

# The Public

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## EDITORIAL

### Private Ownership of Public Functions.

Even the New York World has progressed to the point of saying that the people would clamor for government ownership of railroads if they believed generally that private ownership means nothing but a succession of Harrimans. What else does it mean, by the test of all present experience? What else has it meant, by the test of all

past experience? What else can it mean, by all the tests whereby sane and intelligent men foretell the future?

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### The Traction Partnership.

Cincinnati has had ten years' experience like that which Chicago is invited to enter upon, as "supervising partner" with a traction company. But Cincinnati, whenever it attempts to supervise as the "supervising partner," finds itself as powerless as a trained flea harnessed to a hay wagon. So will Chicago if the traction ordinances are adopted.

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### Lashing Dunne for His Virtues.

"I cannot bear to see a man lashed for his virtues," says the Rev. Ernest A. Bell, a city missionary, alluding to the attacks upon Mayor Dunne by the Plunderbund and its pulpit pharisees. It is a true saying. Mayor Dunne is under the lash of the narrow pharisee, of the plotting financier, of the venal newspaper; and they lash him for his virtues. Had Mayor Dunne been dishonest or cowardly he would have felt no such lash.

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### Futile Legislation.

Down in Tennessee the well-meaning law makers are proposing to forbid public service corporations from owning, controlling, publishing or having any interest in newspapers. They might as well legislate against such ownership or control of banks or churches. While the law may possibly control public service corporations in the manner proposed, it cannot control their individual stockholders. The evil demands a remedy, not a soothing dose.

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### Let Russian Bond Buyers Beware.

The two representatives of the Russian people who are now speaking in the United States, and who addressed an immense and enthusiastic audience last Sunday at the Chicago Auditorium under the chairmanship of Wm. J. Bryan, are delicately but none the less distinctly impressing one thought upon the investing public of the United States. Regarding the Russian people and not the Czar as the Russian nation, they intimate that only the people of Russia can hereafter bind Russia with financial obligations. Americans may invest in bonds issued by the Czar if they wish to, but they are now sufficiently warned that these

bonds will not be redeemed. With such notice, they invest at their own peril. "Let the buyer beware" is a wholesome legal maxim which it is high time to apply as broadly to national obligations as it has long been applied to private contracts.

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### The Way of the "Rounder."

Mr. Busse's campaign method is that of the bar-room "rounder." In his personal letter to all registered voters there is no suggestion of civic principle or public policy, but only a personal "jolly" and a vulgar promise. Here is the letter in full:

March 23rd, 1907.—Dear Sir:—A mutual friend brings me word that you are disposed to be friendly to my candidacy for Mayor. That is certainly good news to me. I appreciate it all the more because of my inability to get out and around as I had intended. If you can consistently do so, I hope you will not only vote for me but say a word to your friends. Your efforts in my behalf will not be forgotten. Sincerely yours, Fred A. Busse.

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### Where the Plutocrats Stand.

Every plutocrat, every corporation tool, every pharisaical goo-goo, every enemy of municipal ownership, every hireling of the traction companies, who votes in Chicago this spring will vote for the traction ordinances and against Mayor Dunne. Of course others will vote in the same way, else there would be no considerable contest. Without their dupes, the rascals could not thrive. But the important consideration is not whether honest dupes will vote for the ordinances and against Dunne; it is what the rascals will do. If they are a unit for the ordinances and against Dunne, it behooves honest men of intelligence and prudence to be on their guard.

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### In the Grip of the Machine.

The Auburn Citizen falls into a political blunder through taking Gov. Deneen politically at his face value. It says in its issue of the 19th that "Mr. Deneen is against the old crowd, and the old crowd is against the policies of the President." By the "old crowd," the Auburn Citizen means the Lorimer-Busse machine of the Republican party in Chicago—that combination of spoilsmen which the Lawson-Deneen coterie have for years been fighting as something unclean and malodorous. But Gov. Deneen is in fact no longer against this "old crowd." Neither is Mr. Lawson. On the contrary they are at this moment solemnly

and unblushingly asking the people of Chicago to turn over the city government to that identical "old crowd," unclean and malodorous though they know it still to be.

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### The Police Sweat Box.

We have frequently had occasion to denounce the police sweat box (p. 1157), that lawless device for enabling incompetent detectives to conceal their incompetency behind confessions extorted from helpless men in the hands of the police. The practice, cruel in itself, is chargeable with producing false confessions and of causing miscarriages of justice—none the less miscarriages for being convictions. To penalize this brutal innovation in our criminal procedure, the lower house of the Illinois legislature has passed a bill which is reported to be likely to pass the upper house and become a law. The bill provides not only for punishing police "sweat-box" manipulators. It provides for another thing, something that seems to be necessary, strangely enough in view of the long established law of the land, namely, that confessions by defendants in criminal cases shall not be used as evidence unless signed and acknowledged in open court.

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### Shall He Be a Mayor That Can Be "Used"?

On the 6th of last November, the Chicago Daily News, editorially describing to its readers the kind of man Chicago ought to have for its next Mayor, was especially emphatic in demanding that—

the special interests and privilege seekers, such as franchise-holding corporations and contractors for public work, have much to gain from controlling the next mayor. They may be expected to exercise great activity in looking out for their own interests. It is incumbent upon the citizens who have at heart only the general welfare of the city to be equally active and earnest. The next mayor must be a man who can be depended upon to protect public interests in dealing with franchise-holding corporations and contractors. It is to be hoped that the extreme reactionary elements in the community will not confuse the issue by co-operating with special interests that hope to place in the mayor's chair a man who can be "used."

But "the extreme reactionary elements" have "confused the issue by co-operating with special interests" that want a Mayor "who can be used." Their candidate for Mayor, Mr. Busse, could not be depended upon, if elected, "to protect public interests in dealing with franchise-holding corporations." Yet the Daily News?—is it as "active and earnest" now for the general welfare as it advised its readers to be? Or has it fallen in-

to line with the "extreme reactionary elements" and itself begun to help "confuse the issue by co-operating with special interests that hope to place in the Mayor's chair a man who can be 'used'?"

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#### Corporation Land-Hunger.

A gum shoe campaign for the legalization of corporate land-grabbing has been started by the Real Estate Board of Chicago. Under the existing laws of Illinois, corporations cannot own land except for their own commercial business uses. But in evasion of this law, business corporations buy building sites upon which they erect structures for their own use; and as they require for that use only a small part of these structures, they rent the rest for other business and professional purposes. It is in this way that big business corporations manage to own "skyscrapers" in spite of the law. The parts they rent, though vastly larger and more valuable than the parts they use, are regarded as a "by-product." Sometimes business corporations are organized in order to invest in real estate, their ostensible business being hardly more than a "cover" or "blind."

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Something is to be said for all this, even if it is evasive of the law. It necessitates improvement. As you can't do a banking business, for instance, on a vacant lot, a banking corporation, whether it owns land in good faith for its own uses or is a "cover" or "blind" for real estate investments, is of necessity an improver of the land. As a rule it is a good improver. But the scheme that the Real Estate Board is trying to "gum-shoe" through the legislature would be very different in its results in that respect. Let corporations own land at will, regardless of obligations to improve, and the pernicious vacant lot industry would be fostered more than any other.

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If this law is to be enacted, there ought to be provision in it for forfeiting all sites owned by corporations which remain unimproved for more than ten years. Or, better yet, the sites owned by corporations should be taxed close up to full commercial interest on their market value, with complete exemption for improvements. This would be the best possible incentive to keeping the property fully improved, and in turn it would have a strong tendency to stimulate the building trades. Unless the Real Estate Board's bill carries some such provision it ought to be defeated. No good purpose can be served by authorizing corporations to speculate in building sites. On the contrary, a

very bad purpose would be served. They would monopolize vacant land and obstruct improvement by abnormally enhancing the value of sites. They would create perpetual titles, for corporations never die. They would make it possible for alien people though enemies, to own the country under stock-certificate titles. They would enable corporations to concentrate the ownership of farming lands in but few hands in perpetuity. They would establish a system of absentee and rack-renting landlordism, in comparison with which the landlordism of Ireland at its worst would be as boy's play.

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#### The Free Street-Car Idea.

One of the best criticisms we have seen of the newspaper jabs at Mayor Johnson for suggesting free street cars, appears over the signature of William N. Hill in the Baltimore News of February 27th. The News had likened the free street car suggestion to free lodging and free board, whereupon its correspondent sensibly wrote: "There is nothing new to friends of Mr. Johnson in his proposed free street cars. I heard and read his arguments for this proposed change 20 years ago. The ground upon which the argument is based is exactly the same as for free public schools and free water—that it is cheaper for the community to supply itself with these things than to depend upon private enterprise. Experience has amply proved this to be true, so far as water and education are concerned, and it almost goes without saying that a like result would come from free street cars. How far the sphere of public activities is to be enlarged in future I do not think any man can prophesy, but it needs little argument to convince any person of ordinary intelligence that all business which requires a permanent mechanical attachment to the public highways for the purpose of operation should be publicly owned and operated. Your confusing reference to 'free board' and 'free lodging' is not worthy of your standard of editorial criticism. Though most large cities are required to give both to large numbers of people in these times of great 'prosperity,' owing to the great increase of pauperism, there is no reason to suggest any intention of Mr. Johnson or his friends to invade this field of private enterprise in the near future. One can live in free quarters for a long time in New York if his necessities require him to do so. So can he in Baltimore. Mr. Johnson's proposition is predicated on the principle that the saving of the nickels which the people now contribute to the railway companies would be reflected back in an increase of

land values, which increase would be covered into the public treasury by taxation. There can be no question as to the truth of this position. In order to have complete economic justice behind the demand for public ownership of public utilities we will find the necessity for the only just system of taxation—a tax on land according to its value.”

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### Disappointed.

The corporation crowd in Chicago politics have looked forward with keen interest to the appearance of George Kibbe Turner's article in McClure's Magazine for April. It was to appear in the very nick of time to defeat Mayor Dunne by holding him up to the awe-stricken gaze of the good people of Chicago as a protector of vice. But before Mr. Turner's article appeared, Mayor Dunne's adversary had been exposed by the Prohibitionists as a man whose affiliations and habits of life are so "growsome," as Jenkin Lloyd Jones expresses it, as to make such Republicans as Mr. Jones turn with nausea away from him. When the article did appear, it was utterly without value as an anti-Dunne campaign document. It describes vicious conditions in Chicago that are characteristic of all large cities, and cannot be removed by law or anything else short of social regeneration. But not only is there no attempt by McClure's to hold Mayor Dunne responsible for these conditions; such a purpose is plainly disclaimed in the article and expressly so by the publishers.

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Indeed, if the article had dealt at all with the Dunne administration, it could not fairly have been silent about his suppression of open vice and crime. On this subject Alexander Cleland reports to Graham Taylor of the Chicago Commons:

After close observation for the past three years, much of it done in relation to the work of the Law and Order League, the Midnight Mission and the Young Men's Christian Association, I feel confident that during this period the conditions have grown steadily better and that at the present time the city of Chicago is much freer from open and flagrant vice than at any time within my knowledge of conditions. I would say in reference to conditions in the West Side Levee district, which have called forth such keen newspaper criticism, that said criticism was not justified by the facts. Chief Collins was only asked to clear up the car lines; namely, Sangamon, Randolph and Lake, and Peoria was left in its present condition by a tacit understanding with the different people connected with the bettering of conditions in that section. Frequent visitations during the past few weeks show definitely that there has been no lifting of the lid in this section. The conditions are better than ever before. I think

that it is only fair to state that in no case has this administration been called upon to suppress vice in which it has not been ready and willing to co-operate with the various organizations with which I am connected, newspaper reports notwithstanding. I beg to call your attention to Mr. Arthur Burrage Farwell's statement made at a meeting at the Y. M. C. A. on the 12th inst., at which, among other things, he said: "That, regarding the wide open town, he had lived in Chicago since 1869, and he believed that, considering the increase in the population of the city, the city of Chicago was in better shape regarding the wide open town than it had been since 1873."

To the same effect is the following letter of the chairman of the Anti-Crime League, T. J. Stead, a Republican, to the City Council, made as late as February 14th last:

We think the benefits resulting from the increased police force last year must be apparent to the most casual observer; as this organization, whose time is devoted to crime, police and police work and who make a special study of these conditions, finds them one hundred per cent better than a year ago and Chicago to-day freer from crime, vice and lawlessness than it has ever been in its history.

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### The Chicago Tribune and the School Board.

When the Chicago school board sued the Chicago Tribune to set aside as fraudulent its transaction with a prior school board (p. 1212), through which a ground lease with 90 years to run upon condition of readjustment of ground rentals every ten years, was turned into a 90-year lease with a flat rental on the basis of the low values of 1895; the Tribune published a report of the event so expurgated that hardly more appeared than the bare statement that some kind of lawsuit had been started against it. But in the same issue it devoted nearly a column of editorial space to a labored attempt at exculpation.

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In that editorial the Tribune asserted that one of the conditions of the alteration of its lease was that it should erect an expensive building. There was no such condition. An effort to make that condition was voted down by the Tribune's friendly majority. The same editorial asserted that it did erect a building costing \$1,750,000. But its friends in the taxing office estimate the value of this building for taxation (the ground is exempt) as hardly more than half that amount—a little above \$900,000. For these and other misrepresentations in that editorial, the Tribune used so much space that it had none left to explain how it happened that its own lawyer, who was on the school board that altered its lease, came to take the lead in engineering the alteration.

In a later issue, the Tribune "comes back" at the school board with a whole broadside of falsehoods. It says that the present school board has destroyed the merit system for the appointment of teachers. This is false. For appointments there was no merit system worthy the name until the present board established one. The previous system was a secret process under the control of the superintendent; and one, as has since been discovered, which used fictitious credits. The Tribune further says that the present board has destroyed the merit system of promoting teachers. This also is false. There was no other merit system of promotion than that which still exists. It also charges that the present board has destroyed the merit system for advancing teachers' salaries. This, too, is false. The accumulated records of the board show that the system of advancing teachers' salaries has not been on merit. The Tribune further charges that the selection of text books has been taken out of the hands of the superintendent by the present board. Another falsification. In so far as the superintendent has been deprived of that function, it was done not by the present board but by its predecessor. The Tribune further charges that the present board closed the fiscal year with a deficit. This is one of those half truths which are "ever the worst of lies." The following table shows the financial situation at the close of that fiscal year:

Cash on hand .....	\$ 21,592.21
Ground rents of State street stores, turned over to the present board by its predecessor as "available cash," but found by the present board to be tied up in litigation.....	242,735.42
<b>Total assets .....</b>	<b>\$264,327.63</b>
Unpaid bills .....	222,726.75
<b>Surplus .....</b>	<b>\$ 41,600.88</b>

This surplus was turned into a deficit because, and only because, the present board transferred the litigated rentals from "available cash," where its predecessor had falsely carried it, to a suspense account. If its predecessor had made this transfer, as it ought to have done, its deficit would have been much larger than that of the present board. If the State street merchants had paid the sum—for they owe it morally and would owe it legally but for a flimsy technicality which they invoke,—the present board would have closed the fiscal year with a surplus, something which its predecessors had not done since 1900.

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"I can't do anything for you, Grogan. If you want to get that job you'll have to see Casey."

"Casey? Has he the infloocene?"

"Has he? He is!"—Chicago Tribune.

## LOOSE THE LIGATURES.

Here is a mental photograph.

Almost anyone can take this kind; it needs but a sensitized plate called the imagination.

An immigrant just landed at Ellis Isle, strong, sturdy, ambitious,—at least sufficiently so to tempt him to leave his native land and cross the wide ocean whose western boundary is the America of his hopes and dreams, the place where social caste will no longer hedge him about like a fortified enclosure with sentries on every hand. The man has passed his infancy and dependent years in Europe. For more than a decade from his birth he has been a nonproducer, a drain upon the resources of his native country.

He comes here by the thousand, in the full possession of his mental and physical powers, ready to play his part, and make still greater the greatest experiment in democracy the world has ever known.

Not that he is conscious of all this. Indeed, all he wants is a "job," a chance to work and good wages.

This last is to him an Eldorado—the beginning and end of all his earthly dreams. At least thus far in his career he has never dared look for more. Even this has been so remote, so difficult, so almost impossible, that its enjoyment has seemed to him the fulfillment of his dearest hopes.

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If he finds a job, it will be only on condition that he produce more than he gets. This is the unwritten law under which the great mass of newly arrived immigrants are employed,—that they shall produce more in wealth than they get in wages, that they shall leave the country richer every night than they found it in the morning.

They have not yet, nor will they for some time, learn how to live by their wits. Such men are too simple minded, as a rule. They have wit enough to work; but not to steal. You can, if you look, find them all over this broad country, doing useful work, developing the mines, the forests, and the farm resources of America and converting this rude material into a million useful forms.

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Our immigrant is not a land speculator. He has neither the wit nor the money for that.

He is a "land user." He does things and makes things. So he is not overly respectable. Such men rarely are. He is too useful to be respectable, even in America.

Yet there is a feeling, widespread among labor

unions and many others, that such people should be shut out by legislation.

Whence this feeling? Is it not because opportunity seems too narrow for the workers already here? If this is not the reason, what is it?

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Does it not seem curious that in a country where "resources" are so vast and varied as ours, this feeling should exist? Yet it undoubtedly does. If, with a population of eight-five millions we seem crowded, what will the pressure be like when the population is twice, or three times this, as it undoubtedly will be before another hundred years turns its back upon us?

Somehow, without reasoning it out, the average citizen feels that these additional millions will, for the most part, be housed and fed and clothed, as the present population is. None too well perhaps. But by constant effort most of them will keep their heads above water, while many will drown, as now. Whence, then, comes the pressure?

It is not because nature is niggardly. She is, in this country at least, more than bountiful. Nor is it because men cannot or will not work. On the contrary, the average American man is the most energetic and skillful in the world; also the best schooled and most intelligent. Hence his great productiveness. Still, the pressure is here. Though the ability to produce wealth increases, so does the difficulty of getting it. A most singular anomaly.

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But here is the answer.

There is no more land in America now than when Columbus discovered it. But there are vastly more people, and the land of this country has attained a value that defies comprehension, so vast are the figures.

Fully seventy-five per cent. of this value is artificially created by land speculation. This holds land just out of the reach of labor, at prohibitive prices, no matter what the population; and as the number of people needing land increases, so does the value. And since a vast amount of land is held out of the market, the owners not being anxious to sell owing to increasing values and low taxes, that portion which is offered for sale commands prices too high to admit of profitable use. It also, therefore, remains idle. Hence idle men and a labor problem.

There is the only competent cause; there also the effect.

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The remedy lies in making land plentiful and

cheap by taxing idle land as heavily as improved, and leaving improvements alone—unburdened by taxes. This is the statesmanship that is the highest human wisdom.

The land gambler does nothing; why should he get anything? And why treat an improver like a criminal by fining him,—not once only, but every year? Is this the way to encourage industry?

Is it not clearly evident that if industry thrives in this country in spite of these legal handicaps, the result would be phenomenal if all such disabilities were removed? Industry will never reach its maximum until legal obstacles to its activities are abolished; and chief among these are taxes upon production and exchange.

Men live by industry. Hence men will never be really free until industry is free.

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Industry consists in production and exchange. Tariffs and all such taxes hamper exchange. Taxes upon machinery or anything else produced by labor hamper production. So it follows that the only simple and practical method of freeing industry of useless burdens is to remove them by repealing every law now in the statutes which interferes with production and trade.

Industry needs neither bounties, encouragement nor protection. If once the legal ligatures are removed, free circulation will result. Not more laws, but less; not less liberty, but more.

And the basis of all liberty is liberty of mind. Men must free themselves of the false ideas which have held them in subjection for unnumbered centuries.

HENRY H. HARDINGE.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

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Week ending Wednesday, March 27, 1907.

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### The Chicago Campaign.

With next Monday night the campaign for Mayor of Chicago (p. 1210) will come to an end; the following day the voters determine the issue. This campaign is of national interest, not because national affairs depend upon it, for it is purely local in its issues; but because the solution of municipal problems in every other city as well as in Chicago will doubtless be affected by the result.

Two questions are at issue. First, whether the traction ordinances which Mayor Dunne denounces as having been thrust upon the city over his veto and as contrary to the traction policy upon which he was elected and which he outlined in the Werno letter, shall be adopted by the people. The referendum under which this question goes to the people was secured by Mayor Dunne against the concerted opposition of all the local newspapers but Hearst's. The other issue is the re-election of Mayor Dunne. An interesting feature of this phase of the campaign is the fact that Mayor Dunne's honesty and clean life is universally admitted; yet newspapers and other organs of the classes that demand honesty in public office are supporting an opposition candidate whose habits of life have been responsibly called in serious question without eliciting any authoritative denial or explanation.

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In addition to the charges brought by Mayor Dunne against his adversary as a political agent of corporate interests (p. 1210), Mayor Dunne has during the current week charged Mr. Busse with violating a campaign pledge made to the Record-Herald in 1902, when he was Republican candidate for State Treasurer. In making this charge Mayor Dunne said:

Fred A. Busse, when elected State treasurer, I am reliably informed, gave a solemn pledge that he would turn over to the State all interest received on public funds. I am reliably informed that just before he was elected, he gave this solemn pledge to the present editor of the Chicago Record-Herald, Mr. Noyes: "If elected to the office for which I have been nominated, I shall not convert to my own use any State funds under my control. If interest accrues on public funds in my possession I shall not personally profit by it. Such interest belongs to and shall be turned into the State treasury for the benefit of the public." Now the people want a statement from Mr. Busse. There are just two questions for him to answer. Did he make that pledge to turn over the interest to the people of this State? Has he kept that pledge and turned over the large sums he received as interest on State funds during his tenure of office?

Mayor Dunne referred in connection with these questions to another financial transaction of Mr. Busse's while State treasurer, saying:

We do know that a few months ago Governor Deneen took certain action which, I am reliably informed, caused Mr. Busse to turn back \$9,000 to the State. But, I am further informed, that this \$9,000 was not interest money. It was money said to have been received as "on the side" earnings of the State treasurer's office. Where did Mr. Busse, as State treasurer of Illinois, get the \$9,000 which Governor Deneen made him disgorge some months ago? Why did he hold this \$9,000 until the Governor made him let go and turn it over to the State?

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A sensational incident of the campaign has been the anonymous publication of a pamphlet in criticism of Mayor Dunne, in which the words "glutton, drunkard and libertine" were so used as to create an impression that they were descriptive of the personal habits of the Mayor. Mayor Dunne, resenting the association of his name with these coarse allusions, said in his speech at St. Agnes' Hall on the 21st:

You have the right to know of my private life, and the private life of Mr. Busse. Let us compare them. I shall not do it, but I want you people to do it for me. I have lived in this city since 1872. My career is open

to you all. There are ten children with their mother at my little home on the Northwest Side to-night, and I ask you to go there if you have any doubt as to my character. I charge that this pamphlet was printed and distributed with traction money. And now that they have brought about the issue I want you to compare my life with that of Mr. Busse; contrast my personal career with that of the Republican nominee.

The personal allusions of Mayor Dunne in response to the attack upon him were to some extent explained by a report of the Prohibition party, published in the issue last week of its organ, "The Home Defender." The same subject was discussed at the Auditorium on the 27th at an immense meeting called to consider the moral issues of the campaign, and presided over by Allen T. Burns, a Young Men's Christian Association worker and an associate director of the Chicago Commons. The other speakers were Rev. Morton Culver Hartzell, pastor of the South Park M. E. Church, a son of Bishop Hartzell; Prof. Hatton of the University of Chicago, and Rev. Harry F. Ward, pastor of the Union Avenue M. E. Church; Rev. Peter J. O'Callaghan, pastor of St. Mary's Church and Superior of the Paulist Fathers; Rev. Julius Newman, rabbi of the Congregation Moses Montefiore, and Graham Taylor, the head of Chicago Commons, sent approving letters, which were read. The burden of all was the moral unfitness of Mr. Busse.

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One point made by Mayor Dunne in his campaign has been the school question. On this subject he said at a noonday meeting at the La Salle theater on the 25th:

Once the school children of Chicago owned that section between Madison and Twelfth streets and State and Halsted streets. Successive business administrations of the School Board have bartered away the children's property, so that now there are but a few corners in that enormously valuable district left to the school children. On the choicest corner is the Tribune building. Business administrations such as Republicans promise to give the school board, bartered away this splendid heritage of the school children, the original Section 16, dedicated by the State for school purposes. The Daily Tribune first got its attorney on the school board, and then secured a lease to that corner at a price so low that I figure that the school children are losing \$125 a day through that lease. They say it costs 35 cents a day to educate a child. Then 375 children could be educated for what is going into the coffers of the Daily Tribune.

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On the occasion of William J. Bryan's visit to Chicago in connection with his chairmanship of the Russian visitors' meeting, Mr. Bryan was interviewed by the Daily News on the municipal campaign. He said:

I earnestly favor the re-election of Mayor Dunne because I believe in him as a man and what he stands for. He has been an honest, conscientious and courageous mayor and has tried to carry out the wishes of the people and, as I understand his position, I am with him from beginning to end. I believe his fight for municipal ownership is right. The argument made in favor of compromising with the street car companies in order to get immediate improvement of the service is simply an argument that the city ought to give the companies what the companies have no right to, in order to secure service of a character to which the city is entitled. As long as the roads continue to occupy the streets they should

provide adequate transportation to meet the public needs. To offer to give them an extension of favors in order to secure adequate service is giving them something for nothing. The willingness of some of your people to favor the street railway companies in the hope of getting immediate improvement of the service is the surrender of a permanent good for a temporary advantage, and the temporary advantage is no more certain when it is paid for with further favors than it is now. If a conscientious and faithful public servant like Judge Dunne is not rewarded it offers discouragement rather than inspiration to those who assume responsibilities of protecting the interests of the people.

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Both parties are holding many campaign meetings, but Mayor Dunne's adversary, still confined to his house, makes no speeches and gives out no statements on the issues of the campaign or the charges against him.

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**The Chicago Traction Ordinance Issue.**

The traction ordinance issue is most succinctly stated in opposition to the ordinances by George E. Hooker, secretary of the City Club, in a letter published in the Record-Herald of the 27th as follows:

To treat the pending traction ordinances with the discriminate and fulsome praise which has been dispensed concerning them is, in my judgment, to abuse the public confidence and to exploit the distress of the people. The public should not be deceived as to the real purport of these measures and the real purport of the campaign of pressure organized in their behalf.

I believe that the effort to stam pede the people toward the ordinances on the plea of "immediate improvement in the service" is a cheap and unworthy effort. It is intended to obscure and cover up the far deeper and far more important issue which is really involved.

The real issue is not as to precisely when we are to have a given number of new street cars, cars which we ought by every consideration of justice, humanity and decency to have had long ago. The real issue is as to whether the struggle which we have been making for so many years to get free of traction domination in this city is to succeed or is at last to fail. Are we finally to shake off these financiering traction interests which have greedily subjected us hitherto and are subjecting us at this very minute to shameless and unabated abuses; these interests which finance and control political campaigns, which have bribed our legislatures, bought and paid for governors, organized and owned city councils, flouted their apologizing newspapers, hypnotized State boards of equalization, bribed juries, sought harborage in United States courts, marshaled selfish local influence and power on their side, and finally secured almost impregnable bulwarks about themselves in these very ordinances—are we finally or are we not to shake them off?

I repeat that the issue is not the question of "immediate improvement in the service." It is the question as to whether the people are to be lined up for these largely unknown ordinances by a picture card campaign, by strap hanger jingles, by turning the very abuses of the car companies into the main argument for new concessions to them.

Are the people to seek escape from suffering and injustice by putting themselves anew into the power of the authors of their wrongs?

Who has caused these sufferings? Who has practiced and is to-day practicing for profit this injustice? Who herds the strap hangers? Who extorts a full fare for half-price accommodations? Are they the same interests whose money is flooding the town with "nut-shell" counsels to adopt these ordinances? As the strap hanger has in the past paid for the high-class traction attor-

neys employed to circumvent him, so now his own nickels must pay for a postal and poster campaign adroitly urging his affliction, thus caused, as the chief reason for final surrender to his oppressors.

Why haven't these momentarily suppliant traction companies used the nickels of the strap hangers heretofore to put on cars enough to do away with strap hanging? Because those companies could not then use the very distress of the people as the main argument for the new grants which those companies propose to force from the people. It suits the purpose of those companies better to send out picture cards and cover billboards with shameless promises than it does to furnish transportation. Profits, not transportation, is their real aim. They ignore the obligations of their franchises, the obligations which by every consideration, attach to their very operation in the streets. Then they seek to beguile strap hangers with red ink and smooth phrases.

To adopt these ordinances would be to announce to these and all our other public service companies that by simply continuing and increasing their abuses to the bitter end they can always club or jolly the public into making new concessions to them.

The real issue is as to whether Chicago is to escape from this grip of greed, or is instead to pass still more completely under its power through new and ironclad concessions.

The pro-ordinance position is summarized by the comment of the editor of the Record-Herald upon Mr. Hooker's criticism, as quoted above, as follows:

Mr. Hooker means well, but talks flubdub. The real issue is whether Chicago shall accept a good bargain, in the making of which its representatives have duly considered grave legal and financial problems, or whether it shall suffer and yawp in a chaos of its own causing

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**The Cleveland Traction Fight.**

Negotiations between the city of Cleveland and the monopoly traction company there (p. 1040), are reported to have come to a standstill. According to the Cleveland Press the negotiators are \$3,000,000 apart on the purchase price. The stopping of the negotiations is stated to be due to the neglect of the company to reply to a letter from Mr. du Pont in the city's interest, on the 15th, in which he offered to buy on the following basis:

Physical value .....	\$14,000,000
Franchise value .....	5,000,000
One-ninth added as per agreement .....	2,111,111
Total .....	\$21,111,111
Deducted for bonds and other debts, about.....	\$ 9,000,000
Net total, about .....	\$12,111,111

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**Corruption in San Francisco by Public Service Corporations.**

Associated Press dispatches of the 19th from San Francisco report revelations regarding the corruption of municipal officials by public service corporations (p. 1201) made before the grand jury by Supervisor Lonergan. They show, say the dispatches, "that franchises were sold like any article of commerce. The price varied and the amounts paid to the supervisors differed as their support was needed or merely advisable. Summed up, the story told by Lonergan is as follows: The United Railroads company paid \$500,000 for permit to trolleyize lines. Each supervisor received \$4,000. Schmitz and Ruef received \$400,000. The remainder went to the assistant of the supervisors. The Pacific States



Telephone company paid ten supervisors \$5,000 each. The Home Telephone company paid ten supervisors \$3,500 each, seven supervisors \$6,000 each, and to Ruef and Schmitz together \$150,000. The San Francisco Gas and Electric company paid sixteen supervisors \$750 each."

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#### The Russian People Speak to the American People.

Alexis Aladin (p. 704), leader of the "Group of Toll" in the last Douma, and Count Nicholas W. Tchaykovsky, a leader in the Russian revolutionary movement of 1871, are speaking to audiences in the United States on behalf of the Russian people. They addressed 3,500 persons in the Auditorium in Chicago on the 24th at a meeting presided over by William J. Bryan. The meeting was characterized by the press as remarkable. "In boxes and on the stage were judges, lawyers, ministers, educators, business men, and representatives of almost every conceivable interest in the city." In his address of introduction Mr. Bryan said: "I believe our nation has a right to express its opinion on every subject that affects humanity in any place in the world; that our nation will not live up to its duty unless its moral influence is thrown on the right side of every question which arises touching upon the liberty of peoples. Wherever people struggle to obtain liberty we must let them know our sympathies are with them. Other nations must not be able to give the lie to our history." In admirable English Mr. Aladin set forth the demands made by the united Russian people upon the Imperial government, summarizing them as follows:

A general political amnesty, including the thousands of men and women in Siberia, sent there because of activity in the cause of freedom.

Abolition of all exceptional laws, such as drumhead military courts, regulations under which police can enter houses in the dead of night and seize men and women, laws under which governors of provinces have the rights of commanding generals in time of war.

Control of the expenditure of public money to be vested in the people's representatives.

Establishment of a responsible ministry, appointed from the Douma.

Immediate amelioration of the condition of the working classes.

He asked for his people that the American nation should remain neutral in whatever struggle should arise between the Russian people and the autocracy, and that Americans should not lend money to the Russian Government on bonds not authorized by the Douma. "If you lend money to the Government, and ever get it back," he said, "it will be spotted with the blood of innocent women and children. We believe 95 per cent. of the American people do not make out of the dollar an Almighty, and that they do not wish to lend money to wage war against freedom. And even the other 5 per cent., who might give money to the Government, should hesitate. For look, under the law—now that we have the Douma to represent us—the Government has to ask permission to make any law. If the Government issues bonds without permission of the Douma and then representative government is fully established—as it will be—who will pay those bonds? We ask you, then, to be neutral and not give money to the present Government. Then, in the second

place, we come to you to tell you that our men are tortured, our women are given to the Cossacks. Such atrocities would not be permitted in war. Why, we ask, should they be permitted between a government and its people? You would not allow these terrible cruelties and outrages if Russia were fighting another nation. Why stand by and permit them in factional strife? We do not ask you to liberate us, but we do ask that the mighty voice of America speak. We ask your moral support now, and in the future. If the necessity arises, we ask your material support." Mr. Tchaykovsky described typical outrages committed by the Czar's government in carrying out the present interminable policy of coercion to the death.

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#### Russia.

The drumhead courts-martial against which Mr. Aladin protested in his Chicago speech on the 24th, was under consideration in the Douma on the 25th and 26th. The law providing for trials by this method was to lapse on the 26th by expiration of its two months' limit, and the Government desired an extension of some form of court-martial law (p. 1213). Mr. Maklakoff, the Constitutional Democratic leader, showed the inconsistency of martial law with constitutional government, and declared that the "terrorism from below was simply evoked by the terrorism from above." On the 26th the Douma adopted the preliminary resolution of the Constitutional Democrats providing for the abolition of drumhead courts-martial, and instructing the committee to draw up and present a bill to this effect with as little delay as possible. The vote was almost unanimous, only twenty-two extreme reactionists voting in the negative. After the vote had been taken Mr. Stolypin, who had just had a long conference with the Czar, announced that so long as "the bloody miasma of terrorism overshadowed the land" the Government did not feel justified in withdrawing entirely such unfortunate repressive measures, but that orders had been given that drumhead courts-martial be hereafter employed only in cases of extreme and vital necessity.

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Constantine P. Pobiedonostseff, until two years ago Procurator General of the Holy Synod of the Greek-Russian church, died in St. Petersburg on the 23d at the age of 80 years. The Czar is the head of the Russian church, but the czars have never claimed the right of deciding theological and dogmatic questions, and practically the procurator general, who is the official next in rank, has exercised great power. Mr. Pobiedonostseff, of commanding abilities and irreproachable character, was a reactionary of the most pronounced type. Says Professor Milukoff in his paper, the Rech, "With Pobiedonostseff's whole era Russian history sinks into the grave. To him personally Russia is indebted for twenty-five years of postponement of constitutional life, which has made the delayed process of liberation so stormy and painful now. . . . When he lost influence he stepped out without a struggle, confining himself to an old man's mutterings of predictions of an unavoidable future of cataclysms. He always was afraid to permit the full play of life. Several years ago no one could have guessed that Pobiedonostseff could

survive himself, but this actually happened. His political opponents can afford magnanimity. The advance of the Russian people has already relegated his epoch to oblivion. He already is entombed in history."

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#### **Agrarian Revolt in Rumania.**

The Jewish massacres in Rumania reported last week (p. 1213) in connection with discontent with high taxation and landholders' exactions, proved to be but the beginning of widely scattered agrarian uprisings for which the peasants appear to have been making more or less organized preparation. News from Rumania through Germany is to the effect that "it is the purpose of the peasants to drive out the Jewish lessees of the extensive holdings of absentee landlords, and to seize the lands that the peasants rent from the lessees and upon which they are entirely dependent. The peasants claim that a system of extortion is practiced against them." Another dispatch states that "the movement is really more agrarian than anti-Semitic. The peasants are in revolt against the great farming trust, which has leased half the cultivatable lands in Moldavia. The absentee landlords who control the trust happen to be Jews, and this fact brings the ire of the peasants down upon any and all Jews that they meet, and to this antipathy is added strong racial feelings arising from other causes." On the 21st all the army reserves had been called out. On the 22nd all northern Rumania—the province of Moldavia—was declared to be in revolt. A score of towns had been burned, and 400 estates pillaged. Ten thousand Jews were homeless, and 8,000 had crossed the frontier into Austria. On the 25th four additional regiments were sent to Jassy, the largest city of Moldavia, where 12,000 troops had been already concentrated. All shops were closed, and the artillery was encamped on the principal street. From 40,000 to 50,000 peasants were reported as ready to attack the city. Encounters between the troops and the peasants have occurred at several places. Troops fired on the insurrectionists at Galatz, killing 200. A company of soldiers was routed at Bacess, where 2,000 peasants, armed with rifles and revolvers, were encamped. Forty peasants were killed. Dispatches of the 26th declare that the rising is assuming the proportions of civil war, and that the movement is directed not only against the Jews but also against the Christian land owners. The trouble now extends from one end of Rumania to the other, and even the capital city, Bucharest in Wallachia in the southern part of the country, is in fear of an attack, 4,000 peasants being reported as marching upon it. Reenforcements have been concentrated there. The royal palace is protected by artillery, and orders have been issued to use shrapnel to prevent the revolting peasants from invading the city.

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#### **Self-Government for Ireland Debated.**

In reply to interrogation in the House of Lords on the 20th in regard to the ministerial policy for Ireland (pp. 1113, 1213), the Earl of Crewe, Lord President of the Council, said the Government's policy was not home rule, but an advance in the direction of self-government which was not incompatible with

an advance toward home rule. The Marquis of Londonderry, a Conservative, who was formerly Viceroy of Ireland, declared that the English people had not given the Government a mandate to grant the demands of the Irish people. The dispatches state that there then followed a striking scene when Lord Loreburn, the Lord High Chancellor, leaving the wool-sack, declared that he, like Premier Campbell-Bannerman, was a home ruler, but he qualified his statement by saying he meant home rule in a parliament subordinate to the imperial authority. "All roads," Lord Loreburn added, "lead to home rule. It is as certain to come as that to-morrow's sun will rise." At a meeting of the Council of the Liberal League on the 26th, Lord Rosebery said that Great Britain would never tolerate a separate Irish parliament

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#### **The Transvaal Parliament.**

The first Transvaal Parliament under the new constitution (p. 1166) assembled at Pretoria on the 21st. The Boers are in a majority, and in the lower house they clamored for a use of the Dutch language, with the result that the proceedings were conducted alternately in English and Dutch, a speaker frequently beginning his remarks in one language and finishing in the other. The Earl of Selborne, the High Commissioner, in addressing both houses, said that the ministry had resolved that the employment of Chinese labor in the mines, a very serious grievance in South Africa, should come to an end. On the following day the upper house passed the "Asiatic ordinance," providing for the exclusion of the Japanese and other Asiatics, who are immigrating to South Africa in increasing numbers.

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#### **Berlin to Tax the "Unearned Increment."**

A brief dispatch from Berlin states that on the 21st the City Council adopted a measure that provides for the taxation for the so-called "unearned increment," in other words, the new value of real estate accrued since the last sale of the piece of property in question.

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#### **The War in Central America.**

The little war which has been running its course since January between Nicaragua and Honduras (p. 1214) seems to be about over. It was reported on the 24th that after a battle in which the Hondurans and their new allies, the Salvadoreans (p. 1214), had 200 men killed and about an equal number wounded, the Nicaragua forces had captured Choluteca, the most strongly fortified town of Honduras, and the President of Honduras, Mr. Bonilla, had fled. The next day, after another battle in which Gen. Barahona, Honduran minister of war and commander of the army, was mortally wounded and many military chiefs captured, the Nicaraguans entered Tegucigalpa, the capital of Honduras, and the war was considered to be practically at an end. On the 26th it was reported that Salvador was asking Mexico to intervene.

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#### **Cuba.**

The formation in Cuba of a new conservative national party whose first plank is for an American

protectorate, was formally announced on the 22nd to the United States provisional Governor, Mr. Magoon (pp. 655, 945). The extraordinary expenses of the United States in connection with the sending of the army of pacification to Cuba last summer, reported in October as exceeding \$1,000,000 (p. 678), now aggregate about \$2,500,000, according to the war department. It was said in October that the expenses of intervention would be collected from the Cuban revenues. Current newspaper dispatches from Washington state that it has not been determined exactly when the money will be collected from Cuba by the United States. Congress authorized the collection of as much of this money as Cuba can spare, and practically allowed the war department to exercise its judgment in this matter.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—The Russian evacuation of Manchuria is now complete (p. 1042).

—Women are to be appointed on the police force at Ghent, Belgium.

—Another earthquake shock was reported from Kingston on the 22nd (pp. 1140, 1166).

—The woman suffrage bill before the Iowa legislature was defeated by the lower house on the 25th.

—Edwin O. Madden retired on the 22nd from the position of third assistant postmaster general, which office he had held for nearly eight years.

—Elizabeth Flournoy Johnson, only daughter of Tom L. Johnson, Mayor of Cleveland, was married (p. 1140) on the 23rd to Frederico Mariani.

—A law was enacted at the last session of the Indiana legislature which makes it bribery to pay a "tip" to anybody employed by a railroad.

—The Chinese famine has grown to such terrible proportions that the continuance in power of the ruling dynasty is regarded as seriously threatened.

—James J. Hill is reported as having decided to retire on the 1st of July as president of the Great Northern Railroad Co., to make way for his son, Louis W. Hill, as his successor.

—"John P. Altgeld—The Man and His Message," was the subject of an address delivered by Samuel Alschuler on Sunday evening, the 24th, at the People's Church at Aurora, of which J. M. A. Spence is the minister.

—A wreck on the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe within the limits of Los Angeles on the 23rd, brought death to six, and injury to 17 of the passengers, who were mostly students returning from an inter-collegiate meet.

—Governor Folk of Missouri has issued a proclamation convening the legislature in extra session on April 9, 1907. Among other subjects named in the call are rate regulation, dramshops, and legislation to provide for the recall of derelict officials.

—John Ellmore, a cobbler of Altoona, Pa., is reported by press dispatches as having, although ignorant of chemistry and illiterate, succeeded in producing a chemical compound which revivifies the combustible element in common coal ashes so as

to generate from it a heat of greater intensity than that obtained from the highest grade of soft coal when fanned by a forced draft.

—The lower court at Chicago decided on the 23rd that the "three-headed" petition for referendum (p. 1166) is invalid, on the ground that the law allowing three questions to be submitted at any election does not contemplate more than one on a single petition.

—Judge Wood refused the application for a change of venue in the case of Moyer, Heywood and Pettibone, accused of complicity in the murder of ex-Governor Steunenberg (p. 1214), and gave the defendants the option of a trial at Bois  or in Canyon county. Bois  was agreed upon.

—Alexander Beaubien, the first white child born in Chicago, died on the 26th at the age of 85 years. His father, John B. Beaubien, was a French-Canadian, and his mother was descended from the Pottawattamie Indians. Alexander was born inside of Fort Dearborn, on January 28, 1822.

—The union of the Congregationalists, the United Brethren and the Methodist Protestants was practically accomplished at a tri-church council held in Chicago last week. The union will not become binding unless ratified by the individual churches. Of the 200 delegates composing the council, 110 represented the Congregationalists, 50 the United Brethren, and the remainder the Methodist Protestants, the representation being apportioned according to the membership of the national church organizations.

—The City Council of Kansas City, Kansas (p. 1185), is reported by the dispatches as having on the 22nd, "after a stormy session of three hours, yielded to the demands of an excited and angry lobby of municipal ownership advocates by postponing action on the application for a renewal of the Metropolitan Water Company's franchise until the new mayor, to be elected April 2, is installed. While it was generally understood that seven of the twelve councilmen were in favor of granting the franchise, on the final vote to postpone every member answered 'aye' when his name was called."

—Miss Martha E. Johnston, tax collector of Lacombe, N. H., has submitted her first annual report. The Woman's Journal says that the report shows that there will be a smaller list of delinquents than ever before. Instead of sitting in her office day after day, sending out bills and waiting for people to come to her, Miss Johnston has gone to them. Of the \$100,978.05 placed in her hands to collect, she has collected \$90,164.24, and is confident that she will gather in the greater part of the few thousands yet unpaid. She has also collected over one thousand dollars which stood on the old tax lists.

—Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland was in the Chicago Limited train of the Pennsylvania railroad which was derailed 17 miles from Pittsburg on the 22nd. The train seems to have been deliberately wrecked by malicious persons or looters. The passengers were badly shaken up but none was injured. On his arrival at Cleveland Mr. Johnson said: "I was asleep when it happened. All of a sudden I hit the top of my berth, then I came down hard. The car went bumpety bump, and then rolled over on its side and slid down an embankment. That is all

there was to it, except that the number of the train was 23."

—The statistics of imports and exports of the United States (p. 1141) for the month ending February 28, 1907, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for February, were as follows (M. standing for merchandise, G. for gold and S. for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M. ....	\$1,289,246,296	\$932,925,385	\$356,320,911 exp.
G. ....	18,575,574	99,588,040	81,012,466 imp.
S. ....	36,510,799	27,901,115	8,609,684 exp.
	\$1,344,332,669	\$1,060,414,540	\$283,918,129 exp.

—Ex-Senator J. R. Burton, of Kansas, having completed his term of imprisonment (p. 705), upon returning to his home in Abilene addressed his neighbors in a public speech in which he declared: "I was convicted by the press of bribery and fraud. I was convicted by the courts with misconstruing a statute. I was guilty of nothing. My only offense was that I had offended the head of the 'political community of interests'—the President; and the most powerful member of the 'commercial community of interests'—the sugar trust. These, and these alone, are the offenses for which I have suffered. I violated no law."

—The Simplified Spelling Board is to hold its first annual meeting on April 3 and 4 in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York. Among the representatives of the Middle West who have signified their intention of being present are Chancellor E. Benjamin Andrews, of Lincoln, Neb.; Homer H. Seerley, President of the State Normal School, Cedar Falls, Ia., and E. O. Vaile and D. C. Blackmer of Chicago. California will be represented by President David Starr Jordan, Judge William W. Morrow and Prof. George Hempel of Leland Stanford University. Other delegates who will come a long distance are the two Canadian members, and at least one member from Great Britain.

—Mayor Morris of Nashville, Tenn., and 23 members of the City Council were arrested on the 19th for contempt of the lower house of the State legislature. Some days ago the City Council adopted resolutions censuring Speaker Cunningham of the House for having reflected upon the City Council in connection with legislation concerning a telephone company. Speaker Cunningham denied the correctness of the newspaper report upon which the resolutions were founded, and the House of Representatives adopted by unanimous vote resolutions condemning the action of the City Council and the Mayor, who, after signing the resolutions of the Council, had added words of indorsement. The legislative committee reported that the Mayor and Councilmen were in contempt, and recommended that they be placed under arrest and be required to appear and show cause why they should not be punished.

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Teacher: Why, Johnny, I thought you knew your alphabet!

Johnny: I don't know the names of the letters nor the way they come, but when I see the alphabet all together I know it fast enough.—Boston Transcript.

## PRESS OPINIONS

### WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The (Philadelphia) Jewish Exponent, Mar. 8.—The woman suffrage movement, which has recently been prominently before the public as a result of the increased energy which its advocates are displaying in various countries, has enlisted the active support of a number of representative Jewish publicists and men of affairs. Thus, at the national convention of the Women's Suffrage Association, recently held at Chicago, Dr. Emil G. Hirsch delivered an earnest plea for the cause; at London, Israel Zangwill aligned himself with the "Suffragette" party in a characteristically effective speech; whilst in Italy, Signor Luzzatti, the eminent statesman, has enrolled himself as an active advocate of the enfranchisement of women. The support which is being given to the movement by progressive thinkers in all the great countries is in marked contrast to the spirit of derision with which the efforts of its advocates were received until a very short time ago. There is really no reason why women should not vote. The fact that some of them do not desire the privilege is a lame and impotent reason for denying it to those who do. There are lots of men who, judging by their failure to vote, do not care for the ballot, and there is a pretty considerable proportion of others who do not know how to use the franchise properly when they do exercise it. And still popular suffrage is not abolished and is not likely to be. It is simple folly to assert that women cannot use the franchise as intelligently and effectively as men do.

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### EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY.

The (Chicago) Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), Mar. 11.—Mr. Mallock, the self-constituted champion of "ability," denies even the need of equal opportunities. Results that are attributed to inequality of opportunity, in his opinion, are really due to unequal capacities and talents. . . . Equality of opportunity means equal freedom to develop and apply capacity, and the absence of artificial privilege, monopoly of natural resources and legal restrictions founded on notions of caste, blood, race or what not. Where, for example, the land and mineral wealth of a country are monopolized by a small class the many lack equal opportunity, and their "capacity" has nothing whatever to do with the question of giving them access to natural media. To shut men out of certain employments on account of race, color or caste is likewise to deny them equal opportunities. Now the existing economic order, especially in Europe, is full of privileges and restrictions that have no warrant in nature, and it does not lie in the mouth of a champion of the right of ability to ignore such handicaps upon ability or juggle with the simple and well-understood demand for equality of opportunity. Mr. Mallock, naturally enough, glides into the extreme absurdity of denying the need of equal educational opportunity. He virtually suggests, as a method of combating socialism and discontent, the adoption of a system of caste in education. He would educate children with reference to their probable positions in life. The son of a peasant, in other words, has no business to aspire to be a cabinet minister, and the son of a factory laborer should not dream of success in law, medicine or science. Mr. Mallock is not only a defender of the existing order, with all its survivals and injustice, but he would actually go back and re-establish inequalities that progress has abolished. The champion of "ability" writes himself down a reactionary.

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Who would be free themselves must  
strike the blow.

—Byron.

## RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

### THE COUNTRY OF THE FUTURE.

For The Public.

Somewhere in time remote and far  
The boundaries of that country reach  
From Southern seas to Polar star,  
To all who are of human speech.  
What matter medleys strange of tongue  
Where smiles are language—where they tell  
Their story to a world grown young  
Of Love at last made audible.

How gloriously bounded then  
The Land that craves not War's renown—  
Eastward by love of yellow men,  
And northward by the love of brown.  
Bounded by love of all men East,  
And by the love of all men West,  
The arms of highest and the least  
Are shields about their breast.

No Hun or Vandal horde prevails  
O'er land where serfs are not, nor lords,  
Though here are playgrounds that were jails,  
And plowshares that were swords.  
Nor eye their boundary descries  
Who flung from them all vulgar fears,  
Nor are the slopes of Paradise  
Wider than their frontiers!

God waits upon that people—they  
Who find their soul what time they choose,  
And gain this glory on the day  
They their dominions lose.  
God waits them—from His templed cloud  
He seeks them with His patient eye—  
The people who, no longer proud,  
Build empires in the sky!

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

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### THE INVALID.

For The Public.

Overwhelming Majority lay by the roadside, evidently in great distress.

The passers-by stopped to sympathize and comment.

"Too bad," said Reformer; "he needs a change. He ought to be sent up Salt River for his health."

"O pshaw, all he needs is a stimulant," said Anti-Sumptuary, producing a flask.

"He's drunk now, you fool," thundered Prohibition, brandishing a hatchet; "put on his lid."

"He's overworked and underpaid," said Unionist. "Raise his wages and shorten his hours and he will soon be all right."

"That would be unwarranted interference with his personal liberty," said Capitalist, "and——"

"Unconstitutional," said the Judge.

"He's the victim of too much competition," said Monopollist.

"O fudge!" said Individualist, "he hasn't had enough competition to furnish the required incentive to activity."

"If he'd taken my advice," said the Editor, "he

would have been well and strong to-day. I wanted to infuse some new blood into his veins."

"He's had too much tinkering already," retorted Conservative. "They tried that skin-grafting game, and it made him worse."

"It isn't his skin or his blood," said the Socialist. "It's his system. He needs a thorough renovation."

"But that would kill him," put in the Editor.

"I hope so," said the Anarchist.

ELLIS O. JONES.

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### HAVE YOU YOUR SHARE?

Editorial from the Pittsburg Leader of Nov. 20, 1906.

In a recent statement issued by the census bureau the wealth of the United States is estimated at \$115,000,000,000, or \$1,353 for every man, woman and child in the country.

The census of 1870 placed the wealth of the country at \$30,068,518,000, and the per capita wealth then was \$779.83. In 30 years the total wealth was almost trebled and in 1900 was \$88,528,348,000, or \$1,160.22 per capita. Four years later the total was placed at \$106,881,415,000, with a per capita about \$50 lower than at present.

These figures are amazing. They tell the story of the wonderful development of the resources of this land since 1870. It has outstripped every nation on the face of the globe in this respect.

But while the country now has four times the wealth it had in 1870 is the mass of the people any better off now than then? They had prosperity, or good times as it was then called, in 1870. Then came the Jay Cooke smash and the panic.

The world has improved greatly since then and the condition of the people is vastly better on that account, but so far as material possessions go they are no better off today with four times the wealth than they were in 1870. Men who are fond of the good old days will probably contend that they are not as well off, but they are merely looking back to the time when life was brighter because they were younger.

In 1870 a millionaire was a rarity. The man with \$50,000 or \$100,000 was regarded as a wealthy man then. Little was known of high finance. Corporations were not in fashion, that is, the corporations that we know today with their millions of inflated stock.

The per capita wealth was about half it is now, but more of the people had \$779 then than have \$1,353 now. None of them had a billion, nor even \$100,000,000. It is doubtful if any of them had \$10,000,000. But we have at least one billionaire now, have many with \$100,000,000 and more men have \$10,000,000 today than had \$100,000 in 1870.

These figures mean that the few have been allowed to abstract more than a fair share of the wealth from the common storehouse, even making liberal allowance for the reward of private enterprise and genius. They have been enabled to do this under the reign of privilege.

In 1870 when the resources of the country were being developed by individuals, co-partnerships and the old-fashioned companies that were capitalized at the value of the property they possessed and no higher, there was no monopoly and the special privileges

that one man had were available to any other who could meet the obligations entailed by the grant.

This preserved a more equitable balance in the distribution of wealth. Competition-throttling trusts were unknown and the companies that controlled the highways of the country were seeking business wherever they could get it. One man's money was as good to them as another's. The railroads were operated for the profit of all the stockholders. Graft was practically unknown in the transportation business.

Then came the era of the big corporations and the trusts. The old relations between man and man in business disappeared and the impersonal corporation came forward minus the principle of common honesty that was once deemed essential to success in business.

The reign of privilege began and as men came to know the value of it they bought it by resorting to bribery of public officers and law-makers in one way or another, at times with cash, but oftener by other means.

With the development of privilege through bribery and other dishonesty the wealth of the country began to flow in one direction, into the coffers of the few. Through their exploitation of the resources of the country its total wealth has grown to astonishing figures, but they have taken the most of it and with the increased power that it brought to them have been reaching for even a larger share.

If this great wealth were fairly distributed this would be a country today of prosperity unequaled in the history of the world. But a great accumulation of wealth does not make a nation either great or prosperous. Without an equitable distribution of it great wealth is a curse to a nation, since it becomes an instrument of oppression.

How to stop this flow of wealth in one direction is the all-important question before the country today. Men may be momentarily dazzled by the statement that the total wealth of the nation is 115 billions and that that amounts to \$1,353 for every person in the land, but they will not become enthusiastic over the figures when they begin to ask themselves if they have their share of it.

\* \* \*

**BEAUTY OF HEART.**

For The Public.

Were I as a child to choose my part,  
 Beauty of face or beauty of heart,  
 Beauty of face that fades away,  
 Or beauty of heart that lasts for aye,  
 I'd choose the true brave heart that bears  
 Not only its own but others' cares.

JESSIE KEYS CUMMING.

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cannot too often emphasize the fact that it is not an abstract system but a thing in movement." This test, upon which the author insists, is clarified by his further contention that "socialism considered both as a movement and as a system of economic thought, is still in process of development;" and that "its theories must undergo the rough-hewing of continual controversy, discussion and criticism." So considered, socialism offers a greater hope. When, under controversy, discussion and criticism, it shall have developed along the line of economic thought to the point of so analyzing capitalism as to distinguish the value of natural from the value of artificial capital, it will be a thing not only of movement but of natural movement and orderly growth.

Although the author fails to trace the present economic distortions of socialism to its confusion of things essentially different—he also accepting without question the prevailing scholastic and commercial notion that a given value of land is identical economically as well as commercially with the same value of machinery—he nevertheless unconsciously leads the reader at times to a deeper consideration of that very point. An instance occurs in the Introduction at pages 8 and 9, where he explains that "the central aim of socialism is to terminate the divorce of the workers from the natural sources of subsistence and of culture."

Although he immediately falls into the socialistic rut of confusing natural sources with artificial media, by describing "land" and "capital" as "the requisites of labor and the sources of all wealth and culture," the explanation tends to put the reader upon inquiry. It should be obvious that "capital" as distinguished from "land" is not a requisite of labor, for labor (the great producing mass of mankind) produces and reproduces at will the things that fall into the category "capital," so long as the things that fall into the category "land" are freely accessible. When "land" is monopolized, "capital" flows from laborers to capitalists, and we have "capitalism;" when "land" is not monopolized, "capital" remains with the laborers that produce it and we have democracy. Neither can "capital" as distinguished from "land" be considered as one of the sources, with "land," of "all wealth and culture," as our author would have it. "Capital" is indeed a means of culture, but the only original source of culture, as of "capital" itself, is "land"—the natural source as distinguished from the artificial media of production.

It may be the very obviousness and simplicity of these considerations that make them for the time obscure; for mental progress is always from the confused and obscure toward the simple and obvious. But whatever the explanation, it is certain that the confusion of the natural sources with the artificial media of wealth production, in which the philosophy of socialism has been floundering, has, by dividing the sentiment that makes for the ideals of socialism, weakened the forces of democratic evolution.

This book, which is well calculated to promote the very discussion that may lead to a better understanding on the essential points indicated above, is a scholarly survey of historical socialism from the early French type of Saint-Simon to the current socialism of German politics. Saint-Simon, Fourier,

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Louis Blanc, Owen, Lassalle, Rodbertus, Marx, the International, and the German Social Democracy are descriptively and critically considered with penetration and fairness; and incidentally the anarchism that originated with Proudhon and has been developed principally along nihilistic and revolutionary lines, is as thoughtfully described and discussed.

A significant feature of the book, considering that its sympathy is with and its object the promotion of socialism, is its rejection of materialism, which is so common in orthodox socialism as to be almost a distinctive characteristic. "Materialism," writes the author, "is a very old theory of the world," which "is now given up by competent thinkers." The blending into the socialism of Marx of this discarded theory, the author deplors; but he explains it in this way: "In the early forties, when the system of Marx was taking form, idealism had declined, and a very crude dogmatic materialism was in the ascendant. The very active speculation, which had previously been directed to the Ideal, attempted to work in the real and material without due preparation on a very inadequate basis of facts."

The author concludes, with reference to Marxian socialists, that in many respects "their propaganda has been an obstacle to their success in their proper task of emancipating the working class, and it has at the same time been a hindrance to the peaceful solution of the great struggle. The great central problem has been confused by side issues and irrelevant matter. We can best show how tragic has been the confusion of facts and of issues by reference to religion. Love, brotherhood, mutual service and peace are most prominent notes in the teaching of Jesus. They must be woven into the moral texture of socialism if it is to succeed and be a benefit to the world. If Marx and his school had merely attacked what we may call the official and professional representatives of the Christian church, they would have been within their rights. As it has been, the religion of love, brotherhood and mutual service has officially become part of a government system by which the hereditary oppressions of the poor in Germany and elsewhere claim to continue their unblest work. . . . Socialism rests on the great ideals of freedom and justice, of brotherhood and mutual serv-



ice. . . . In a rational socialism we may therefore see a long and widening avenue of progress, along which the improvement of mankind may be continued in a peaceful and gradual yet most hopeful, sure and effective way. Such a prospect offers the best remedy for the apathy and frivolity, cynicism and pessimism, which are now so prevalent; and it is the most effective counteractive to restlessness, discontent, and all the evils and excesses of the revolutionary spirit. May we not with Saint-Simon hope that the golden age is not behind but before us?"

**PAMPHLETS**

**Government Ownership of Railroads.**

That "the administration of the railroads represents a function of government, succeeding the former 'king's highways,'" is the keynote to the able speech of Senator Patterson of Colorado, delivered as his farewell speech in the United States Senate. Readers interested in the railroad question will find this speech a mine of information and suggestion. Copies can doubtless be had of ex-Senator Patterson by addressing him at Denver, Colo. Among the many significant tables of statistics which Mr. Patterson has collected is one originally prepared by Prof. Parsons, which contrasts the number of passengers and employees killed by railroads in countries of private ownership, with like casualties in countries of public ownership. The showing is enormously to the advantage of the public ownership countries.

**PERIODICALS**

The continuation of Senator Howe's story of Mayor Johnson's six years' war with privilege in Cleveland, is accompanied in The Times Magazine (New York) for March with an account by Henry George, Jr., of politics in Japan, in which it is interesting to note that privilege in municipal politics, with its incidental corruption, is characteristic also of the little yankees of the Orient. "It was only a repetition," writes Mr. George, "of what I had seen and heard in our American cities;" and it strengthened him "in the conviction that all those natural monopolies are public functions and cannot be left to private hands without the most corrupting effects, whether the country be America or Japan." Dr. Giddings continues his unique inquiry into "The Natural History of American Morals," with "Abolition" for his special subject, from which it is interesting to learn that the vulgar prejudice against free Negroes originated in the North, and has only been copied at the South. Some moral perspectives are corrected by Dr. Giddings with the remark that "the men of 1776 spoke as men who at least were honest and not afraid, while the sagacious gentlemen of the Constitutional convention taught the American people their first great lesson in the art of moral and political humbuggery,"—that "punctilious life homage to principles and to respectabilities that have no real hold upon conduct." He denominates this as "one of the most characteristic qualities of what may be called American moralism."

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