

# The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

ALICE THACHER POST, Managing Editor

Vol. IX.

Number 466.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MARCH 9, 1907.

## CONTENTS.

### EDITORIAL:

Educating versus Tutoring .....	1153
An Interesting Juxtaposition .....	1153
Municipal Election in London .....	1153
The Dunne Campaign .....	1153
Appropriate Opposition .....	1154
An Altgeld Memorial .....	1154
Free Street Cars .....	1154
Tippling .....	1155
The Destruction of the Poor is Their Poverty.....	1155
Rural Free Delivery .....	1156
The Negro Freeman .....	1156
Attacking the Police "Sweat Box" .....	1157
Corporate Lawlessness .....	1157
The Morganic Grab in Chicago .....	1157

### EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

Australia .....	1161
-----------------	------

### NEWS NARRATIVE:

The Chicago Mayoralty .....	1162
The Chicago Traction Fight .....	1163
The New Chicago Charter .....	1163
Altgeld Memorial Meeting .....	1163
Adjournment of Congress .....	1163
Railroad-rate Legislation .....	1164
The Idaho Murder Trials .....	1164
The Single Tax Idea Among Negroes .....	1164
California Considering an Anti-Allen Law.....	1165
Santo Domingo .....	1165
Canada .....	1165
In the British Parliament .....	1165
The London County Council Elections .....	1165
The Second Russian Douma Meets .....	1165
News Notes .....	1166
Press Opinions .....	1167
In Congress .....	1168

### RELATED THINGS:

Meditation After the Passing of Ernest Crosby (West) .....	1169
A Letter from Tolstoy on Crosby's Death.....	1169
Ernest Howard Crosby .....	1169
The Filipinos Do Not Want the "Wild Tribes" Ex- hibited .....	1169
The Folly of Believing in Luck .....	1170
A Quarter-Century of Catastrophism .....	1171
The God of Clay (verse) .....	1173

### BOOKS:

A Book of Cheerful but Unsound Counsel.....	1174
Pamphlets .....	1175
Periodicals .....	1175

CARTOON: "Hard Sledding" .....	1174
--------------------------------	------

## EDITORIAL

### Educating versus Tutoring.

The New Zealand minister of education, Mr. George Fowlds, speaks of the subject of his de-

partment in a way which confirms belief in his fitness for the responsible office he holds. In a speech on an educational occasion recently he said: "There is one principle that dominates my ideas on education. It is this: Education is intended to bring out, and not to put in. In other words, it is not to be confounded with the cramming of information into the child's head; on the contrary, it is to be judged by its efficiency in drawing out the talent and ability of the children."

+ +

### An Interesting Juxtaposition.

The Chicago charter convention (p. 1110), which has just finished its work, has dealt curiously with the referendum on traction questions. If the City Council passes an ordinance for municipal operation, the ordinance will not be effective *until* approved on referendum; but if the Council passes an ordinance giving away the right of operation to a private company, the ordinance will be effective *unless* voted down on referendum. In the former case, no petition for a referendum is necessary; in the latter, a petition of 40,000 signatures verified by oath and filed within sixty days is required. The apparent purpose is to make it difficult for the city to retain a public right and easy to give it away.

+ +

### Municipal Election in London.

Sophisticated readers of American newspapers will suspend judgment on the meaning of the London election until they get trustworthy information. The American news bureaus of London do not inspire intelligent confidence, especially as their reports are edited in the home newspaper with an eye to deception. Only two things about these elections are as yet certain. They involved a stupendous conflict with corrupt corporate interests seeking public privileges, and the corrupt corporate interests have won. But whether their victory is to be either a valuable or a permanent one for them is still to be ascertained.

+ +

### The Dunne Campaign.

It appears that the Republican machine of Chicago relies upon the popularity of its candidate with the "underworld" for the possible defeat of Mayor Dunne. It is a slender reed upon which to lean. The "underworld" is much overrated by

a certain type of the politicians of both parties. It is overrated as to its size and political influence, and it is often misunderstood as to the motives that determine its action. A case in point was Mayor Johnson's experience in closing the race track in Cleveland. It was confidently predicted then that the "sporting element" would unite against him in politics to a man. The track had been in existence many years, it involved an investment of hundreds of thousands of dollars, it was owned by some of the richest and most influential of "sporty" men, it was patronized by enormous crowds. Consequently the prediction was made that everybody who loved "clean sport" would have revenge upon Mayor Johnson at the polls. But Mr. Johnson's disregard of the laboriously described moral difference between race-track gambling and slot-machine gambling increased his majority. If the "sports" voted against him, their enmity made him other friends. As with so-called "clean sport," meaning rich men's vices, so with "slum sport," or poor men's vices. There is no great influence in either, on a large scale. The fact that Mayor Dunne has closed the obtrusive vice dens of Chicago, and that his adversary's supporters are therefore appealing to the "underworld" in the present municipal campaign, will strengthen Dunne's candidacy. Although pearly pharisee and "sporty" hoodlum affiliate, as in most circumstances they naturally do, and throw their united influence against Dunne's candidacy, they will only the more effectually stimulate the honest sentiment of Chicago to come to the support of this man of whom all are forced to concede, whatever be their criticisms, that nevertheless he is honest.

\* \*

#### Appropriate Opposition.

There is nothing surprising in the opposition of the Toledo Blade, mendacious and virulent, to the candidacy of Mayor Dunne of Chicago. It tunes up in harmony with all the other corporation organs in whatsoever city they are found. Honest voters who may be in doubt about the advisability of re-electing Dunne, might wisely resolve their doubts by considering who and what his enemies are. He is not loved by organs of the predatory corporations.

\* \*

#### An Altgeld Memorial.

Five years have passed since John P. Altgeld died, and the first of what it is hoped may be a long succession of five-year memorial meetings is

to be held on the 10th in recognition of his faithful service to his fellow men. His experience was the same sad experience of all devoted leaders. Lowell described it when he wrote: "And the men they agonize for cast the contumelious stone." Altgeld was most grossly misrepresented, most savagely reviled, most viciously hated by the "safe," the "sane," the "conservative," the purse-proud and the gentle-mannered plunderers of his time. Their parasites joined in the chorus of abuse. But Altgeld stood unmoved throughout, and like all such men he came to be devotedly loved.

\* \*

#### Free Street Cars.

Relative to Mayor Johnson's ambition for free street cars in Cleveland (pp. 1131, 1137), the corporation newspapers have been supplying much humorous comment for the enjoyment of what Raymond Robins calls "the ignorant rich." To one of these vaudeville commentators, a Detroit man makes a serious and instructive reply, which appeared in the Detroit Free Press of the 27th. It tells the whole story very compactly, and ought not to be buried in the "letters to the editor" department of a local newspaper. The letter writer, who signs himself S. G. Howe, says:

Referring to your editorial on free car rides, I would say that this is no new idea with Mr. Johnson. Eleven years ago when he was here acting as manager for the old Citizens' street car line, then owned by R. T. Wilson of New York, I wrote him several letters in criticism of his opposition to Mayor Pingree's cheaper street car proposition. When Mr. Johnson finally responded, he said the ideal system of local transportation was for the people to take the land values which they collectively created, and to use them to pay for transportation service to the outlying districts, the same as the owner of these high office buildings uses the excess of rent, made possible from the rooms on the upper floors, to pay for his elevator service. He said no substantial benefit would accrue to street car patrons from a reduction in fare; that all advantages thus accruing would be capitalized by the landlords and speculative landowners, and would result in higher rents and higher prices for places for homes, and that as long as the railroad company was putting up the money that made these rent and land value inflations possible, his (Johnson's) sympathies, being with the railroad company rather than the landlords, prompted him to see them get their share in higher rates of fare. He said the proper plan of action would be for the city to build, own and operate these street railway properties, when there would be no question as to whose money made these increased land values possible; then, for the city to take these increased land values through taxation, and use a portion of them to maintain and operate the transportation system free. It would seem since that time he has come to believe that the

best way to realize this ideal system is to reduce fares, and consequent earnings on the service, to a point where the earnings cannot each year or two warrant a stock watering, and to the end that the temptation to bribe city officials for the renewal or perpetuation of these special privileges might be eliminated, while we gradually come to the point that the ideal system may be realized. There is a great deal of horse sense and logic, to my mind, in Mr. Johnson's madness.

+ +

### Tipping.

An attempt to pass an anti-tipping law in Missouri was balked last week by the good sense of a Negro waiter. As reported, he quaintly but sanely and effectively said: "How you goin' to quit givin' tips, 'lessen you make everybody quit givin' presents? You can't stop tips, 'lessen you stops Mr. Carnegie givin' libraries. If you goin' pay any attention to the Tubbs bill, you am a-goin' to send one little niggah back to Texas, where they kill off black folks in a hurry and give 'em tips while they lives. A tip's a present. You'se givin' presents, and presents is tips. If you make this law they won't be no Christmases, that's all." The truth about "tipping" is that while it is a deplorable custom, it nevertheless is a custom and will so continue until economic changes give us "more jobs than men instead of more men than jobs." Under such conditions self-respecting men would refuse tips. They would work for no one except for full pay, and getting full pay would reject degrading gratuities. But under existing conditions, men in some occupations are employed at merely nominal wages with the understanding that they shall collect the rest of their wages in the form of tips. An instance is the Pullman car porter. His wages are only \$20 or \$25 or \$30 a month. In his case, therefore, the tips he collects are not in reality tips to him; they are tips to the Pullman company. The same thing is true of waiters. Their wages are lower where tips are abundant than where there are no tips. It is the employer, not the waiter, who gets the tip. Of course this would all be changed if everybody stopped tipping. But everybody will not stop tipping, and any attempt at reforming the tipping habit will in the process operate harshly against the class of employes who are expected by their employers to take tips in lieu of wages.

+ +

### The Destruction of the Poor Is Their Poverty.

Disturbing discoveries of certain conditions in retail stores in Chicago have been made by the Woman's Club for use at the Chicago Industrial Exhibit now about to open. The work, which was

done by Julius F. Wengierski, formerly of the Northwestern Settlement of Chicago, appears to have been carefully and thoroughly done; and as similar deplorable conditions doubtless exist in all large cities this disclosure is of national importance. The district is known in Chicago as "the loop."

+

Department store conditions, so far as they relate to women's work in the rush of the holiday season, formed the subject of the investigation, which covered the period from the first week of last December to Christmas day. While personal observation and interviews were chiefly relied upon, a printed sheet of questions was sent to social settlements where shop girls gather, to the bureau of charities, and to many individuals. Assistance was obtained also from the health department and the State factory inspector. As would be expected, numerous difficulties were encountered. Among these was a reluctance on the part of shop girls to answer questions, due to the fact that their work made them very tired, that they were suspicious, and that they feared being seen by the store authorities giving information about their employment; and in some of the stores girls were told not to answer questions. The employers were hard to interview. Some were seen only after hours of waiting, and then they often asked that a set of questions be left. Most of them answered most of the questions, but only after considerable hesitancy. Some denounced such questions as impudent and refused to answer at all. Others were usually "out."

+

During the Christmas season the women employes of ten department stores numbered 19,377, of whom 626 were under 16 years of age and 18,751 were older. At the most prominent of these stores the smallest wages paid to an experienced girl clerk was \$6.00, and the hours were from 8 and 8:30 in the morning until 6 o'clock in the evening, with from half to three-quarters of an hour for lunch. A great many remained over after six to take care of the stock and make preparations for the next day, but they received no compensation other than fifty cents for supper. This store was lighted almost every night for two weeks before Christmas until after 10 o'clock. There was a lack of stools,—only about one for every ten or more clerks in some departments and in others none at all. Some of the girls employed in this highly reputable store stated that they were not allowed to use the stools until after 5

o'clock, and then they had, as one girl expressed it, "a grand rush for a squat."

\*

Conditions in some of the other stores were similar, though not as good. Hours were the same and the wages scale about the same. In one of them there was a rest-room, but the clerks were allowed to use it only if they had the time left over from their lunch period. In department stores of still another class the conditions were much the same, except that the girls begin as "salesladies" at \$4.50, with pin money (i. e., trifling commissions on sales) during the Christmas season. They worked from 8 o'clock in the morning until 10:30 and 11:30 at night, from December 15th until and including the evening before Christmas. In almost every case it was Christmas day before any of them got home. At first these clerks did not seem to mind working overtime. They were enthusiastic with the hope of making large sales and in that way increasing their commissions. But after a few nights of extra work the strain began to tell. They were furnished with meal tickets or given 35 cents for supper; but they got no other pay, and the time allowed for supper was but half an hour. At these stores a rest and sick room combined was furnished for both clerks and customers; the clerks being allowed to use it only if they had time left over from their lunch period or in case of illness. Lunch rooms were kept in fairly good condition, but there was a scarcity of stools in every store and in some none at all were found behind the counters.

+

In two of the worst department stores in the whole district, toilet facilities were poor, and there was but little ventilation in the basement and the air was bad. The rest-room in one was next to the kitchen, and partitions were so low that steam and kitchen odors were oppressive. The wages paid was from \$4.50 up, including commissions, and the clerks worked overtime as in the other stores without further pay than the price of a frugal supper. Some of the ten stores made a Christmas season gift of \$5.00 to those who had been employed for a year or more in the store, but this reached comparatively few.

+

When the employers were asked whether they thought the low wages they paid were sufficient for self-support, they were doubtful. Unless the clerks were living at home they thought they could not exist upon such low wages, and they estimated

that those living at home were not more than 65 or 75 per cent. Here is a moral which requires no elucidation. How do the employers suppose the remaining 25 or 35 per cent. of their girl clerks who do not live at home manage to exist?

\*

Mr. Wengierski justly describes the holiday custom in the stores he inspected as "The Clerk's Christmas Gift to the State Street Stores," with the addition of this satirical legend: "Pauperizing the Employers." By way of summary he writes: "The clerks in the department stores are required to work overtime without pay during the holiday season. In one department store 3,000 employes worked 4 hours overtime at night, making 12,000 hours, which for 8 nights (December 15-22) equals 96,000 hours. At only 10 cents an hour, therefore, this contribution of labor effects a saving in wages in this store alone of \$9,600." If this is the story of one store, what of all the others? To quote again from Mr. Wengierski, "What is the clerks' Christmas gift to Chicago storekeepers?"

+ +

#### Rural Free Delivery.

A criticism of the rural free delivery of mail matter, which comes to us from a Minnesota farmer, is so much of a novelty, yet so suggestive of possibly sound objections to this postal experiment, that we quote it and invite information and comment. "Much has been said," writes our correspondent, "of the rural free delivery, its benefits and so forth; but the truth is that it is a sop flung in the face of the farmer to blind him. The farmer had no need of it. He takes few papers, and he or his neighbor goes to town nearly every day. I have asked a great many farmers what they would give for the service if they were paying for it directly, and almost to a man they declare they would give nothing. We hated to see our local post offices go, and petitions were circulated and very liberally signed by the farmers for their retention. But it was of no use; the G. O. P. was not complete without the R. F. D. So our post offices were taken from us, and now we have the poor satisfaction of getting our mail across the country by team, while the trains go through our small stations carrying by the mail that we will receive a day or two later."

+ +

#### The Negro Freeman.

"When I left Tuskegee Institute, I did not have money enough to pay my railroad fare," writes one of Booker Washington's graduates of six years ago. He had to sell his text-books for money

with which to pay his way home, and when he got there but five cents remained. After passing through an illness he went to work as a plantation hand at 50 cents a day, out of which he had to pay his board; and after a while he bought a small farm that he has now paid for. He has \$400 in the bank besides. This is his report to the school he left when penniless six years ago: "The place with improvements on it is worth \$1,000. I have built a good house with two rooms and a gallery. My house is painted and has a brick chimney, glass windows and blinds. It is known as the Tuskegee Cottage. With one horse last year I made ten bales of cotton, 150 bushels of corn, together with potatoes and peas, and I have a fine garden." There may be nothing great in this, but it is one of the things that give prophetic color to magazine disquisitions that now and then demand that the black race be kept down lest it blot out the "great white race." With the multiplication of black men like this one, power will in time surely come to the American Negro. Were that day ever to dawn, how would the American Negro use his power? Would he try to enslave and degrade the whites, as they did him in the day of their power and his weakness, or would he try to co-operate with them on the level of a common humanity?

\* \* \*

**Attacking the Police "Sweat Box."**

What judges and grand juries everywhere and long ago ought to have done, some members of the Illinois legislature are now trying to do. They are struggling to secure legislation against the police "sweat box" (p. 603), that brutal device for extorting confessions from alleged criminals. It is cruel and criminal in its methods and untrustworthy in its results. Pumping water down a prisoner's gullet may force him to say what lazy detectives want him to say, but what he says is as likely to be false as true. To turn a glare of light into his eyes so that he cannot sleep will hardly produce a better effect. Even to cross-examine him in prison surroundings with no friends near, or to wheedle him, or to frighten him with gruesome tableaux, is not calculated to further the ends of justice. Yet all these things and worse belong to "sweat box" procedure. The courts should stamp it out without waiting for the legislature to re-enact existing law. When a man is arrested it is his legal right to be taken at once to the nearest magistrate, and to be questioned only by the magistrate, and after being warned that he may refuse to answer, and that if he does answer his answer will be used against

him. But it has become a common practice for police officials to hold prisoners in custody for days at a time before taking them before a magistrate, and meanwhile to subject them to cruel physical abuse and to questioning without warnings of their rights.

\* \* \*

**Corporate Lawlessness.**

After suffering from wretched water service these many years, the city of San Francisco is now proceeding against the Spring Valley Water Company to forfeit its franchises for refusing to reduce water rates as required by law. The right to forfeit in such cases is secured by the State Constitution, but the company is fighting in the courts, and confident predictions are made that the Federal judiciary will not allow a forfeiture. Just how public service corporations can be compelled to perform their duties to the public, whether required by law or fixed by contract, is as yet one of the unsolved mysteries.

\* \* \*

**THE MORGANIC GRAB IN CHICAGO.**

I.

The latest attempt to Morganize the street railway systems of Chicago (p. 1110) will come to trial before the people at the municipal election on the 2nd of April.

This contest between the municipalizationists and the stock-jobbing corporationists of Chicago, affects and interests intelligent men and women wherever they may live, for Chicago is for the time the storm center of an agitation for municipal rights against corporation privileges which is yearly advancing and strengthening in every wide-awake American city and town.

\* \* \*

But for the honesty and steadfastness of Mayor Dunne, the people of Chicago would have had no voice at all in determining this momentous question.

The same newspapers, the same politicians, the same "goo-goo," the same professional men and financial interests that now command the people of Chicago to vote for the Morganic street car ordinances, did all in their power to prevent a referendum.

Indeed, they supposed they had prevented it even when the City Council yielded at last reluctantly and grudgingly to Mayor Dunne's demand. For only sixteen days then remained in which to secure the 87,000 signatures required as a condition of allowing the question to go to

referendum; and they supposed, as they had good reason to suppose, that so large a petition could not possibly be secured in so short a time.

Thanks to Mayor Dunne, however, not only was the Council forced at the last minute to grant the referendum, but the 87,000 signatures, with nearly 100,000 to spare, were secured in time. Mayor Dunne has performed his part with honesty, fidelity, courage and efficiency. It remains now for the people of Chicago to do theirs.

## II.

One objection that has been raised to the ordinances is not valid in the form in which it is usually put.

Inasmuch as the city would be obliged to pay \$50,000,000 twenty years hence for franchises and tangible property now existing but which long before twenty years will have no existence, it is argued that the ordinances will require the city to pay at the end of twenty years for what will then be "dead dog." This plausible contention is not tenable in so far as it raises no other question than that of a deferred payment. If the city ought to pay \$50,000,000 for the franchises and tangible property if it purchases and pays now, it ought to pay that sum with interest if it purchases now but does not pay now. The fact that the franchises will have expired by average in seven years, and that most of the tangible property will have gone into the scrap pile in hardly more than that many months, makes no difference either to the companies or to the city. The property will be "dead dog" in twenty years whether the city pays for it now or then.

The real question here is not whether the city ought to pay \$50,000,000 when the property has ceased to exist, but whether it ought to pay that sum at all. In other words, the question is whether the sum itself is extortionate for property consisting partly of old franchises that will soon expire and partly of old plant and equipment most of which is to be immediately discarded.

If the city were by this enormous payment to rid itself of all further vexatious association with the traction companies, the payment might be considered as an exorbitant yet on the whole an economical price for peace.

But that is not the case.

Should the ordinances be adopted, the companies will be more than ever like an old man of the sea on the back of the city of Chicago.

+

For the city would probably be unable, even at

the end of the 20-year franchise which these ordinances grant, either to resume possession of its streets itself or to induce any private corporation to compete with the present companies for possession, on the burdensome terms imposed.

At the end of the twenty years the companies could, by the terms of the ordinances, hold fast to the streets for traction purposes until they were paid the \$50,000,000 for "dead dog," plus the cost of rehabilitation. Estimating rehabilitation at \$35,000,000, we have an aggregate price of \$85,000,000, which for 700 miles of track would be more than \$121,000 a mile. At this price, and only at this price, could the city itself get possession of its streets at the end of the twenty years; and only at this price could it turn them over to any other corporation than the one that is demanding them now.

After twenty years of possession and use, then, the Morgan company would be able to extort \$121,000 a mile—over \$70,000 a mile more than their worth,—as the condition of letting go of the city's streets.

+

In that fact we have a consideration that points to the true objection to paying the companies \$50,000,000 for "dead dog" at the expiration of the ordinances.

During all this period of twenty years the companies will have received 45 per cent. of the net profits of operation.

What for?

Not for financing; that is provided for by a brokerage of 5 per cent.

Not as compensation for management; that is provided for in operating expenses, which include salaries and fees of officials, attorneys, experts and other employes, big and little and whether of brain or brawn, from day laborer to president and board of directors.

Not for superintendence of construction; that is covered by a commission of 10 per cent. on construction contracts.

Not for sub-superintendence; that is provided for by a further commission of 10 per cent. on sub-contracts.

Not for interest on capital; that is covered by an interest charge of 5 per cent.

Not for repayment of capital expended in keeping the plant and equipment up to standard after rehabilitation; that is to be paid for out of gross receipts.

Not for capital invested in rehabilitation; that must be repaid before the city can regain possession of its streets, be it in twenty years or fifty.

Not for the \$50,000,000 valuation of "dead dog"; that too must be paid to the company to enable the city to regain possession of its streets.

What, then, is the consideration which the city is to receive for the 45 per cent. of net receipts that the companies are to retain?

Are we told it is profit for risk? But that would be absurd. This is no new or doubtful enterprise, and there is no risk. Even if there were, it would be the city's risk under these ordinances, and not the company's; for the streets of the city would be mortgaged to the company until it had been reimbursed for everything from "dead dog" to lawyers' fees.

Is it a share of partnership profits? A one-sided partnership, indeed, would such a partnership be. The company would contribute \$50,000,000 in "dead dog," and possibly as much more in money for working capital; the city would contribute the monopoly of its streets, by far the most valuable part of the "partnership" fund. But the company would draw 5 per cent. interest per annum on its investment, "dead dog" and all, and a brokerage fee of 5 per cent. on its cash contribution, besides full compensation for superintending construction and operation. The city would draw no corresponding payment. Yet the company, after taking 45 per cent. of net profits, would at the end of twenty years be entitled to payment in full not only for its cash investment but also for its \$50,000,000 for "dead dog"; and the city could not get back its streets, even at the end of that long time, without paying that huge sum.

So the 45 per cent. of net profits is nothing but a gift. There would be no consideration for it at all, unless it were to scale down the \$50,000,000 for "dead dog," and that it is not to do.

In this particular the ordinances are manifestly unfair. Nor are they merely unfair. They place the city in such a position that, in order to regain control of its own streets for traction purposes at the end of twenty years, it must pay the company, in addition to unearned profits during that time, the sum of \$121,000 a mile for 700 miles of traction plant worth not half as much.

### III.

It is highly significant that a piling up of obstructions to city acquisition of the traction system characterizes these ordinances. Not only are the terms so adjusted that even after twenty years the city cannot eject the Morgan companies without paying an enormous price, but the possibilities

of taking over during the term are reduced to a minimum.

+

The system cannot be taken over by the city without the payment to the Morgan syndicate of the full price of \$50,000,000 and the cost of rehabilitation, in cash. While these sums would aggregate, at the least, \$85,000,000, the city has no cash resources in excess of \$75,000,000. Consequently, the city would be unable to take over until a further issue of Mueller certificates had been authorized.

This would require affirmative action by the City Council and a popular vote on referendum.

As long as the city is not required to pay more for purchase than the authorized issue of Mueller certificates, it would be to the interest of all concerned to induce the Council to act if further expenditure were necessary for good service. But these ordinances would invest the Morganites with an enormous financial incentive to thwart such action.

So long, therefore, as they could control enough aldermen to give them a bare majority of the Council, they could prevent the authorization of more Mueller certificates, and thereby prevent purchase by the city.

The fact that the Morganites refused to consent to such a change in the ordinances as would provide that the aggregate expenditures should never exceed the Mueller certificates then authorized, is a strong indication that they contemplate utilizing this means to perpetuate their hold upon the city streets.

+

Another hold which these ordinances give the Morgan ring is the clause that prescribes the conditions of purchase by the city. Even if the city gets over the obstacle of insufficient cash resources for purchase, it will not be allowed to purchase except for municipal operation—a purpose for which it has no legal authority.

Why is that condition made?

The Morganites say it is made because Mr. Morgan doesn't want the Chicago traction service turned over to some one or other of his financial enemies. But this is not a sufficient reason. It is no affair of the Morganites whether the city takes back its streets to operate traction service on them itself, or to transfer them for that purpose to another licensee, even to Morgan's financial enemy, provided the city pays the Morganites the full amount of their investment and profits.

There is but one reason for the stubborn insistence by Morgan's lawyers upon imposing this

absurd condition of purchase. The city cannot acquire the right to operate until the City Council passes an operative ordinance and the people adopt it by a three-fifths vote. So long, therefore, as the companies can prevent action by the Council they can hold fast to the streets.

Under no circumstances should such a condition of purchase be permitted. There is no just reason for it from the standpoint of the company, and from that of the city it unnecessarily raises up an enormous pecuniary interest against an operation ordinance. Whenever the people sought such an ordinance they would have to fight the company, which could defeat them in the Council with a bare majority and at the polls with only two-fifths of the vote.

+

But, it is replied, the city may take over without operating authority, by adding 20 per cent. to the purchase price.

Why should the city be so penalized?

If it were to have no right whatever to take over, the argument might be made that this 20 per cent. penalty is to offset the company's surrender of a share in future profits. But inasmuch as the city may, without the penalty, take over for municipal operation, that argument falls to the ground. Since the company would lose its future profits were the city to take over for operation, it cannot reasonably argue that it is entitled to compensation for those profits if the city takes over not for operation.

+

It must be observed, however, that provision is made for turning over the property to a "contract" or "trustee" or "pro bono publico" company, for the benefit of the city, without the penalty. If this right were secured beyond reasonable doubt, it might well be regarded as a satisfactory adjustment. But is anything secured by it but vexatious litigation?

The "pro bono publico" company is required to enter into "a valid and binding contract" with the city. But can the city make "a valid and binding contract" with a licensee company for the purpose here contemplated.

Whether in the end it be held by the courts that this can be done, the question would afford the companies as good an excuse for long and vexatious litigation as they once derived from their trumped-up 99-year claims.

If there had been no other way of adjustment, this danger of litigation might have had to be met. But there was another way. It was to re-

fuse the demand of the Morgan men that the city either operate or pay a 20 per cent. penalty, or else not take over at all. With that unfair demand thrust aside, the city could have been free to resort to a "pro bono publico" company or not, and thereby save the necessity of making "a valid and binding contract" that may frustrate its purpose.

Nor is danger of litigation the worst feature at this point. The provision for a "contract" or "trustee" or "pro bono publico" company is so drawn as to be a bare pretense. Under it the city would be wholly unable to promote the organization and operation of such a company by buying the property with the proceeds of Mueller certificates. The "pro bono publico" company itself must buy from the franchise company; the city cannot buy for it and lease to it.

At every turn in the direction of municipal ownership, these ordinances hamstring the city.

#### IV.

Reflection upon the stupendous obstacles to municipal ownership which the pending ordinances contain, proves the hollowness of the assurances that their adoption will produce good traction service.

The only effective guarantee of good service is an effective public ownership reservation. When the companies know that the city can easily and speedily dispossess them, they may make their service satisfactory, but only then.

But under these ordinances their dispossession cannot be effected easily. It is extremely doubtful if it can be effected at all, even at enormous pecuniary sacrifice and after long-drawn-out litigation.

And not only will these provisions which fortify the privileges of the companies militate against good service, but they are directly at variance with the Werno letter, on the basis of which they are ostensibly drawn.

#### V.

The Werno letter was Mayor Dunne's outline for a settlement. Its dominant purpose was the establishment of municipal ownership through the plan of a "contract" company, the old companies to serve in that capacity.

The theory of the letter was that the companies should agree with the city upon a valuation of their existing property, should finance and superintend rehabilitation and operation, and upon the demand of the city at any time should turn over all the property upon payment



of its previously established value. As the letter itself stated, "*the subject naturally falls into two great parts, (1) the accomplishment of municipal ownership of the street railway system, and (2) the improvement of our street railway service while municipal ownership is being established.*"

To this purpose and plan, clearly indicated by Mayor Dunne and acceptable to the people of Chicago, the Morganites orally agreed. But when it came to putting the plan into the form of ordinances, they loaded down the ordinances with impossible conditions.

As stated above, the purchase price is allowed to exceed the ability of the city to pay; the city is not allowed to take over except for operation (for which it is without authority) unless it pays a 20 per cent. penalty on an already heavily padded valuation; no company can take over for the city unless it pays the same penalty or makes "a valid and binding contract" of dubious legal validity, and even then the city cannot assist in the purchase; and yet at the end of the long term of twenty years—though the city does not meanwhile take over and though the companies do meanwhile get nearly half the net profits in addition to liberal pay as capitalists and constructors and operators—the city cannot get back its traction rights to its streets without paying for the then existing plant more than double its value.

This is not municipal ownership, with improved service during the transition; it is corporate monopoly, with municipal ownership as a vague possibility and under circumstances stimulative of strenuous opposition from great financial interests. This is not carrying out the Werno letter; it is reversing it both in spirit and in letter.

✱

That the ordinances do reverse the Werno letter is evident from a comparison; it would be a fair inference merely from the attitude of the Morganic organs. The Chicago Tribune, for instance, railed viciously at "Dr. Fisher" as the draftsman for Mayor Dunne of the Werno letter; but it honors "Special Traction Counsel Fisher" for his work in drafting the ordinances. Either the Tribune has changed its mind as to the Werno letter, or the ordinances are a stultification of that letter.

Needless to say, the Tribune has not changed its mind.

## VI.

Had the Morgan companies in good faith met Mayor Dunne upon the basis of the Werno letter, and joined him honestly in an effort to establish municipal ownership, with improvements in the service during the transition, even an excessive

price for the property and liberal compensation for co-operation could have been and would have been approved.

But these companies could not forego their predatory tricks. Instead of honestly aiding the municipal ownership movement, they have trickily tried to baffle it.

✱

The people should by their vote defeat these ordinances. They are tricky. They are framed in bad faith by the companies. They are calculated to perpetuate the Morganic ownership of our streets. While pretending to be in furtherance of the Werno letter, they fly squarely in its face. They will prevent good service. They will obstruct municipal ownership and operation. They will fleece street car passengers. They will make a new and profitable basis for stock-jobbing operations at the expense of the people of Chicago.

If Chicago is to have municipal ownership of the traction service, these ordinances must be voted down. If the city streets are ever again to come within the control of the city, the ordinances must be voted down. If the city is to have good street car service, they must be voted down.

The issue is for the city and a free hand to compel good traction service, or for J. Pierpont Morgan and the "dead hand" of an endless franchise.

---



---

## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

---

### AUSTRALIA.

(See page 1062.)

Corowa, N. S. W., Australia, Jan. 25.—The New South Wales local government extension act was passed in December. It is very much like the shires act of 1905. Each municipality is to be governed by a council, the members of which are called aldermen, who are all to be elected on the same day and to hold office for three years. The mayor is to be elected annually by the council from among its own members. All persons, male or female, who either own or occupy taxable land in a municipality will have the right to vote at the elections. An elector may not give more than one vote to any one candidate, and must vote for the full number of aldermen to be elected. Any male elector is eligible to be elected alderman.

A municipal council must levy a tax of one penny in the pound on the unimproved value of the land in its area. If any further revenue is required the council may impose a tax on either the unimproved or the improved value of the land, unless a poll is demanded, when the method of taxation must be decided by a vote of the taxpayers (not of all the electors). The total amount leviable in any muni-

---

## NEWS NARRATIVE

---

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

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

---

Week ending Wednesday, March 6, 1907.

### The Chicago Mayorakty.

Mayor Dunne's renomination of a week ago (p 1135) was followed on the 2nd by the nomination for mayor by the Republicans of Fred A. Busse. Although Mr. Busse represents the Lorimer faction of his party, and his nomination was repugnant to Gov. Deneen's branch of the party, which is especially represented among the newspapers of Chicago by the Record-Herald and the Daily News (controlled by Victor F. Lawson), the nomination was made unanimously.

+

Except on the traction question the Republican platform is perfunctory and indefinite. On this question it declares:

Immediate and radical improvement in, and extension of, street railway facilities is the paramount need of Chicago. With growing indignation, but patient firmness, the people have endured totally inadequate transportation service and submitted to flagrant disregard of their convenience and comfort on the part of the traction companies. For ten years street car patrons have risked health and life in overcrowded, insanitary cars, and suffered injury to their business and property through lack of sufficient and continuous service, awaiting the time when a settlement could be made with the companies that would properly safeguard the interests of the city. Such a settlement is at last possible through the adoption of ordinances in support of which all disinterested and intelligent citizens who have the interests of Chicago at heart can unite without regard to differences of honest opinion as to the public or private ownership or operation of municipal utilities. On Feb. 4, 1907, the City Council passed two ordinances, subject to referendum, which have for their purpose the immediate reconstruction and practical unification of the street railway systems. They reserve to the city the right to purchase the lines at an ascertained price at any time on six months' notice, and provide a direct and speedy method of bringing about municipal ownership. These ordinances received the votes of fifty-seven out of sixty-nine aldermen of both parties, representing every section of the city. The ordinances make practical and effective provision for the immediate and comprehensive improvement of street railway facilities throughout the entire city; for much-needed extensions of lines, especially in the outlying wards; and for a single fare over all the lines of the four great systems within the present or future limits of the city. They give the city control of construction, equipment and extensions and of the service itself. They make the city a controlling partner in the enterprise, not only during the period of reconstruction, but of subsequent operation. The city becomes a participating partner in the provisions which limit the annual profit of the companies to a 5 per cent. interest return and

cipality must not exceed the total amount which would be derived by a tax of two pence in the pound on the unimproved value, and two shillings in the pound on the assessed annual value (nineteenths of the rental value of land and improvements). This amount will depend on the relative values of the land and improvements. Probably in most cases, if a municipality resolves to tax land values only, it will be able to levy a tax of about four pence in the pound, if required.

It appears to me that every proper power is conferred upon municipal councils, except the right to construct and operate street railways, telegraphs, and telephones. Authority to provide street railways was included in the original bill, but struck out by Parliament, so this power remains a monopoly of the State government.

Telegraphs and telephones are constructed and worked by the Federal government in conjunction with postoffices.

The act would be much better if it compelled councils to raise all revenue from the taxation of land values only, and if there were no limit to the amount of tax; but it is a great improvement on the act it supersedes.

When it comes into force next year, the present State tax of one penny on the pound on land values, with exemptions, will be suspended in municipalities as has already been done in the shires.

The government has promised to bring in another bill to deal with the city of Sydney which is under a separate act.

+

About two years ago (vol. vii, p. 661) the Federal High Court decided that the salaries of Commonwealth officials were exempt from State income tax, and refused leave to appeal to the Privy Council of Great Britain.

This ruling was not based upon any specific clause in the Australian Constitution, but upon a judgment in a similar case by Chief Justice Marshall of the United States; the reason given for this being the resemblance between the Australian and the American Constitutions.

The decision gave great dissatisfaction, and there was some talk of amending the Constitution, but it was resolved to try a simpler plan first. The State government of Victoria sued a Federal officer for non-payment of income tax in the State Supreme Court. Judgment was, of course, given in accordance with the ruling of the High Court, but an appeal was allowed direct to the Privy Council. That body has now given its decision, which is in direct opposition to that of the High Court and therefore over-rules it.

The Privy Council based its decision on the Australian Constitution, and would not admit that American precedents had anything to do with the case. As the High Court appears to be straining the Constitution in the interest of the Commonwealth as against the States, the decision of the Privy Council is important.

ERNEST BRAY.

\* \* \*

I believe in the ultimate decency of things—ay, and if I awoke in hell should still believe in them.—Robert Louis Stevenson.

city 55 per cent. of the net receipts, available for the purchase of the properties, or for an equivalent reduction of fares. The ordinances provide for immediate construction of a central subway, and its future extension, and for the immediate establishment of twenty-one through routes by means of which the central business district will be extended and new business centers established. We believe these ordinances represent a great advance in municipal legislation, and, if ratified by the people, will settle in an equitable and satisfactory manner the question which has done so much to retard the city's growth and prosperity. We commend these ordinances to the support of the voters of Chicago, and pledge the Republican party, if they are adopted by the people, to enforce all their terms and conditions, to the end that the street railways of Chicago shall be operated for the benefit of the people.

\* \*

**The Chicago Traction Fight.**

A series of joint debates on the merits of the pending traction ordinances (p. 1137) was expected when on the 27th the "Municipal Ownership Committee" challenged the "Nonpartisan Traction Settlement Association." The challenge was in these terms:

It has come to our notice through the public press that your committee proposes to carry on a campaign of education in this city favoring the passage of the proposed traction ordinances. We beg, therefore, to submit to you, and through you to your committee, the following proposition: There shall be arranged, at intervals to be agreed upon, a series of six joint debates between now and election day, preferably noonday meetings, the debaters to be selected by each side and the details to be arranged at a meeting to be agreed upon by representatives of the two committees, the question to be discussed being the pending traction franchise ordinances. Will you please advise us at an early day what is your decision in the matter.

David Rosenheim as chairman and John C. Harding as secretary signed the challenge. It came up for consideration at a meeting of the Nonpartisan Traction Settlement Association on the 2d, and after a long discussion was rejected on the ground that such debates would necessarily deal to a great extent with politics, which would be objectionable for a non-partisan organization. Commenting on this action Mr. Rosenheim said:

It certainly is a peculiar stand taken by the special pleaders for the traction companies to insist that they do not wish to enter politics. The Non-Partisan Association was formed for the sole purpose of carrying on a political campaign to procure the indorsement of the ordinances by the voters. This talk about fearing to create false impressions about party lines is ridiculous. They are simply afraid to meet the issue in fair debate before the people.

The City Club has arranged for a debate on the subject, one day being devoted to a defense of the ordinances and another to criticism. In accordance with this arrangement Mr. Walter L. Fisher defended the ordinances on the 2nd, and Mr. Geo. E. Hooker is to criticize them on the 9th.

\* \*

**The New Chicago Charter.**

A draft charter for the city of Chicago was agreed upon on the 1st by the Chicago Charter Convention (p. 1110) which has had the matter under consideration for more than a year. The draft is long and

full of detail. Before becoming a law it must be enacted by the legislature and confirmed by popular vote of the people of Chicago.

\* \*

**Altgeld Memorial Meeting.**

At the Garrick Theater, Chicago, on the 10th at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, memorial services will be held in honor of the memory of John P. Altgeld, who died on the 12th of March five years ago. The meeting is under the auspices of "The John P. Altgeld Memorial Association," which is permanently organized for the purpose of keeping alive "the inspiring memory of Gov. Altgeld, volunteer soldier, jurist, statesman, publicist and humanitarian, and to inculcate the principles of free government to which he heroically dedicated his life." The officers are: President, Nober Gottlieb; vice-presidents, Philip Angsten, Leo Austrian, Martin Becker, Capt. William P. Black, Walter F. Cooling, Richard E. Corigan, Daniel L. Cruice, Jos. R. Finn, Andrew J. Graham, Joseph P. Mahoney, M. L. McKinley, Walter R. Michaelis, Jos. A. O'Donnell, Louis F. Post, James C. Russell, and H. N. Wheeler; and Secretary, Joseph S. Martin.

\* \*

At the memorial meeting on the 10th Daniel L. Cruice is to preside, and Father Cox is to offer the prayer; addresses are to be made by Samuel Alschuler and Mayor Dunne of Chicago, and the oration is to be delivered by Charles A. Towne of New York. The hymns "Lead, Kindly Light," "No Shadows Yonder," and "God be with you till we meet again," will be sung by the choir of Sinai Congregation.

\* \*

**Adjournment of Congress.**

The Fifty-ninth Congress (p. 1142) adjourned sine die on the 4th. This Congress has made appropriations close up to \$2,000,000,000. It is reported to have enacted more laws than any Congress since the foundation of the government. It has increased the salaries of Congressmen from \$5,000 to \$7,500 annually, and the pay of the Vice President, the Speaker of the House, and members of the cabinet to \$12,000. The following is reported as a summary of the most important things done: Approved the President's policy of building the greatest navy on earth, and provided for the construction of two battle ships of the Dreadnought type; increased the artillery corps of the army; given the government the right to appeal on questions of law in criminal cases; enacted an immigration law which includes a drastic exclusion provision designed to solve the questions at issue between the United States and Japan growing out of the immigration of Japanese coolies into California and other Pacific States and the segregation of Japanese school children by the school authorities of San Francisco; passed a river and harbor bill carrying \$83,000,000; provided for general service pensions; increased salaries of post-office clerks and carriers; ratified the Santo Domingo treaty; voted that Senator Smoot, the Utah Mormon, retain his seat; forbidden corporations to contribute to political campaigns; limited the working hours of railroad employes; authorized the establishment of a government bank in the Philip-

pires, and enacted a currency law widening the scope of the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury to deposit government money in national banks and providing for the issuance of gold certificates in smaller denominations.

+

Some of the important legislative propositions that die with the session are: Inheritance and income tax; additional liability of employers for negligence; bill to enforce treaty rights; the eight hour bill which organized labor has been asking for; several anti-injunction bills; modification of the Chinese exclusion act, copyright revision; reduction of the tariff on Philippine products entering the United States; bill to make Porto Ricans citizens of the United States; publicity in campaign finances; the Crumpacker bill to afford a court review of fraud orders issued by the Postoffice Department; Federal child labor legislation; legislation to protect free labor from contract labor; legislation regulating the inter-State traffic in intoxicating liquors; tariff revision, and the subsidy bill.

+ +

#### Railroad Rate Legislation.

The Missouri 2-cent fare bill (p. 1114) was signed by Gov. Folk on the 27th. On the same day both houses of the Kansas legislature passed 2-cent fare bill (p. 1114) in different forms, and the Iowa 2-cent fare bill (p. 1138) was adopted by the legislature and sent to Governor Cummins, who signed it on the 28th. On the 28th, also, the Nebraska legislature (p. 1138) revised its 2-cent fare bill, which has gone to the Governor who allows it to become a law without his signature.

+ +

#### The Idaho Murder Trials.

Preliminary to the trial of Moyer, Heywood and Pettibone, the Colorado officials of the Western Federation of Miners who are charged with murdering ex-Gov. Steunenberg (pp. 635, 961), Steve Adams was put on trial in February upon charges of murdering Fred Tyler. Adams was needed as a prosecuting witness in the Moyer-Heywood-Pettibone case. He had confessed to murder under their employment. At his trial he withdrew his confession, and his lawyers argued that he had been prosecuted falsely in order to force him to make the false confession. Adams has proved an alibi in the Tyler case. When this had been done the prosecution tried to have their case reopened in order to change the date of the crime and thereby defeat the alibi, but this was not permitted by the court. In his own testimony Adams denied the murder of Tyler, and, as reported by the Associated Press, he

described the manner of his arrest on Feb. 20, 1906, at his uncle's ranch, near Baker City, by Detective Thiel and Sheriff Brown, on a fugitive warrant charging complicity in the Steunenberg assassination. He was thrown into jail over night at Baker City and demanded that Brown get him an attorney. Brown refused, but next morning he demanded again, and Brown went out and the witness saw Attorney Moore. Adams feared being taken to Colorado. While at the station waiting for the train Brown told him that he was on the inside and if Adams would do what was wanted he would come

out all right. Thiel reiterated this statement a number of times on the way to Boise. At Boise he was taken straight to the penitentiary and thrown into a solid steel cell on the second tier with Harry Orchard [who also confesses against Moyer, Heyward and Pettibone] and confined six or seven days. While in the cell Orchard told Adams that he had made a confession implicating officials of the Western Federation; that he [Orchard] was to get off without prosecution, and that he was to get a piece of money, and he intended to put a pond between himself and the members of the Western Federation. Orchard warned Adams that the best thing he could do was to help convict the officers of the Western Federation and corroborate Orchard's confession, and save himself and think of his family, and that if Adams failed to do this he would be taken back to Colorado and either mobbed or hanged.

One of the counsel for Adams, who is also counsel for Moyer, Heywood and Pettibone, is Clarence S. Darrow of Chicago.

+ +

#### The Single Tax Idea Among Negroes.

It may not be generally known that the Liberian colonization movement of American Negroes is under the influence of Henry George's single tax ideas. The leader in this phase of the movement is Francis H. Warren, a Detroit lawyer and editor of the Detroit Informer. At a meeting of the Afro-American Ministers' Association in Detroit on the 18th, Mr. Warren elaborated his plans and the whole subject was brought under favorable discussion. In his explanation of the single tax principle Mr. Warren is reported to have said:

Land was created by the same agency that brought man into existence. It was provided by a beneficent Providence for the use of all men, and the only problem that should be considered is how to secure to all men their equal rights in and to God's bounty. Man cannot exist without the use of land. He must have land with which to sustain life or he will perish. To permit private ownership of that which all must of necessity use, is to give the few the right to tax the many for the mere privilege of living on that which God provided for all, for the personal benefit of the few. . . . Single taxers hold that the value of land, or that part of it which is contributed by the surrounding population, should be taken as a tax for the benefit of all in place of other taxes. . . . When all of this annual value of land is uniformly taken for the purposes of all the people who create this value there will be no lump value of land remaining, and it would follow that investments in lands would cease and the hoards of money now tied up in investments in lands would of necessity seek other avenues of employment from which to obtain profits. Instead of buying up vacant land and holding it until a large profit may be realized in selling at greatly advanced prices, all such land would be open for any who needed it without price, and capitalists would need to use their money in erecting buildings and in other forms of commercial enterprises that would give direct employment to labor and thus greatly contribute to the prosperity of the community.

Among the clergymen present who warmly supported Mr. Warren was the Rev. T. Augustus Reid. The direct object is to promote the adoption of the single tax reform in Liberia as a feature of the movement for inducing Negro migration from the United States.

**California Considering an Anti-Alien Law.**

A sweeping anti-Japanese, anti-Chinese bill was passed on the 28th by the lower house of the California legislature. The bill is known as the anti-alien property holding bill. It provides that an alien who does not become a citizen of the United States shall not be permitted to hold title to lands in the State of California for more than five years. If within that time the alien does not become a citizen the district attorney shall compel the sale of his lands or houses. Since the Japanese and Chinese cannot become citizens the bill is aimed directly at them, and absolutely precludes them from owning real property for more than five years.

+ +

**Santo Domingo.**

The consummation of the United States and Santo Domingo treaty (p. 1139) has caused great excitement in Santo Domingo. The ministry is on the verge of resigning, revolution is threatened, and Cibas is in open rebellion.

+ +

**Canada.**

A special royal commission for the investigation of the life insurance business in Canada has reported to the Dominion Parliament. The evidence is said to show that every abuse found to exist in the insurance business in the United States, except that of political campaign contributions, has been found by the commissioners to exist in Canada. The commissioners have drafted and recommend a drastic bill aimed at freeing life insurance from the control of financial interests which use it for non-trustee purposes, and to put an end to the high cost of obtaining new business.

+

The "Lord's Day Act" went into effect throughout Canada, with the exception of the Province of Quebec, on the 3d. At the time the bill was passed a clause was added permitting such Provincial legislatures as wished, to substitute laws of their own. Quebec, which had protested against the Dominion bill, thereupon passed a less severe law. British Columbia, though dissatisfied with the bill, must abide by it, since its legislature failed to pass a substitute. A press dispatch thus enumerates some of the principal prohibitions of the law:

Public entertainments given for money, advertising any such performances, baseball, football, gambling, racing, hunting, shooting, fishing, the sale of intoxicating liquors except on physicians' prescriptions, between the hours of 7 o'clock on Saturday night and 6 o'clock on Monday morning, the sale of cigars, the bringing into Canada or selling of any foreign newspaper, carrying on any business, or the employment of any person to do work on the Lord's day.

+ +

**In the British Parliament.**

The disestablishment and disendowment of the state church in England and Wales was favored in a resolution passed by the House of Commons on the 27th, by a vote of 198 to 90, but the Government is not committed by the resolution. This is the first time in its history that the House has passed such a resolution. In the course of the debate Mr. Augus-

tine Birrell said he failed to see how the continuance of the established church could be justified. The church had done the state no good, and the state had done the church nothing but harm. Personally he believed that disestablishment, far from harming the church as a spiritual body, would restore it to a position of spiritual authority. The ministry's hands, however, were already too full to assume any responsibility in the matter.

+

The Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who has hitherto refused to endorse the present woman suffrage movement in England, has now written a letter in which he promises to support "with much pleasure," the bill presented by W. H. Dickinson, to give the suffrage to women (p. 1112).

+

A suggestion that the Foreign Secretary utilize the most-favored-nation clause of the Anglo-American treaties, with the view of securing the admission of British goods into the United States on the same terms as Cuban goods, was offered in the House of Commons on the 5th.

+ +

**The London County Council Elections.**

In the London County Council elections (p. 1112) held on the 2nd the Progressives met defeat. In the old Council there were 83 Progressives, 34 Moderates, now called Municipal Reformers, and one independent. In the new Council, according to cable dispatches, there are 79 Municipal Reformers, 36 Progressives, and 3 Laborites. The Progressives protest that the Municipal Reformers only won by "money and mendacity." The Daily News said: "The election marks a stage in the Americanization of English political contests." John Burns described the campaign of the Municipal Reformers as the "most vulgar and most disgraceful that ever has discredited British public life." The election was lost nominally because of the cry for economy, a cry which the London Tribune declared to be insincere since the Council's rate has risen but a farthing in three years, and because the Council's debt is relatively less than that of other great English cities. The fight was actually between the progressive people and the vested interests, especially the electric trusts, backed by such "ground landlords" as the Duke of Norfolk.

+ +

**The Second Russian Douma Meets.**

The Douma (p. 1140), the lower house of the Russian parliament, opened its sessions at the Tauride palace, the meeting place of the first Douma, in St. Petersburg, on the 5th, and on the same day the Council of the Empire, which is the upper house, corresponding to our Senate, and which had not been dissolved when the first Douma was dissolved, also convened. The Douma elected as its President, Feodor Golovin, Constitutional Democrat from Moscow, and the caucus candidate of the united Left parties. The vote stood 331 for Mr. Golovin. In his speech of acceptance Mr. Golovin said:

The will of Parliament is law. Therefore we accept thankfully the great honor conferred on us. Although

we are of various opinions, we all are united with the same intention of unifying the country on a constitutional basis. We all know how passionately the country is awaiting relief from its sufferings, the way for which has already been pointed out by the first Douma, and involves the fulfillment of the promises made in the October, 1905, manifesto and the working out of a mass of social legislation. The principle of popular representation is powerful. Once called to life, it can never die. In unity with the will of the monarch and the hopes of the country the Douma must and will irresistibly advance until its high mission is fulfilled.

On the eve of the assembling of the Douma its composition was estimated as follows:

Monarchists .....	90
Moderates and Octoberists.....	36
Polish Nationalists .....	43
Progressives .....	29
Constitutional Democrats and their adherents.....	92
Left party .....	192
Indefinites .....	13

But the voting for president is believed to show still greater radical strength, the Monarchists and Octoberists mustering on joint ballot only 102 votes. The Polish Nationalists are said to have cast their fortunes definitely with the Constitutional Democrats, abandoning their earlier plans to steer a middle course. President Golovin was to be received in audience by the Czar on the 7th, and pending this no sessions of the lower house were to be held. It is reported that the parties in majority demand Mr. Stolypin's resignation as Prime Minister, and do not expect to do any constructive work until it is received.

+

At the close of the first session of the Douma a revolutionary demonstration occurred in the streets of St. Petersburg leading to the detention prison and the general court building, more formidable than any uprising since the dreadful "red Sunday" of two years ago. The authorities met the crowds this time with whips and lances, instead of with shot, and while hundreds were injured, no one was killed. At least 40,000 persons were on the streets, with red flags, singing the Marseillaise, and battle songs of the Russian revolution. The cry of the Social Revolutionists was taken up as a slogan: "Through fight, our right!" A monster demonstration was also held in the neighborhood of the university, to celebrate the "victory of revolutionary democracy." Troops and police arrived here too late for interference, and the crowds neither wrought harm nor received injury.

## NEWS NOTES

—Regis Henri Post is to succeed Beekman Winthrop as Governor of Porto Rico.

—Nicaragua and Honduras continue their warfare (p. 1139), and Honduras is threatened with revolution.

—Persia (p. 1091) continues restless, and the Government is said to be losing control. The Assembly is forming battalions for a National Guard.

—The city council of Council Bluffs voted on the 5th against municipal ownership of the water sup-

ply and renewed the franchise of the private water company.

—The constitutional convention of Oklahoma on the 4th adopted a proposition providing for the initiative and referendum. The vote was 80 to 5, with 27 absentees.

—A National Anti-Capital-Punishment League has been organized in Kansas City, Kansas, with J. L. R. Marsh as president and W. T. Withrow as general secretary-treasurer.

—The first Transvaal ministry under the new constitution (p. 1139) was sworn in on the 4th. The new Premier is General Botha, formerly commander in chief of the Boer army.

—An earthquake shock was reported from Costa Rica on the 1st, and on the 2d a volcano at Pozzuoli in southern Italy, supposed to be extinct, was reported to be emitting dense smoke.

—Senator Brown introduced in the Illinois Senate on the 5th a joint resolution for a constitutional amendment granting suffrage to women. The resolution strikes the word "male" from the present constitution.

—The promised new elections in Cuba (p. 849) are to be held piecemeal. The municipal elections are to come off in June, according to current news from Washington. The elections for president and Congress will be further postponed.

—Smith McPherson, Federal judge in Iowa, decided on the 27th that the street railway company of Des Moines has a perpetual franchise granted in 1865, and that subsequent restrictive legislature is in conflict with the Federal Constitution.

—W. W. Rose, the Democratic and municipal ownership mayor of Kansas City, Kansas, who was ousted by the Supreme Court of the State, and upon reelection again ousted (p. 705), was on the 38th nominated by the Democrats for reelection.

—The "American Monetary League" has been organized with Robert A. Thompson of Pennsylvania as president, S. M. Owen of Minnesota as vice-president, A. H. Livingston of Missouri as treasurer, and James A. Fulton of McKeesport, Pa., as secretary.

—Wendell Phillips Garrison, second son of the great Abolitionist and Non-Resistant, died at South Orange, N. J., on the 27th. Mr. Garrison had been for more than 40 years editor of the New York Nation. He wrote jointly with his brother, Francis J. Garrison, the life of William Lloyd Garrison.

—A party sent out by Thos. F. Ryan and the Gugenheims to investigate and prepare for the exploitation on a gigantic scale of rubber, mining and railroad concessions granted last Autumn by King Leopold and the Belgian Parliament, in the Congo country (p. 871), sailed from New York on the 5th.

—Action was begun at Chicago on the 20th by John Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and Daniel L. Cruice, president of the Municipal Ownership league, to compel the board of election commissioners to place on the "little ballot" the so-called "three pronged" proposition (p. 1137).

—The Democratic convention of Michigan on the 28th nominated George H. Stone and John R. Carr for Supreme Court Justices, and in the platform

favored the initiative and referendum and demanded that the legislature enact a law empowering municipalities to own and operate all public utilities within their limits.

—Solicitations for reading matter of a literary, mechanical, humorous or other kind ("except dime novels") are made for the use of patients in the hospitals of the Panama Canal Zone. They may be sent to Henry V. Garland, storekeeper and quartermaster, health department, Mira Flores, Canal Zone, Isthmus of Panama.

—On the 4th Leslie M. Shaw retired from the position of Secretary of the Treasury, and was succeeded by George B. Cortelyou. Mr. Cortelyou was succeeded as Postmaster General by George von L. Meyer, recently Ambassador to Russia. Ethan Allen Hitchcock retired from the position of Secretary of the Interior, and was succeeded by James R. Garfield.

—Sir James Alexander Swettenham, Governor of Jamaica at the time of the earthquake, and hero of the American repulse "incident" (p. 1019), resigned his post January 23, but his resignation was not immediately accepted by the British Colonial Office, time being allowed for reconsideration. Announcement was made in the House of Commons on the 4th that the resignation had become an accomplished fact.

—The board of supervisors of San Francisco on the 28th declared forfeited to the city and county of San Francisco the franchises and works of the the Spring Valley Water company, upon which the company itself places a total estimated value of \$53,000,000. The action of forfeiture was taken by the board of supervisors under the provisions of a state law which the company is accused of having violated by charging 1902 schedule rates in 1906.

—The President and the entire Board of Directors of the New York Central railroad have been held responsible, by verdict of the coroner's jury, for the wreck of the Brewster express on February 16 (pp. 1116, 1141). The President, W. M. Newman, frankly asserted to the jury that the officials were responsible, particularly those in charge of construction and maintenance. The Directors are Chauncey M. Depew, chairman; William K. and Frederick W. Vanderbilt, Samuel F. Barger, J. Pierpont Morgan, Hamilton McK. Twombly, W. M. Newman, Charles S. Clarke, George S. Bowdoin, William Rockefeller, D. O. Mills, James Stillman and George F. Baker.

—San Francisco has been doing some volunteer municipal housekeeping with great success. The debris and disorder left by the earthquake (p. 56) had become so intolerable that organized citizens assigned Sunday the 3d for a vast co-operative effort to clean the city. A bugle called out the workers at eight o'clock—20,000 strong—professional men, day laborers, millionaires, immigrants, Chinese coolies. They had been assigned to carefully mapped out districts, and they were aided by 3,500 teams, and by uncounted women who cleared lawns and swept sidewalks, and provided food at 30 eating stations, and also at independent lunch counters in front of their residences. After eight hours of work most of the business streets in the burned district had

been cleaned, and many tons of dirt had been removed. The undertaking is to be repeated.

---

## PRESS OPINIONS

---

### THE PUBLIC ENEMY.

Dubuque Telegraph (Dem.), Feb. 16.—Right-thinking men in all parties are coming to agree that the enemies of right progress are the corporations seeking special privilege from legislative and administrative officers. The time has happily passed when the critic is written down as envious of the successful, and is instead understood as he should be—jealous of the right.

\* \*

### "REGULATING" MONOPOLY.

Elizabeth (N. J.) Times (Ind. Dem.), Feb. 14.—Monopoly cannot be properly regulated by the people; instead, the government must own and control all monopolies or allow the existence of conditions which tend towards the control of the government by private monopoly. There is no other alternative, and no amount of reasoning can provide one. The contention is not only based upon a logical consideration of all the difficulties involved in the problem, but is also borne out by the experience of this and every other country in which attempts to regulate monopoly have ever been made.

\* \*

### THE VALUE OF PRINCIPLE IN PUBLIC MEN.

Life (New York), February 7.—The case of men who show great abilities or talents geared to a distorted spirit or a defective purpose is common enough. The training of the spirit is at least as important as the training of the mind. Indeed, it is more important, for it is the spirit that determines what direction a man's energies shall take, while the powers of the mind determine how far he can go in the direction chosen. A man of second-rate ability, headed right, is far more likely to be useful than a man of first-rate ability headed wrong, or constantly swerving out at a tangent to his true course. Lincoln is the shining example among self-educated men of the mind and the spirit both developing sane and strong.

\* \*

### ROBERT BAKER IS MISSED FROM CONGRESS.

The Farmers' Union Magazine, February, 1907.—Not merely the "press gallery," but great numbers of people—the "common people"—of all parties and in all States, would be glad to see him back, for the simple reason that his intrepid moral fearlessness and devotion to principle has aroused admiration among the masses and contempt among the classes. Baker was dubbed "eccentric" and "cranky" when he first entered Congress because, forsooth, he refused to accept railway passes and because of other freakish conduct equally unbecoming a Congressman. The comic papers joined with the big dailies and weeklies in launching an avalanche of ridicule upon the devoted head of the plucky Brooklyn reformer. Fortunately, however, all this merely served to accentuate the correctness of the man's contentions, and to attract attention to the singular spectacle—the almost incredible anomaly—of a brave and honest man occupying a seat in Congress.

\* \*

### THE ECONOMY OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

Elizabeth (N. J.) Times (Dem.), Feb. 21.—In discussing the question of economy of service furnished respectively by private corporations and by the public itself, we have made brief reference to the fact that among other expense bills which the public must foot as long as it permits the existence of private monopoly, are the enormous sums annually spent by public service corporations



to secure legislation favorable to them and to kill such measures as would reduce their profits or compel them to provide better accommodations to the public. It is unnecessary to state that were all the public utilities owned and operated by the public, the lobby evil would practically disappear; contributions to political parties would be cut at least in half; there would remain practically no agencies devoted to the corruption of public officials, and not only would the cost of maintaining these utilities be materially reduced, but the entire nation would be raised to a much higher plane of social and political morality, inasmuch as the influences principally responsible for the rottenness now to be found in our government would have been removed.

+ +

#### THE ABSURD MR. MALLOCK.

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), Feb. 19.—The "discovery" of Mr. Mallock is an amusing episode. That skillful controversialist and able writer has been combating social and economic reform of a "socialistic" character for twenty years, but in England he is known merely as a sophisticated defender of the existing order of things. The trouble with Mr. Mallock is that his arguments are full of fallacies and assumptions—that he is setting up men of straw and triumphantly destroying them to the delight of a handful of complacent persons whose philosophy is summed up in the phrase, "whatever is is right." Neither the socialists nor the consistent individualists recognize Mr. Mallock as an intellectually honest and earnest thinker. Mr. Mallock lays great stress on "ability" and claims proper regard for it as against that school of socialists who would ignore all natural inequality of intelligence and capacity. Not all socialists advocate equal pay for unequal work, and very few of them dream of denying that ability is a real factor in the production of wealth. Aside from this, however, what Mr. Mallock always forgets is that to defend ability and superiority is by no means to defend the present order. Mr. Mallock is not living in a society of equal opportunities, of "a fair field and no favors"; in a society in which wealth is distributed in accordance with an exact principle of justice. He is living in a society full of privilege, of survivals of a feudal order, of laws and institutions which had their origin in conquest, war and rapine. Can Mr. Mallock find any connection between industrial "ability" and the Irish or British system of land tenure? Is equality of opportunity possible in any country whose natural resources are monopolized by a small privileged class? France needed a terrible upheaval to destroy land monopoly and establish a system of peasant proprietorship. If Mr. Mallock had lived in the days of the French revolution he would doubtless have talked, as he does now, about all progress being due to the minority, about the rightful rewards of capacity and the justice of unequal pay for unequal service to society. He would have been absurdly irrelevant then, and he is, for the most part, absurdly irrelevant to-day. He is not only assuming industrial conditions that have never yet existed, but he is also confounding the ability to produce wealth, to discover markets, to improve methods, with the ability to grab, to exploit, to manipulate, to gamble, to plunder society. "Jim the Penman" had unusual ability—to forge signatures—but society has seen fit to discourage that sort of ability. The ability to extort, to devise schemes evasive of law, to secure unfair privileges at the expense of the community, need not be "rewarded" for the sake of progress. Rather does it need "shackling." Mr. Mallock's arguments are "purely academic" where they are not absolutely unsound or sophistical. That's why he has made no impression whatever in England, and why he will fail here.

+ + +

A gentleman regards what is right, a vulgar person what will pay.—Confucius.

## 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. 26-Mar. 1

#### Senate.

Appropriation bills held the floor during the day on the 25th, and private legislation in the evening. On the 26th the currency bill was finally discussed (p. 4063) and passed (p. 4066), and the conference committee report on appeals in criminal prosecutions was adopted (p. 4067). The river and harbor appropriations conference report was adopted on the 27th (p. 4184). On the 28th the bill to amend the denatured alcohol act was discussed (p. 4286), the discussion continuing on the 1st (p. 4397) when the bill was passed (p. 4403). The ship subsidy bill was taken up on the 2d (p. 4500), and being undisposed of an adjournment was taken until Sunday.

+

#### House.

On the 25th the question of 3-cent street car fares in the District of Columbia again came up (p. 3933), and was defeated (p. 3940). After this, consideration of the ship subsidy bill, under special rule, was ordered (p. 3951), and on the 26th it was accordingly taken up (p. 4072) and discussed at length, the discussion continuing on the 27th (p. 4216), the 28th (p. 4321) and the 1st (p. 4420), with intermittent work on appropriations; and on the 1st a substitute bill reported by the committee of the whole was adopted (p. 4430). After disposing of a volume of miscellaneous business on the 2d and remaining in session until after midnight, the House took a recess until 11 o'clock Sunday morning.

+

#### Record Notes.

Speech of Senator Patterson on government ownership of railroads (p. 4164). Text of Justice McKenna's dissenting opinion in the case of the labor leaders surreptitiously extradited from Colorado to Idaho for trial on charges of murdering the late Gov. Steunenberg (p. 4479). Speech of Representative William Sulzer on opposition to ship subsidies (p. 4462).

+ + +

Admiral: "I must get leave to go to the Riviera for a month's rest. The work on that navy reform commission has quite knocked me out."

Friend: "Poor old chap! Have many reforms been made?"

Admiral: "Any amount. Brick dust has been discarded for knife powder; nickel saucepans are to be used for the officers' mess, and pianos placed in all the admirals' cabins."—Russ (Russia).

+ + +

The proprietors of a Siamese newspaper have distributed handbills containing the following notice:

"The news of English we tell the latest. Write in perfectly style and most earliest. Do a murder, get commit, we hear of and tell it. Do a mighty chief die, we publish it, and in borders of sombre. Staff has each one been colleged, and write like the Kipling and the Dickens. We circle every town and extortionate not for advertisements. Buy it. Buy it. Tell each of you its greatness for good. Ready on Friday, Number first."—Bangkok Times.



**RELATED THINGS  
CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT**

**MEDITATION AFTER THE PASSING OF  
ERNEST CROSBY.**

For The Public.

How many stalwart saviors of the race—  
Dear friends of mine—have taken sudden way  
Into the Cave of Silence, and there, stay,  
Since first Love's selflessness I learned to trace!  
Their fiery darts they hurled at earth's disgrace,—  
Then sank to Darkness from the desperate fray;  
While hordes—great God!—still bask on Hills of Day  
And turn on Wrong an unimpassioned face!  
Oh, who shall dare to tread the earth for naught,  
His pulse still red, when even from dead dust  
Of Great Ones soars an influence of Might!  
Oh, meagre men are we who yet have caught  
No soul's contagion from their reverent "Must!"  
No self-renouncement for Man's larger right!  
JAMES H. WEST.

+ + +

**A LETTER FROM TOLSTOY ON CROSBY'S DEATH.**

A Letter Received March 1, by Bernard Prieth, of Newark, N. J., from Count Leo Tolstoy.

Dear Sir:—I delayed my answer to your letter because of illness. I knew the sad news of Ernest Crosby's death before, but nevertheless I thank you for your letter.

Though a sad one, it is a satisfaction to see a true appreciation of the rare qualities and high character of one's best friends.

What you say of him, that he never said an evil word of anyone, is one of the greatest commendations that can be said of any man. I hope that Ernest Crosby did not estimate me more than I loved and estimated him.

Yours truly,

LEO TOLSTOY.

Yasnaya Pollana, Feb. 12th, 1907.

+ + +

**ERNEST HOWARD CROSBY.**

Extracts from an Address by Professor Walter Rauschenbusch.

A month ago one of the bravest and gentlest, one of the most knightly and Christian men in America, finished his life in the full strength of manhood. Ernest Howard Crosby years ago laid aside the prospects of a brilliant political career, and devoted his wealth and great ability to the gospel of national justice and international peace, a true tribune of the people, a true preacher of the kingdom of God. But our newspapers, which claim to furnish what the people want to know, allowed him to be buried in such indifference and silence that many of his friends were ignorant of his death for weeks. If he had stolen and bribed his way into the Senate, and there had sat as the representative of a great railway, they would have given columns to his merits. It is by such facts that we can gauge whether our

nation has a Christian estimate of human values, or if its inner light has become darkness because its heart is with its money. A nation's Christianity must be measured by the quantity and boldness of the idealism swaying its people, by the hot love of justice, by the courage of protest against vested wrongs, by the readiness to imperil profit or professional advancement for the sake of the right. . . .

Christianity means love. Love means community of interests and solidarity of life. The family has always been used as the symbol of Christian relations. . . . Hence we speak of God as our father and men as our brothers. . . . The family is organized on the basis of service and not of exploitation. The baby is not compelled to work the longest hours and to take the smallest wage because it is weak and unable to organize a babies' trades union. The father does not seize the larger part of the turkey and call it "profit." . . . It is not Christian to pay least to the man who has the hungriest family.

+ + +

**THE FILIPINOS DO NOT WANT THE  
"WILD TRIBES" EXHIBITED.**

From the Manila "Renacimiento" of Jan. 3, 1907.

Mr. W. A. Sutherland, the Superintendent of the Filipinos now receiving their education in the United States, has arrived. Mr. Sutherland has come especially and expressly to arrange for a Philippine exhibit at Jamestown, Va. The idea is certainly very good, as such an exhibit might give the United States a chance to see our industries, our products and our capabilities, but we are most decidedly opposed to Mr. Sutherland's again taking over a group of the Igorrotes. We shall always protest against a recurrence of that exhibition. We cannot understand his insane mania for it. What object have the promoters in view for this exhibition, which began by being local in its proposed scope, later became a national affair, and finally an international event? It certainly is not merely to assemble everything good and bad from the country of every exhibitor, but to exhibit that which is best in a nation and marks its highest degree of progress. Thus from a comparison of the best results reached by different nations and different races new incentives may be gained for the further progress of each and all. This surely is the fundamental idea underlying any exhibition. No nation and no race now considered civilized would think of sending to such exhibitions examples of backwardness, ignorance or savagery which might exist within its borders. Such exhibits would certainly be retrogressive in their effect, and not likely to contribute to social progress. Why, then, this intention and desire to exhibit the Igorrotes at such a critical period when it is so desirable that the United States and the world in general may form a correct opinion of the Philippine nation? We protest against the sending of Igorrotes again because they do not represent any of the manifestations of real progress and advance of our people.

Mr. Sutherland may promise that they shall be well treated and kept apart from the Tagals and Visayans. This is not the question. The question involved is the unfavorable impression which their representation will create in any event among the

visitors to the fair. Mr. Sutherland, who seems to be a sensible man, must be perfectly aware that a bad exhibit is likely to leave a deeper impression than one of an opposite character. Moreover, in making this division the impression would be created that we were still living divided into tribes, which is untrue. An aggravating circumstance is that the place where the fair is to be held is one hostile to the colored race—Virginia, which, like all Southern States, is imbued with prejudice against it. This will, of course, create particularly unfavorable impressions of the name "Filipino." Mr. Sutherland is perfectly aware of the difference between the Igorotes and civilized Filipinos, but it is not so with the rank and file of his countrymen, who, seeing nothing but specimens of the wild tribes coming from the Philippines, might readily confound them with the Filipinos in general, as has in fact already proved to have been the case. As Mr. Sutherland represents himself as having a high opinion of our country, and he receives a large salary from it as superintendent of the Filipino students, he should give up his declared intention to exhibit Igorotes again, realizing that the country which Mr. Sutherland professes to love is intensely opposed to this or any similar kind of exhibition. We believe that in these words we are speaking for the people, and we protest to the government that a stop should be put to the exportation of Igorotes.

+ + +

**THE FOLLY OF BELIEVING IN LUCK**

"You think, then," said the gentleman who stood on the marble steps leading up to his \$700,000 palace, "that your present condition is due merely to the fact that you have been unlucky?"

"Yes," replied the humble one who leaned upon the handle of the lawn mower, "I have made up my mind that I must have been born under an unlucky star. I've worked hard all my life. A dozen times after saving carefully and getting ahead a little I've tried to become a leading citizen, but something has always happened to spoil my plans. Once I started in the milk business and had just begun to see my way clear ahead when somebody brought into the neighborhood a cow with a contagious disease. Mine all caught it before I had time to discover the presence of danger, and I lost everything I had.

"I opened up a grocery in a manufacturing district next, and then a panic came on and they closed all the shops and the people moved away, so that I lost all I had saved again. Then I went to work and hoarded up every cent I could until I had \$500 in a bank that was supposed to be as sound as the government itself. The cashier looted it one day, and I was penniless again. Then I thought I would buy real estate. After saving again I bought a lot that everybody supposed would rapidly increase in value. The day after I made the last payment on it the city decided to locate a dog pound on the adjoining lot, and I couldn't even get anybody to take the land as a gift."

"And you think all this has been mere bad luck, eh?" said the rich gentleman, with a smile of mingled pity and contempt. "My good fellow, there is no such thing as bad luck in this world. We succeed or fail according to our abilities. Your lack

**Publishers' Column**

**The Public**

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

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

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

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

**TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION**

Yearly .....	\$1.50
Half yearly .....	.75
Quarterly .....	.35
Single copies .....	.05
Trial subscription—4 weeks .....	.10

Extra copies in quantity, \$2.00 per 100, in lots of 50 and upward; if addressed to individuals, \$3.50 per 100.

Free of postage in United States, Canada, Cuba and Mexico. Elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week.

All checks, drafts, postoffice money orders and express money orders should be made payable to the order of The Public Publishing Co. Money orders or Chicago or New York Drafts are preferred, on account of exchange charges by the Chicago banks.

Subscribers wishing to change address must give the old address as well as the new one.

Receipt of payment is shown in about two weeks by date on wrapper.

The date on wrapper shows when the subscription expires. All subscribers are requested to note this date and to remit promptly for renewal of subscription when due.

**TERMS OF ADVERTISING.**

Per agate line, each insertion.....	\$ 0.99
Per inch (14 lines), each insertion.....	1.20
Per column, (120 lines), each insertion.....	10.00
One-quarter page (60 lines), each insertion.....	5.00
One-half page (120 lines), each insertion.....	10.00
One page (240 lines), each insertion.....	20.00
Last cover page, each insertion.....	25.00
Last cover half page, each insertion.....	12.50
Last cover quarter page, each insertion.....	6.25

Advertising forms close on the Tuesday preceding the Saturday of publication.

**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

foresight, that's all. You should before going into the dairy business have taken precautions to prevent your cows from being contaminated. You showed poor judgment in opening a grocery in a district that was liable to be affected by business conditions, and you should have known better than to put your money in a piece of ground that adjoined a suitable site for a dog pound. People never get rich or great through mere luck. Bad luck is always the excuse of people who lack the ability to rise. It's as old as the world and as foolish as the belief of the man who thinks he can lift himself by his bootstraps. Go ahead now and finish mowing the lawn. After you're through I'll see about giving you a regular job for the summer."

The humble one went on with his work. As he was pushing his mower past the turreted stable the coachman emerged.

"Do you know how the man who lives here got his money?" asked the stranger.

"Haven't you heard the story? Thirty years ago when this city was a strugglin' village and nobody thought it would ever amount to anythin' a man who owed him \$75 had a ten-acre lot here. It was mostly swamp and couldn't be used either for farmin' or buildin'. He couldn't pay the \$75, and the boss here had to take the land. He tried to trade it off for a mule, and I guess would of done it all right only the mule died just before they come to an understandin'. A little while after that the boom struck the place and he wanted to sell out for \$30,000, but the people that were goin' to buy busted up, and he had to take his swamp back. He was so disappointed that he took sick and was out of his head for three weeks. When he got so he could set up and recognize people again his land was worth \$4,000,000." The man with the mower then went on about his work, for he was cutting the grass by the job, and couldn't afford to waste time.—Chicago Record-Herald.

+ + +

**A QUARTER-CENTURY OF CATASTROPHISM.**

Angelo Heilprin in the New York Nation of January 2.

The student of geology, however taxed his mind may be with the consideration of the numerous unsolved problems in the physics of the earth, cannot fail to be deeply impressed by the catastrophic happenings of the last twenty-five years. The record of no other like period, so far as it is written in the book of science, carries with it so clearly the concept of the unfinished globe, or so eloquently teaches the inconsequence of man beside the titanic forces of nature. When, in August, 1883, a cataclysm rent asunder the island of Krakatoa, and caused a shock throughout almost the entire mass of the earth, we saw how the processes of adjustment which shape the interior of our globe were still tending to produce equilibrium. For two years or more we gazed upon the wondrous red and yellow afterglows which marked the distribution of the high-blown ash, and reflected the energy by which 40,000 or more persons were swept out of existence. At this same time, or close to it, Casamicciola, in the island of Ischia, fell. The ash from Krakatoa had hardly settled when we learned of the reawak-

**ATTORNEYS**

**FRED. CYRUS LEUBUSCHER,**  
COUNSELOR AT LAW  
Rooms 811, 812, 813 and 814  
258 Broadway, Borough of Manhattan,  
Telephone: 4094 Cortlandt **NEW YORK**

**John Moody & Co.**  
Dealers in  
**Investment Securities**  
35 Nassau Street, NEW YORK

**The Free Speech League**  
invites correspondence, cooperation, and membership of all who claim rights and dare maintain them.  
**JOIN US — HELP US.**  
**GET OUR LIST OF BOOKS.**  
**READ THEM — PASS THEM ALONG.**  
Liberty talks by Ingersoll, Wakeman, Walker, Schroeder, Pentecost, Darrow, Post and others. Read "Our Vanishing Liberty of Press" (five cents); and also "Do You Want Free Speech?" (ten cents) and learn  
**WHY YOU SHOULD ACT WITH US.**  
Free Speech League, 120 Lexington avenue, New York.

Hours: 10 a. m. to 4 p. m. Telephone Harrison 1027  
**CHARLES L. LOGAN, D. O.**  
**OSTEOPATHIC PHYSICIAN**  
Office: 45 Auditorium Building  
**HOTEL WARNER—EVENINGS CHICAGO**

**EDWARD POLAK** 4030 Third Avenue  
Real Estate Auctioneer and Broker **NEW YORK CITY**  
Investments carefully made in New York real estate for out of town clients  
**BEST OF REFERENCES.**

**Henry George Memorial Edition, Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat.**  
Contributions from W. J. Bryan, Gov. Folk, Garvin, Garrison, Johnson, Warner, Post and others. **Big hit, 5c per copy**

**THE SINGLE TAX** By **George A. Briggs**  
A brief address, reviewing the whole subject, from both ethical and practical viewpoints.  
.18mo, paper, 66 pages, 10 cents, postpaid.  
**The Public Publishing Co., First National Bank Building, Chicago**

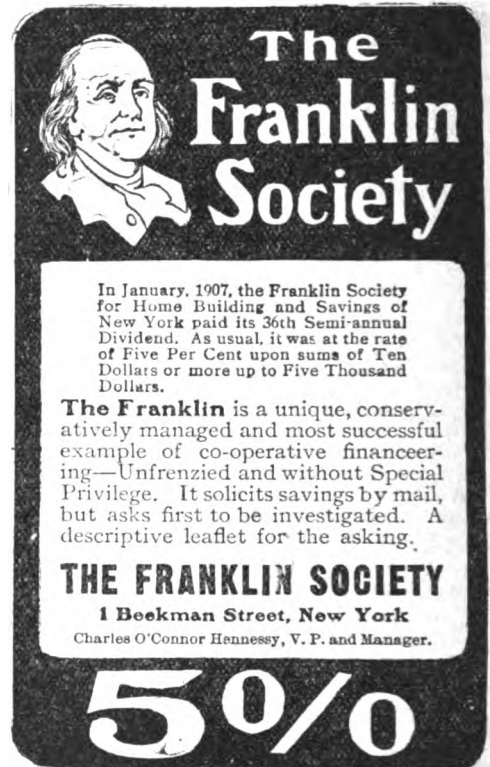
**Tom L. Johnson's Career**  
A very interesting biographical sketch of Tom L. Johnson, written by Louis F. Post, appeared in **THE PUBLIC** about a year ago, with portrait of Mr. Johnson accompanying, as a supplement. In view of the general public interest at this time in the work of Mr. Johnson, we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

ening of Tarawera, in New Zealand—a battered volcano, whose activities had been assumed to be ended for a full hundred years prior to June, 1886. The tourist then beheld, seemingly for the last time, what had been designated the "eighth wonder" of the world, the famous pink and white terraces of Rotomahana. Before the great rift that had formed in this lake-basin had entirely closed, came the disaster to Charleston, S. C.

The major disturbances following the Carolina earthquake were chiefly in the field of Japan, where the number of shocks noted in the nineteen years between 1885 and 1903, as we are informed by the Japanese Earthquake Investigation Commission, was 27,485. The decapitation, in 1888, of Bandai-San, and the hurling of its vast mass over miles of inhabited lowland, was followed the next year by the great movement of Kumanoto, and two years later by perhaps the most far-reaching of all the recorded earthquakes of Japan, that known as Mino-Owari. Thousands of lives were destroyed in this shock, which the distinguished seismologist, Montessus de Ballore, characterizes as "le plus formidable tremblement de terre dont l'histoire fasse peut-être mention" [perhaps the most formidable earthquake of which history makes mention]. Within three years came the tremendous earthquake of Tokio, 1894.

A new era of catastrophism began with evidences of unrest in Vesuvius, Etna, and Stromboli, in a number of the volcanoes of Central America and of Hawaiian Islands, and in the mountains of Alaska northern South America, in Colima, Mexico, in the (Wrangell, Sheshalden, Iliamna). There had also been widely separated earth-movements, as those of the Phocian plain of Greece, of Carinthia, and of southeastern Alaska. This last brought about the interesting displacements on the shores of Yakutat Bay and the disruption of the Muir glacier. The rapidly-succeeding events of the year 1902 are still fresh in the minds of most people: the destruction by earthquake, on January 16, and on April 18, respectively, of considerable portions of the towns of Chilpancingo, in Mexico, and Quetzaltenango, in Guatemala; the eruption on May 7, of the Soufrière, of St. Vincent; on May 8, of Pelée, with the annihilation of Saint-Pierre; on August 30, of the same volcano, with the razing of Morne-Rouge and other villages in Martinique; on October 24, of the volcano of Santa Maria, in Guatemala, with the further destruction of Quetzaltenango; the earthquakes of She-maka and of Andijan, in farther Asia. The result of it all was the death of between fifty and sixty thousand persons. The same year saw the foundering with nearly all of its inhabitants of the island of Tori-Shima, in Japanese waters, as the result of a volcanic explosion.

This event was soon followed by the first of those vast disturbances in Formosa, which culminated in the catastrophes of March and April of 1906, when the greater part of the island was devastated and thousands of lives sacrificed. Preceding these calamities by a few months, and coincident with a paroxysmal awakening of Stromboli, was the earthquake of the Monteleone region of southern Italy. The echoes of this had hardly died down when Vesuvius opened a new chapter in its history and closed it with the outbreak of April, 1906, which in



**The Franklin Society**

In January, 1907, the Franklin Society for Home Building and Savings of New York paid its 36th Semi-annual Dividend. As usual, it was at the rate of Five Per Cent upon sums of Ten Dollars or more up to Five Thousand Dollars.

The Franklin is a unique, conservatively managed and most successful example of co-operative financeering—Unfrenzied and without Special Privilege. It solicits savings by mail, but asks first to be investigated. A descriptive leaflet for the asking.

**THE FRANKLIN SOCIETY**  
1 Beekman Street, New York  
Charles O'Connor Hennessy, V. P. and Manager.

**50%**

## The Latest Photograph of Ernest Crosby

The portrait of Ernest Crosby printed in THE PUBLIC of January 12 was reproduced from a negative of what appears to be his latest sitting for a photograph. It is considered an excellent likeness.

We can supply a limited number of original photographic prints from the same negative, printed in sepia platinum and mounted, size 7½x9½, price \$2.00 each, carefully packed and mailed postpaid.

The half-tone reproduction cannot communicate the excellence of the original photograph.

**THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY**  
First National Bank Building :: CHICAGO

violence and destructive effect is thought to have surpassed all other eruptions of that volcano, with the exception of those of the years 79 and 1631. Then, nearer to our own hearts and homes, the tragedy of San Francisco was enacted—followed in almost exactly four months by the still greater tragedy of Valparaiso, in Chili. Before the close of 1906—a year which had also witnessed in its early days the minor disturbances of Esmeraldas, in Ecuador, of Buenaventura in Colombia, and of Castries in the island of St. Lucia—a great part of the city of Arica lay in ruins. And now, with the beginning of the year 1907, the seismo-volcanic registry records the eruptions of Mauna Loa and Etna, the continuing vast flows of lava from the Savai volcano in the Samoan Islands, and the appalling disaster which has converted the capital of the island of Jamaica into a mass of debris.

In all these events we see the earth in the making—a process now, as ever, destructive. Within this quarter-century the population of the globe has been diminished by not less than 125,000 or 150,000 as the result of terrestrial catastrophism. Possibly the figures should be even larger, for the records are incomplete.

\* \* \*

### THE GOD OF CLAY.

I watch each day my singing sisters go  
Lightfooted to the temple on the height,  
Bearing fair gifts, trailed blooms of rose and snow,  
To please the golden gods of their delight;

The golden gods that, in their lofty place,  
Stand in their flawless might for all to see,  
Bearing each one upon his perfect face  
The pride of his infallibility.

And ever on their way and singing thus  
They pause sometimes to urge me or deride,  
"O sister, wilt thou never come with us  
To worship where the gods of gold abide?"

They never know that, ere they pass the gates  
Of bronze and ivory, I take my way  
To where, in his unlighted darkness, waits  
My desecrated, shattered god of clay.

Before their golden gods my sisters cast  
Their fleeting blooms, the gladness of their years;  
I bear to my degraded god this last  
Great gift of silence and of awful tears.

—Theodosia Garrison.

\* \* \*

**First Monkey:** "It seems to be a toss up whether man is descended from us."

**Second Monkey:** "Yes, it's heads, they win; tails, we win."—Smart Set.

\* \* \*

**Laird:** "Weel, Macalister, and have you found any of those strayed sheep yet?"

**Macalister:** "Yess. But I was finding them all again, sir, whatever. And I did find two by itself and one together and three among one of MacPherson's."—London Punch.

\* \* \*

"At last!" exclaimed the foreign statesman and man of letters, as he stood on the deck of the ocean steamship and gazed with kindling eye at the busy mart of commerce that lay almost at his feet.

# The Tariff and the Trusts

BY  
**FRANKLIN PIERCE**  
Of the New York Bar

A Clear Statement in Simple Form of the Flagrant  
Wrongs of the Present (Dingley) Tariff

Chapter	CONTENTS
I.	A Condition, Not a Theory.
II.	The Trusts Resulting from the Protective Tariff and Leading to Socialism.
III.	American and English Shipping
IV.	Protective Tariffs and Public Virtue.
V.	A Talk with Manufacturers.
VI.	A Talk with Laborers.
VII.	A Talk with Farmers.
VIII.	Our Tariff History.
IX.	How England Got Free Trade.
X.	The Tariff in Germany.
XI.	The Remedy.
	Index.

12mo, cloth, 387 pages, \$1.50 (postage 12 cents).

## THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY

First National Bank Building, CHICAGO

## Profit and Propaganda for All

We give a liberal commission for obtaining new subscribers to THE PUBLIC, and they are not hard to find. All interested should take some recent issues (sent on request) and ask all the fair-minded persons they can find, men and women, to subscribe for three months for 25 cents, if not for a longer period. THE PUBLIC is recognized as the most interesting and best journal of democracy (in the broad sense of the word). And anyone can sell single copies anywhere at 5 cents each, at a good margin of profit. Send for suggestions, subscription blanks, and extra copies.

## THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY

First National Bank Building, CHICAGO





"Within an hour the dream of my life will be realized, and I shall stand on the shore of America, the land of the free, the home of the brave, and the hope of the world!" Within an hour, however, he was standing before a red nosed, glassy eyed inspector and indignantly denying that he was an anarchist, a pauper, a coolie laborer, a bigamist, a thief, a murderer, or a fugitive from justice.—Chicago Tribune.

## BOOKS

### A BOOK OF CHEERFUL BUT UNSOUND COUNSEL.

"Boy Wanted." A Book of Cheerful Counsel. By Nixon Waterman. Published by Forbes & Co., Chicago. 1906.

"Boy Wanted" is a modern, well-printed, well-illustrated, attractive looking "goody-goody" book, with its philosophy all twisted and its ethics harmful. The author's direct preaching, prose and verse full of brief quotations (many of them excellent), accompanied by some well-done sketches of poor boys who became famous, fill the little book. An early

definite ambition, good health, will-power, persistence, industry, above all cheerfulness, are to carry the boy on to success. And success, by the way, is that mysterious, ill-defined something which crowns a life-long effort to get it.

All this is well-enough said, and, in spite of the triteness of theme, said with an original tang imparted by the rhymes. But our quarrel is with the philosophy of the book. The boy is told over and over in a dozen forms not to criticise his surroundings, but cheerfully to work, and blame only himself if he fails. There's the rub. If the boy accepts that view for himself he will inevitably apply it to others and say that every boy is to blame for his own failure. Harshness of judgment and a distorted view of society, are both involved in such a creed.

Is it not safer boldly to face the fact that economic conditions press with a deadly weight on many millions, and that there are tens of thousands of boys who have ability but no opportunity? Is it not more righteous to set before our boy as his ambition, two ideals: first, to make the most of whatever ability and opportunity he himself may have; and second, to gain for all other boys equality of opportunity for whatever ability each may pos-

sess? Is any boy who is old enough to read a "book of counsel," too young for this truth?

ANGELINE LOESCH.

## PAMPHLETS

### Vacation Schools.

The report for 1906 on the subject of vacation schools in Chicago is a strong, practical plea for this innovation in public school work. The vacation schools are conducted in the public school buildings during the summer vacation. They are in session half a day. There is no compulsion to stimulate attendance nor any punishment to compel obedience. Attendance is a privilege, and its denial the only penalty. No books are used, but manual training for boys, and for girls training in sewing, housekeeping and the care of infants are supplemented with training in music, drawing, oral expression and methods of play. The moral effect of this interesting system of tuition is illustrated by an example which the Superintendent, Wm. J. Bogan, cites in his report: "In the case of many dull boys, so-called, industrial art is the only subject through which the restricted spirit can find release. I have seen this often proved in vacation schools, where, under the stimulus of good teaching, bad boys were given an opportunity for self activity and self expression. For example, last year Judge Mack paroled a boy from a semi-penal institution on condition that he attend a vacation school throughout the summer. At first the boy was sullen and unappreciative, but when given the opportunity to show what he could do in a special kind of industrial art, he surprised the teacher and principal by his exemplary conduct and his enthusiastic devotion to work. I believe that whatever produces such a result may truly be called education of the highest type."

## PERIODICALS

William James, after 35 years of teaching at Harvard, has withdrawn from active duty. His work as a teacher, as a philosopher and psychologist, and as a writer of distinction, is the chief subject of the papers in the February Harvard Illustrated Magazine (1178 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.). A most attractive personality looks out from the frontispiece portrait of Professor James—a personality in tune with this noble democratic sonnet, reprinted from The Critic of March, 1904, on "The Human Sympathy of William James":

No futile groping after Truth is vain  
To him. In yearnings of a paltry mind  
Some fractions of the Whole, his eye can find.  
His view is not, from philosophic plane  
To thoughts of peers restricted. There is gain  
To knowledge, so he reads, in every kind  
And throb of mental life. He sees behind  
A poor "sick soul" suggestions born of pain.  
He follows out stray threads of the divine,  
Twisted indeed into a tangled maze,  
But leading straight to a credential sign  
For one with skill to spell aright the phrase.  
That science, his. His gentle temperament  
Shows wisdom with a gracious instinct blent.

A. T. P.

"Politics is the art of turning influence into affluence."

## SENATOR SORGHUM'S PRIMER OF POLITICS

Helpful Hints on the Science  
of Not Getting the Worst of It

By PHILANDER CHASE JOHNSON

Decorated Boards, 50 Cents, Postpaid

"It is a collection of keen and searching aphorisms that humorously present the attitude of mind of the successful, competent and practical politician. The spirit of these epigrams is distilled knowledge of human nature and its procedure, its aims, pretenses, thrift, selfishness and wisdom; and the form into which this sense and satire is thrown, has the brilliancy and flash of fine cut gems."

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY  
First National Bank Building, CHICAGO

## Captain Jinks Hero

By ERNEST CROSBY

A keen satire on our recent wars, in which the parallel between savagery and soldiery is unerringly drawn.

PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED  
BY DAN BEARD

There is not a dull page in the book.—*South African News, Capetown.*

The author has added to our literature a notable work of satire, which, whether right or wrong, must appeal to all endowed with the national sense of humor.—*New York Mail and Express.*

12mo, cloth, 400 pages, \$1.50, postpaid.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.  
First National Bank Building CHICAGO

**Financier's Wife:** "Henry, when a cashier, or a treasurer, or some man of that sort runs away with a lot of money, and his books don't balance, they call it a shortage, don't they? Well, suppose, instead of taking the firm's money, he leaves a lot of his own money behind—is that 'longage,' or what is it?"

**Financier:** "I believe there's some word to describe it, but I don't know what it is. There is never any occasion to use it."—Chicago Tribune.

## MERRIEWOLD INN

ON LAKE MERRIEWOLD

### MERRIEWOLD PARK

A restricted reservation of 1,500 acres in the highest part of Sullivan County, New York.

BOATING BATHING FISHING TENNIS  
Furnished Cottages for Rent.

ALEXANDER MOORE, Supt., Merriewold, Sullivan Co., N. Y.

## ALEXANDER'S MAGAZINE

For an optimistic, hopeful, inspiring record of the American Negro's deeds read Alexander's Magazine, which is devoted to the discussion of the constructive efforts of the Negro race. \$1.00 a year; send 10c for sample copy.

Charles Alexander, Editor & Publisher  
714 Shawmut Ave. " Boston, Mass.

## IS IT POSSIBLE FOR A MAN TO LIVE ACCORDING TO THE GOLDEN RULE OF CHRIST?

The answer to this very old question is given in Ernest Crosby's fascinating biographical sketch

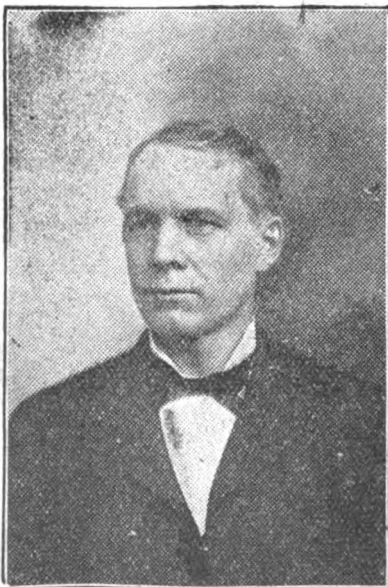
GOLDEN RULE JONES  
MAYOR OF TOLEDO

It tells, with abundance of anecdote, of the life and experiences of that remarkable and lovable character, Samuel M. Jones of Toledo, in business, in politics, and on the bench, and of his views on economics, poetry, life, etc.

16mo, 70 pages, with half-tone portrait of Jones. In attractive paper cover, 25 cents, postpaid.

The Public Publishing Company  
First National Bank Building, Chicago

# JOHN Z. WHITE IN CHICAGO



JOHN Z. WHITE

Arrangements have been completed for MR. JOHN Z. WHITE to lecture in Chicago from February 15 to April 1, 1907, on the following subjects:—

**The Single Tax**  
**Direct Legislation**  
**Public Ownership of Public Utilities**

There will be no charge for the lectures on these subjects in Chicago during this period.

Application for Mr. White should be made to

F. H. MONROE, President Henry George Lecture Ass'n

Telephone: Harrison 4322

610 Stelway Hall, Chicago