

# The Public

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## EDITORIAL

### Morgan Pounding Roosevelt.

A good many of the criticisms of President Roosevelt made by George B. Harvey at the banquet of the Sons of St. Patrick at New York on the 18th are well enough deserved, no doubt; but even just criticisms of Roosevelt from Morganatic sources are to be cautiously considered. When the devil quotes Scripture he means mischief.

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### Relative Cost of Land and Improvements.

Those college professors who argue that in the

course of historical evolution land has ceased to be the most important industrial factor besides labor, may possibly be interested in the fact, as recently stated by the New York Herald, that the city of New York has learned from experience in building the Manhattan and Williamsburg bridges, that the land necessary for the approaches to such a bridge is by far the most expensive item of the total cost.

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### The Appropriate Mr. Busse.

It is eminently appropriate that Mr. Busse, who voted in the Illinois legislature for the "eternal monopoly bills" which Governor Altgeld vetoed, should be the Morganite candidate for Mayor of Chicago in the interest of the eternal monopoly traction ordinances. The "eternal monopoly bills" were for only 100 years; the traction ordinances are forever. The "eternal monopoly bills" cost the corporations much money for boodle"; the traction ordinances are costing the corporations much money for "boodle." The "eternal monopoly bills" were laid to rest by Gov. Altgeld's veto; the traction ordinances will be laid to rest by Mayor Dunne's referendum.

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### The Inwardness of Franchise Ordinances.

Reports come from the grand jury at San Francisco to the effect that the traction company of that city distributed \$450,000 as bribes to secure permission to turn its cable system into a trolley system. This permission enabled the company to inflate its stock by millions. If the San Francisco Company paid \$450,000 to change from cable to trolley, how much does the Chicago combine pay for the perpetual franchise its touters are now asking the people to vote for? The facts in detail have not yet leaked out, but no one is innocent enough to suppose that the Chicago price is as low as \$450,000. Chicago aldermen, newspapers, business men, club men, pious men, and financiers come higher than that.

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### Woodrow Wilson on Social Unrest.

The president of Princeton University, speaking at the South Carolina banquet at New York on the 18th, made what appears from the news reports to have been a true diagnosis of social unrest. "The root of inequality," he is reported as saying, "is not wealth, but the special favors granted by such legislation as the extravagant tariff

laws." Of course the tariff laws are not the whole root of the difficulty, and Dr. Wilson says so. The whole root, as he appears to have urged, is "artificial privileges or advantages," a term by which we understand him to have meant enforced discriminations. When he proposed going to the root of the matter and abolishing all such discriminations, he struck a true note. But what could he have meant when he said that we must do this "in all moderation and in all fairness"? To abolish discriminations is itself an act of moderation; to maintain them is vicious. To abolish them is itself fairness; to maintain them is to be unfair. Gentlemen like Dr. Wilson forget, when they urge the abolition of privileges with "moderation and fairness" and without injury to the privileged,—they forget that they are in reality urging injury to the unprivileged. The profits of privilege are not gifts from the past; they are tributes of the hour, a continuous diversion of the fruits of industry from the unprivileged earner to the privileged appropriator.

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### The Wall Street Panic.

A Wall Street panic has come and gone. What of it? There is just as much wealth in the country as before, but some of it has changed hands. The railroads are as numerous and as useful as before, but the stocks—the certificates of title to their rights of way and terminal privileges—have fluctuated in value. But what of the panic? Nothing but this, that some inflated values have been punctured. The whole thing is a phenomenon of stock-watering commercialism, which is in turn a product of the monopolization of public highways. Is the public, then, not concerned with this Wall street panic? Yes, it is concerned. But only because the rights with which the Wall street buccaners are playing are public rights. But for that, a panic of this kind would concern the public no more than the breaking of a faro bank,—which indeed it very much resembles.

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Some newspapers attribute the panic to a deliberate attempt by financial pirates to frighten President Roosevelt. If that was its origin it has not failed of its purpose. Mr. Roosevelt "came down" with the docility of the famous coon. Did the nice pirates want deposits of government money in their faro banks? They got what they wanted. Did the kind gentlemen want a gift of interest on their government bonds three months in advance? They had only to ask and it was done. Were they embarrassed in their highwaymanship by State

legislation against the holding up of passengers for extortionate fares? The governor of every offending State should be forthwith summoned to Washington and ordered to let the pretty highwaymen alone. Mr. Roosevelt hesitated at nothing to please the pleasant gentleman.

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We doubt if even the masters of finance could have manufactured a panic in order to scare President Roosevelt; we think that panics are born, not made. We doubt, moreover, if they would be willing to manufacture one if they could; for panics once set a-going are erratic, and no one knows when or where or how they will stop. But if panics can be made, and if this one was made, it has served its makers passing well. And this it has done whether manufactured or not. Mr. Roosevelt has been admonished through it that the seat of the government of the United States has been transferred from Washington to Wall street.

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### The Political Turkey Dance.

Independent newspapers are not unlike the dancing turkeys of the old time side-show. They are independent enough until the showman starts up the fire under the floor of their cage. As the fire grows hot the involuntary dance becomes pathetically comic. The most interesting instance of this sort of political turkey-dance, has the Chicago Record-Herald for chief turkey. For civic worthlessness, for political uncleanness, for personal unspeakableness, the "independent" Record-Herald has professed to regard Mr. Busse, the Republican machine candidate for Mayor of Chicago, with immeasurable disgust. But the Record-Herald's "independence" has the Republican machine characteristics, and now that "Boss" Lorimer has set the fires a-going, the Record-Herald begins reluctantly and with wild-eyed amazement to dance to the Busse music. It still gobbles "Goo-goo," and again "Goo-goo," but its steps get livelier as the floor of its cage grows hotter.

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### The Busse Ring and the Civil Service.

What the Republican machine would do with the merit system of civil service in Chicago, if its candidate for Mayor, Mr. Busse, were elected, is indicated by the Citizens' Association of Chicago of which Eugene E. Prussing is president. This organization has sent out a circular, warning the people that—

A crisis has arisen which threatens to defeat the effort to place under civil service the great offices of Cook County not now under the merit sys-

tem. Unless deterred by the force of public opinion, politicians will defeat the accomplishment of this great reform at this session of the legislature. The extension of the county civil service law has for years been favored by the public, but has been prevented by the leaders of the Republican party in Cook county, for the reason that their power might be curtailed by loss of patronage.

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**The Business Man.**

When men are favored for public office because they have shown ability in the management of their own business, the fact should not be overlooked that private administration is radically different from public administration. Administration of private affairs is for the purpose of making the administrator rich; but this is precisely what the administration of public affairs is not. To argue that a business man would make a successful public official because he has been a successful private money-getter, is to pay him a somewhat ambiguous compliment.

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**Characteristic Falsifications.**

As specimen falsifications by the Chicago daily papers, the following may be worth consideration. On the 18th the Record-Herald published this false statement regarding the editor of The Public:

Twenty thousand copies of The Public, the weekly of School Trustee Louis F. Post, were delivered yesterday to Democratic headquarters. The number has articles on "Tom L. Johnson's Traction Triumph" and "A Fair Account of Two Years of Faithful Public Service," referring to Mayor Dunne's administration. It is said the county committee is to pay \$2,000 for the copies. The regular price of the paper is 5 cents a copy, the advance to the committee being 100 per cent.

On the same day the Chronicle put forth the same falsehood in this form:

Although the Democratic campaign managers have been loud in their complaints that they are being hampered by lack of funds, they have found a sufficient amount of money to liberally reward Louis F. Post . . . who . . . delivered 20,000 copies of the January issue of the magazine [The Public] to the Democratic headquarters. . . . "Very nice of Mr. Post to show his appreciation for Mayor Dunne by sending us these books," exclaimed the members of the committee. "They will make fine campaign literature." But their enthusiasm was short-lived. The bill for the magazines followed close on the books. Its arrival caused a gasp of astonishment. It was referred to the Dunne finance committee and paid. The amount was \$2,000 for 20,000 copies. The retail price of the magazine is 5 cents a copy.

Inquiry proved that no information excusing these false statements was given out by the Dem-

ocratic committee. The statements had been manufactured by the newspapers in question for the malicious purpose of charging graft. Their falsity is shown by the following affidavit of James G. Parsons, manager of The Public Publishing Company:

The published statement that \$2,000 were paid to Louis F. Post for copies of The Public delivered to the Democratic campaign committee is entirely false. No money whatever was paid to Mr. Post. Mr. Post is the editor of The Public, and has nothing whatever to do with its business affairs, which are looked after by The Public Publishing Company through its manager. It would not make any difference to Mr. Post whether 1,000 or 100,000 copies of any issue were sold. The issue of The Public referred to in the newspaper reports is the one published on January 19th last. It contains a comprehensive review of what has been accomplished by Mayor Dunne, written by Mr. Post. Because of the review a certain Chicago citizen, a man in private life and without any official connection with the administrator or the campaign committee, bought from The Public Publishing Company, during the month of January last, 50,000 copies of this issue of January 19th. The price paid for these copies was, in consideration of the large quantity purchased, considerably less than the Company's regular price for The Public in quantity, \$20.00 per 1,000, at which price extra copies of The Public in quantity are constantly being sold. These 50,000 extra copies were not printed until after the order was received, and some time after the review by Mr. Post had been written and published. Thirty thousand of these extra copies were distributed among the people through various channels, and the remaining 20,000 presented, by the man who had bought them, to the Democratic campaign committee last week. No bill whatever was rendered to the campaign committee by The Public Publishing Company or by Mr. Post, or any money received from the committee by either.

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**"THE DUNNE SCHOOL BOARD."**

**I. Introductory.**

When the appointees of Mayor Dunne to the school board of Chicago came into office in sufficient number to constitute a majority (pp. 347, 939), certain newspapers began, and they still continue, a systematic campaign of abuse and misrepresentation against what they call "the Dunne school board."

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It is not difficult to guess the motive for this mendacity.

Gifts of great and growing value to the Chicago Tribune, the Daily News (of which the Record-Herald is the morning edition), and certain business firms of influence, had been made by previous boards, whereby the school fund is and for nearly a century may be annually plundered.

This was done by so altering the 100-year leases of school lands, with their provisions for ten-year readjustments of ground rentals, as to place the remaining 90 years of the term on a flat basis with no periodical alteration of ground rentals (page 939). The "trick was turned" by striking out the clause for ten-year readjustments of ground rentals, and fixing the rentals for the whole long term at an exceedingly low rate even for the decade in which they were made.

Fearing that "the Dunne board" would try to stop this plundering of the schools, the beneficiaries of these fraudulent lease-alterations began their crusade of mendacity. Their motive doubtless was to discredit "the Dunne board" in advance of its anticipated attack upon their profitable graft.

Disregarding, however, the motive for this newspaper conspiracy against "the Dunne board," we purpose setting forth briefly the essential facts to which the misrepresentations of the conspirators relate.

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In an editorial on the 15th of March, the Chicago Tribune concisely summed up the antecedent misrepresentations. We quote this summing-up, for the purpose of defining the issue of fact. Alluding to "the Dunne board," the Tribune said: "Its action has been expended in labored attempts to destroy an excellent educational system, and in a determined effort to spend all the money, and more, that could be got out of the tax payers." Here, then, are two distinct accusations. First, that "the Dunne board" has attempted to injure the school system on its educational side; and, second, that it has been extravagant on the financial side.

## II. Educational Management.

The imputation that "the Dunne board" has attempted to injure the Chicago school system on its educational side, is without better basis than the falsifications that have for the past eight months characterized local newspaper reports of the proceedings of the Board of Education. By reference to the official records of the Board, it may be clearly seen that "the Dunne board," so far from having injured the educational system, has saved it from injury and is promoting its efficiency.

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"The Dunne board" found in operation in the school system a secret marking method for checking off the relative efficiency of teachers.

This method, which was unfair to the teachers

and futile for its ostensible purpose, had fostered favoritism and suspicion and generated demoralization in the teaching force.

"The Dunne board" therefore abolished it.

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A salary-promotional method was also found in operation in the system by "the Dunne board."

This method was in use for no other real purpose than to regulate increases of salary, although its ostensible purpose was to distinguish progressive from non-progressive teachers, the superior from the inferior.

Upon investigation, it proved to have operated with absurd unfairness. The records showed that the teachers who had been advanced in salary by this method were doing the same work as those of equal experience who had not been advanced in salary, and that they were doing it no better.

A failure for its ostensible purpose, and a cause for just indignation and discontent among the teachers, it was manifestly detrimental to the service.

"The Dunne board" therefore abolished it.

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"The Dunne board" discovered that the educational system was so organized as to make intelligent co-operation between the teaching force and the Board of Education impossible. Though charged by law with responsibility for the educational work, the Board was unable in any reasonable or satisfactory way to secure a consensus of opinion on educational problems from the teachers, that great body of its employes who come directly in contact with the children to be educated. Excepting a few favorites, they were treated as underlings whose sole duty is to obey orders and say nothing.

"The Dunne board" has therefore proceeded to organize the whole teaching force into a simple, democratic, and elastic parliamentary body for advisory purposes. To this end it has referred to the teachers and principals themselves the work of formulating details of organization. As a result, the entire teaching force is now profoundly interested in the maintenance at a high level of efficiency of a school system in which, until the advent of "the Dunne board," their proffers of co-operation had been superciliously discouraged as impertinent.

The general character of organization which "the Dunne board" is promoting is in harmony with the recommendations of such distinguished educators as Dr. Dewey of Columbia University and President Eliot of Harvard; and as this re-

form is of interest wherever public schools are maintained, we quote the hitherto unpublished committee report, known as "The de Bey Report," on the basis of which "the Dunne board" is proceeding:

I. Your Committee finds that under existing conditions the Board of Education and the teaching body are as widely separated for consultative and freely co-operative purposes as if they had no educational interests or duties in common. For the teachers are inarticulate as a body, and the Board, compelled to act without their direct advice, is forced into the position of governing by mere might of its legal authority and often in ignorance of matters regarding which the teachers would be its best advisers. This is manifestly detrimental. It tends especially to lessen the effectiveness of the teachers in their school work, by destroying in them that spirit of co-operation which is vital to a homogeneous school system.

II. Even if it were true that all goodness and wisdom in affairs educational dwell with the school authorities, the fact remains that in the end their decrees must be executed by the teachers. It is the teaching body, after all, and not boards, committees, or superintendents, that must be depended upon to give vitality to public school education. Their cordial co-operation is therefore essential.

And inasmuch as teachers are the personal guardians and guides of the children they teach, and come into more intimate relations with these wards of the public school than anyone else in the system, their hearty and intelligent co-operation in promoting the educational policies of the Board is not to be secured by methods of management which are or seem to them to be despotic.

In the opinion of your Committee the teaching force must be organically recognized by the Board. Their cordial acquiescence in the wisdom, justice and sincerity of the policies they are called upon to promote must be secured, or their work will fall short of the highest possibilities. In the nature of things this acquiescence cannot be secured either by preventing discussion or by ignoring recommendations. To prevent discussion irritates; to ignore the results of discussion is disheartening. The important thing is, not that the recommendations of the teachers shall be adopted by the Board regardless of their merits, but that they shall be considered in good faith upon their merits.

III. One of the most important steps, therefore, which in the opinion of your Committee the Board ought to take, is the organization of the teachers into an official consultative and advisory body.

There is no implication here, nor have we learned satisfactorily of any demand from any source, that the teaching body should govern the Superintendent or the Board, or in any manner dictate to either. What is in principle proposed is, (1) that the responsibility of legislative authority and final control should be reposed in the Board, (2) that the responsibility of administrative authority and advisory direction should be reposed in the Superintendent, and (3) that advisory authority and responsibility on educational subjects and the relation of the teaching body to the school system, should be vested in

the teaching body. And the teaching body in its advisory capacity, should it be thus organized, should have the fullest parliamentary freedom of expression. The common sense of the teachers would indicate to them the proper limitations of subject-matter for their discussion.

IV. The value of such an organization is obvious. The lack of it is a manifest detriment to the school system in many ways.

We regard an authoritative organization of the teachers for consultative and advisory purposes with reference to pedagogical subjects and their own relation to the school system, as an immediate necessity for the best interests of the public school children.

V. This idea of an official organization of the teaching force for advisory purposes has had the approval of some of the most distinguished educators of the United States; not only such as are accounted radical, but also such as are accounted conservative.

VI. Among the educators who have approved it are found the names of Charles W. Elliot, President of Harvard University; Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University; Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart, and Dr. John Dewey. [Here follow extended quotations from these educators]. Against these pronounced opinions in favor of organizing the teaching force as an official advisory body, your Committee finds no well considered objections, and we are at a loss to understand how any rational objection is possible. To us it seems that it is of the utmost importance that the teaching body, which is so much more intimately related to the work of educating the public school children than any other department of the public school system, should be placed upon a dignified, independent and responsible basis as one of the advisory departments of that system. An inarticulate teaching body cannot, in our judgment, attain its full measure of efficiency, nor can the school system in which it is employed achieve the best educational results.

VII. Your Committee therefore recommends the adoption of the following resolution:

Whereas, The full power and responsibility for legislative, judicial and executive action within the school system, now reposed by law in the Board of Education, should be intelligently and faithfully maintained, and no part thereof should be surrendered to any employe or employes of the Board; and,

Whereas, The Superintendent ought to have full power and responsibility for executive administration on the educational side, as the employe of the Board, together with advisory power and responsibility relative to all its legislative, executive and judicial functions; and,

Whereas, The teaching force ought to be so organized officially as to invest it with advisory power and responsibility relative to executive, judicial and legislative action, whether upon its own initiative or in response to requests from the Superintendent or the Board; and,

Whereas, A realization of these principles in practice is necessary to secure the best service from the Superintendent and the teaching force, and to enable the Board to perform its functions in the most intelligent and effective manner; and,

Whereas, The Superintendent's assistance and advice are already available to the Board at all times, but the necessary organization of the teaching body remains yet to be effected;

Therefore, to the end that the advice of the teachers as well as that of the Superintendent may be available, and that complete and cordial co-operation of the Board, the Superintendent and the teaching body may be thereby established,

Resolved, That "The Educational Councils" of the Chicago public schools be, and they hereby are, invited to submit to the Board of Education a revised constitution for the purpose of placing the teaching body of the Chicago public school system into direct advisory relations with the Board.

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Board of Education that the basic principles of such revision should be along the following lines:

1. All teachers and principals in actual service should be ipso facto members of the Council of their respective schools;

2. District Councils and the Central Council should be formed by representation from the respective School Councils;

3. Provision should be made for advisory or other co-operation with the Councils in their deliberations, of the Superintendent and other officials on the educational side, analogous to that which exists between the Superintendent and the Board;

4. Provision should be made for separate expression of opinion and action when desired, on the part of the high school councils, of elementary school councils, of principals, of specialty instructors, and of the grade teachers and high school teachers, as distinct departments of or bodies within the Councils;

5. Rules of order should be adopted for convenient and appropriate consideration and action by the councils upon any question for the purpose of advising the Board, whether at the request of the Board or upon their own initiative; and,

6. That any other group, or groups of teachers, or principals, be and they are hereby invited to submit a plan of organization of the entire teaching body of the Chicago public schools.

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The foregoing are the only changes that "the Dunne board" has made or is making in the educational system of Chicago.

### III. Financial Management.

The imputation that "the Dunne board" has been extravagant is altogether unfounded.

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"The Dunne board" has managed the finances of the school system since July 1, 1906. It, therefore, is responsible for the latter six months of the fiscal year ending December 31, 1906, during which period the fund at its disposal was the remainder of the budget prepared by the previous Board.

Among the items of that budget was the sum of \$242,735.42 which the previous Board had treated,

and transmitted to "the Dunne board," as available cash. But "the Dunne board" was unable to treat this item as cash, for it consisted of ground rents litigated by the State street stores. "The Dunne board" has withdrawn it from the items of available cash and treats it, as it should have been treated by the previous Board, as a contingent asset. If that item, charged by the previous Board to "the Dunne board" as available cash, had in fact been available cash, instead of being withheld by the State street stores, "the Dunne board" would have closed its fiscal year with a surplus, although every previous Board since 1900 closed with a deficit.

The financial condition under "the Dunne board" at the close of the fiscal year, December 31, 1906, is shown by the following table:

Cash on hand .....	\$ 21,592.21
Rents withheld by the State street stores and charged by the previous board to "the Dunne board" as available cash .....	242,735.42
Assets .....	\$264,327.63
Unpaid bills .....	222,726.26
Surplus .....	\$ 41,610.88

This result was accomplished in spite of the fact that the Board of Education had received the benefit of a smaller tax levy in "the Dunne board" year than in the previous year.

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So far from having been extravagant, "the Dunne board" has, in consequence of the inadequate fund at its disposal, been forced into a parsimonious economy. Its funds, inadequate at the best, have been exhausted in meeting obligations transmitted to it by its predecessors.

Of the two categories of expenditure—cost of school sites and buildings, and cost of educational work,—the latter includes everything not included in the former. And it is an item the amount of which cannot be much lessened without disaster. Indeed, it automatically increases with increase of population. Officials, principals, teachers, apparatus, official accommodations, furniture, repairs—and so on, all of which must be paid for out of the educational fund,—impose a fixed minimum of expense far up in the millions. Inheriting these obligations from its predecessors, "the Dunne board" could not have diminished them had it wished to.

Nor ought they to be diminished. The educational expenditure, at present altogether too low for efficiency, ought to be very greatly increased.

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But "the Dunne board" has not had the money with which to increase it; and that no increase

has been made may be seen from the accompanying table of expenditures for educational account.

Beginning with the fiscal year ending December 31, 1900, under a "business board" (as the newspapers call the predecessors of "the Dunne board"), and concluding with the fiscal year ending December 31, 1906, under "the Dunne board," the expenditures for educational account have been as follows:

1900	"Business board"	.....	\$6,281,564
1901	" "	.....	7,196,789
1902	" "	.....	6,379,787
1903	" "	.....	6,952,551
1904	" "	.....	7,287,622
1905	" "	.....	7,435,294
1906	"Dunne board"	Jan. 1 to June 30	7,425,268
		July 1 to Dec. 31	

So the expenditures for the fiscal year in which "the Dunne board" first appears were \$10,026 less than under the preceding "business board," this being the difference between \$7,435,294, (the expenditure for the last fiscal year of the "business board") and \$7,425,268 (the expenditure for the first fiscal year of "the Dunne board"). Instead, therefore, of having been extravagant in expenditures for educational account, "the Dunne board" has been extremely economical.

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In the other category, namely, expenditures for school sites and school buildings, "the Dunne board" has neither expended, nor incurred obligations to expend, a single dollar upon its own initiative. Its expenditures have all resulted from transactions initiated but not executed by its predecessors.

This has been unfortunate, for the Chicago school system is sadly in need of still more school accommodations.

Children are crowded to the number of 50 and 60 in their school rooms, although, as the Superintendent advises, there ought to be no more than 30 to a room. In order, however, to reduce the number only to 40, nearly \$10,000,000 more would be required for buildings and sites and nearly \$1,000,000 more a year for educational account. Clearly, the aggregate expenditures for buildings and sites ought to be vastly increased.

But "the Dunne board" has been unable to take the initiative in making this much needed increase, because its funds have been exhausted in paying for buildings and sites that had been voted for by its predecessors but left by them for "the Dunne board" to construct and pay for.

Even the buildings and sites that "the Dunne board" has ordered, doing so in accordance with prior action by its predecessors, have cost less than \$1,000,000, while its expenditures for buildings

and sites exceed \$4,000,000. Some \$3,000,000, therefore, of "the Dunne board's" expenditures for buildings and sites was in consequence not only of initial action by its predecessors but also of their decisive orders.

IV. Suggestive Comparisons.

Suggestive comparisons of the work of "the Dunne board" with that of its predecessors may be made upon the basis of the following table, which is compiled from the official records:

Year ending June 30.	School Board.	Buildings Ordered.	Building Contracts Made.	Buildings Paid For.	Sites Ordered.	Sites Paid For.	Total Payments for Buildings and Sites.
1901	"Business"	\$2,157,500	\$1,340,459	\$ 833,667	\$365,898	\$206,878	\$1,040,545
1902	" "	2,140,500	1,483,011	1,290,148	152,573	289,038	1,579,186
1903	" "	890,500	1,517,575	1,749,254	241,354	264,587	2,013,841
1904	" "	3,000,000	1,656,466	1,710,829	727,146	256,118	1,966,747
1905	" "	3,511,900	1,687,267	1,836,235	959,129	397,789	2,234,024
1906	" "	3,456,000	2,366,611	2,495,575	811,512	846,674	3,342,240
1907	Dunne	230,000	2,206,793	*1,863,000 †1,000,000	747,593	*554,976 †750,000	4,167,970

\* Paid.

† To be paid.

This table does indeed show that "the Dunne board" has paid or is to pay for buildings and sites for the year ending June 30, 1907, the sum of \$4,167,976—a larger sum by nearly \$1,000,000 than the corresponding payment of its immediate predecessor.

But the table also shows, and this is the real point on the question of extravagance, that "the Dunne board" has ordered only \$230,000 worth of buildings and \$747,593 of sites, or a total of only \$977,593, whereas its immediate predecessor ordered \$3,456,000 worth of buildings and \$811,512 of sites, or a total of \$4,267,512. The orders of this "business board," therefore, were \$3,289,919 more than the corresponding orders of "the Dunne board."

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On the point of building contracts actually made, "the Dunne board" is chargeable with only \$2,206,793 as against \$2,366,611 by its immediate predecessor.

When it is considered that everyone of these building contracts is based upon orders voted or necessitated by predecessors of "the Dunne board," that every site was ordered or necessitated by predecessors of "the Dunne board," and consequently that every dollar of the \$4,167,976 chargeable to

"the Dunne board" as payment for buildings and sites was transmitted to it as an obligation by its predecessors—when these facts are considered, the impudence of the attempt to convict "the Dunne board" of financial extravagance assumes monumental proportions.

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A rather curious situation is disclosed by the foregoing table, with reference to the ordering of buildings and sites.

On the 30th of June, 1903, the end of the first term as president of Mr. Clayton Mark, the building sites account was virtually balanced (so far as this table discloses the situation), the item of "sites ordered" aggregating for the three years down to that date the sum of \$759,825, and the item of "sites paid for" aggregating \$760,503.

This excess was increased at the end of the fiscal year 1905, the close of Mr. Mark's second administration, to \$1,031,690.

It was somewhat reduced during Mr. Tilden's administration ending June 30, 1906.

But the excess of "sites ordered" over "sites paid for," upon the coming into the presidency of Mr. Emil W. Ritter (Dunne appointee), at the beginning of the present school year, amounted to \$896,528.

Mr. Ritter's administration reduces this excess of \$896,528 to \$239,145.

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A similarly curious situation discloses itself, upon examination of the same table, with reference to the items of "buildings ordered" and "buildings paid for."

At the close of the school year ending June 30, 1901, (the first of the Harris administration), the item of "buildings ordered" showed an excess for that year of \$1,323,833 over "buildings paid for."

This excess was increased in 1902, also a Harris administration, to \$2,174,185.

It was reduced in 1903, under the first Mark administration, to \$1,315,431.

But it was again increased in 1904, under the Harris administration, to \$2,605,802.

In 1905, the second Mark administration had increased this excess of "buildings ordered" over "buildings paid for" to \$4,280,467; and in 1906 the Tilden administration had run it up to \$5,240,992.

The Ritter (Dunne) administration reduced this excess of \$5,240,992 to \$2,607,892.

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A comparison of the column of "building contracts made" with that of "buildings paid for,"

shows a transfer by "the Dunne board" of the excess from the former column to the latter.

At the close of the school year ending June 30, 1901, (the first of the Harris administration), the item of "building contracts made" showed an excess for that year over the item of "buildings paid for," of \$506,792.

This excess was increased in 1902, also a Harris administration, to \$699,645.

It was reduced in 1903, under the first Mark administration, to \$467,966.

And in 1904 it was further reduced, under the Harris administration, to \$413,793.

In 1905, the second Mark administration reduced the excess to \$264,825; and in 1906 the Tilden administration further reduced it to \$135,861.

Consequently, upon the coming in of "the Dunne board," under Ritter's administration, the excess of "building contracts made" over "buildings paid for," was \$135,861. This excess is entirely paid off by "the Dunne board."

And in addition to completely wiping out the excess of "building contracts made" over "buildings paid for," as disclosed by the table of accumulations since 1901, "the Dunne board" pays \$344,000 for building contracts accumulated during the period preceding the year 1901 and not accounted for in the table from 1901 to 1907.

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Following is a tabulation of the foregoing comparisons:

Year Ending June 30.	Board.	Excess of "Sites Ordered" over "Sites Paid For."	Excess of Buildings Ordered Over Buildings Paid for.	Total Excess of Orders over Payments.	Excess of "Building Contracts Made" over "Buildings Paid for."
1901	"Business"	.....	\$1,323,833	.....	\$ 506,792
1902	"	.....	2,174,185	.....	699,645
1903	"	.....	1,315,431	.....	467,966
1904	"	\$ 470,350	2,605,802	\$3,076,152	413,793
1905	"	1,031,690	4,280,467	5,312,157	264,825
1906	"	896,528	5,240,992	6,137,620	135,861
1907	"Dunne"	239,145	2,607,892	2,847,037	*000,000

\* In addition to wiping out the excess accumulated since 1901, as shown in the first table, "the Dunne Board" has paid \$344,000 on account of the accumulations that would be shown by tabulations from an earlier year than 1901.

The foregoing comparisons are not made for the purpose of criticising previous Boards for extravagance. Since the sites and the buildings that they ordered were necessary, no blame rests upon those Boards for ordering them.



The blame that does rest there is for their thrusting the financial burden of their accumulated orders upon "the Dunne board," instead of demanding of the fiscal authorities the necessary funds for meeting their own outlay.

Even this blame would be greatly diminished if they and their political and financial friends were not now utilizing the fact of the large expenditures that they forced upon "the Dunne board," as a pretense for falsely accusing the latter of extravagance.

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The question of extravagance has, moreover, another aspect than that of large expenditure. It involves the question of what is realized from the expenditure. On this score "the Dunne board" has a record of which its members may well be proud, and previous Boards may be pardoned for evading comparison with it.

The sites and buildings which previous Boards ordered without providing for paying for them, "the Dunne board" has paid for as far as its meager financial allowance would permit; and it has so judiciously managed the task of purchase and construction as to augment school accommodations to a greater degree and with more economy than its predecessors. In its brief period of control in the Board of Education it has completed 15 new school buildings with accommodations for 8,850 additional pupils. By the end of its first school year, June 30, 1907, it will have completed 13 more buildings, with accommodations for 12,450 more pupils.

V. Conclusion.

In the face of these incontestable facts from the official records, offensive criticisms of "the Dunne board" must be accompanied with convincing counter statements or they cannot affect fair and honest minds.

If the educational system has been injured by "the Dunne board," how has it been injured?

If "the Dunne board" has been extravagant, how has it been extravagant?

Newspaper abuse can not serve as a substitute for the facts. Newspaper malice can not masquerade as public spirit. Malignant generalizations for corrupt political effect cannot refute these truthful specifications.

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"Well, how are you getting on?"

"Don't ask me. Just as badly as next year."

"Next year?"

"Certainly. Nowadays every year is worse than the last, and things can't be worse with me next year than they are now."—Shutok (Russia).

## 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 20, 1907.

### The Financial Cyclone in Wall Street.

What is described by the dispatches as the worst slump in stocks for many years, occurred in Wall street on the 13th. The shrinkage in the values of paper titles is estimated at \$300,000,000.

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The trouble is reported to have originated in Berlin with an apparently reasonless rush to sell American securities. It spread to London and then to New York. In London, British consols, "the world's premier security," sold lower than at any time since 1866, the price falling to 84%. The Bank of Amsterdam raised its rate to 6 per cent. to prevent gold shipments. The cyclone is located in Wall street, however, because the decline in securities was greatest there.

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On the 14th President Roosevelt came to the aid of the street, through Secretary Cortelyou. Mr. Cortelyou issued a statement in the afternoon, in which he said:

The Secretary of the Treasury has this day announced that any bank that increased its circulation under the terms of the Department announcement of October 22, 1906, and was required thereby to retire the same during the months of March and August, may retain said additional circulation upon due notification to the Comptroller of the Currency of its desire so to do, without change as to security for public deposits until further notice. But those banks desiring to retire their additional circulation obtained in this way will be required to withdraw the State, municipal and railroad bonds now lodged with the Treasurer of the United States as security for public deposits and substitute the bonds released by reason of the retirement of their additional circulation. The amendment to section 5153 of the Revised Statutes by the Act approved March 4, 1907, eliminated the words "except receipts from customs," and the Secretary of the Treasury is now instructing collectors of customs, at places where it is found to be desirable, to deposit their receipts with national bank depositaries already established in same cities as the custom houses. The Secretary of the Treasury has also issued a circular announcing that he will redeem, with interest to July 1, the date of their maturity, any registered and coupon bonds of the 4 per cent. funded loan of 1907 to an amount not exceeding \$25,000,000. The bonds may be presented at once for redemption, and registered bonds should be duly assigned to the Secretary of the Treasury. A copy of this circular will be mailed to each owner of registered bonds. The circular of Feb. 11, 1907, providing for the purchase of these bonds at 101½ flat, has been rescinded.

This circular was explained from Washington by the Associated Press on the 14th as follows:

The first paragraph of the above announcement relates to the offer made by Secretary Shaw last October to bring about some degree of elasticity in national bank note issues. He permitted certain depository banks that had not yet availed themselves of the full circulation privilege to substitute certain approved State, municipal, and railroad bonds as security for public funds lodged with them on condition that the United States bonds as released be immediately pledged as security for additional circulation. Under this plan national banks took out about \$16,000,000 additional circulation, which they agreed to retire at the then authorized rate of \$3,000,000 a month, beginning with March and ending with August, 1907. Upon such retirement these banks were obliged to replace in their depository accounts the United States bonds which they had been permitted under the order to use against their circulation, with the treasury, the State, municipal, and railroad bonds which they had been allowed to deposit. Under the recent Aldrich act however, the limit of retirement was raised from \$3,000,000 to \$9,000,000 per month, and presumably owing to the high prices of government bonds in the market, engagements for the full retirement during March have been made and \$4,500,000 have been engaged for retirement during April and smaller amounts for succeeding months. It is believed at the treasury that this plan will keep in circulation the full \$16,000,000 originally engaged for retirement, although the privilege has been given the banks to retire their circulation if they so desire.

The deposits of customs receipts, in accordance with the provisions of the Aldrich act, is intended largely as a convenience to the collectors of customs at places where there are no subtreasuries. Therefore the subtreasury cities of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, New Orleans, and San Francisco will receive no direct benefit by the action taken to-day. Other cities, including Buffalo, Cleveland, Syracuse, Rochester, Pittsburg, Detroit, Plattsburg, Ogdensburg, Albany, Troy, Savannah, Atlanta, and Portland, Me., and approximately a hundred others, will be directly benefited. It is expected that banks in the cities named which are already depositories for government funds will now receive the customs collections in the same manner that internal revenue and miscellaneous receipts have hitherto been deposited with them. The advantages, however, that will accrue in consequence of this authorization will be comparatively small, in view of the fact that the receipts from customs in 1906 in all cities of the United States outside of New York was only about 30 per cent. of the whole, about 70 per cent. being collected in the city of New York, which will not be benefited under the new arrangement.

That portion of the secretary's announcement which relates to the redemption of the 4 per cent bonds of 1907, at a price equal to the principal and interest to maturity, is the measure intended by the Secretary as the principal source of relief to the money market. Under this announcement, holders of the fours of 1907 will receive immediately upon presentation of the bonds to the treasury department the full face value and 2 per cent. additional, being the interest for one-half year, from Jan. 1 to July 1, 1907.

Responsive to the President's action the stock market rallied on the 15th. Large fortunes had changed hands but market conditions are again normal.

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### The Chicago Mayoralty Campaign.

Mayor Dunne has been leading an active speaking campaign in the mayoralty election contest (p. 1184), his principal subject of discussion being the traction

ordinances, which he denounces as irrevocable franchises.

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Owing to the action of the Republicans in the legislature in hostility to the public policy referendum law, Mayor Dunne has issued the following statement:

The Republican organization is simply proving its consistency in the effort to take away from the people the public-policy law—that one weapon which has been the public safeguard against improvident and vicious legislation. It was this measure, resorted to by Chicago's citizens, which some years ago kept the hands of the traction corporations from grabbing Chicago's streets. The platform adopted by the Republican city convention is significantly silent as to the referendum. It contains not a single word as to the measure which insures to the people a final judgment on legislation affecting them. The leaders of the Republican party and the backers of their mayoralty candidate went even further than silence some weeks ago when the fight was on to secure to the people the final vote by referendum on the pending traction ordinances. They used every influence and every weapon to which they could lay their hands to strangle the effort to secure the referendum. But, in the face of all this effort the people registered their will and 200,000 signers of the referendum petition—though but 87,000 names were needed—insisted that the ordinances should be submitted to popular vote. It would seem from his recent statements that Mr. Busse, the Republican mayoralty candidate, is striving to forget some of these things. For Mr. Busse—rather humorously for him, it would seem—now asserts that the "traction question is the people's question" and that it is "right that the people should have the final vote on the ordinances." Well, if Mr. Busse honestly believes that why was it that he failed to utter a word or raise a hand in behalf of the traction-referendum petition a few weeks ago? I fail to remember so much as a single word from his lips or his pen in behalf of that petition. At that time he did not seem to hold the opinion that the question was a "people's question." His change of front seems rather sudden. I believe that the attempt to repeal the public-policy act by corporation machinators in the State legislature will fail, just as the attempted effort to strangle the recent referendum movement in Chicago failed utterly.

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Another statement by Mayor Dunne bears upon Mr. Busse's record in the legislature, when he voted for the bills giving long term franchises to certain corporations—the bills which, as "the eternal monopoly bills," were the subject of Gov. Altgeld's famous veto. Following is Mayor Dunne's statement on this subject:

I read that Mr. Busse insists his record was all right in 1895. I note further that Mr. Busse refers to statements made in former years in certain Chicago newspapers concerning this same record. We'll just see what some of these newspapers thought of the three rotten bills for which Mr. Busse voted and worked in 1895—three of the rottenest bills that ever disgraced the Illinois General Assembly. Senator Dan Campbell is now Mr. Busse's chief political engineer. Mr. Campbell was in the State senate in 1895, and he, too, worked and voted for these disgraceful bills, which Governor Altgeld vetoed after he had been offered \$500,000 to sign his name to their pages and make them laws. Governor Altgeld sent his thundering veto of the three measures to the lower house May 14, 1895, branding each bill as an attempt to "blind Chicago hand and foot to the wheel of monopoly." On June 14, 1895, after much side-stepping and parliamentary delays, the senate took up the ninety-

nine-year street railways bills—senate bills No. 137 and 138—and, with the State torn by cries of bribery and boodle, passed these measures over the Governor's veto. And "Dan" Campbell was one of the members of the senate who overrode the Governor's veto. Then the senate called on the house to follow the same course. That night in the house still lives as a black night in legislative history. The roll was called in the effort to pass the elevated railroad monopoly bill over the veto. The newspaper reports show that eighty-eight votes—and Fred A. Busse was among that number—had been polled in favor of the monopoly bill. Then the gang leaders found they would fall short of the required number of votes. There was volley after volley of furious debate which ended in the roll call being stopped, contrary to all precedent, while the leaders of the gang and the lobbyists made desperate but vain efforts to corral a few more votes. Of that night the Chicago Record, that newspaper not at that time having been consolidated with the Chicago Times-Herald, said: "Fourteen votes were needed, and it was freely stated that anyone who had a vote to dispose of could name his own price for it." That's what one newspaper said of the proceedings of that night and of the methods employed in the vain attempt to override Governor Altgeld's veto. The Chicago Record was the property of the present proprietor of the Chicago Daily News, from which latter newspaper Mr. Busse has quoted in his own defense. The latter newspaper now is advocating Mr. Busse's election. So I quote from newspapers friendly to Mr. Busse's present candidacy concerning the career of these three rotten bills for which Mr. Busse worked and voted in Springfield in 1895. On May 15, 1895, the day following the presentation of Governor Altgeld's ringing veto in the house, the Chicago Record said editorially: "The Governor's veto message is, in some respects, a masterly state paper. The vicious character of the three vetoed bills is pointed out in a manner which cannot fail to convince the members of the legislature, if their intentions are at all honest. Now that the true nature of these bills is known to the public, the legislature will scarcely attempt to pass them over the Governor's veto, notwithstanding the pressure that will be brought to bear upon the members by the agents of the interested corporations. The people of Illinois will remember the men who persist in pushing these bills, and their great desire to enrich a few monopolies at the expense of the people should cause them to be repudiated by the voters if they ever again seek public office." But the legislature did attempt to pass the bills over the Governor's veto, and Fred A. Busse as well as his present political shadow, Mr. Campbell, were among the men who persisted in "pushing these bills and in showing their great desire to enrich a few monopolies at the expense of the people." In the same editorial in the Chicago Record we find this statement: "Unless the legislature is in the market to be bought for cash it will not pass these pernicious bills over the Governor's veto." That's pretty plain talk. But it was no fault of Mr. Busse's or Mr. Campbell's that these rotten bills were not harnessed upon the city of Chicago. And on May 15, 1905, the Chicago Daily News, from which Mr. Busse has quoted frequently in his defense, said editorially: "The Governor has pointed out clearly and briefly the objectionable features of the bills. The case is very clearly before the people of this State and before the members of the legislature. It is scarcely to be expected that measures of such incalculable value to certain rich corporations will be permitted to die without a last struggle. No doubt a strenuous attempt will be made to pass the bills over the veto. Representatives and senators will decide that proposition fully informed that a vote in the affirmative cannot possibly be construed in any way save as a vote in favor of monopoly, a vote to confer enormously valuable privileges upon a half-dozen rich monopolistic corporations in Chicago without a penny of compensation to the public." And, again the same ed-

itorial asserts: "It is difficult to see how a man of intelligence can vote honestly in favor of any of these measures." But Mr. Busse voted to override the Governor's veto. Just how this Springfield combination worked its attempted game was stated on the editorial page of the Chicago Record of June 17, 1895, three days after the notorious, brazen effort to pass the bills over the Governor's veto. In that editorial there appears this statement: "It (the legislature) was dominated by a combination extending through both houses that was essentially as vicious, if not so notorious, as the gang in control of the Chicago City Council. This combination was prevented from placing on the statute books some of the most vicious legislation attempted in years only by the intervention of the Governor. The desperate extremes to which the combination would go was shown Friday, when the attempt was made in the house to pass the Crawford bills over the Governor's veto. On a roll call only eighty-eight votes could be mustered, and, contrary to all rules, a postponement was taken in the midst of the call in order to give time to secure fourteen more votes. There is no question that money was offered freely for votes that evening." These are but a few brief excerpts of the vigorous and denunciatory comments that were made at that time. Even the Chicago Tribune vigorously indorsed the Governor's veto. These quotations are from newspaper which are friendly to Mr. Busse. I merely quote facts and printed statements to show what was thought of the notorious, rotten bills to which Mr. Busse gave his efforts and his vote as a member of the lower house.

Mr. Busse is still confined to his house from his railway injuries, but occasionally publishes written statements. He has in this way disclaimed responsibility for the Republican movement to abolish the referendum, but makes no reply to the charge that he voted in the legislature for the "eternal monopoly bills." In his behalf Gov. Deneen is announced to speak on the 28th, 29th and 30th. The Record-Herald, heretofore opposed to the Lorimer faction and its candidate, Mr. Busse, as morally unfit, is now supporting Mr. Busse. Mayor Dunne has no newspaper support outside of the Hearst papers, and they are regarded as lukewarm.

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A third party aldermanic campaign is being conducted by the Independence League, backed by the Hearst papers.

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#### The Chicago Traction Ordinances.

The Chicago Federation of Labor decided on the 17th to organize a labor parade against the traction ordinances, for the 30th. This body has issued the following address on that subject:

Before deciding how to vote on the traction steal read the following: It is not the policy of the Chicago Federation of Labor to engage in party politics. But we are now confronted with a condition of affairs which should enlist the support of every member of organized labor in our effort to defeat the pending traction ordinances. If these franchises are adopted at the coming election all the work which has been done for municipal ownership in the past ten years will be lost. The Employers' Association, the Union League Club, the Merchants' Club, the Commercial Club, and every other club and organization opposed to organized labor, backed by the trust press, are supporting these franchise ordinances. This alone is reason enough why every workingman should vote against them, but there are other reasons. These ordinances are a gigantic swindle. They were drawn in the interest of the street railway companies, and are

designed to cheat the people out of their right to their own streets and decent street car service. They grant perpetual franchises to the traction monopoly. No worse scheme of plunder was ever attempted in Chicago by false public servants in behalf of greedy corporations. And while the people, as a whole, are thus being betrayed these ordinances are especially intended to injure organized labor. No protection whatever is given in them to the employes of the street railways. On the contrary, the car men are left wholly at the mercy of their employers. More work is to be required of them without increase of pay, and hard-earned privileges are to be taken away. The companies would not consent to the insertion in the ordinances of a single word that would safeguard the interests of the men who run the cars. It is said on good authority that should the ordinances be approved at the polls, the wages of the car men will be cut. There is evidence that a dangerous conspiracy is on foot to attack organized labor and the wage scale in the city of Chicago, the attack to begin upon the street car men. These ordinances are the entering wedge. Labor must be vigilant. We must defeat these artful ordinances. They are honeycombed with fraud. Little investigation of them is needed to expose their dishonest character. They are so outrageous that every workman, every honest citizen, every friend of Chicago, and every upholder of the rights of organized labor should be against them.

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#### The Chicago School Board versus the Chicago Tribune.

A suit was begun on the 20th by Clarence N. Goodwin, Esq., in behalf of the Board of Education of Chicago against the Chicago Tribune for the purpose of invalidating the 100 year ground lease which the Tribune holds from that Board (p. 939), on the ground, among other things, that the re-valuation clause in this lease, requiring readjustments of ground rentals every ten years, was struck out in 1895 through collusion and fraud. In consequence of that act the Tribune now pays only \$31,500 a year for land worth \$60,000 a year. The Tribune's own attorney was a member of the school board at the time, and extremely active in procuring the alteration of the lease.

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In his opinion, pursuant to which the suit was authorized, Mr. Goodwin said: "I am, therefore, of the opinion that this action of the Board in striking the re-valuation clauses from the leases, and at a time of great depression, without more than a colorable consideration, was the direct result of powerful pressure from without, and equally powerful influence from within; that while the mere inadequacy of consideration is not alone sufficient in all cases to vitiate such a transaction, yet when inadequacy of consideration is accompanied by circumstances such as exist in this case, the court will set the transaction aside. This principle is supported by the authorities, and its application to the present facts was confidently asserted by the late Lyman Trumbull in a bill filed by him as solicitor, seeking to enjoin the action taken. Before this application could be passed upon by the court the leases had been authorized by the Board and signed by the President and Secretary of the Board, and recorded. It may be remarked in passing that the haste with which this action was taken by the Board for the apparent purpose of preventing any scrutiny of its acts by the court at the hearing, which had been set for the following morning, is a fact which

cannot be overlooked in determining the fairness of the transaction."

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#### The Chicago Industrial Exhibit.

The Industrial Exhibit held during last week at Brooke's Casino was brought to a close on Sunday, the 17th. The Federation of Labor adjourned its regular meeting to attend the afternoon conference at the exhibit, at which Mrs. Raymond Robins presided, and Miss Mary McArthur, Secretary of the British Woman's Trade Union League, spoke on the unity between men and women workers as well as among the various trades. Wm. J. Bryan, who was passing through the city, took the opportunity to visit the exhibit, and was invited to address the conference. He spoke especially of the good accomplished by the labor unions, saying:

The good they have done far outweighs their mistakes. I shall not speak of what the unions have done to increase wages or of what they have done to reduce the hours of labor. But there are two things I wish to say for the unions. It was largely through the agitation of organized labor that the Australian ballot system was adopted in this country. Under the Australian ballot system the workman can exercise his citizenship without fear of losing his employment. That has been one of the greatest reforms ever adopted in this country. The next thing for which I commend the unions is their attitude on the subject of child labor. If labor unions had never done anything else than raise the age limit under which children cannot work in mills and factories, they would have fully justified their existence and all the money they have spent.

Much of the material of the exhibit is to be shipped to Boston, where a similar showing is to be held during the week beginning April 15.

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#### The Ohio Valley Floods.

The greatest flood ever recorded at Pittsburg culminated on the 15th. Ten square miles were inundated by the waters of the Monongahela, Allegheny, Ohio, Youghiogheny, Kiskiminetas and Clarion rivers, which had been swollen abnormally by the combination of warm weather, melting snows, and general rain throughout western Pennsylvania and West Virginia. Between 20,000 and 30,000 persons were made homeless, and thousands of families were driven to the second stories of their homes. Most of Pittsburg's great steel, iron and electrical plants were flooded and compelled to shut down. Wheeling in West Virginia, and towns all down the Ohio valley suffered greatly. Eighteen persons met death in a panic in Wheeling because of flood conditions. At Pittsburg there were 14 fatalities; at Athens, Ohio, 12; at Mingo Junction, Ohio, 10; and 14 at other scattering points. The pecuniary loss in the Pittsburg district is estimated at \$10,000,000.

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#### Great Britain.

English papers now at hand make enlightening comment on the defeat of the Progressives at the London County Council elections on the 2nd (p. 1165). The London Tribune declares that the reasons of the defeat "are to be sought in the baffling psychology of crowds." And it announces that it is not hopeful of the ability of the Moderates "to realize a single one of their incompatible promises.

They cannot lower the rates unless they mean to starve the public services which they have promised to respect." A Tribune interview said: "The Socialists have lost seats for the Progressives by setting up hostile candidates of their own in perfectly hopeless constituencies. The revolution is devouring its own children. On the other hand—for it is useless to ignore facts at a time like this—many Progressives have been frightened by the growing concessions to the Labour Party and the Socialists in Parliament. . . . It would be idle to deny the magnitude of the disaster. It would be criminal to regard it as a 'knock-out blow,' and to hold our hands and do nothing between now and the next election three years hence. The results ought to stiffen the Liberal ranks and strengthen their unity and their resolution, both inside Parliament and outside it." The London correspondent of the Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury wrote: "The Progressive defeat is largely due to the apathy of the working classes. Of the total electorate, only about one-half polled. There is no doubt that the middle classes voted almost to their full strength, and very largely on the Moderate side. Of the 48 per cent. who did not take the trouble to vote, the vast majority must have belonged to the working classes, who were so little interested in the cause of good municipal government that they stayed away from the poll. One feature of the election is the insignificance of the Socialist vote. Five seats were lost to the Progressive party through Socialistic candidates, though in nearly all cases they polled but a small fraction of the votes. Of the members of the Council only three are Socialist, and these, of course, owe their seats to Progressive support." An interesting deduction was made by the Tribune: "Undoubtedly one of the lessons of London's tremendous municipal turnover is the need of proportional representation. A Progressive majority of forty-nine was transformed into a minority of forty-one; but, as the article we publish to-day shows, in proportion to the votes polled by the two sides in 1904 the majority ought to have been twelve and the minority now should be seventeen. Exactly in the same way the result of the Parliamentary general election of 1906 was a huge exaggeration of the real change of opinion. Liberals were not so weak in 1900 as they seemed, nor so strong last year. Exaggerations of this kind are apt to be mischievous as depriving the majority party of the restraining influence of a really representative Opposition. It would be quite possible under the present system for the party only just in a minority to be almost annihilated."

A motion to repeal the Irish crimes act was discussed in the House of Commons on the 13th. Mr. Birrell, chief secretary for Ireland, described the act as a "code of tyrannical laws," and said that so far as the present Government was concerned the act was dead and buried and would be formally repealed at the earliest opportunity.

According to a dispatch of the 18th, Dr. Thomas J. McNamara, Parliamentary Secretary of the Local Government board, has been admitted to member-

ship in the Dulwich branch of the United Irish League of Great Britain. This is the first instance of a member of the British ministry joining a militant Irish nationalist organization.

#### Proportional Representation Under Consideration in France.

A bill based on the principles of proportional representation and ticket voting has been approved by the universal suffrage committee of the Chamber of Deputies, and is shortly to be brought before the Chamber for discussion (vol. viii, 874). The bill increases the period of the deputies' mandate to six years, instead of four as at present. The number of representatives is to be reduced from 591 to about 490. By the new system each department is to be regarded as a distinct electoral district entitled to return one deputy for every 25,000 voters. Each voter is to be given as many votes as there are deputies to be elected in his department or constituency, and he may either distribute them among the candidates or cast them all for one.

#### Jewish Massacres in Rumania.

Rumania, which lies in southeastern Europe between Austria-Hungary, Russia, Bulgaria and Servia, is disturbed by peasant uprisings caused by discontent with the taxes recently levied by the parliament, and with the exactions and tyranny of the smaller land holders. In several places (just as in Russia) the revolt has taken the shape of attacks upon the Jews in the nearest towns, in one district at least with the full acquiescence of the prefect. The following cablegram was received by a Jewish paper in New York on the 17th: "Terrible massacre since last Thursday. Town totally destroyed. All the Jewish population are ruined and houses pillaged. We ask help. Marcus Getzel, Elias Solomon, Shje Sternberg." The names signed to the cablegram are said to be those of leading merchants of Podhilo. It is a place of about 6,000 inhabitants, 4,000 of whom are Jews. Podhilo is described as only about thirty miles from Kishineff, which is in Bessarabia, across the Russian frontier. At Burduzheni, after being attacked and plundered, 2,000 Jews were reported to be fleeing across the frontier into Austria.

#### The Russian Program.

The sittings of the Douma were interrupted for a few days because of the fall of the ceiling in the room in the Tauride palace devoted to its use. The catastrophe occurred on the 15th, and seems to have been accidental. The nails and other fastenings binding the ceiling to the rafters had not been replaced for more than a hundred years, and had been strained by the weight of newly added decorations. The Douma resumed its sittings on the 19th, when Mr. Stolypin, the Prime Minister, presented a program to which the Government had given its consent, and which it asked the Douma to put into effect. "Our country," said Mr. Stolypin, according to the Chicago Record-Herald's report "must be transformed into a constitutional state. Real measures must be adopted to define and determine the rights of the state and of private individuals and

to abolish the contradictions between the old and new laws and the arbitrary interpretations placed upon them by private persons as well as officials. The government therefore has decided that it is necessary to submit a series of bills establishing the new regime in Russia." Mr. Stolypin then enumerated the laws submitted to the Douma for its consideration, which have been summarized as follows: Freedom of speech and of the press; liberty of faith; habeas corpus, on the same basis as in other states; the substitution of a single form of martial law for the various decrees of exceptional security; local self-government; reform of the zemstvos; responsibility of officials; agrarian reforms; abolition of the free entry of goods into Vladivostok; completion of the Trans-Siberian Railroad in Russian territory; and popular education. Other reforms which Mr. Stolypin said were to be introduced at suitable opportunity, were: Workmen's insurance; old age and medical relief for workmen; prohibition of night and underground work for women and children; shorter hours for workmen; an income tax. He also stated that the government had decided to abrogate administrative exile. At the close of Mr. Stolypin's address Prince Zeretell, on behalf of the Socialists, made a bitter attack on the Government, accusing it of violating every provision of the manifesto of October 30, 1905, of filling the prisons with Liberals, introducing drumhead court-martials, protecting organizers of riots, and robbing peasants through banks and land leases. Premier Stolypin again took the floor and warned the Prince that such utterances would not be tolerated; that while honest criticism of the Government was welcomed, it would not permit revolutionary assaults. The debate on the Socialist resolution denouncing the Government closed almost immediately.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—A Public Ownership league has been organized at Toronto Junction, Ont. S. J. Chubb was elected president.

—Harry Pratt Judson was formally installed as President of the University of Chicago (p. 1140), on the 19th.

—Julius J. Reiter, a democratic Democrat, was elected on the 12th, Mayor of Rochester, Minn., a Republican city.

—Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, a prominent Chicago lawyer, is a candidate for justice of the peace in Evanston.

—The Missouri legislature on the 13th passed a bill making the infliction of the death penalty in murder cases optional with juries.

—San Salvador has allied itself with Honduras in the Honduran-Nicaraguan war raging at present in Central America (p. 1186), according to a press dispatch of the 18th.

—Hon. Lucius F. C. Garvin, former Governor of Rhode Island, has announced his engagement to Miss Sarah Emma Tomlinson of Cumberland, R. I. The press dispatches state that Miss Tomlinson has been blind from her childhood, and that Dr. Garvin

has known her all her life, having been the physician of her family.

—For a fortnight there has been an unusual let up in earthquakes, and it is reported from London that John Milne, the seismologist, regards the abnormal quiet, as ominous.

—Jane Addams of Hull House will speak before the West Side Equal Suffrage Association, at Hull House, on the 26th at 4 o'clock, on "The Campaign for Woman Suffrage in Chicago."

—Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland occupied the pulpit of the Vine Street Congregational Church in Cincinnati on the 17th, and delivered an address to the largest audience ever gathered there.

—On the 18th Judge Fremont Woods denied the motion to dismiss the case of the State of Idaho against Moyer, Heywood and Pettibone (p. 1164 1187) charged with the murder of former Governor Steunenberg.

—Hellcon Hall, at Englewood, N. J., the home of Upton Sinclair's co-operative colony, was totally destroyed by fire early in the morning of the 16th. One person was killed and several were severely injured. Incendiarism is suspected.

—Before adjourning on the 8th, the legislature of North Dakota passed the Ueland resolution for so amending the State constitution as to provide for the initiative and referendum, the signatures required for a petition being fixed at 8 per cent. of the voters.

—At the annual election of the Chicago Teachers' Federation, held on the 16th, nearly 1,000 ballots were cast, and Florence E. Tennery was elected president. Catherine Goggin was retained as financial secretary and Margaret A. Haley as business representative.

—Kang Yu Wei, President of the Chinese Reform Association, arrived in New York from Europe on the 18th. Kang Yu Wei is spoken of as one of the most progressive Chinamen in the world. He said in New York that the object of the Reform Association is to bring about economic reforms peacefully.

—The Ohio tax commission, whose purpose is to recommend to the Governor next January various reforms in Ohio taxation methods, he in turn to submit the report to the legislature, held an open session on the 12th at which Mayor Tom L. Johnson and Senator Frederic C. Howe of Cleveland were the principal speakers.

—Thomas Bailey Aldrich died at his home in Boston on the 19th, at the age of 70 years. Mr. Aldrich was editor of Every Saturday from 1870 to 1874, and of the Atlantic Monthly from 1881 to 1890. He wrote fiction, essays and poetry. "The Ballad of Baby Bell, and Other Poems," "The Story of a Bad Boy," "Marjorie Daw and Other People," are among his best known books.

—The Chicago charter bills (p. 1186) came before a joint session of the House and Senate committees of the Illinois legislature on the 19th. Milton J. Foreman, chairman of the charter convention, epitomized the measure, and after explaining that it is not intended to send delegations to Springfield, for the proposed charter is already known to legislators who sat in the charter convention, stated that in

case any puzzling points arise, committees will appear upon invitation.

—The Canadian railway commission on the 18th ordered the Canadian Pacific and the Grand Trunk railroads to reduce passenger rates to 3 cents a mile. The regulation goes into effect in sixty days and affects all lines east of and including Edmonton. Other roads are to be immediately notified and requested to conform to the decision or to inform the Board why they cannot do so.

—The San Francisco school board on the 13th opened the public schools to Japanese children, in accordance with the agreement between President Roosevelt and Mayor Schmitz (p. 1114); and on the 14th the President issued an executive order, based on the authority conferred by the new immigration bill (p. 1113), directing that Japanese who have received passports from the Mikado's government to go to Mexico, Canada, or Hawaii, and come therefrom, be refused permission to enter the continental territory of the United States.

—The third annual banquet of the Iowa Democratic Club will be given at the Savery Hotel, Des Moines, April 6, 1907, at 6 o'clock. The date has been changed from the 2nd to the 6th to accommodate speakers. This banquet will be open to everybody, and Iowa Democrats are especially invited to attend. Those expecting to be present must notify the president, the treasurer, or the secretary not later than March 20, and remit \$1.50. W. J. Bryan, Hoke Smith (Governor of Georgia), Tom L. Johnson (Mayor of Cleveland), Mayor Dunne of Chicago, and Governor Johnson of Minnesota are announced as the probable speakers.

—James Reilly, the village blacksmith, was re-elected president of North Pelham, New York, on the 19th, though opposed by a fusion ticket of the regular Democratic and Republican organizations, and active campaigning on their part of more vigorous and determined character than any seen there in years. Reilly did not spend anything for campaign expenses and his only speeches were made beside his smithy fire. His administration has been the most economical the town has ever known. He was practically forced to run again because of the abuse heaped upon him by his political opponents. He stood at the town hall entrance election morning and addressed every voter personally as he went into the polling place.

## PRESS OPINIONS

### THE CHICAGO ELECTION.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (Ind.), Mar. 7.—Mayor Dunne's defeat for Mayor of Chicago is freely prophesied by the press that is allied with the street car banditti of that town. All "gangs" are against him. All the cinches as well. But these are not the people. Dunne will win unless the masses of the people are insane enough to put faith in the capitalistic howl against him.

\* \*

### AS IN GERMANY, SO IN LONDON.

The (London, Eng.) Clarion (Soc.), March 8, 1907.—The fat Robber Barons, awakened by the prodding of Socialist skirmishers, have girded on their ancient armor and the battle is beginning. As it was in Germany, so

it is in London. The Progressives have increased their vote, but the forces of Monopoly and Privilege and Vested Interest have doubled theirs. The Robber Barons are aroused, and the battle is beginning.

\* \*

### PURE POLITICS IN ENGLAND.

(Philadelphia) Saturday Evening Post (Ind.).—Speaking in general terms, there is no bribery in England. Up to very recently there couldn't very well be any, because the exploiting, wealth-holding interests not merely owned the government but also were the government. The only people, generally speaking, who wanted governmental favors and couldn't get them gratis were the poor who had no money to bribe anybody with. This simple fact explains the superior purity of English politics—which has caused so many American blushes. English landlords own half the government as an hereditary right. The people may vote until they are black in the face without making the slightest impression upon the great land interest. It is quite as though Mr. Rogers and his heirs forever had a veto power over any legislation affecting oil, and Mr. Harriman enjoyed a like privilege concerning railroad laws. Had such an arrangement obtained the last fifty years our politics would have been much purer in a certain technical sense; but, on the whole, the people would hardly have been as well off. Our railroads have spent money for corrupt political purposes. Possibly their capitalization is to some small degree affected by such expenditures, which we call graft. The capitalization of the English roads contains immense sums of which they were mulcted by the governing owners of the land. They do not call that graft in England; but it comes to exactly the same thing for the people who pay the freight. The House of Lords is graft constitutionally established, robed and canonized.

## RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

"FOR THE KINGDOM OF GOD IS WITH-  
IN YOU."

For The Public.

\* \*

### Hell.

There is no Hell apart.  
The punishment  
Of wrong intent,  
Is in my soul.

One step astray,  
And then I feel  
That Hell is real—  
That Hell is in my soul.

\* \*

### Heaven.

Heaven is not beyond the sky;  
It is not an abiding place, when we die,  
So far from Earth, that we must fly  
To some beautiful mansion of gold on high.

Heaven is in the Heart, the Soul.  
It is a condition and not a goal.  
It is a something we must attain  
Through patient labor, and love and pain.

R. E. CHADWICK.

\* \* \*

Those who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety.—Benjamin Franklin.

## LOBSTERS I HAVE MET.

## A Bad Hour for Busse.

For The Public.

"Here comes Gershaw."

"I'll bet he's got a Busse button on."

"That's a cinch."

"He's lined up with a dead one this time."

Gershaw and the others always have the corner table at the restaurant where I go for lunch.

Gus, the waiter, had just brought in the things the others had ordered.

"Do you think Busse stands any show?" asked Brumbaugh.

"I think he's got a very good show," answered Gershaw.

"Show to be postmaster," put in Herman.

"He's got a show to be mayor, too," came back the other.

"Where did you get your tip?" chimed in Hollabeck.

"I think the people have had enough of Dunne," asserted Gershaw.

Brumbaugh was getting the best of a lamb chop.

"Do you think they are sore at Dunne because he didn't turn the streets over to the traction ring?" he asked.

"No, but they're sore because the question ain't settled. We're riding in the same stuffy cars we had when Harrison was mayor," replied Gershaw, as he started to give Gus his order.

"Bring him a lemon, Gus," interrupted Herman.

"And a few prunes," put in Hollabeck.

"What would Busse do to make it any better?" asked Brumbaugh.

"He'd have the ordinances passed, for one thing."

"Would he have them passed if the people voted 'No' on the little ballot?"

"No, I don't think so."

"Well, I do think so. Now I'll tell you why some people are against Dunne. It's because he's kept his promise to give the people a chance to approve or reject any settlement of the traction question agreed to by the city council and the companies."

"Pass the mustard, Gershaw," commanded Herman.

"Do you know," queried Hollabeck, as he reached for a potato, "that the ordinances we are asked to accept now are not in it with the one passed in 1859?"

"No, I can't say that I do," answered the now thoroughly occupied Gershaw.

"Well, it's a fact," went on the other. "The ordinance of 1859 required the companies to have the cars clean, heated in cold weather, run as often as necessary to prevent crowding, and use cars of the most modern type."

"Well, it's the best we can get now," commented Gershaw.

"That's a hot one coming from a business man," put in Brumbaugh. "Do you mean to tell me if these streets belonged to you that you would lay down on that proposition?"

"That would be different; you must remember in dealing with the city there are a lot of people to satisfy."

"And you think they ought to be satisfied with my old thing."

Having finished their lunch, Brumbaugh, Herman and Hollabeck proceeded to light cigars, while Gershaw occupied himself with a slice of gulehuph.

"What is the objection to the ordinances, anyway?" broke out Gershaw, after a stillness of about three minutes.

"Oh, nothing much," replied Brumbaugh. "They only require the city to pay five millions for the cables the companies have just scrapped, and nine millions for the franchises after they have expired, and four millions for the worn out pavements, and forty-one millions for the junk Arnold valued at twenty-six, five years ago; nothing much the matter with them, only the Mayor thinks he can do better."

Gershaw gulped down his coffee.

"Of course, aside from those little matters, there are a few others," went on Brumbaugh. "The companies are given the right to charge five cent fares; they don't have to give universal transfers; they give no guarantee of good service; and this bunk about paying the city 55 per cent. of the net receipts in lieu of all other taxes is a grand thing. The city wouldn't get even a pleasant look out of that."

"Why not?" gasped Gershaw.

"Gee, but you're innocent, and so many free schools around, too. If it was going to be a square deal, which would you rather have, 55 per cent. of the net receipts, or 8 per cent. of the gross receipts?"

"Fifty-five per cent. of the net receipts, of course."

"Well, the companies refused to agree to 8 per cent. of the gross receipts, instead of 55 per cent. of the net receipts. Does that look good to you?"

Everyone laughed but Gershaw. He chewed his cigar nervously.

"Now let me tell you something," continued Brumbaugh. "Dunne has stood up to his guns on every question that has come up since he became mayor. He has been for the people, and against the corporations, every minute. He got us 85 cent gas, and would have gotten us 75 cent gas, if the Council had backed him up. He settled the telephone company's hash on the unlimited service charge. He got us a decent water rate, so that all the big firms and corporations pay the same rate as the poor man in his cottage. And he's brought the traction ring around to where they've got to fish or cut bait. Now if you're ready to turn down a man like that for Busse, you don't know the phoney from the goods."

M. J. FOYER.

\* \* \*

## THE CHARM OF PROFUNDITY.

From the Western Teacher for March. The Western Teacher is Edited and Published by S. Y.

Gillan, at Milwaukee.

Commonplace or even meaningless statements when couched in the phraseology and form of proverbial philosophy will sometimes win the approval or even the admiration of an audience of school men. Many a speaker, banking on this well known fact, when addressing teachers deliberately concocts phrases that have a profound appearance and which when spoken with a solemn, sonorous intonation



sound to the ears of the schoolmaster like oracular wisdom.

A striking illustration of this was presented by one of the speakers at the meeting of the Department of Superintendence of the National Educational Association, recently held in Chicago. Hon. James H. Eckels, a well known banker, in a strained and pitiable effort to present an apology for the possessors of swollen fortunes, finding that he was making but little headway in getting the sympathetic attention of his audience, halted in his rambling remarks, struck an attitude, waved his arms, and with all the impressiveness of tone which he could command heaved out the following: "To an honest man there —is—no—such—thing—as—dishonesty!" Then he made the usual conventional pause, which invites the endorsement of applause. And he got it, albeit it was neither hearty nor general; but the score or more who applauded were evidently impressed by the solemn profundity of the phraseology, for it would be a serious reflection on their intelligence to assume that they applauded the statement on its merit.

"To the honest man there is no such thing as dishonesty." What does it mean? It must be interpreted either objectively or subjectively. Does it mean that to a man who is honest there is no such objective fact or quality as dishonesty; that is, that he shuts his eyes to dishonesty and regards it as non-existent? If so, then this oracular utterance means that the honest man is a fool, a babe in the woods, an ostrich with head hidden, denying the existence of danger or evil.

The only other interpretation is the subjective: that there is no such thing as dishonesty to (attaching to, pertaining to or in) an honest man. O, wonderful wise man to discover the profound truth, the awe-inspiring, soul-uplifting fact that an honest man is not dishonest, and to phrase the grand conception in such form and utter it with such gusto as to win the plaudits of two dozen school superintendents! Selah.

Similar proverbs can be spun off by the yard when you get the swing of it: To the well man there is no such thing as sickness. To the fat man there is no such thing as leanness. To the homely man there is no such thing as beauty. Turn them end-for-end and they are just as good and the suckers will bite as quickly when you are fishing for applause. To the dishonest man there is no such thing as honesty, to the white man no such thing as black, to the black no such thing as white, etc.

\* \* \*

## WASTING OUR NATURAL RESOURCES

For The Public.

It is said that "just now the genius of our people is for the development of the resources of the country. We are using government energy and money to conserve the forests, to build irrigation dams and to do a variety of other things that help to promote the amazing prosperity which the country is enjoying." No country on the face of the earth is so prolific of natural resources as ours. The most magnificent and extensive forests stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Lakes to the Gulf. Vast deposits of coal abound. Immense deposits of iron are found

in various States. Oil and gas are prolific in many places. Of the precious metals, it is said that we have only fairly begun to scratch the surface of the possibilities of their development. Nor has agriculture been behind the procession. It has gone forward with leaps and bounds. In fact, railroad development has not kept pace with the increase of agricultural products sufficiently to handle them well and expeditiously. All signs point to a continuance of the great prosperity our nation has enjoyed the past few years. It is wise, however, for a nation to frequently take an inventory and find out "where it is at."

The foregoing sentiments are those of the optimist. Those who have made a study of that national problem—the wasting of our natural resources—are alarmed when contemplating its effects upon the future.

James J. Hill, President of the Great Northern Railroad, in addressing the farmers and business men of Minnesota at the State fair last September, sounded a note of warning. Among other things he said: "The highest conception of a nation is that of a trustee for posterity. The savage is content with wresting from nature the simple necessities of life. But the modern idea of duty is conservatism of the old and modeling of the new, in order that posterity may have a fairer dwelling place and thus transmit the onward impulse. The ideal of the prudent, loving, careful head of every family is the true ideal for a nation of rational men. The people of the United States, as far as any perhaps, have meant to follow this pattern. It is worth while to consider how far they have been successful, and where they have failed."

Going into statistics from the immigration records of the past four years, and estimating the yearly increase at 750,000 a year, together with the excess of the birth rate over death rate at fifteen per cent. every decade, "our population will show these totals: in 1910, 95,248,895; in 1920, 117,036,229; in 1930, 142,091,663; in 1940, 170,091,663; in 1950, 204,041,223." Mr. Hill says: "The startling quality of these figures is the magnitude of our problem. It is not even a problem of to-morrow, but of to-day." He further says: "Within forty-four years we shall have to meet the wants of more than two hundred million people. In less than twenty years from this moment the United States will have one hundred and thirty million people. No nation in history was ever confronted with a sterner question than this certain prospect set before us." Of our potential resources he says: "The forest, once a rich heritage, is rapidly disappearing. Its product is valuable, not as a food, but for shelter and as an accessory in the production of wealth. Its fate is interesting here rather in the role of an example. For we have done with our forests already what we are doing just as successfully with the remainder of our national capital. Except for the areas on the Pacific coast, the forest as a source of wealth is rapidly disappearing. Within twenty years perhaps we shall have nowhere east of the Rocky Mountains a timber product worth recording, and shall then be compelled to begin in earnest that slow process of reforestation."

He goes on to say that in coal a century will exhaust the available supply, and in iron that forty

years will see the end. Of agriculture he says we have been exhausting the soil, and we must by a better fertilization and intensive farming make an acre yield more, at the same time by fertilization keeping up the strength of the soil. Mr. Hill's warning, in short, is that we should not be misled by the popular fallacy of increasing wealth, when the American people are using up their assets by digging out of the ground that which can never be put back, allowing the exhaustion of the soil to continue until it will scarcely produce half of what it formerly did. Our wheat fields in the days of virgin fertility produced from twenty-five to forty bushels per acre; to-day the average is twelve. The farms of the Atlantic coast have lost in fertility and market value because we have neglected the study of thorough-going agriculture, such as is practiced in Europe, except in Russia and possibly Turkey. To sum it up, we as a nation must husband our resources. The soil is ultimately our great source of wealth. Already we are nearly to the point when with the rapidly increasing population all our food products will be needed at home. Not only that, but better methods of fertilization and intensive farming must be used. The true basis of national wealth, then, must be the annual product beyond what is required to keep our natural assets undiminished.

The most urgent present problem demanding the attention of the American people is the preservation of our forests. The forests originally covered 699,500,000 acres, or over thirty-five per cent. of the surface of our country, and formed the richest arboreal supply the world ever knew. In regard to the exhaustion of coal and iron, possibly Mr. Hill may be pessimistic, but he is certainly very conservative in what he says of our forests.

In regard to the white pine timber of the North, R. L. McCormick, President of the Mississippi Valley Association, in 1902 estimated that in ten years it would disappear as a factor in the lumber trade. About the same time Mr. R. A. Long, at a meeting of the Southern Lumber Manufacturers' Association, estimated that in about thirteen years from that date the yellow leaf pine lumber of the South would be exhausted. It is noticeable that we are drawing our lumber supply largely from the Pacific coast. A decade or more ago notes of warning were sounded and measures introduced in Congress to stay the tragedy of our forests, but too many rich juicy plums were in sight for the "special interests." One of the bills offered was to put lumber on the free list. The "merger" responded by raising the tariff from one dollar a thousand to two dollars a thousand on lumber. As the lower tariff kept Canadian lumber out of the United States, the raise in the tariff put so much velvet into the pockets of lumber barons. It would be only a temporary expedient now to put lumber on the free list, as Canada's forests are rapidly being exhausted, and that country is taking steps to protect her forests, as her timber in a few years will be needed at home. No doubt the resolution of Congressman Miller will reveal the fact that there is a lumber trust, as the holdings of timber lands are largely in the hands of syndicates and corporations.\*

\*When this article was written Congress was still in session, and Ethan Allen Hitchcock was Secretary of the Interior. On March 4 Mr. Hitchcock was succeeded by James R. Garfield (p. 1,167).

## Publishers' Column

### The Public

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It must be apparent to any one familiar with the facts in regard to the rapidly diminishing forests, that the tendency of prices is upward because the demand is increasing and the supply of lumber is decreasing. Three things of a temporary benefit should be done at once: The breaking up of the lumber trust, the removal of the tariff on lumber, and such a reduction of freight rates as will place lumber in the lowest classified freight rates.

The most important thing, however, is to provide that enough forest lands to supply lumber, not only for present needs, but also for future generations, shall be owned and regulated by the government. The Forestry department created a few years ago for the purpose of building up and conserving the forests has accomplished wonders when everything is taken into consideration. One hundred and seven million acres of land is now reserved and is under the management of this department. The area should be increased at least three times. The friends of forestry have been extremely modest in their requests thus far and have only asked for lands unfit for agricultural purposes, and which cover mountain tops and are at the heads of streams. Any one familiar with irrigation knows that successful irrigation in the arid districts requires that the mountains be covered with timber in order to hold the moisture and secure an even flow of water in summer time when water is needed for use. Where mountains have been denuded erosions of the soil have occurred, and the washing of the silt has caused immense destruction on the lower lands; also the little streams on denuded mountains dry up in the summer at the time they are needed for irrigation purposes. So irrigation and forestry go together. A few days ago came reports of thousands of people being driven from their homes along the Ohio river by rains and high water. These floods are due to the short-sighted folly of allowing the timber to be cut off the mountain tops, from which come the little tributary streams that form the Ohio river. A forest-crowned range of mountains holds and absorbs the rainfall, and prevents sudden river uprisings. A bill is now pending in Congress to create a forest reserve in the White Mountains and along the summit of the lower Appalachian range. The denuding of the summit of the Appalachian range has been the cause of millions of dollars' worth of damage already, as the timber is being cut clean, and erosion of top mountain soil has caused tons of silt to cover up and spoil valuable farms on lower lands. This bill has been repeatedly urged by the President and the friends of forestry. It has passed the Senate, and has a majority in favor of its passage in the House, but through the pig-headedness of the Speaker of the House the bill seems to be doomed for this session. It is said that a few months more will see the summit largely stripped of its timber and the damage done will be beyond calculation.

The failure to repeal the Stone and Timber act, which has been repeatedly urged year after year, has in the last five years caused a loss of one hundred million dollars to the government. Valuable timber lands worth one hundred dollars an acre have passed out of the hands of the government at two dollars and one-half per acre. Says Secretary Hitchcock: "If the hundred million dollars which have been lost

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to the government under the above showing were at hand a score or more of enormous irrigation projects could be immediately constructed, reclaiming from two million to three million acres of desert land, and enormous areas of eastern forest reserve created through the purchase of mountain timber lands east of the Mississippi." The National Board of Trade, Gifford Pinchot, Chief of the Bureau of Forestry, Frederick H. Newell, Chief Engineer of the Reclamation Service, W. A. Richards, Commissioner of the Land Office, and many others, recommended the repeal of the Timber and Stone act, and the substitution of a rational forest policy of selling only the stumpage from the public timber lands, retaining the lands for future timber growth. They have also recommended the radical amendment of the commutation clause of the Homestead act, and a like amendment of the Desert Land act, in such manner as to require actual residence and improvement under both of the latter named laws, amounting to their practical repeal. It is needless to state that "special privileges," entrenched and upheld by the "merger" in the House and Senate, is largely responsible for this deplorable state of affairs. These lands, instead of going into the hands of bona-fide settlers, have been gobbled up by syndicates for a song. To further throw dust into the eyes of the people the corporation press, aided by their hirelings in Congress, are making onslaughts on Mr. Hitchcock, the Secretary of the Interior, pretending he is an obstructionist, a reactionary, and hindrance to development, when the real facts are just to the contrary. An assault on Hitchcock is an assault on the Administration. To the credit of Hitchcock, several hundred thousand acres of valuable public lands have been restored to the government, and a still larger amount could have been restored but for the obstructions of the "special interests."

If the timber lands in the hands of syndicates and private individuals were used and regulated and conserved according to the teachings of forestry, namely, to cut, say, one-thirtieth of the standing timber each year, piling the underbrush and burning it at proper seasons, then a younger growth of timber is continually coming on, and the same ground is not exhausted of a continuous lumber and timber supply. It is an established fact that this is fairly remunerative to forest land owners. According to the forestry bureau a small per cent. of timber land owners are following this conservative lumbering; but with nearly all timber land owners all available trees for lumber are cut down, and the tree tops scattered on the ground—a fire comes along and the destruction of the forest is complete. The reason is that greater immediate profits accrue to timber owners if they get all available timber off the ground at once.

It is probably conservative to state that only one-third enough land is under the management of the Forestry department. There should be at least three times as much more forest lands in the hands of the government to supervise and handle for the interests and protection of the public. It would be considered drastic in America to pass laws compelling owners of forest lands to conserve, and not destroy their forests. European countries centuries ago were obliged to take drastic steps to preserve their forests and protect them as efficiently as possible. The only

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alternative for our country seems to be to create a large enough forest reserve to anticipate present and future lumber supplies for our people. Until that is done and in working order, cheap lumber is probably an iridescent dream.

It is to be hoped that an earnest effort will be made by our government to conserve the economic resources of the nation. The great activity of the President and his able assistants in the Interior, Agricultural and other departments are forces, not only for the present protection of our national resources, but for the economic conservation of a future and greater nation. It is plainly evident that the government should have reserved the coal, oil and mineral deposits from the beginning, and all the forests at the head waters of the streams, and enough of other forest land to have supplied and furnished a continual supply of lumber and merchantable timber for all future contingencies. Only a few years ago the government owned the iron ore lands that the great Northern Railway recently leased to the United States Steel Corporation for one hundred and fifty million dollars. This sum, large as it is, is insignificant compared to the value of coal lands and timber lands and other natural resources that have passed into the hands of syndicates and corporations for a mere song. We had far-sighted men years ago who saw this and predicted the outcome. "Special interests," backed by our traitor Senators and Representatives in the "merger" combine in Congress, were too strong, and prevented remedial legislation to check the steals.

The preservation of our forests is not a fad nor a fancy. It is a necessity. "Common sense," says Dr. Edward Everett Hale, "in forestry means that the forestry question should be put upon a business basis. In order to make a large immediate profit forests are destroyed; they should be cut with some reference to the future; in other words, they should be cropped. All the governments of Europe rely largely upon the forest lands for revenue. A similar condition should and could be brought about in this country." American land monopoly is being fostered by our present system of loose land laws. Homestead Commutation and the Desert Land act, supposed to encourage settlement, are largely used for land grabbing. The President has urged the repeal and modification of these acts to encourage bona-fide settlers.

Mr. Roosevelt in an address at Raleigh, N. C., October 20th, 1905, said: "One of the most obvious duties which our generation owes to the generations that are to come after us is to preserve the existing forests. The prime difference between civilized and uncivilized peoples is that with civilized peoples each generation works not only for its own well-being, but for the well-being of the generations yet unborn, and if we permit the national resources of this land to be destroyed so that we hand over to our children a heritage diminished in value, we thereby prove our unfitness to stand in the forefront of civilized peoples. One of the greatest of these heritages is our forest wealth." If he who causes two blades of grass to grow where only one grew before is a friend to humanity, likewise he who is instrumental, directly or indirectly, in destroying our natural resources, is an enemy of mankind. This problem now rests with

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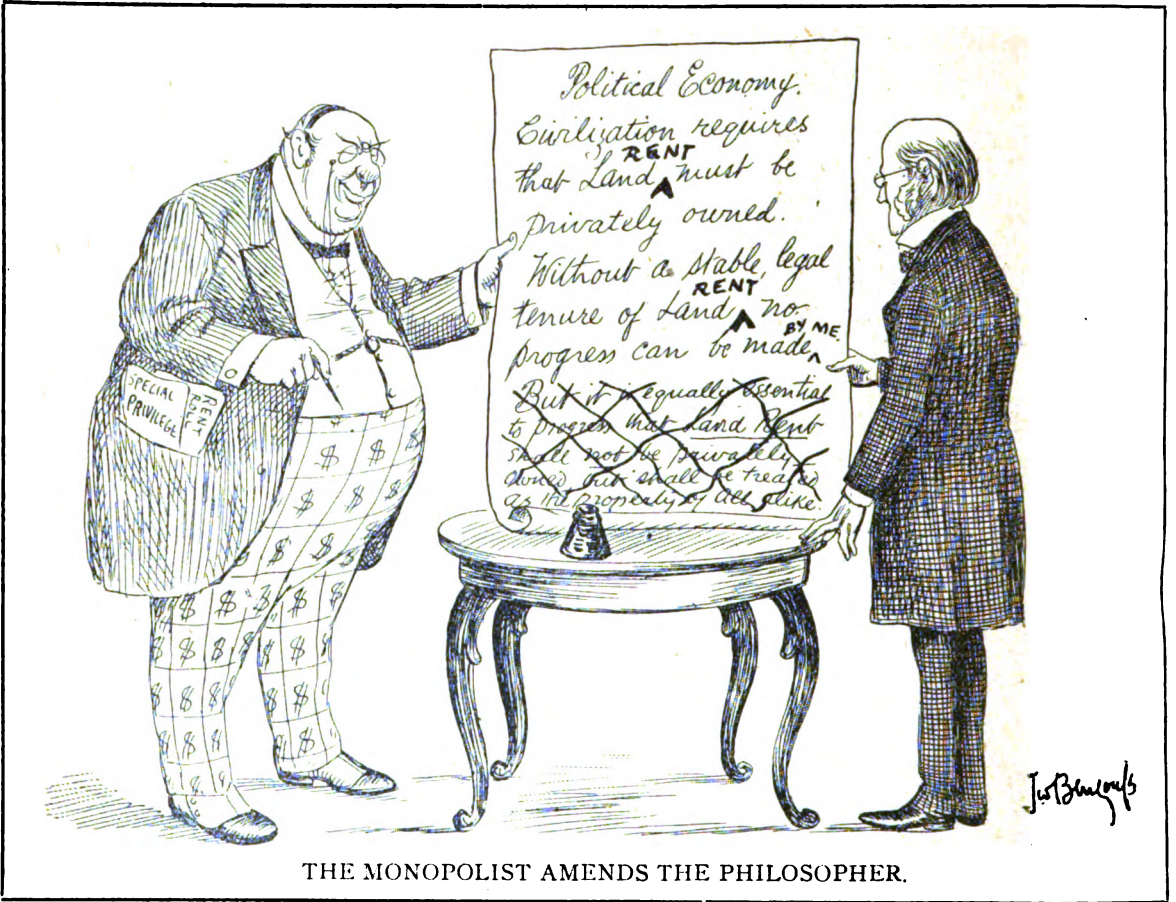
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## BOOKS

### A CYCLONE STORY.

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

As a story this little book absolutely lacks the quality of credibility and yet it is not wholly uninteresting. The hero is a good-for-nothing drunkard loafer, who has been transformed into a sober, useful and prosperous citizen, a good and happy husband and father, a saintly man. In a word, he is completely regenerated by—not religion, but a cyclone. The marvelous character of the cyclone may be guessed from one example of its work. While blown high in air by the whirlwind, one man going up and another going down clasped hands an instant. When both came to earth once more, one held a strange ring, the other a newly acquired roll of bills worth \$25,000.

The style of the book is as free from all the trammels of convention as the cyclone.

ANGELINE LOESCH.

### THE NATIONAL IDEALS OF AMERICA.

Liberty, Union and Democracy. By Barrett Wendell. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1906. Price \$1.25 net.

This book is the product of lectures given before the Lowell Institute in 1905 on the National Ideals of America. In spite of immigration, in spite of absorbing material activity, in spite of all outward appearances, there is an abiding and virile and distinctive American nationality. Of that nationality, moreover, the distinctive American trait—an inheritance from our Puritan forefathers—is idealism. Beneath all our egoism, all our commercialism, and through all our blunders we steadfastly abide by certain great ideals. These ideals are different from those of all other nations. Though other peoples use the same names for their ideals, nevertheless the meaning we read into the same words, is uniquely our own.

In the order of their historic development and of their conquering sway, are these three dominating and enduring ideals to which the Americans have clung and for which they have struggled—Liberty, Union and Democracy. For the preservation of their liberties the separate colonies fought the Revolution. For the maintenance of that liberty they formed the Union of the States. Because of sincerely differing beliefs about the sovereignty in

herent in that Union, the North and the South fought the Civil War. And these are the very days which usher in the struggle over Democracy. In these years close upon us is to be determined whether the rule of any one class, no matter how large or how lowly, no matter how wise or how vigorous, can be called democratic.

"When the years to come are past, and when those who contemplate the century now beginning can see it in final completeness, the course of the single traditional democracy now existing—of our own America—shall prove most tremendously whether at this moment of crescent democratic force our world is passing into the dusk of a new barbarism, or into the dawn of a new dispensation."

ANGELINE LOESCH.

## PAMPHLETS

### Answers to Objections to the Single Tax.

Wm. R. Lester's rejoinder to Prof. Smart of Glasgow University, a pamphlet published by "Land Values" (Glasgow), is a straightforward disentanglement of scholastic confusions in economics. Dr. Smart had adopted and published a collection of objections to the single tax idea, and Mr. Lester's rejoinder makes a clear exposition of their weakness.

+ +

### Elbert Hubbard on Henry George (Second Notice. See Page 1198.)

One of those entertaining "Little Journeys to Homes of Reformers," recently published at East Aurora, is well worth any Single Taxer's ten cents. Elbert Hubbard has made a readable, if slightly flip-pant sketch of Henry George's life and growth, but one can excuse Hubbard's lightness, because that is what makes him digestible. He says, for instance: "The business office was beyond George's province, and as a newspaper was a business venture and is run neither to educate the public nor for the proprietor's health, the manager did not look upon Henry George as exactly 'safe.' And hence the reason is plain why George was regarded as a sectional book-case and not a fixture." The author sees clearly, nevertheless, how serious George's mission was and how much courage it involved. In the summing up of the doctrine he picturesquely remarks: "Abject poverty is found only in great cities where population is huddled like worms in a knot." There is a slip, however, where he says: "Fresh air is free, but the average individual does not know it; and neither would this same person use land if it were given him." Hubbard was doubtless thinking only of the use of land for agriculture, for everybody uses land even when he is dead. As the Fra himself says: "The idle person is no better than the dead one, and takes up more room." Many will read and be enlightened by this sketch who would never read a book, much less a biography.

BOLTON HALL.

+ + +

Little 12-year-old Rastus Johnson was strolling along the road, evidently at peace with himself and the world, and in not much of a hurry. As he seemed

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to be going nowhere in particular, a smart bystander, thinking to have some fun with the little ducky, said: "Hello, Rastus, where are you going?"

"Ain't gwine nowhar," Rastus replied. "I'se done been where I'se gwine."—Afloat.

+ + +

Nervous Porter (in a single breath): "I s'pose yer don't 'appen ter know nobody wot ain't stoppin' 'ere wot ain't sent for no one not to move no luggage nor nothink, do yer?"—London Sketch.

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