Sikes, has a very practical use. Other special articles in this number are "The Selection of Judges" by Judge William J. Gay; "Military Schools in America" (illustrated), by Major L. R. Gignilliat; "Richard Mansfield and Peerage" (illustrated), by Montrose J. Moses; and "Between the Infinites" (illustrated), by Hudson Maxim. Short stories are, "The Man Higher Up" (illustrated), by O. Henry; "The Gull of Cottonwood

## People of Chicago, Push the Referendum!

Everyone in Chicago who is willing to cooperate in the present referendum campaign is urged to call immediately at the office of **THE PUBLIC**, 1447 First National Bank Building (corner Dearborn and Monroe streets) and receive blanks for securing signatures to **EITHER or BOTH** of the current petitions.

These petitions are:

I. The petition issued by the City Council, containing only one question formulated by the City Council, namely:

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

II. The petition issued under the authority of the Referendum League, the (M. O.) Delegate Council, and the Federation of Labor, containing three questions, the one formulated by the City Council (printed above) and two new questions formulated by the three organizations named above, namely:

Shall the City Council proceed by condemnation under the Mueller Law to acquire and equip a complete, modern, unified street railway system, with one fare and universal transfers for the entire city, instead of passing the pending franchise ordinances?

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

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### ANNOUNCEMENT.

Concerning Changed Dates of the Chicago Lecture Course.

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

The order of the speakers will be as follows:

**Saturday, Jan. 19th**—The Clara Vaughan Wales Concert and Comedy Company, presenting a program of vocal and instrumental music, readings, etc., and a comedy entitled "A Pair of Lunatics." It is the original English version and contains the Ophelia and Hamlet scene and also the hypnotism act.

**Saturday, Jan. 25th**—Lee Francis Lybarger. Subject, "The Power of the Trusts." Mr. Lybarger is well known among Single Taxers and has gained a high reputation as an orator. His style and his personality are very pleasing, and I am confident that you will greatly enjoy his presentation.

**Saturday, Feb. 2d**—Ex-Mayor W. W. Rose of Kansas City, Kans. (Mr. Bigelow, who was announced for this date, will lecture for us later in the season.) Mr. Rose has an important message to deliver to the radicals of Chicago and I trust sincerely that you will honor him with your presence on this occasion.

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

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