# The Public

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# **EDITORIAL**

#### Responsibility for Railroad Homicides.

Terrible in its magnitude as was the railroad wreck of the Pennsylvania "flyer" at Conemaugh

last week, not a single life was lost. The train was a vestibuled Pullman. Had it been a train of ordinary day coaches, the loss of life would doubtless have been appalling, even though the train had been going at lower speed and the other circumstances of the accident more favorable. It was the vestibuled Pullmans that saved life. What, then, is the necessary inference when day cars are wrecked and lives are lost?

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#### Silencing Railway Postal Clerks.

Washington dispatches announce that railway postal clerks whose trains are wrecked must not talk about the wreck except to the Department. "In that way," remarks the second assistant postmaster general, "we shall be able to adjust our troubles with the railroads without much friction." Quite so. But isn't it queer that the post-office department enjoins the same kind of silence upon its railway employes that the railway companies enjoin upon theirs?

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#### Destructive Suspicion.

Truth, it has been said, is to be found at the bottom of the well, but it is sometimes discovered in deeper and darker places. For instance, the Chicago Tribune has found this nugget in its editorial rooms: "A deep distrust of all whose political or economical ideas do not coincide with one's own, a readiness to ascribe unworthy motives to all opposition, is no basis upon which to rear an enduring civic structure." Excellent. But the Tribune might vastly improve this preaching by occasional efforts at practice. While it preaches eloquently against "setting class against class," it works diligently at that very objectionable practice. If it differs in this respect from those it rebukes, the difference is not in setting class against class "in the abused name of Liberty," as it says they do, but in the honored interest of masterful parasites.

## Mayor Dunne's Candidacy.

There has been no other reasonable ground for doubting that Mayor Dunne will succeed himself as Mayor of Chicago than the uncertainty of his nomination. As the primaries were to be of the old-style type, a well founded fear existed that the machine bosses of the party, in collusion with the financial interests, all a unit against Dunne, would defeat him either by trickery at the pri-

maries or by treachery at the convention. But the primary vote was so large, and so overwhelming in its majority for Dunne, that the financial interests and their newspaper organs were struck dumb and the political bosses yielded without a So complete was the victory that a platform ringing true throughout was adopted with the same unanimity as his nomination. Of Dunne's re-election in April there is now no reasonable doubt. The public opinion of "the loop," where everything respectably base congregates, is of course against him. But the public opinion of Chicago is not represented by the public opinion of "the loop." This was proved by the great spontaneous petition against the traction ordinances, which "loop" opinion regarded as impossible. It was proved again by the Dunne vote at the Democratic primaries, which bewildered "loop" opin-

Dunne has commended himself not only by his attitude toward the traction question, and his achievements in administration, but also by his straightforward honesty. This quality even his bitterest enemies are obliged to grant him. Throughout the city the word has gone forth from all sources, and been accredited everywhere, that whatever else may be said of Mayor Dunne he is an honest man. Little have his adversaries realized the popular power there is in that reputation. Against such a reputation the equally widespread reputation of a popular "sport" will not avail the only adversary now left to contest Mayor Dunne's re-election.

Mayor Dunne's administration on the financial side speaks for itself. In comparison with the results of previous years, the balance sheet for the year 1906 makes an exhibit that demands at least an explanation from the easy-going critics who complain of "the Dunne administration." The balances since 1902 are as follows:

Dec. 31, 1902 (Mayor Harrison), surplus \$1,533,103.59
Dec. 31, 1903 (Mayor Harrison), surplus 75,062.86
Dec. 31, 1904 (Mayor Harrison), deficit 218,503.51
Dec. 31, 1905 (Mayor Dunne), surplus 889,872.90
Dec. 31, 1906 (Mayor Dunne), surplus 4,291,103.37

#### A Comical Adjudication.

The Court of Appeals of New York decides that the diversion by life insurance officers of life insurance money held by them in trust for life insurance purposes, is not criminal! The reason given by the majority of the court for this decision seems to be that if a trustee puts trust money where he honestly thinks it will "do the most good," he has taken his "immunity bath" in advance. Such is certainly a reasonable inference from this language of Judge Gray, who "The innocent wrote the prevailing opinion: motive of indirectly promoting the corporate affairs through the supposed advantage of the continuance in power of the Republican administration purged the act of immorality, and it lacked the criminal intent." The moral and legal idiocy of this view of trust obligations is brought into bold relief by Chief Judge Cullen's dissenting opinion, in which he says: "The meritorious character of the objects to which the money was appropriated has no bearing upon the question of larceny. The gist of that offense is not the application of money to a bad purpose, but taking money that does not belong to the taker, to appropriate to an object, good or bad. It is the fraudulent deprivation of an owner of his property that constitutes larceny. It is a crime to steal, even though with the intent to give away in charity and relieve distress."

#### "Tainted News."

Collier's Weekly has put another feather in its editorial cap by beginning a crusade against "tainted news." Its first article is on the "tainted news" which subsidized correspondents send out from Washington. Of this it says in an explanatory head note to its exposure of that kind of fraud upon the public, that "corporations and large business interests employ 'publicity agents,' 'press bureaus' and subsidized Washington correspondents. The purpose of these is to get into the news columns of papers all over the country matter favoring the cause of the corporation. Very often the newspapers are deceived and print this matter in good faith, believing it to be legitimate news." The reading public suffer from no worse evil than the "tainted news" of the press. This is to journalism what sanded sugar used to be to the grocery business, but infinitely more deceptive, more injurious and more criminal.

#### Watering Railroad Stock.

An interesting story of stock-watering was that which E. H. Harriman told the Interstate Commerce Commission on the 25th relative to his purchase and sale of the Chicago and Alton railroad. He bought it for \$40,000,000 and sold it to the Union Pacific for \$89,000,000, after having burdened it with a \$22,000,000 mortgage which he and his associates divided among themselves.

Such transactions are incidental to and incurable ander the system of private ownership of public highways, and this is the reason why "passengers cannot be carried for two cents a mile," and why the tariff on freight rises. In private enterprises where there are no patents, prices cannot be raised; so water in stock quickly leaks out. railroading, the franchises that create private monopolies of rights of way and terminals are like patents; they hold the water in. The customer must buy. He cannot "go to the store next door." Consequently prices can be raised arbitrarily and the watered stock be made good. Then why should otherwise sensible men approve of turning these rights of way and terminals over to private ownership and management?

#### Wealth and Honesty.

Mr. James H. Eckels is ever prompt at defending swollen fortunes and fortune swelling. He even goes out of his way to do it, as if he held a brief for the swollen fortune interest. His last effort was in a speech at the national meeting of school superintendents at Chicago on the 25th. Mr. S. Y. Gillan of Milwaukee had attacked the dishonest rich for cheating public schools, whereupon Mr. Eckels came to the rescue of the overrich and "unco guid" with the assertion that in the vast majority of cases the same honesty is applied in the gaining of large fortunes as in the running of schools and the teaching of children. With all the revelations regarding the acquisition of large fortunes that have recently appeared, Mr. Eckels should have been more cautious in his statement. When swollen fortunes are spoken of, those of Rockefeller, Rogers, Harriman, the insurance confidence men and the like are brought to mind, and these men were not honest. But the idea that swollen fortunes are dishonest has more than a personal application. Implying that the ethics of fortune-hunting are dishonest, it indicates that owners of these fortunes may be unconscious of dishonesty because they fail to realize the dishonesty of their ethical standards. The idea penetrates still deeper. Owners of large fortunes may be honest, but their fortunes dishonest. The man who owns a valuable privilege, valuable because it diverts the earnings of others from them to him, may be personally conscien-Nevertheless, his income is essentially plunder. In the course of his defense of swollen fortunes Mr. Eckels thought it alarming that the accumulation of wealth is considered abhorrent. What might not have been his alarm had he overheard the founder of Christianity when He said

that the rich shall hardly enter the kingdom of heaven? This was a pretty strong intimation that in the Christian philosophy fortune-hunting and honesty are incompatible. Perhaps Mr. Eckels would have said what he said in his Chicago speech: "People who criticize swollen fortunes unconditionally make themselves look foolish and ridiculous to men of the great business world," for "they show their absolute shallowness and lack of knowledge of the conditions underlying modern business transactions"! Some of the rich inhabitants of Palestine are reported to have held that opinion of the Disturber whom they crucified.

#### Mayor Johnson's Free Street Cars.

Telegraphic interviews with Tom L. Johnson, Mayor of Cleveland, disclose the ultimate purpose of his long and at last successful fight for three cent fares in Cleveland. This victory he regards as "a big step" toward what he really wants—free street car service. He has worked and fought for three cent fares, not merely because there is an economy in this reduction, but because "it is two cents nearer nothing than is five cents."

This is no new notion with Mr. Johnson, nor is it a borrowed one. In one of the newspaper comments on it, Edward Everett Hale is credited with having likened cars on the streets to elevators in buildings, ten years ago. This is very likely, and it does credit to Mr. Hale's good sense. But if the question of authorship should ever become important, Mr. Johnson's claims to priority can be traced back at least fifteen years and probably twenty. His argument has been that just as the elevator gives value to the upper stories of buildings, so the street cars give value to the more remote sites of the city; and therefore that the users of the benefited city sites, who (like the users of the benefited building stories) pay their car fare in their rent to the landlord, should not be required to pay it over again to a street car operator any more than the building tenants should pay for elevator service to the operator of the elevators. The analogy is perfect and the argument impregnable.

Every person who pays rent, whether for a house or a flat, has to pay higher rent for the same living accommodations if he has the benefit of good street car service than if he has none. The street car service enables his landlord to raise his rent. If, owning his home, he is both landlord and tenant, he could as landlord let to another tenant for higher rent, and therefore is as tenant paying a higher rent. Reflect upon these facts and you find that the value of the street car accommodation is reflected in the value of city sites, just as the value of the elevator is reflected in the value of the upper air which modern buildings pierce. Mayor Johnson's contention consequently is that the custom of charging street car fares is wasteful and burdensome. He would doubtless also say that it makes the wrong person pay for street car service. The persons who ought to pay for such service are not the passengers who as somebody's tenants pay again in higher rent, but those who are enabled by the better street car service to exact the higher rent.

# The Acquittal of Shea.

At last the Shea conspiracy case (p. 1066) is ended. Mr. Shea and his teamsters' union associates have been acquitted. Only two jurors were for conviction at the start, and these quickly yielded to the other ten. The prosecution was utterly without merit. It was instigated and maintained both in court and in the trust newspapers, for private business ends. The prosecuting lawyer was hardly more than nominally a member of the prosecuting officer's staff. He was the private attorney of the business interests that instigated the prosecution. And the presecution itself, while nominally for a blackmailing conspiracy to injure the business of a mercantile firm, was in fact for the criminalization of sympathetic strikes. failed, first because there was no credible testimony of blackmail, and second because the jury would not place sympathetic strikes under the ban of the criminal law.

A curious thing happened after the trial. Three or four labor leaders who had been accepted as informers, had sworn to transactions calculated to prove that the strike was in furtherance of pecuniary objects, that brutal violence had been resorted to deliberately by the strike leaders, that they themselves had participated in these criminal purposes and acts, that no promise of immunity had been made them, and that having pleaded guilty they expected to be imprisoned. Now, it is true that the jury refused to believe these informers (some of whom were shown to be convicted criminals), in so far as their testimony incriminated the men on trial. But that was no reason for exonerating them upon their own pleas of guilty. Although the men on trial were acquitted, these informers were guilty on their own pleas. If the indictment described a crime, they stood before

the court self-convicted of that crime. Yet the prosecuting attorney, failing to convict the innocent men, exonerated these guilty ones. This may be the law, for the prosecuting attorney did it; presumably it must be the law, for the judge allowed it. But what kind of law is it that permits guilty men, men guilty of crime upon their own confession in open court, to go free because a jury would not believe their testimony against other men?

## Death of William M. Hinton.

Word comes from San Francisco of the death of William M. Hinton, the printer who had so much faith in Henry George's "Progress and Poverty," while it was yet in manuscript, that he assumed the financial responsibility for manufacturing the first edition. In his printing office in San Francisco both he and George set some of the type, and among the regular compositors was James H. Barry, now the proprietor and editor of the Star, who, in a tribute in the Star to the memory of Mr. Hinton writes: "I set type for 'Progress and Poverty,' and am both proud and ashamed of the fact-proud that the book has commanded the thought of the world and awakened the consciences of millions of men, but ashamed I didn't know that it would; didn't know that the then almost unknown printer, Henry George, had clearly pointed the way to industrial freedom, and would ere long be known as the 'Prophet of San Francisco'; didn't know that the book I wondered if anybody would read, although they might buy it for 'sweet charity's sake,' would be translated into every civilized language, be used as a classic and text-book in colleges, and make the hitherto dismal science of economics as fascinating as a novel by a master. I didn't know these things would come to pass; but Mr. Hinton did; and said so at the time. I then felt sorry for the 'old gentleman,' as his employes affectionately styled him. I thought that personal friendship was the cause of his optimism and enthusiasm. When, two or three years later, I read 'Progress and Poverty,' it was a revelation to me. and has been an inspiration ever since. I am not exaggerating when I say that but for William M. Hinton the publication of the book might have been delayed many a year."

## Ye Ancient "Standpatter."

Lord Bacon asked a question of the "standpatters" of his day, the echoes of which should not fall upon unwilling ears in our own time: "Things alter for the worse spontaneously, if they

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be never altered for the better designedly." Although Lord Bacon had never heard of the "standpatter" by name, he was evidently well acquainted with the type.

# LABOR AND PROTECTION.

A protective tariff bears the same relation to revenue raising that pocket picking does to stealing; and among the knowing ones, it has the same object and the same effect.

Like the orthodox sinner, it is conceived in sin and shapen in iniquity.

About two-thirds of our national revenues are squandered for worse than useless battleships and preparations for war. War itself has not one single virtue, and if taxes were levied upon monopolies, or the things created by government, instead of upon consumption, or the things created by labor, it would do more to discourage war and the rumors of war and the preparations for war and the war spirit so industriously inculcated by that element in society that profits by war, than all other efforts toward the abolition of war combined.

When the country gets into trouble, either domestic or foreign, and soldiers are needed to engage in martial strife, the first men who are called for, and the only class—in any great numbers—that can be depended upon to take up arms and lay down their lives in its defense, are the laboring men. These are the real defenders of the country in every and all senses of the word. And yet, if the protectionist doctrine is true, these people who can defend themselves and all others in time of war are wholly incapable of defending themselves alone in time of peace. And who is it that pretends to protect these helpless and unfortunate working men? It is men who do not make wealth, but who do make laws.

And what is it they would protect them against? Starvation, nakedness, the inclemency of the weather? But the only real antidote for these is food, clothing, houses and fuel; and labor produces them all.

And since it is men, and the things that men make, that they have to be protected against, what kind of men are they? Are they workers or loafers? No protectionist has ever pretended that the laboring men of America have to be protected against the loafers, either domestic or foreign; yet, if the truth were known it would be discovered that the social loafer is the real enemy of the laboring man, and not the social worker.

How can labor be protected against the very

things that labor produces here and everywhere for the satisfaction of man's desires?

It will be noted that the same quality of mind that believes that this nation can be industrially destroyed by the over-importation of wealth from abroad, thinks also that it can be vastly injured by the over-production of wealth at home. Yet wealth is the only re-agent for poverty. They also think that our present floodtide of prosperity cannot last because they take it for granted that prosperity, like the tides, must always ebb and flow, unmindful of the fact that if there is one single stable thing in society, with a constantly upward trend, by reason of increasing population and unceasing needs, it is the demand for wealth. Why should society oscillate between prosperity and adversity when the source of all demands for labor is as constant as human propagation?

Must it not be because the source of all prosperity, all wealth, all life, and all human energy, is sunlight, air and land, and that the first two are utterly impossible to mankind without land? But the latter, held as it is as the private property of an ever diminishing fraction of mankind, containing as it does the beginning and the end of everything that satisfies his material needs and desires, held out of use as a large portion of it is to exact a higher and still higher tribute from the workers for the privilege of working, ultimates in conditions in which the dearest thing in the world is the world itself, while the cheapest thing is men. This is why, and the only competent and true reason why, labor harbors the utterly fallacious notion that it needs protection.

HENRY H. HARDINGE.

#### EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

#### THE GERMAN ELECTIONS.

Zurich, Switzerland, February 14.—When on the 13th of December last the Imperial Diet of Germany was dissolved on account of its refusing a credit deemed necessary by the Government for carrying on the war in Southwest Africa, the Socialist members hailed the dissolution with a storm of applause. They had voted solidly against the Government, and they were sure that however the Government and the other parties might fare in the coming elections, their party would be on the winning side. And this feeling was nearly as strong among the politicians of other parties as among the Socialists themselves.

The growth of the Socialist party had been unparalleled in the political history of Germany. The omnipotent Bismarck had tried in vain all means to put a check upon its growth. And circumstances seemed now more favorable to them than ever before. But in spite of an enormous and most vigorous

agitation, the elections have reduced the number of Socialist members of the Reichstag from 79 to 43. Many electoral districts which the Socialists had held for more than 20 years and which they regarded as absolutely safe, were lost in the first ballot. Most of these were won back by the Liberals, who in turn lost some seats to the Conservatives. Also the Catholic party, the so-called Centre, has gained several seats. The Government has now a majority for its colonial enterprises, but it has failed to weaken the Catholic party, against which the dissolution was chiefly aimed. This party has come out of the election stronger than ever, having carried 104 seats, against 101 in the old Reichstag. It is chiefly a middle-class party, with some democratic and socialist tendencies. It has always used its powers with wise moderation, which is one of the chief sources of its strength. The Conservative groups, that is, the pureblooded reactionaries, number 80; the different Liberal groups 101. There are still a dozen other parties, comprising about 60 members; and as even so rich a choice does not satisfy some people, there are still about ten members who keep aloof from partisanship altogether. I doubt if there is anything in the world so strangely mixed as German politics.

Though the Socialists have lost about 36 seats, they have still actually increased in votes by 8 per cent. upon the previous election. Compared with the total of votes cast, they have decreased by 2 per cent. Their defeat is chiefly due to a revival of Liberalism, which has increased in votes about 30 per cent. As I remarked in a letter to The Public last year, our Liberal parties have changed their attitude towards the labor movement, which they formerly declined to consider at all. The reward has come more speedily than I expected. It seems as if the German people were gaining confidence in Liberalism again. It is now up to the Liberal parties to make good their promises. Our Liberals are still a very mixed lot of people, including men from the standpatter brand of Republicanism in America to the most progressive democrats. The progressive element has in Mr. Barth and Mr. Nauman two excellent leaders who are doing their best to lead in the direction in which Liberalism in England has proceeded with such unprecedented success.

It must not be imagined that the defeat of the Socialists is a defeat of socialism. Socialism in the strict sense, that is, nationalizing the means of production, never has been seriously discussed in German politics. The Socialist party is the standardbearer of radicalism in Germany, a radicalism the more pronounced and far-reaching the more it is powerless to fulfill its promises. And in this party. as in every radical party, two kinds of radicalism are inextricably mixed. There is in it a radicalism that springs from love of justice, that attacks the present order because the present order revolts its moral feeling, because it sees harm and injustice done to its fellow-men. But there is also that other kind of radicalism that springs from selfishness, that arouses hatred for the sake of hatred, and indulges in slander and malice. The unprecedented growth of the Socialist party during the last 20 years has fostered this kind of radicalism by attracting doubtful elements who seek only their own selfish ends, and has spoiled even some of those formerly animated by a better spirit. I believe that this is the

chief cause of the defeat of the Socialists. People have realized that the Socialist party is unworthy the cause it stands for. Its haughtiness showed that its heart was not sound, and its pride revealed its weakness. The general voice is that it was the arrogance of the Socialist party that caused its defeat. People have got disgusted with its rude attacks upon the guilty and the innocent alike, and have resolved to deal a blow at its pride. It is bad that this means a blow at radicalism too, but things had developed in such a way that any other solution was impossible.

Whether the Socialist party will take home this lesson is still doubtful. But there is no doubt that the socialist movement will remain quite ineffective. Its very success has proved better than anything else the unsoundness of socialism. The larger the Socialist parties grow, the less talk there is about the nationalization of the means of production. It is only to be regretted that so many well-meaning, earnest people are misled by a false ideal, and are wasting their energies in useless palliatives. Now they must see the result of their labor and sacrifices swept away by a caprice of the voters as by a tide of the sea. But such is the inevitable result of efforts based upon a theory that is not built upon the rock of justice.

There have been some voices in the Socialist party who have predicted the catastrophe. For some years past the right wing of the party under the leadership of Mr. Bernstein has been trying to reform its platform and to lead it away from the Marxian doctrine. Their efforts have been in vain. They were voted down by the worshipers of success who could not see any faults of their own. If they will see them now remains to be proved.

Whilst the right wing in the party has been suppressed, the left wing has not been satisfied. A little group of its most radical believers has been for some time very harshly criticising its tactics. They accuse the party of keeping its ideals too much in the background. They point to the fact that the institution of private property which socialism designs to abolish, is, in spite of the growth of socialism, as safe as ever before. The spoil of politics is, in their opinion, debasing the party, and it is therefore necessary to keep out of politics altogether.

GUSTAV BUESCHER.

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Papa: "Karlchen, look what you have done; upset the inkpot all over my desk."

Karlchen: "Yes, papa; Anna wasn't looking after me properly."—Meggendorfer Blatter.

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"Such reasoning," said General F. D. Grant, in a military argument, "reminds me of the reasoning of old Corporal Sandhurst. Corporal Sandhurst was one day drilling a batch of raw recruits. 'Why is it,' he said to a bright-looking chap, 'that the blade of your saber is curved instead of straight?'

"'The blade is curved,' the recruit answered, 'in

order to give more force to the blow.'

"'Nonsense,' said the corporal. 'The blade is curved so as to fit the scabbard. If it was straight, how would you get it into the curved scabbard, you idiot?' "—Rochester Herald.



# **NEWS NARRATIVE**

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

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

Week ending Wednesday, Feb. 27, 1907.

#### Mayor Dunne Renominated by Acclamation.

The circumstances of Edward F. Dunne's renomination for Mayor of Chicago (p. 1109) cannot fail to interest wherever there is any public concern regarding the all-absorbing questions of municipal government. He has had no political capital whatever, except that on all hands he is recognized as an honest man, and that in the face of enormous difficulties he has honestly tried to redeem his public pledges and to be an efficient official. All the leading politicians and all the newspapers have been against him. He is without political skill and has had no skilled politicians to guide him, if certain estimates of friends and foes alike are true. On the other hand he has been actively opposed by ex-Mayor Harrison, and only grudingly and dubiously supported by Roger Sullivan, both of them skillful Democratic politicians, and by the Victor F. Lawson newspapers, which have been more active in trying to influence the Democratic than the Republican nomination since the Republicans have concentrated upon Mr. Busse. Yet Mayor Dunne received an enormous party majority over ex-Mayor Harrison at the primaries on the 21st, which were extraordinary in the large number of votes cast, and at the party Convention on the 23d he was renominated by acclamation.

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Not only has Mayor Dunne been unanimously renominated, not by the consent of party managers, not through caucus bargains, but by leading the rank and file of his party on questions of principle—not only this, but his robust platform of principles and policies has been adopted. Some difficulty was encountered in the platform committee, but, like the opposition to his nomination, it soon melted away, and the platform, too, was accepted by unanimous vote. It is a declaration which appeals to democratic Democrats in municipal politics wherever in the Republic their homes may be, for Chicago is but a type of the city struggling for democratic progress. We therefore give it in full:

The Democratic party of the city of Chicago, in convention assembled, makes the following declaration of principles and policies on the questions most vitally affecting the city at the approaching municipal election:

We congratulate the citizens of Chicago upon the record and achievements of the present Democratic administration in the management of municipal affairs.

It has reduced the price of gas to 85 cents from \$1 per thousand cubic feet, and caused the enactment of a fair gas-meter inspection ordinance.

It has reduced water charges to consumers to a uni-

form rate of 7 cents per thousand gallons, and abolished discriminations favoring large corporate interests as against the householders of the city.

It has reduced telephone rates to \$125 per annum from \$175 for unlimited service, and in proportion for limited service.

It has reduced the price of electric light over 25 per cent.

It has increased the number of policemen and firemen and correspondingly increased the efficiency of both the police and the fire departments.

It has stamped out the sale of decayed and diseased meats and other unwholesome foods.

It has established an effective inspection which has abolished short weights and measures previously used to defraud the people.

It has exterminated the crime breeding resorts in Custom-House place, La Salle and Clark streets and other vicious dives.

It has secured compensation to the city for private use of public space under sidewalks.

It has rigorously, effectively and impartially enforced the building ordinances, thereby protecting the health and life of the people.

It has secured the enforced collection in the past year alone of over \$2,000,000 from corporations and estates hitherto evading just taxation.

It has appointed nonpartisan and public-spirited citizens to the Board of Education, thereby eliminating political pull, abolishing one-man power and causing an effective investigation of the frauds in school land leases.

The Democratic party is unalterably pledged to municipal ownership of all public utilities, to the end that service for the whole people rather than profit for a few shall result from the operation of all public necessities.

Progress in the achievement of this great end has been made by this administration to the point of providing for funds, through Mueller certificates, for the purchase and equipment of the traction properties, and the Mueller law and the certificate ordinance have been brought to a hearing before the Supreme Court, after being sustained in every particular in the lower tribunal.

Pending the action of the court on the Mueller certificates this administration entered into negotiations with the traction companies to secure rehabiliation of the lines after agreement for an immediate purchase price. In the course of these negotiations the traction companies, backed by the stock-jobbing interests of New York and Chicago, made unreasonable demands upon the city, and finally secured from the Council, over the veto of Mayor Dunne, ordinances that are so drawn as to make municipal ownership practically impossible.

These ordinances are now before the people on referendum and should be voted down.

Pretending on their face to provide for municipal ownership, they are in fact private franchises for twenty years or more.

Pretending to enable the city to purchase on six months' notice, they in fact provide for a cash price many millions in excess of the authorized amount of Mueller certificates necessary for such purchase.

Pretending to divide profits of operation with the city, they in fact afford no assurance whatever of any income therefrom.

By means of construction profits under principal contracts and sub-contracts they would make possible an enormously excessive price for purchase by the city.

By authorizing unlimited contracts for power they would enable the companies to saddle upon the city in case of municipal purchase the obligation of contracts with private power companies at any price and for any length of time.

They are so drawn as to make it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the city to secure a reduction of fares while the companies remain in possession.

They are so drawn that operating rights cannot be

transferred to any other profit-making company, however favorable its offer in low fares may be, without the payment of a heavy peralty.

Much was conceded by the administration during the negotiations for the ordinances, with a view of making a peaceful settlement, enabling the city to municipalize at any time upon reasonable notice. These concessions were reasonable if that object could have been accomplished; but, under these ordinances as submitted to the people, municipal ownership is practically impossible. For this reason the Democratic party condemns the ordinances and urges the people to defeat them at the polls.

The Democratic party irrevocably pledges itself and its candidates to the principle of the referendum. Whatever may be the will of the people as expressed at the polls must be executed faithfully by their representatives. Should these ordinances be approved by the people, notwithstanding their dangerous character, we must have public officials who will steadfastly guard the people's rights therein. If, however, these ordinances are defeated by the people, we must have public officials who will prevent the enactment of other franchise ordinances.

In the event of the defeat of the ordinances at the polls, the city should assert its right under the eminent domain act and condemn these properties in the courts. Pending the condemnation of the property and rights of the companies the city should not enter into any further negotiations, contracts or arrangements with the companies, except for the purpose of temporary occupancy of the streets under licenses revocable at any time at the will of the city.

We believe that the people of this city are through with granting franchises to Wall street stock jobbers. We are confident that treating people as cattle for twenty years while piling up great fortunes is not the way to get them to grant another twenty years' power to alien masters so that they may continue to plunder and abuse them. Companies for private profit cannot be trusted to furnish good service under any contract whatever. These companies have furnished bad service heretofore, although they have had long franchise contracts. They are furnishing bad service now, regardless of the rights and comfort of the people. The only way to secure good service is by municipal ownership and operation.

We firmly believe in the right of the public to be freely heard upon referendum on all important public questions, and we most emphatically condemn the amendments to the present "public policy" referendum law recently introduced in the City Council. While seemingly for the purpose of assuring the genuineness and honesty of referendum petitions, these amendments are in fact calculated to make the obtaining of such petitions to the number required by the law utterly impossible. We demand that the percentage of signatures required for such petitions be greatly reduced, and that the results of such referendums be mandatory upon the City Council.

We reiterate our demands for the establishment of small parks and playgrounds in the congested quarters of the city, and public bathing beaches in convenient places on the Lake shore.

We are unalterably in favor of the merit system for the public service, both for entrance and dismissal, and of advancement therein from rank to rank by just promotional rules and regulations.

We believe in maintaining a police force adequate to the needs of the city, and demand that it be properly housed and decently treated, and that it be divorced from politics.

We reiterate our demand for home rule in Chicago on matters of local concern, and insist that all citizens

should have the largest measure of personal liberty that may be compatible with peace and good government.

We oppose the granting of any further franchises or privileges to the Union Loop. This loop has become a tremendous obstacle against the development of the city, and should be removed from our streets as soon as this can be legally accomplished.

We demand that the water power of the drainage canal shall not be granted to private persons or corporations, but that it be preserved for the general use of the municipality, and that any legislation necessary should immediately be sought in the legislature whereby this valuable public utility may be preserved for the general purposes of the city.

We favor the speedy construction of a system of subways which would be owned and operated by the city.

In submitting this platform to the voters of Chicago the Democratic party invites the co-operation of citizens of all parties who approve its declarations. And as a guaranty to them of our own good faith we present for their suffrages as our candidate for Mayor, a citizen who is conceded by all to be an honest man and one whom we confidently commend as having proved himself in the best sense an efficient as well as honest Mayor.

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Immediately after his nomination, Mayor Dunne went to Birmingham, Ala., for a few days' rest between the primary and the election campaign. He returned on the 27th.

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The Independence League of Chicago.

At a meeting of the Independence League (pp. 655, 722) on the 25th the nomination of Dunne was endorsed and the traction settlement condemned in resolutions which declared:

During his administration as Mayor of Chicago Edward F. Dunne, now the nominee of the Democratic party for re-election, has made a clean, straightforward and consistent record in favor of municipal ownership, supported by a majority of pledge-keeping aldermen. He has stood firmly for the rights of the people to finally pass upon whatever street railway legislation might be had, and in so doing has relied not upon the bosses but upon the masses of the people for support; therefore, be it resolved by the Independence League of Chicago, that it hereby indorses Mayor Dunne and pledges its support as an organization and the individual support of its members to his re-election and to the defeat of the proposed ordinances and the immediate institution of condemnation proceedings; and, be it further resolved, that the League condemns the fifty-seven recreant members of the City Council who in violation of their pledges opposed the referendum and voted to pass the traction ordinances over the Mayor's veto. The League denounces such betrayal of political honor and personal manhood. The importance of the issue is supreme. Shall the people have the final word in all matters affecting the giving away to private individuals or corporations of, vast franchise rights worth millions of dollars, or shall those rights and values remain the subject of barter between boodling aldermen and corrupting millionaires, with no power in the people to stay the hands of their corrupted servants?

The same resolutions described the issue as involving "the question of public ownership of public property, or the private ownership of public officials."

The central committee of the League on the following day, the 27th, adopted an aldermanic pledge to be submitted to every aldermanic candidate, with

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the understanding that the League will oppose all who refuse to sign it. The pledge is as follows:

I, ...... candidate for alderman from the ...... Ward of the city of Chicago at the city election to be held Tuesday, April 2, 1907, agree to the following stated principles, and pledge my sacred honor to the following course of action should I be elected as such alderman, to-wit: (1) I agree to stand for the principles of municipal ownership and the referendum on all questions involving the granting of a franchise to any private person, persons, firm or corporation, to own or operate any public utility; and I pledge myself to not vote for any ordinance granting a franchise until the same shall have first been submitted to a vote of the people and approved by them at a public election held for that purpose. And this pledge I understand to particularly apply to telephone, electric and gas franchises. (2) I agree to stand for the principles of municipal ownersip and the referendum as applied to the present street railway question. In the event of the failure of the people to approve the present proposed traction ordinances at the election of April 2, 1907, I pledge myself to oppose in every way, by voice and vote, the granting of any street railway franchise to any private person, persons, firm or corporation; and I pledge myself to vote for and advocate the immediate institution of condemnation proceedings under which the city shall take over and own said railway properties. (3) I condemn the present proposed traction ordinances, and I pledge myself to oppose them openly during the present campaign and at the polls at the election to bhe held Tuesday, April 2, 1907, with my own vote and by public advocacy against their approval and adoption by the people.

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#### The Republican Candidate for Mayor of Chicago.

Republican primaries were held in Chicago on the 25th. There was no opposition to Fred A. Busse (p. 1087) for Mayor. The convention will be held on the 2nd of March.



#### The Traction Referendum in Chicago.

Preparations for the referendum campaign for and against the pending traction ordinances (p. 1110) are reported daily. To the application of the Real Estate Board to the Federation of Labor to join in the campaign for the ordinances, the Federation replied on the 21st, through its Secretary, E. N. Nockels, who in the course of his reply said:

It is scarcely necessary to remind you, gentlemen, that we have common streets, common schools and breathe a common air, and that the winds that waft this atmosphere are impartial winds, and carry the disease contracted in our street cars, spread in our schools and diffused in our streets, into the palaces of the people you represent as dexterously as they do into the hovels of the people we represent. So that here, at least, we can appeal to the self-interest of the people you represent to join with us in the suppression of disease-a common enemy. But this cannot be done by giving new franchises to speculative corporate thieves, for we have tried that and failed. . . You express your willingness to "co-operate with us in any possible manner to bring about results." As we feel that you wrote this in all sincerity, we respectfully urge that you lay the matter before the rank and file of your membership for an honest expression of opinion, and, if in their judgment it is possible for us to get together under the circumstances, we shall be delighted to hear from you.

Under the auspices of the Real Estate Board and the Commercial Association, on the 26th, the "Citi-

was organized, with Frederick Bode as president. On the other side, the Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employes are raising a fund by assessment of their membership, to oppose the ordinances, and in this movement they have the support of the Federation of Labor. The general organization to co-operate with organized labor in this campaign against bad service and for municipal ownership has not yet been completed.



By a decision of the Election Commissioners on the 21st the three-headed petition for referendum (p. 1062) was declared invalid, on the ground that the "public policy" law contemplates only one question for each petition—three questions and three petitions in all. The rejected petition presented three questions on one petition. This decision leaves but one question for the people to vote on, namely, whether the traction ordinances shall or shall not become operative.

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#### The Traction Question in Cleveland.

No conclusion of the negotiations for the purchase of the traction system in Cleveland by the "holding" company of the city (p. 1040) has yet been reached. Meanwhile the fares on the expired franchise lines and on the new lines are three cents. Mayor Johnson was reported in the newspapers of the 23rd as having on the 22nd said in explanation of the 3-cent fare movement:

I am pleased with the virtual victory the three-cent fare has obtained, merely because it is a big step toward what I really want-that's free street cars. Eventually I hope to see them as free to the passengers as the air they breathe. I have fought for three-cent fare because it is two cents nearer nothing than is five cents. Street cars ought to be as free as elevators. Fares used to be collected on bridges and turnpikes, but such tolls have a mediaeval sound now. So will street car fares some time. A proper system of taxation would yield sufficient funds to operate street car lines without burdening the people. With free cars the working man could choose his home where he would. Congested districts would disappear. And the conductor-he would n't have to spend his time dodging through the car. All he'd have to do would be to stand at the rear and help ladies up and down the steps. I operated a free system once. That was in Johnstown, Pa., after the flood. We had to run free because no one had money. But people didn't ride unless they needed to ride. There was no wonderful rush after something for nothing.

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#### The Traction Question in Washington.

In the District of Columbia, which is locally as well as nationally under the government of Congress, there is also a traction question. In one of its phases this question has recently been before the lower house of Congress. The principal debate occurred on the 11th upon a bill granting a franchise to a street railway company. The District of Columbia committee had recommended the bill with a 5-cent fare and six tickets for 25 cents. Representative James of Kentucky offered as an amendment a provision that the fares on all street car lines in the District shall not exceed three cents. In support of his amendment Mr. James said:

You are endeavoring to regulate the railroads of the



country. Commence by regulating petty larceny in the District of Columbia. Commence on behalf of the laboring people of the District of Columbia, and say that while you are willing to regulate railroads throughout the country, that this class of robbery shall not be permitted within your sight here under the swish of the flag of the Republic itself. I am informed that these roads originally cost per mile \$60,000. To-day they are capitalized at \$600,000, and on that \$600,000 of capitalization they declare a decidend of 6 per cent. I do not believe that any sane man will dispute the proposition that they can carry passengers for three cents each in the District of Columbia and make money, and a very great deal of money at that. In the city of Cleveland, Ohio, they have a three-cent rate, and I believe there they have the best street car service in the world. But let Washington start the fight. Let this Congress start the fight in favor of a lower transportation rate. Start it right here in the District of Columbia.

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These remarks were greeted with loud applause, which was repeated when Champ Clark supported the amendment with the statement that:

It has been demonstrated—it is no longer a question to be debated—that a three-cent fare in a great city is a good thing for the people and a good thing for the street railroads, too, because it increases greatly the number of persons who do the riding. If Tom Johnson never does another good thing while he lives in this world, he deserves a monument as high as Washington's for having forced that gang in the city of Cleveland to accept his theories on this kind of legislation at least.

On the 25th, when the question arose finally, Mr. Madden of Chicago prevented action on it by interposing an objection when unanimous consent was necessary, and the entire bill was defeated by 159 to 86.

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#### Legal Regulation of Railway Rates.

Inspired by the example of the legislatures of other States (p. 1114), the legislature of Illinois became active on the 21st on the subject of 2-centa-mile railroad fares. A bill was reported out of committee and advanced at once to second reading. It was intended to advance the bill to third reading in the House on the 26th, and pass it on the 27th; but on the 23rd it encountered the objection that by compelling poor as well as rich roads to reduce fares to 2 cents it was inelastic. Since then it has been settled that "no precipitate action will be taken."

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In Minnesota (p. 1164) the 2-cent-fare bill was passed by the lower house on the 21st by 115 to 1. The Nebraska bill (p. 1114) passed the lower house by 90 to 0 on the 21st, and having already passed the Senate only awaits the signature of the governor to become a law. The Indiana Senate bill (p. 1114) passed the lower house on the 21st by 87 to 0; it has since passed the Senate and been signed by the governor. The Iowa House bill (p. 1114) was adopted by the Senate on the 26th with amendments which were immediately accepted by the House.

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#### Mr. Harriman's Disclosures.

General interest has been excited by the disclosures of railroad financing methods made by E. H.

Harriman before the Interstate Commerce Commission at New York on the 25th. Mr. Harriman testifled that he and his associates—George Gould, James Stillman and Mortimer Schiff,-in the spring of 1900, bought 97 per cent. of the stock of the Chicago & Alton railroad, paying \$200 per share for 34,722 shares of preferred, and \$175 for 183,224 shares of common stock, amounting to \$39,008,600. They then bought the St. Louis, Peoria and Northern for \$3,-000,000, thus bringing their total investment up to \$42,008,600. They immediately issued \$22,000,000 of new 31/2 per cent. bonds, which they divided among themselves. After changing the name of the company from "railroad" to "railway," they issued additional stock to the amount of \$19,439,000 preferred and \$19,542,000 common, thus increasing the capitalization to \$74,989,500. In 1904 they sold 103,431 shares of Alton to the Union Pacific, of which Mr. Harriman was president, for \$89,002,375-\$46,994,775 more than the entire investment had cost them four years before, without counting either the dividends meanwhile received by them or the bonds they had issued and appropriated.

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#### Acquittal of Shea the Teamster.

At the second trial at Chicago of Cornelius P. Shea and ten other organized teamsters (p. 1066) for conspiracy to injure the business of Montgomery Ward & Co. by means of an alleged blackmailing labor strike, the jury rendered a verdict of acquittal on the 21st. On the first ballot the jury stood 10 to 2 for acquital, on the second 11 to 1, and on the third unanimous. After the acquittal the informer witnesses who had pleaded guilty to the indictment and "turned State's evidence," were allowed to withdraw their pleas of guilty.

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#### The Initiative and Referendum in Texas.

A constitutional amendment for direct legislation is now pending in the Texas legislature. It was introduced by Representative Cable on the 15th and provides that:

The legislative authority of the State shall be vested in a legislature to be styled the legislature of the State of Texas, consisting of a Senate and House of Repretatives, but the people reserve to themselves power to propose laws and amendments to the Constitution and to enact or reject the same at the polls, independent of the legislative assembly, and also reserve power at their own option to approve or reject at the polls any act of the legislature. The first power reserved by the people is the inlative, and not more than 8 per cent. of the legal voters shall be required to propose any measure by such petition, and every such petition shall include the full text of the measure so proposed. Initiative petitions shall be filed with the Secretary of State not less than four months before the election at which they are to be voted upon. The second power is the referendum, and it may be ordered (except as to laws necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace. health or safety), either by petition signed by 5 per cent. of the legal voters, or by the legislature as other bills are enacted. Referendum petitions shall be filed with the Secretary of State and not more than ninety days after the final adjournment of the session of the legislature which passed the bill on which the referendum is demanded. The veto power of the Governor shall not extent to measures referred to the people. All elections

on measures referred to the people of the State shall be held at the biennial regular general elections, except when the legislature shall order a special election. Any measure referred to the people shall take effect and become the law when it is approved by a majority of the votes cast thereon and not otherwise. The style of all bills shall be, "Be it enacted by the people of the State of Texas." This section shall not be construed to deprive any member of the legislature of the right to introduce any measure. The whole number of votes cast for Governor at the regular election last preceding the filing of any petition for the inlative or for the referendum shall be the basis on which the number of legal voters necessary to sign such petition shall be counted. Petitions and orders for the initiative and for the referendum shall be filed with the Secretary of State, and in submitting the same to the people he and all other officers shall be guided by the general laws and the act submitting this amendment until legislation shall be especially provided therefor.

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#### Memorial Meeting for Ernest Crosby.

A memorial meeting for Ernest Howard Crosby (pp. 966, 1020) is to be held at New York, in Cooper Union, on Thursday evening, March 7. Among those in charge of the meeting are: W. D. Howells, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, John Burroughs, Samuel M. Clemens (Mark Twain), Hamlin Garland, Bliss Carman, Prof. William James, Horace White, Jane Addams, William Ordway Partridge, Edwin Markham, Dr. Felix Adler, Booker T. Washington, Moorfield Storey, William Lloyd Garrison, Henry George, Jr.; Justices John W. Goff, Martin J. Keogh. Samuel Seabury, and John Ford; the Revs. Ernest M. Stires, Father Ducey, Leighton Williams, Charles P. Fagnani, J. M. Mellish, I. K. Funk, and W. D. P. Bliss; Lieut. Gov. Chanler, Edward M. Shepard. George Foster Peabody, Tom L. Johnson, and ex-Governor Garvin of Rhode Island. The committee also includes representatives of the Social Reform Club, People's Institute, Manhattan Single Tax Club. Anti-Imperialist League, Whitman Fellowship, Filipino Progress Association, East Side Civic Club, Nurses' Settlement, Outdoor Recreation League, Society for Italian Immigrants, Vegetarian Society, Emerson Club. Dr. McGlynn Memorial Association, Brotherhood of the Kingdom, University Settlement, Brooklyn Central Labor Union and the Central Federated Union.

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#### The Santo Domingo Treaty Ratified.

The Santo Domingo treaty, sent by the President to the Senate February 12 (p. 1089), was ratified by the Senate on the 25th by a vote of 43 to 19, one more vote than the required two-thirds. In the debate, according to the report of the Chicago Record-Herald:

Senator Bacon of Georgia charged that the administration was being made the cat's-paw of American capitalists who control the Santo Domingo Improvement Company, which is to receive about 90 per cent. of the face value of its claims, while all other Dominican debts are to be scaled down 50 per cent, of their face value. Mr. Bacon expressed the belief that a large part of the debts were fraudulent, and that in providing for the payment without opportunity to adjust the claims, the United States is adding graft and participating in placing an unjust burden on the Republic. The sale of 5 per cent. bonds to the amount of \$20,000,000, payable in fifty years, which is a part of the plan of settlement provided by

the treaty, Mr. Bacon said, makes the United States responsible for the collection of the revenues for fifty years and has the effect of establishing a protectorate over the Republic. The worst feature, Mr. Bacon said, was the precedent established by the treaty. He believed it would be the ground for similar proceedings in relation to other West Indian Islands, and that it would extend to take in practically all of the Central American states. "All of these countries," he said, "have debts they would like to settle in this manner."

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#### War in Central America.

Nicaragua and Honduras are in the midst of a lively little war (p. 1115). Each country disclaims responsibility for the belligerency, and charges the other with invasion. The proposed intervention of the United States and Mexico (pp. 1092, 1115), Guatemala, San Salvador and Costa Rica, is declared to have been initiated too late to be effective. Nicaragua seems to have the lead in winning battles and capturing towns.

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#### The Transvaal Elections.

Under the constitution granted by the British Parliament and King Edward in December (p. 896), the Transvaal has held its first elections, with the result that, though the English population outnumbers the Dutch, the Parliament is to have a strong Boer majority. This result, unexpected to the rest of the world, was brought about by an alliance of the African born English colonists with the Boers. making common cause against the English born who, representing the imperialistic tendency, have crossed seas to exploit and govern South Africa. The Cleveland Plain Dealer thus analyzes the political forces of the Transvaal: "There are at present four parties in the Transvaal, three of which are composed of English speaking men. The leading party is called the Progressive, and is representative of the mine owners, merchants and professional men. Directly opposed to the Progressive party is Het Volk, the Boer party, representing the farmers and the Dutch speaking element of the country. Were the line drawn distinctly between these two parties the English would have won easily. But there were other elements to decide the issue. The second English party, the Nationalist, composed of native born colonials, and an English Labor party joined forces with Het Volk and voted and worked for the Dutch nominees. The result was an overwhelming defeat for the English brought about by English votes."

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#### The Socialists' View of the German Elections.

That under present electoral apportionment the Socialists are not properly represented in the Reichstag, was claimed on the floor of the Reichstag by Dr. Bebel, the leader of the Socialists, in a debate on the 26th. Dr. Bebel declared that if there were a proper distribution of seats the Social Democrats would be in possession, not of 43, but of 117 of them. He asserted, moreover, that the elections had proved that every third man in Germany over the age of 25. was a Social Democrat.



#### Russia.

Elections to the second Douma (p. 1115) continue to increase the strength of the radicals. The total number of members elected up to the 22nd was 410, with 108 yet to be elected. The returns up to that date have been tabulated as follows:

Monarchists 75
Octoberists and Moderates 35
Progressives 23
Constitutional Democrats (Cadets) 74
Members of the Left
Nationalists 40
Indefinites 11

Counted in the party of the "Left" are members of the "Group of Toil," Social Democrats, and Social Revolutionists.

From the twenty provinces now suffering from famine (pp. 872, 1090) pitiful conditions are reported. Scurvy, "ergotism" from eating rotten grain, and other diseases caused by malnutrition, combine with insufficient warmth through lack of fuel, to produce extreme misery as well as lingering death. There is wide complaint of the misuse of Government relief, one form of abuse being the use of the rations by local officers to influence the elections. In addition to the issuance of rations by the central Government, the Zemstvos and the Red Cross organization maintain free kitchens at which hundreds of thousands of persons are fed.

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## Canada's Resources in the North.

A great petroleum field, perhaps the greatest in the world, has been described to a special committee of the Canadian Senate sitting at Ottawa, in the course of an inquiry respecting the Hudson Bay route, and the resources of the North. The oil region is reported as lying between the Athabasca river and the Peace river, in the Province of Athabasca. This portion of Athabasca lies north of the Province of Alberta and east of the northern half of British Columbia.' The reports included statements in regard to "the greatest gas well in the world," situated at Pelican Portage. The Government here had sunk a hole 860 feet deep when testing for oil eleven years ago. Boring was suddenly stopped by a great rush of gas, which subsequently took fire and has been blowing out and burning continuously ever since. Mr. Elihu Stuart, superintendent of forestry, testified that on the Slave river. near Fort Norman, he had passed a bank of burning coal about twenty miles in length, which Mackenzie had reported burning in 1789, and which has been burning ever since. Alleged American designs on the territory north of Canada, up to the Pole, has been a subject of discussion in the Canadian Senate, and a motion has been before the chamber asking for announcement that the time has come for Canada to make formal declaration of possession of all lands and islands situated in the north of the Dominion, and extending to the North Pole.

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One reason why we, as a people, roll in wealth, is that we haven't had time, as yet, to find out anything better to do with it.—Puck.

## **NEWS NOTES**

- —The question of woman suffrage was debated in the Italian Chamber of Deputies on the 25th.
- —Ex-President Grover Cleveland delivered the Union League Club oration at Chicago on Washington's birthday.
- —The engagement of Tom L. Johnson's daughter, Elizabeth Flournoy Johnson, is reported, her flance being Frederico Mariani, of Milan, Italy.
- —Otto Goldschmidt, the husband of Jenny Lind the great singer, died in London on the 25th, at the age of 78. Mme. Goldschmidt died in 1887.
- —By a vote of 163 to 14 the lower house of the State legislature of Massachusetts voted on the 20th to take the word "male" out of the Massachusetts election law.
- —Reed Smoot, the Senator from Utah and a Mormon apostle, was retained in his seat in the United States Senate on the 20th by a vote of 42 to 28 against expulsion.
- —Another earthquake shock was reported from Kingston, Jamaica, on the 22nd, the heaviest since the great earthquake of Jan. 14 (p. 995). Many damaged buildings collapsed.
- —Senator Bailey has been acquitted by the Texas legislature of charges of corrupt relations with the Standard Oil Trust (p. 1016). The vote was 16 to 11 in the Senate and 70 to 40 in the House.
- —Somewhere between \$175,000 and \$200,000 was stolen from the United States Subtreasury at Chicago some time during the third week in February. All the money taken was in bills of denominations running from \$1,000 to \$10,000.
- —The immigration bill, the bill which contains the Root amendment controlling the entry into the United States of Japanese coolie labor from other countries used as half-way stations (p. 1113), was signed by the President on the 20th.
- —Harry Pratt Judson, dean of the faculties of arts, literature and science at the University of Chicago, was elected to the presidency of the university on the 20th, in succession to President William Rainey Harper, who died January 10, 1906 (vol. viii, p. 674).
- —A proposed constitutional amendment giving women the right to vote at all elections, which was defeated in both houses of the California legislature on the 19th, was reconsidered on the 20th in the Assembly, and adopted by the required two-thirds vote.
- —The Senate of Nebraska adopted a joint memorial to Congress on the 20th in favor of an amendment to the Federal Constitution permitting women to vote. The vote on adoption was 16 to 16, and Lieutenant-Governor Hopewell decided in favor of the memorial.
- —A dozen of the English woman suffragists (p. 1112) were released from prison on the morning of the 20th, and subsequently were entertained at luncheon by their associates. Much enthusiasm was aroused by the reading of congratulatory messages from the woman suffrage leagues of New York, and from the National American Woman

Suffrage Association in session in Chicago (p. 1111). A number of the English woman suffragists have arranged for a demonstration in Hyde Park on Sunday the 3rd, when their grievances will be voiced in prayers and hymns.

—In the case of George W. Perkins, charged with larceny in contributing life insurance funds to the Republican national committee (p. 206), the court of appeals of New York decided by a vote of 4 to 3 on the 26th that the act was not criminal, although all the judges held that it was illegal.

—An amendment to the Philippine agricultural bill, declaring it to be the purpose of the United States to abandon the Philippines as soon as a stable government is established, offered by Senator Culberson of Texas, was defeated in the United States Senate on the 25th, by a vote of 39 to 18.

—James Bryce, British Ambassador to the United States (pp. 921, 1042), arrived at New York on the evening of the 20th, and at Washington in the afternoon of the 21st. He was presented to the President by the Secretary of State on the 25th. Mrs. Bryce accompanies Mr. Bryce to Washington.

—That the New York Central railroad and its vicepresident, Wm. J. Wilgus, be held responsible for the wreck on the Harlem division of the road on Feb. 16 (p. 1116), was requested of the coroner's jury by Mr. Smith, Assistant District Attorney. That Mr. Wilgus might be heard, the jury adjourned until the 1st. The number of the dead in this wreck is now put at 23.

—John F. Stevens, appointed chief engineer of the Panama Canal on June 30, 1905 (vol. viii, p. 218), resigned the position on the 26th. The President announced on the same day the abandonment of the contract plan for the Canal, and the transferrence of the responsibility for the construction of the Canal to the engineering branch of the army. The Canal Commission is to be reorganized, with Major G. W. Goethals as Chairman and Engineer in Chief.

—The Cherokee Nation is soon to go out of existence, and a bill is before the United States Senate authorizing the Keetoowah Society, composed of full-blood Cherokee Indians, to purchase from the Nation the Cherokee Advocate, the official newspaper of that tribe. The Advocate, printed in the Cherokee language, has been distributed free, by the Nation, to the fullbloods, and has been the only paper that most of them have taken, or could read.

—The statistics of imports and exports of the United States (see p. 1021) for the month ending January 31, 1907, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for January, were as follows (M. standing for merchandise, G. for gold and S. for silver):

G.	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
	\$1,129,662,956	\$809,730,207	\$319,932,749 exp.
	17,541,885	96,246,059	78,704,174 imp.
	32,286,738	24,171,901	8,114,837 exp.
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\$1,179,491,579 \$930,148,167 \$249,343,412 exp.

—The Rotterdam mail steamer Berlin, running from Harwich, England, to the Hook of Holland, at the mouth of the River Meuse, the port of Rotterdam, was wrecked in the early morning of the 21st, while entering port. After many hours of bitter suffering eleven survivors of about 140 persons, pas-

sengers and crew, were rescued by the heroic endeavors of lifeboat men. Among the passengers were 19 members of the German Opera company, who had just finished a London engagement. Three of the women were among the saved.

—The Pennsylvania Special, an eighteen-hour train running from New York to Chicago, was wrecked at Conemaugh, 18 miles east of Johnstown at midnight on the 22nd. No one was killed, but a large proportion of the passengers were badly cut and bruised. That there were no fatal casualties is attributed to the fact that the train consisted only of Pullman coaches. An experiment with steel ties at a curve, is believed to have caused the accident. Fred A. Busse, Postmaster of Chicago, and Republican candidate for mayor (p. 1087), was among the injured. Mr. Busse was cut and painfully bruised, but is expected to make a quick and complete recovery.

—A remarkable theater fire story comes from Cleveland. According to a press dispatch of the 22d the "Gay Morning Glories" were forced to sing at the Empire Theater on the afternoon of that day, though "the place was on fire and the auditorium was filled with smoke. Although the cry of fire was raised the spectators refused to be panic stricken and wouldn't budge from their seats. Announcement was made from the stage that the place was afire, and it was suggested that the audience should retire in order. The people wouldn't go out, and when the smoke became so thick that the stage could not be seen from the last ten rows the holders of seats there moved up."

# **PRESS OPINIONS**

THE POWER OF THE REFERENDUM.

Pittsburg Leader (ind.), Feb. 20.—We have "gray wolves" in Pittsburg Councils just as they have in Chicago Councils, and we can make them as harmless here as they were made in Chicago when they attempted to sell out the people of the city to the Morgan street rallway monopoly.

#### ♣ 4

WHERE MAYOR DUNNE HAS NO CREDIT.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Feb. 27.—The police force was enlarged last year, but Mayor Dunne deserves none of the credit. The money for the payment of additional patrolmen was obtained by the raising of the saloon license to \$1,000. When the increase was proposed for the express purpose of increasing the police force, Mayor Dunne refused to lift a finger in its behalf, though it seemed as if it might not get through the Council without his aid.

THE CHICAGO CAMPAIGN.

The Chicago Conservator (Negro), Feb. 16.—In spite of the cowardly Councilmen who obey the trust newspapers and rich corporations and not the will of the people, Dunne will be Chicago's first four year term Mayor. Every decent, free Negro voter in the city will vote for him. . . . If Postmaster Fred A. Busse is nominated for Mayor of Chicago, not one decent, self-respecting Negro should support him. A man who, while exercising the functions of a high office like that of the Chicago post office goes out of his way to publicly insult whole Negro race solely on account of color, under the pretext of protecting white women employes of the

post office, should be fought at the polls by every man, woman and child of the race.

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#### MAYOR DUNNE'S TRIUMPH.

Chicago Examiner (ind.), Feb. 25.-It was a more or less reluctant Democratic convention that nominated Mayor Dunne to succeed himself, that spoke for the referendum, for condemnation of the traction lines, and that unsparingly denounced the traction ordinances. The organization was in the hands of machine politicians who gave only a half-hearted support to the convention's final position on the main issues. They would have nominated one of their own kind for mayor if they had dared. These politicians realized that they faced which on the main issues stands firmly for the people's will. That is why they allowed the convention to stand for popular rights, and to name the only candidate who represented the people's interests as against those of corporations and office brokers. The voice of the people was unmistakably heard, and the spoilsmen, bosses and would-be traitors ran to cover. The convention will go down in local history as a strong and cleancut declaration of popular rights, in spite of the reluctant bosses. The nomination of Mayor Dunne was inevitable to save the party from wreck. The leaders had the grace to realize that with Dunne as their candidate the campaign must be waged on the issues that made Dunne the logical choice. Hence the platform, which on the main issues stands firmly for the people's rights.

#### THE RENOMINATION OF MAYOR DUNNE.

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Chicago Inter Ocean (Rep.), Feb. 24.—The nomination by his party for a second term as mayor of the Hon. Edward F. Dunne is a tribute to his political honesty and sincerity. Mayor Dunne believed that theories of the manner in which local transportation should be organized and conducted were right. He pledged his faith to them, obtained his election on that pledge, and lived up to it. It is hardly necessary for The Inter Ocean to say that it does not believe in municipal ownership of street railways or in E. F. Dunne's theories. The Inter Ocean has consistently opposed municipal ownership as impracticable and as a dangerous centralization of governmental power. Furthermore. The Inter Ocean warned the people when the municipal ownership agitation raged and the Mueller bill was rioted through that the "reform" newspapers and the "reform" which were then clamoring for municipal ownership were not for municipal ownership. They were using municipal ownership merely as an issue to win on and to get themselves fat jobs and power to deal with traction capitalists to their personal advantage. It was obvious that they would be against municipal ownership when the time came to put it into actual practice. Time has proved the truthfulness of The Inter Ocean's prediction. These "reform" interests, groups and newspapers are now all against municipal ownership. They are fighting for their lives and pocketbooks against it. But in trying to fool the people all the time they sowed the wind and are now reaping the whirlwind. In a vain effort to divert the storm they themselves raised they sought to foist upon the Democracy of Chicago Carter Harrison, a candidate who stood for nothing, in place of Edward F. Dunne, who, however deluded, went right along the road he promised he would go. Mayor Dunne is an impractical man. His theories are not good for this community. But he is at least a consistent man, and as between him and Carter Harrison his party prefers to reward him with the nomination for mayor.

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#### INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION.

The (London, Eng.) Tribune (Lib.), January 8.—The text of the treaty between Great Britain, France and

Italy respecting Abyssinia, published to-day, serves to remind us how steadily the causes of conflict outside Europe are disappearing. No part of the world offered quite so promising a field for the discords and appetites of Europe as did the Africa of a generation ago. And the countries that are concerned in this latest agreement were particularly subject to these heartburnings and jealousies. Bismarck's diplomacy, playing on the suspicions of Italy and the impatience of France, had cleverly contrived to surprise the two Latin democracies into a quarrel over Tunis, and in Egypt the conflict between French memories and English claims seemed to threaten a permanent constraint. In West Africa, again, ten years ago nobody heard of the moving of an outpost without trembling for the peace of Europe. To-day these fears haunt us no longer. Italy, by a splendid display of generous common-sense, has agreed to forget old grievances. and she is now a cordial ally in the work of French colonization. In West Africa, in Egypt, and in Morocco our relations with France are governed by sincere and amicable treaties, which represent a genuine good-will. and not the truces or compromises of diplomacy. And these treaties are not like those old bargains under which the old world agreed to distribute the right to plunder the new. They are agreements which make the European powers better neighbors to the races of Africa. as well as to each other.

## IN CONGRESS

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

Washington, Feb. 18-24.

#### Senate

Private legislation and appropriations occupied the attention of the Senate on the 18th. The case of Senator Smoot, of Utah, was under consideration on the 19th (p. 3,334), and considerable private legislation was enacted. On the 20th the case of Senator Smoot was again under consideration (p. 3,462), and upon the question of his expulsion the yeas were 28 and the nays 42 (p. 3,471). After this, currency legislation was discussed until recess, and at an evening session appropriations were under consideration (p. 3,476). The 21st and 22d were devoted to appropriations, and on the 23d, in addition to considering appropriations, the Senate again discussed the currency bill (p. 3,784) and listened to speeches in memory of the late Senator Alger (p. 3,791).

#### House

The conference report on the immigration bill was discussed (p. 3,284) and adopted (p. 3,295) on the 18th, and on the 19th the time of the House was occupied with private bills and appropriations. Appropriations for postal purposes and legislation regarding the mails were discussed on the 20th, and appropriations principally again on the 21st. The 22d was devoted to appropriations and private legislation, and the 23d to appropriations. On the 24th a Sunday session was held for addresses in eulogy of the late Senator Alger.

#### Record Notes.

Speech of Senator Smoot, of Utah, on his right to his seat (p. 3,335). Speech of Senator Beveridge in defense of Senator Smoot (p. 3.871).

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"Our imitation is really considerably better than the real thing." "You don't say! Then hadn't we better begin cautioning the public to beware of the genuine?"—Louisville Courier-Journal.



# RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

#### HARK TO THE CRY!

Katrina Trask in the Craftsman of January, 1907.

Hark to the Cry! Death passes by. Death on his charger fleet and pale, Death with his cruel remorseless flail. He rattles a laugh as he rides fast, At the empty show of class and caste.

Hark to the Cry! Death passes by. Now who is serf and who is lord, When Death on his charger rides abroad? Peers of the realm-and waifs of the street Tremble at his relentless feet.

Hark to the Cry! Death passes by. King and Commoner, side by side, One in poverty, one in pride-The fustian cap and the royal crown-Low on the sod must both lie down.

Hark to the Cry! Death passes by. And they who work, and they who scorn-The millionaire and the fag forlorn-Cringing in terror before Death's power, Are beggars together for one more hour.

Hark to the Cry! Death passes by. The haughty lady in gems and lace Forgets her boast of caste and place, She grips the dust with her serving-maid-Naked, shuddering, sore afraid.

Hark to the Cry! Death passes by. And the plous dame who turned away From her fallen sister yesterday, Is buried with her in the ditch. Death, mocking, murmurs "Which is which?"

Hark to the Cry! Death passes by. The arrogant pedant of many schools Mumbles wild jargon with the fools. What does he know but a dying moan, When he goes with the fool to the Great Unknown?

Hark to the Cry! Death passes by. He rides on his charger fleet and white, He rides by day, he rides by night, Long and loud is the laugh of Death As he breaks Life's Bubbles with icy breath.

## + GIVE AND TAKE.

For The Public

"Why do you come to me?" said the Millionaire. "I am not to blame for what you gave me. Surely you would not be heartless enough to take it away again. And then you must remember that I am a Captain of Industry, while you are only Vox Pop-

"But," said the Citizen, "we make the laws and can do as we please."

"Laws which I do not like are very apt to be unconstitutional." quoth the Captain.

"But certainly we are entitled to a fair share of what we produce," said the Labor Unionist.

"The trouble is you have produced too much," replied the Captain.

"But," said the Single-Taxer, "the value of land is purely social and should belong to society.'

"Those who have the supreme pleasure of basking in the sunlight of my society have all the land they need," rejoined the Captain.

"But the whole system is wrong," said the Socialist.

"You are a revolutionist," hissed the Captain.
"All systems are wrong," said the Anarchist.
"The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away," said the Minister.

ELLIS O. JONES.

## CAPACITY OF THE FILIPINOS FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT.

From the Manila Independencia of Jan. 2, 1907.

Our enemies say that we cannot have independence because the Philippine nation is not sufficiently civilized or educated. We venture to analyze the nature of the culture or civilization of a nation in this regard. Almost all will agree that a nation is to be reckoned cultured or civilized when it respects order, and when its citizens respect the laws and respect each other.

From this point of view the Philippines are one of the most civilized countries on earth. There are towns in the Philippines, such as Cinagaran in Western Negros, where one chief and four policemen suffice for 15,000 inhabitants. Order is maintained there. All work honestly for their living according to their means; some cultivate the cocoanut trees, others are fishermen, others till the fields, and there is one policeman for each 5,000 inhabitants.

The capital of Iloilo with its large area and more than 60,000 souls, has only 65 policemen, and most of them are in the city proper, the port, with its many foreigners and large transient population,one policeman for a thousand people; and similar conditions prevail in most of the other cities.

For the seven and a half million inhabitants of the Philippines there is only one Supreme Court, in Manila, and its docket is in direct ratio to the limited number of policemen, showing that no more are needed because as a rule there are so few disturbers of the peace.

On the other hand, such civilized countries as France make a different showing. There are sixty policemen to every ten thousand inhabitants of Paris, or in other words, six thousand of its inhabitants are policemen. In spite of this excessive number, the person who made the attempt on the life of Alfonso XIII and the President of the French Republic came near making his escape. The attempt on the life of the King of Spain at his wedding was almost successful, though there are forty policemen to every ten thousand inhabitants in Madrid. Matters are scarcely better in London. In Washington there are thirty-seven policemen to every ten thousand inhabitants. In spite of all the precautions, President McKinley was murdered and

two other presidents have been killed in that civlized country, the United States.

Here in the Philippines there are no such tragedies, and yet we are considered as relatively uncivilized. Let it be acknowledged that among the mass of the Filipinos there are many who cannot read nor write. We venture to assert that if in an atmosphere of education men are reared like Civil Engineer Morrals, who tried to kill Alfonso at his wedding, or the would-be assassin of the President of the French Republic, or the wretch who murdered President McKinley-we would rather have our own people with its limited present education than one which breeds such vermin. We give the palm to a poor devil of a Filipino who, half naked, climbs his cocoanut tree to gather his fruit honestly, which he sells to maintain his family, rather than to a civil engineer who speaks four languages but manufactures a bomb and assassinates many innocent persons in trying to blow up a boy king. We would rather see our humble Filipino in his hut, ready to invite any passing stranger to share his hospitality and join him in his poor meal, than the rich owner of a hotel who refuses to receive the weary traveler simply because he happens to be of another race, not to mention the impossibility that he would condescend to share a meal with a dark-skinned Filipino anywhere.

If civilization means respect for law, love of order and inclination to work, regard for charity and hospitality, the Filipino nation possesses these and many other of the virtues which fit people for independence.

#### ERNEST HOWARD CROSBY.

For The Public.

Crosby, thou are gone!

A sweet true voice is taken from the scanty choir Of those Heaven-appointed singers

Sent to hymn to men traveling through the night, Lest they forget the day,

And so cease to labor and to pray for morning.

Thou wast clay moulded for this office.

Once the night seemed day to thee, our civilization The full blown flower of time;

But sitting midst thine honors and thy wealth the voice came

That showed thy treasures false,

And our vaunted age but a necessary night on the road

Then thou didst arise,

And shaking from thee honors, dull respectability and cant.

In glad renunciation,

Thus setting thine own life to music, went thence forward by

The open way of truth, turning aside for none,

And by the despised but joyous path of frank and simple Brotherhood.

Few understood thee.

Men called thee pessimist, destroyer, one sick and soured by dreams.

Blinded by the worship of their baser selves.

They saw in thee a menace to their ignoble good, and they held thee

Half in contempt, half in dread and awe,

Thus consecrating thee to the Prophets' noble fellowship.

Crosby, thou art gone!

But we are strong, for thou didst sound the universal truth,

And it is ours as it was thine.

Thy song will swell into a chorus till all earth confess it, And then passing on,

We will hear thy voice again, farther up among the hills of God. JESSE S. DANCEY.

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#### "WE HAVE NOT REALLY LOST THEM."

Address of Frank Stephens at the Lincoln Dinner of the Women's Henry George League, New York, February 12, 1907.

There lies a little city leagues away; Its wharves the green sea washes all day long. Its busy sunbright wharves with sailor's song And clamor of trade, ring loud the livelong day.

'Twas long ago the city prospered so; For yesterday a woman died therein: Since when the wharves are idle fallen, I know, And in the streets is hushed the pleasant din. The thronging ships have been, the songs have been. Since yesterday it is so long ago.

Since yesterday it is so long ago. Ernest Crosby, Hugh Pentecost, Malcolm Macdonald-yesterday they were with us, living and working with us, so that we were strong in their lives and in their work. To-day, "Behold your house is left unto you desolate," so desolate that the greatness of the loss makes long the days of it. Since yesterday it is so long ago.

Yet we recall these men, and speak again among us these names to which no man will answer more. Not that we may mourn for them—they have fought a good fight, they have finished their course, they have kept the faith. I speak of them not to regret, not to grieve over their going. It is for this only—that we who have yet a little time to labor may realize how brief it is, and, as it passes, how much more worth doing than all else, is the work they did, the work to which we have set ourselves, the work for which this League is banded together.

This that they and we have chosen, is to labor for the freedom of the race. It is the same work for which we honor Lincoln, that for what he saw of it "as through a glass darkly" he wrought manfully; the same for which we honor above all men the Prophet of San Francisco who, looking into the perfect law of liberty, continued therein.

These things let us who follow where they led, keep in mind always. First, this teaching from the wisdom of Herbert Spencer, that though the utmost a man can do to alter unjust social conditions is very little, yet that little is worth all it costs to do it. And then this also: that we are in no way responsible for the accomplishment of results.

If the bringing to pass of results were our affair, the power that through the awakening of men moves the world to good, to that far-off divine event toward which the whole creation moves, would not have taken from us these strong, devoted men whom we have lost. We are responsible only for doing all that we can toward the results-each individually, as though he worked alone, against the world, instead of working, as thank God we do, among the goodliest company of noble men whereof the world holds

record. The result is not the less certain and worth working for because we may not see it. Ours is a faith that in such times as ours must be only the substance of things hoped for, only the evidence of things not seen.

In the world about us, commercially—and the world about us is in the main a commerce, a selling of the minds of men, the bodies of women and the souls of children—commercially, socially and politically things do not go as we would have them.

Over and over again has the standard of Truth and Justice been raised in this world, over and over again it has been beaten down, oftentimes in blood. If they are weak forces that are opposed to Truth, how should Error so long prevail? If Justice has but to raise her head to see Injustice fiee before her, how should the wail of the oppressed so long go up?

And yet the result for which we labor will come,—will come so surely that we may close our eyes upon our labors certain of that result and that the wisdom of this choice of our life's work is justified already.

As I grow older, as I realize the bitterness of failure in that which I have tried to do, the weary barrenness of political effort, of crying out to those who will not hear, and of pointing the way to blind leaders of the blind, I have my own dream of how that not unwelcome mustering-out will come. The one only reform work that I really love for the work's sake is, with all deference to your several judgments, the colony work. And when our fields at Arden have grown their crop of men and become the village of our dreams, I picture there a village church, maybe like that at Stratford or of Gray's Elegy, and there the end and peace.

To rest beneath the clover sod That takes the sunshine and the rains, Or where the kneeling hamlet drains The chalice of the grapes of God.

Maybe it will come so, or maybe it will come as George has written,—"In penury and want, in neglect and contempt, destitute even of the sympathy that would have been so sweet, how many in every country have closed their eyes." Fall as it may, this life is only, as he said, the avenue and vestibule of another life. We do not really lose our lives. We have not really lost these men who have gone from us. They have not really gone.

So without regret and without bitterness, let us consecrate ourselves to the service in which they They have deserved well of the Republic. If the Spartans, holding courage and the endurance of pain to be the highest virtue, did well to bury with all military honors the women who died in childbirth, then no man has merited more glorious memorial than these our brothers who elected to bear in their own bodies the sins of the world and themselves, to suffer with the birth pangs of the new civilization for which the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain. And the highest tribute, that which we can render without waiting for the tardy recognition of a world that still stoneth the prophets and killeth them that are sent unto it, is emulation. The road they trod is open even to us. That cry of the oppressed and him who hath no helper, which led them on, rings in our ears by day and night. That which they achieved is possible to us, even to the end, even to the "Well done, good

and faithful servant," even to die beloved as we love them. What more could man ask for the living of this life or the passing into another?

And in this hope and faith let us go from to-night's meeting to take up again the mighty work we have in hand,—joyous in the certainty of its final success.

Good gentlemen, look fresh and merrily. Let not our looks put on our purposes, But bear it as our Roman actors do, With untired spirit and formal constancy; And so, Good Morrow to you, every one.

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# THE FUTURE OF THE LAND QUESTION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Editorial in the London Tribune of January 7, 1907.

We are afraid that English people generally are not very much interested in Scottish Bills. This is partly the fault of Scotsmen themselves, who have been so remarkably successful in keeping all local legislation practically in their own hands; partly of the inferiority of the Southron intellect, which fails to grapple with the legal terminology and many subtle distinctions wherein the countrymen of Hume and Hamilton move with ease. Hence it may be thought that the findings of the Select Committee on the Land Values Taxation (Scotland) Bill\* are not a matter of the highest interest. Yet these findings are of very great importance for the future work of the present Parliament. They raise questions on which much of the policy of the Government in the immediate future must turn, and they will certainly be heard of often enough in the coming. session. The future of the Liberal Party, it is not too much to say, turns on its capacity to deal successfully with the problems of social reform. The time is gone by when the gifts of civil, religious, and political freedom could exhaust the programme of a great party. The Liberal Government have done something and have yet to do more, in securing freedom. But their work will not in the end pass muster with their supporters if they cannot also do something towards a solution of the pressing problem of poverty. Now, there is great divergence of opinion as to the roots of poverty. Some find it a necessary outcome of the struggle for existence. Some hold that in our free industrial system it is mainly a question of character, and that those who deserve to get on have no difficulty in raising themselves above the level of want. Others at the opposite extreme declare that the poverty of the masses is but the reverse side of the wealth of the few, and that as long as the means of production are in the hands of private people the masses will always be poor. Others, again, occupying an intermediate position maintain that the source of economic evils is in monopoly, and that the two remedies for monopoly are either free competition or public ownership.

Thus, so far as monopolies and any property capable of being monopolized are concerned, the two last-named groups, differing widely in other respects, come to a working agreement. Questions of landed property in particular interest both groups alike, and here, accordingly, it seems most hopeful to secure united action on the part of those who believe

<sup>•</sup>See The Public of December 29, 1906, page 920.



that the State has a duty in relation to the problems of poverty, and can by wise legislation do something towards their solution. With the ownership and tenure of land many of the practical questions of most urgency are seen to depend. They affect, for example, the question of urban housing, which is at bottom resolvable partly into a question of space, partly into a question of transit. They affect the movements of population and the overcrowding of the towns from quite another side, for the depletion of the rural districts is a consequence of the failure of the peasant to find a career worth having in the country, and this, again, is due in very large measure to the present system of land tenure, which tends to maintain the divorce between the laborer and the They ultimately affect all problems of local The development of urban areas, for example, to which active bodies would naturally devote themselves, is hampered by the consideration that the benefits received will largely flow into the pockets of private landlords, who, in proportion as a neighborhood is improved or is brought into connection with a great center, snap up a great deal of the general benefit by charging higher rents for house accommodation. Indeed, by perfecting its tramway service a great town may find that, financially, it has been working mainly to raise the rents and assessments outside its own area, while within its boundaries they may even be diminished. A just system of land taxation is therefore, to begin with, a requisite basis for progressive municipal government. It is also a condition precedent of any extended measure of land purchase, for, if all land should justly be taxed at a different rate from that at present levied on it, the amount of this taxation ought to be settled before bargains are struck by a public authority. Once again it is held that an improved system of taxation would tend to bring land into the market whether for the public or the private buyer. Advocates of the municipal ownership of land would give the landlord the right to sell to the municipality upon the assessment made by them, both as a simple means of protection to the owner against exaggerated assessment and as a means whereby more land may come under public control. Further, the owner who finds himself taxed on his land irrespective of the improvements which he has made on it has a strong inducement to make the best possible use of his land, or part with it to those who can do better. Lastly, by the taxation of the site the present heavy tax on buildings may be reduced, if not in the end abolished.

These are some of the points in the case for the taxation of site values which has been reinforced by the findings of the select committee. This committee, over which Mr. Alexander Ure presided, recommended, indeed, the rejection of the actual bill before them, because it appeared to combine two irreconciliable proposals. But taking a wide view of their reference, they proceeded to consider and report on the questions which they justly held to underlie the bill of which the chief is the separate assessment and taxation of sites and the improvements made thereupon. They go at length into the question whether this separate valuation is possible. They decide, we think rightly, that it is, and to give effect to their decision they propose as the next step a bill for the separate valuation of land in Scotland.

#### Publishers' Column

# The Public

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

Familiarity with The Public will commend it as a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing. Published weekly by The Public Publishing Company, First National Bank Building, Chicago, Ill.

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# FOR RE-ELECTION MAYOR EDWARD F. DUNNE

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

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY First National Bank Building, CHICAGO

both in burghs and counties. We hope to see this bill passed next session, but we hope to see it for England and Wales as well. It is the first step to any far-reaching land reform. Without it we are all more or less in the dark on the land question. Arguing with hypothetical figures, we can show the general tendency of the financial change proposed. We can see, for example, that the separate rating of the site must tend to reduce the rate on buildings. But how much this tendency is worth, what proportion, taking the country over, its site value bears to its improved value, how the proposed reform would affect overcrowded towns, and how it would apply in rural districts are questions which we cannot know until we can replace the hypothetical figures with real figures. We can push this valuation, and we can push a preliminary measure for the development of small holdings in the coming session. But we cannot adequately grapple with the ramifications of the land problem till the results of the valuation are known.

# **BOOKS**

#### A NEW BOOK ON THE TARIFF.

Second Review (See p. 1076).

The Tariff and the Trusts. By Franklin Pierce. The Macmillan Co., New York. Sold by The Public Publishing Company, First National Bank Building, Chicago. Price, \$1.50, postage 12 cents.

In the last chapter of this book, which curiosity led me to read first, I found words that seemed perhaps overstrong in indignation. "Our democratic government," says the author, "needs to-day leaders burning with indignation and horror at the injustice of this legalized robbery of the people. We need agitators like Garrison and Phillips, like Cobden and Bright, who hate in their hearts and with all the loathing of their souls this cruel injustice." seemed strong words, and yet when one turns back and reads the book through, he will see that the words are not too strong. There was a good eye to business in the old gentleman of the story who rose in a dilly-dally meeting and said, "O Lord, I pray thee that some of us may get mad." It is indeed hard to see how anyone can read this book through and not feel at the last all the indignation that the author demands.

Since Henry George's "Protection or Free Trade," this is the best book that has appeared on the tariff question. One cannot but wish that like George's great work it could be put through the Congressional Record in piecemeal and as widely distributed. Chapter III, on "American and English Shipping," might be sent to congressmen for enlightenment on our shipping industry. Chapter IV, on "Protective Tariffs and Public Virtue," might be sent to Good Government clubs and Civic Federations. Chapters V, VI, VII, containing Talks to Manufacturers, Laborers, and Farmers, might be sent to these respectively. Chapter VIII, "Our Tariff History," might be sent to the teachers of history in the colleges. And selected passages from the last three chapters might be sent to the White House.

By and by, in a hundred years perhaps, or, let us

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hope, in fifty, the people will see, and history will show, the vapidness of the reforms proposed by the present administration, which takes itself so seriously as representing a period of reform. A good illustration of the type of reform represented by the present regime is given by the author of this volume in his last chapter. He quotes from the President as follows: "As a matter of personal conviction, and without pretending to discuss the details or formulate the system, I feel that we shall ultimately have to consider the adoption of some such scheme as that of a progressive tax on all fortunes beyond a certain amount."

In other words, as Mr. Pierce shows, the policy is, let the methods continue whereby immense fortunes are gathered into a few hands, and then by special, invidious legislation take some of it back. Cannot the wayfaring man see that this is no truly effective policy? If there be laws, like the Dingley tariff, which foster the concentration of wealth to the injury of the many, how absurd it is to permit the continuance of such laws, and then seek, with great show of reform, to get even by taxing in a special way the fortunes our laws have helped to make! , We have made laws to bring trusts and great fortunes into being, and our reforming White House backs up all such laws; and then we become great reformers, the White House this time being in the lead, and talk great swelling words about laws to punish the trusts and great fortunes.

There is no better page in Mr. Pierce's book than that in which he points out the bad sign of the increasing demand for penal statutes. After drawing a Roman parallel, he says: "In our own country the multiplication of penal statutes has a most ominous foreboding. Some student a thousand or two thousand years from now may be searching among our statutes for a diagnosis of the maladies which destroyed us, just as historians have seen in the Theodosian Code the evidence of Rome's decay. The politicians create the conditions out of which monopolies naturally arise, and then attempt to make political capital with the people by an attack upon the very evil which they have created." It is a very old story, as all students of history may know.

What roarings of politicians have we not heard against concentrated wealth and the dangers of its power? The denunciation has become popular even with many Republican leaders who continue to support a high tariff. The President is one of these. In his salad days he spoke as valiantly as any free-trader against the theory of protection, and yet in his term of office what has he done, or even tried to do, against an excessive tariff? Why roar against excessive fortunes, and at the same time uphold one of the main producers and props of these fortunes?

The inconsistency of such action and inaction cannot fail to be seen by the readers of this book, which puts the case against the tariff in so clear a light that all may see its evils and its injustice. Mr. Pierce has written in a simple and attractive style, and his book should have a large circulation. There are, of course, many voters who are not open-minded on any question, and on no question are many less open-minded than on the tariff question. But yet there are many who happily are still open-minded on this question, in spite of inherited opinions, and

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From the pen of Goldwin Smith have come words of power in the cause of freedom for the bond slave and in the cause of freedom of trade, but he has no clear or strong voice in the present conflict for economic freedom. This brief letter to "a labor friend" conveys no message. It is apparently an attempt to soothe the discontent of labor, but offers nothing toward removing any cause of discontent., Goldwin Smith tells his friend that others suffer as much as he, and that he should therefore be patient in endurance. "Laborers with the brain, as well as laborers with the hand, have their sufferings and their grievances, feel weariness, would like shorter hours and are liable to being underpaid." He states that "the existence of misery on a terrible scale cannot be denied, and must touch the heart of any man who has studied the history of his kind," and then weakly concludes: "We can only trust that this is not the end. But even as things are, there seems reason to hope that the inequality of happiness is not nearly so great as the inequality of wealth."

Goldwin Smith sees that labor of all sorts is essentially the same in economic position, and that labor and capital are necessary to each other, but he cannot see that they are entitled to the wealth they produce, and to have free access to land for the production of wealth. He thinks that "labor is entitled to such wage as the capitalist, allowing for his risk, can afford to give," and that the right to employment cannot "be asserted when no employment offers."

He sees no evil in private ownership of land or land monopoly, and tenancy is to him merely "a share in private ownership under the same legal guarantee as free-hold." He has not a word to say about the possession of wealth by non-producers, or about the exactions by the owners of natural opportunities from the earnings of labor.

He reflects "with sadness on the terrible inequalities of the human lot," but warns his labor friend against adhering to the Single Tax or Socialism, because "this is manifestly an imperfect world," and so on. He wishes labor to be satisfied with the crumbs that fall to it. This book will add nothing to the fame of Goldwin Smith.

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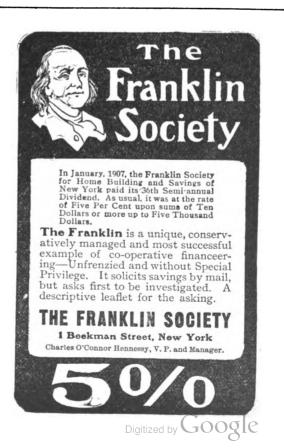
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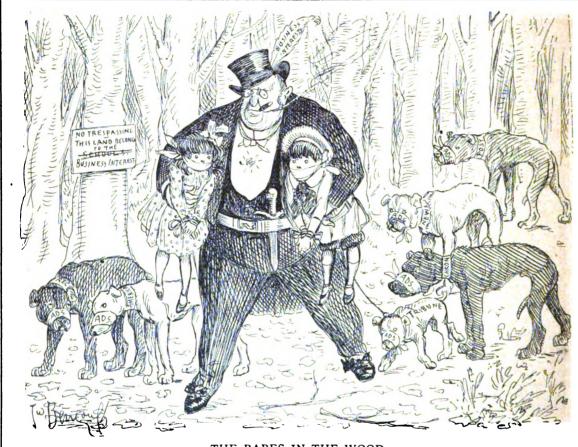
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of child-like affection, sometimes in children and sometimes in grown-ups, which have been lovingly gathered and touchingly phrased by a man of tender thought and broad sympathies. Readers of Bryan's Commoner, of which Mr. Metcalfe is associate editor, will recognize his pen in these tributes to the innocent mind. Their spirit appears in this reflection of the author in one of the essays, "Every tear that falls in sympathy with another's woe, every hand clasp that is meant to assuage another's grief, every word that is given to provide encouragement to one who stumbles and falters on the way, every smile and every cheer, and every sigh and every tear that is the product of our own loving kindness, contributes to the progress of the world, to the advantage of humanity and to the upbuilding of our own precious selves. A man will obtain the best in life when he strives for that condition where thoughtlessness gives way to thoughtfulness, where love for one's self is well balanced with love for one's fel-

+ + +

"What is your idea of the habitability of Mars?" asked one astronomer.

"Well," answered the other, "I don't care much for it as science. But it makes good literature."—Washington Star.

# **PAMPHLETS**

Bigelow on Direct Legislation.

Direct legislation—the initiative and the referendum,-apparently so harmless that the politicians promoted it at first, is proving itself a veritable David in people's politics. When the people can speak directly for themselves, the corrupt day of the misrepresentative representative is done. What direct legislation is where it has been tried, and what are the results, are questions that every citizen needs to know if he would be intelligent; and these questions are briefly answered by Herbert S. Bigelow of Cincinnati. An interesting item in this pamphlet is the letter of Geo. W. Harris, of the Sinking Fund Commission of Cincinnati, which shows how a referendum vote in Cincinnati in 1896, on the question of leasing the Cincinnati Southern Railroad, the property of the city, saved the city \$52,935,000.

Free Speech.

In his will, the late Dr. E. B. Foote, of New York, requested his sons to give generously from the proceeds of his estate to all good movements for the

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maintenance, among other things, of "free press, free speech and free mails," which are not so organized as to be capable of receiving legacies. Pursuant to this request, Dr. Foote's son, E. B. Foote, Jr., has provided for the publication by the Free Speech League (E. W. Chamberlain, President, 10 W. 61st street, New York City), of three essays by Theodore Schroeder of the New York Bar, on the freedom of the press with reference to alleged obscenity. The leading essay, an address made in 1906 before the National Purity Federation at Chicago, is an indictment of pruriency, and a strong and wholesome plea for purity.

"The Great American Fraud."

"Gullible America will spend this year some seventy-five millions of dollars in the purchase of patent medicines. In consideration of this sum it will swallow huge quantities of alcohol, an appalling amount of opiates and narcotics, a wide assortment of varied drugs ranging from powerful and dangerous heart depressants to insidious liver stimulants; and, far in excess of all other ingredients, undiluted fraud." So Samuel Hopkins Adams begins his articles on the Patent Medicine Evil-a series originally published in Collier's Weekly (1905-6) which has been reprinted in pamphlet form by the American Medical Association (103 Dearborn Ave., Chicago. Price 7 cents, postpaid). To say that everyone is personally interested in the facts set forth is to put the case mildly. The pamphlet is the description and record of the systematic drugging of thousands and tens of thousands of our unwitting citizens. It is a history of alcoholism and the various opiate habits, ignorantly begun, insidiously encouraged, and finally resulting in the complete enslavement and ruin of the victim.

# **PERIODICALS**

The second issue of Watson's Jeffersonian Magazine (Atlanta), successor, editorially, to Tom Watson's Magazine (p. 743), has appeared. Both issues are characteristic of a unique man and industrious writer. In the first, Mr. Watson replies to the charges of his former associates with a full history of his connection with the New York magazine, together with his reasons for quitting.

+

In a playful editorial on "Chemistry and Criticism," in The Dial of Feb. 16, Gelatt Burgess's witty classification of human beings as bromides and sulphites in "Are You a Bromide?" is thus elucidated:

Bromides, who are the majority of mankind, "all think and talk alike," their "minds keep regular office hours," and they "may be depended upon to be trite, banal, and arbitrary." They are known by their use of such "bromidioms" as these: "I don't know much about Art, but I know what I like." "I want to see my own country before I go abroad." "Io isn't so much the heat (or the cold) as the humidity in the air." Sulphites, on the other hand, "are agreed upon most of the basic facts of life, and this common understanding makes it possible for them to eliminate the obvious from their conversation." A sulphite is a person who does his own think-

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ing; he is a person who has surprises up his sleeve. He is explosive. One can never foresee what he will do, except that it will be a direct and spontaneous manifestation of his own personality. Hamlet, Becky Sharp, and Mr. G. Bernard Shaw are typical sulphites; examples of equally typical bromides may be found in Polonius. Amella Sedley, and Miss Marie Corelli.

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Sunday, March 10th, Noon—Church of the Redeemer, Cor. Warren Ave. and Robey St., Chicago. Rev. A. Eugene Bartlett, Pastor, 691; Washington Blvd.

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