

efficient means of making the exercise of it deeply and persistently interesting to the citizen? Was there ever cause for complaint in any town of lack of interest in town-meeting when the warrant contained some new item of expenditure which directly involved an increase in the tax rate, were it only a few mills in the thousand?

Patriotism may be sluggish, but it is no cynical criticism, and only the recognition of a wholesome truth, to assert that the pocket nerve of the masses of the people is highly sensitive and quickly responsive. The selfishness of the capitalist may and often does operate against the public good, but the selfishness of the poor is the righteousness of the nation; the working man's demand for the due proportion between wages and the expenses of livelihood, is the voice of its conscience. The mass of the people may be blinded by the effects of indirect taxation and many forms of public theft, but it could not be deceived or made indifferent in the exercise of its power if that exercise affected directly the daily needs of life; if it had an obvious part in controlling the administration of the business, and consequently the cost, of furnishing heat and light, transportation and food and housing, of the necessary facilities for work and play, day in and day out.

Let the voter be aware that his vote does not merely help some boss or some party-or some platform, or procure for him some vague and untrustworthy promise of political reward, but that it helps to guide the affairs whose economical, upright and efficient management saves him money in his daily expenses, as Mayor Johnson of Cleveland has proposed to do by giving his fellow-citizens three cent car fares; and the voter will break away from platform and boss and party, and eagerly seek to cast his vote for honest men and honest measures which mean so much to him and to his family.

The very vital and pressing question of our day is how to prevent the tremendous capitalization of natural monopolies and reproductive undertakings now pressed forward with an eagerness which distinctly suggests that our captains of finance and industry foresee that the day for expropriation of public rights and public franchises is drawing to a close, so that to secure their enormous profits their inflated stocks and bonds in uncounted billions may be quickly distributed among multitudes of innocent investors, as in the case of Mr. Morgan's Georgia railway, purchased for \$7,000,000, and capitalized at \$42,000,000. This is indeed the paramount issue. Volumes of water are being solidified every hour of every business day into an indebtedness which it may be impossible to reach except through confiscation, saddling the state or the community with a monstrously increasing burden in the rapidly approaching day of public ownership.

ERVING WINSLOW.

+ + +

"Now," said the fond father to his little daughter, "I must go to town and earn some money to buy bread for little Annie."

"And to buy yachts for dada," responded the child, who seemed to have grasped the humility of the situation.

—Sporting Times.

THE CONFESSIONS OF A MONOPOLIST

By FREDERIC C. HOWE, Ph.D.

Copyright, 1906, by The Public Publishing Company. All rights reserved.

+

SYNOPSIS OF PRECEDING CHAPTERS.

In previous chapters the hero has related early experiences which tended to make him a monopolist, establishing it as a business principle with him to always tie a monopoly to any competitive business in which he engaged. He studies law, but finds the practice of it repugnant to his moral sense. He enters politics as a necessary step in the development of a land boom, a street railway and a gas company, in which he becomes successively interested. He learns first the value of a franchise, and second the value of control of political machinery as a business asset. He begins by "working" a City Council. Then by craftily appealing to the "business" element and to good citizenship, with the aid of a Sunday-closing crusade, he nearly wins out in an exciting mayoralty campaign. He discredits the Opposition Mayor, elected in spite of his efforts; gets hold of one Councilman after another by subtle influence, by bestowal of business graft, or by actual purchase; and procures his desired street railway franchise from a dumb Council, over the Mayor's veto. He then goes into the business of developing some coal mines. By playing off one railroad company against another he obtains rebates from one, which in the end ruins the road, besides driving his competitors out of business. In Chapter VII he accidentally runs against Amalgamated Copper on an upward market. It seems like gambling on a sure thing. Day by day he buys, while all the time it goes up. At last the tide turns. Day by day Copper falls. Finally he sells out, poorer by \$100,000, thankful that he was not wrecked, as hundreds in his city were. But he has not yet grasped the rules of the game. In Chapter VIII he learns the rules of the game:—how a panic is created; that the West buys on a bull market, and how to bull the market; that Wall St. profits by a bull market, but has things just where it wants them when the stocks begin to tumble; then the West drops its money, and Wall St. gets both stocks and money. Having learned his lesson he plays the game, and wins.

+

CHAPTER IX.

I Become a State Boss and Am Elected to the United States Senate.

Through my street railway, gas, banking and railway connections, I had become the most influential person in the city. I was Chairman of the Republican Committee, and raised all the campaign funds. My enemies called me the Boss. The interests which I directed were the largest contributors to both parties; in fact, we kept the organizations alive between elections. Nobody else was interested, except at elections, and in time we reduced our methods to a system. Through the convention plan the make-up of city and county tickets was determined beforehand. Our business required this. And as time went on we became mixed up in State affairs as well. All sorts of measures were constantly coming up in the Assembly, and we found it necessary to look after the legislative ticket as well as the Council. I was frequently called to Washington to confer with the

President and the Senators from the State. In connection with them I disposed of the Federal patronage, and gradually came to be an influential force in State matters and to be entrusted with the local campaign in national affairs. I had found it advisable to acquire an interest in one of the local papers. Journalism was not only profitable, for we had a franchise from the largest press association in the country, which gave us a control of its service in the city, but we found it expedient to be in a position to mould public opinion on local and State matters, and in this way protect our many interests from the assaults of sensational papers always ready to make capital out of attacks upon property and vested rights.

I began to feel the joy of power. Not only this, but politics had come to envelop my business. I could not let go of one without letting go of the other. For under the laws of the State we could not secure perpetual grants, as is done in the East, and the council still retained a large measure of control over service and charges. After the fight with Ballantyne this fact became more apparent to us. He had created a sentiment in the city that was hostile to the gas and street railway companies, and even his departure from politics did not allay it. The people criticised the service, opposed little extensions and everything we did. They had forgotten the days when I was hailed as a public benefactor for developing the city. While our franchises were perfectly secure and could not be legally attacked, there were many petty annoyances to which we were put. Our property was now assessed on the same basis as other personal property, but an agitation had arisen in the State to assess our franchises at their value in the market, as well as our property. This would have greatly increased our valuation, and cost us annually hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Things were slowly getting beyond my control in the city and county. The Democratic party had never forgotten Ballantyne, discredited and defeated though he was. It had enjoyed a taste of power and the men with whom he had surrounded himself were tarred with his opinions. Moreover, there was a growing tendency to vote independently in city elections, to scratch the ticket and ignore the demands of party regularity. There was constant danger of striking legislation. A sentiment for municipal ownership was also growing in both parties. There was talk about regulating the street railway, reducing fares, or of compelling us to grant transfers, as well as for cheaper gas. All this I saw, although I did not greatly fear it, for even though the council should be against us we could always rely upon delay if not success by carrying the ordinances by injunctions into the courts.

We really had more to fear from the State Legislature than from the city, for while there was constant local agitation and considerable hostility against us, we had thus far been able to control both parties, and especially the city Council, and so long as we retained the convention plan of making nominations we had little to fear. In the last session of the legislature, however, we had been put to considerable annoyance by the activity of Senator Bradley, who had represented his county in the Assembly for three terms and was the recognized leader of the Senate.

He had secured the assent of the upper house to a measure abolishing the convention plan of making nominations and the substitution of a direct system under which the primaries of both parties were held jointly, and nominations for the city, county and State officers were made by the people without the intervention of delegates and the convention. Along with this he had carried on an aggressive fight for the taxation of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, street railway, gas and mining companies on their franchise value measured by the market value of their stock and bonds. Through his commanding influence he had worked this measure through the Senate, along with the primary law. The former measure would have quadrupled the taxes on my mining and railway properties, and more than trebled the assessment of our street railway and gas properties. In order to encompass their defeat we had called in the aid of Senator Stillman, who had come from Washington on an imperative telegram from me. Stillman was a brilliant speaker, and had slowly risen to the United States Senate through the Legislature and the lower house of Congress, and had managed to acquire a large fortune in his capacity of attorney for many large corporations. We had retained him at an extravagant figure to protect our interests before the Assembly. Through his influence a hurried caucus of the Republican members of the lower house was called, and a resolution passed substituting a harmless taxing measure for that which Bradley had passed in the Senate. The caucus also declared against the Direct Primary Bill. Stillman had some control over the Speaker, and when Bradley's measures came over from the Senate they were referred to a committee from which they could not be withdrawn except by the action of the House. In this way we pigeon-holed the measures, for had they once gotten before the House public opinion would have forced their passage. Stillman had managed this by threats, cajolery and promises of Federal patronage. His influence had been so serviceable to us that we had subsequently made him General Counsel of our railway system.

We had gotten through the last Assembly with safety, but Bradley had now grown ambitious and had recently announced his candidacy for Governor, and the farmers and newspapers in the smaller towns were supporting him. I knew the man well enough to feel that he would drive things through the Assembly with a high hand if he were elected Governor, and the State was so strongly Republican that there was little chance of electing a Democrat, even had we been disposed to adopt this alternative. There was, therefore, no use in seeing him or endeavoring to qualify his program by offering him our support. For through our control of the county machinery we were able to return the largest single delegation to the Assembly, and about one-fourth of the delegates to the Nominating Convention. With my backing he could have had the nomination. It was manifestly necessary to beat him before the Convention.

I canvassed the situation carefully, and finally went to Washington. I called directly upon Senator Williams, who was the senior Senator from the State. He was an old man who had served the State continuously in one capacity or another ever since the Civil War. His third term as Senator was expiring

and he was a candidate for re-election before the Assembly to be elected in the fall. Of late he had paid but little attention to State politics, and was out of touch with the organization, but the affection and esteem of the people for his long service rendered the retention of his seat practically dependent upon his own wishes. Up to that time there was no question of his return. He was one of the few poor men in the Senate. He supplemented his salary by literary work and lecturing.

He received me cordially in the Senate and took me to his committee room, with an inquiry as to whether he could be of any service to me. I had no liking for my mission and wanted to be out of the matter as quickly as possible. So I bluntly told him that I had come down to talk over matters, and see about the candidacy of Bradley for the Governorship.

"You know, Senator," I said, "Bradley gave us no end of trouble in the Assembly last winter. He introduced a lot of radical bills, and is not a safe man. He is trying to throw all the burdens of taxation on to the rich, and will not listen to reason. If he were permitted to pass such legislation as he has espoused, it would bankrupt a lot of corporations who have built up the State. Now," I continued, "I came to find out how you stood towards him, for, of course, we cannot permit him to have the nomination for Governor. With your influence we can beat him, and we have about decided to support John Martin, a banker from the eastern part of the State, who is a conservative and a reliable man, and who has generously contributed to the party's success for years. With your help and that of Senator Stillman we will be able to defeat Bradley and nominate Martin, and I came to see you in order to explain the situation."

Williams was very much surprised, and said: "Why, you know, Mr. Palmer, I fear I cannot help you. I could not do anything like that. I was in the same regiment with Bradley's father in the war. He comes from my own county, and I have been proud to watch over the young man's career since he has been in the Senate. I know he is perfectly honest in his ideas, and has always been a reliable party man, and I think he has earned this nomination by his good work in the Assembly. In fact, I didn't know there was to be any opposition to him. As you know, I haven't taken very much interest in local matters for a number of years, but had intended writing letters to my friends throughout the State to help the young man all I could. Further than this, he made the nominating speech for me for the Senate when I was last elected, and in so far as I made any campaign he looked after it for me. You can see, Mr. Palmer, that I could not go back on him now, even though I were so inclined, and I am sorry that you feel toward him the way you do, for I am confident he would make a most excellent Governor."

I urged all the considerations I could upon Senator Williams, although I felt confident he could not be induced to change his mind. However, I was rather indifferent to his decision, for he possessed little influence of a practical sort, his popularity lying with the people rather than with the organization. And if he would not consent to see Bradley and call him off in a personal way, he could be of very little assistance to us.

Moreover, I was maturing other plans. I had now accumulated a large fortune. It was constantly increasing in value and required political rather than business skill. The street railway franchise which we had obtained was now secure for fifty years, and the city was growing so rapidly and our earnings increasing at such a rate that our securities were readily marketable. I had been before the State Assembly enough to be pretty familiar with its methods, and the character of the men who composed it, and was now in touch with all the leaders in the State. We had found it necessary in recent years to secure a good deal of legislation, and prevent striking measures, and I had looked after these matters.

With my family I had spent some winters at Washington, and I had there become acquainted with many members of Congress, and through Stillman had met most of the leaders in the Senate. And as I looked about that body, I noticed that the majority of them were business men like myself. In fact, the most of the Northern States were represented by men whose interests were identical with my own. The Western States had sent on mining kings, while the Middle and Eastern States had sent railway and street railway owners and men who had risen to eminence in their profession as railway attorneys. As a matter of fact, there were few Northern States outside of New England which were not represented by business men of my class. My mind would not abandon the idea that if those men could get into the United States Senate, why shouldn't I? Moreover, my wife wanted to go to Washington, and one of my daughters had just come out into society and liked the gaiety of the Capital.

After leaving Senator Williams I went immediately to see Senator Stillman. I could speak to him with the utmost candor, as he was our counsel and we were paying him a handsome retainer. I said:

"Stillman, we've got to beat this man Bradley for the nomination. He is a dangerous man, and if he carries his plan through, he will break up your control of your city and tax our properties out of existence. We want you to turn in now and use your influence to beat him in the Convention. You have controlled most of the Federal patronage for the last six years and can send a lot of delegates to the Convention. Couldn't you send for some of your postmasters and revenue officers, have them come to Washington and go over the situation? Martin is perfectly acceptable to us for Governor, and he has backed you up in your campaign. He is a safe man and nothing can be said against him. As soon as we get this thing started, and the primaries are coming on now in a couple of months, you can get in touch with your postmasters and other friends and bring them into line. Through your influence and my own we can pretty nearly control the Convention, and I expect to see Boss McGuire to-morrow."

Stillman had to fall in with my plan, for he had everything to gain and nothing to lose by so doing. He agreed to send for his men, and through them get in touch with the situation in the State.

That night I started home and stopped off to see McGuire, who was the Boss in the second largest city in the State. I had known him for a number of years, and in the preceding session of the Assembly we had used his influence to beat Bradley's measures. He

had been a paving contractor in his early days, and through his touch with the city had acquired absolute control over it. He had drifted into the saloon business and was said to control the gambling outfits in the city. He owned a stone quarry and a brick works and represented an Eastern asphalt paving company. One or the other of his materials was specified in all paving and sewer contracts, and by this time he had grown to be a man of financial as well as political influence. He had handled the franchises for the local street railway company in the council, which were subsequently sold out to an Eastern syndicate at a big profit, and was now said to be desirous of securing legislation from the next Assembly for the brewers' syndicate.

For this reason it was necessary for him to have a Governor on whom he could rely, and I knew Bradley was not his kind of man. If I could line him up, I felt we had Bradley beaten, and with him it was not necessary to beat around the bush. We speedily came to terms. He controlled the delegation from his county to the State Convention, and would make up the legislative ticket. I arranged that our delegation to the Assembly would back his measures if he would support Martin for Governor and me for the United States Senate. He already hated Senator Williams, who had ignored all his recommendations in making Federal appointments, and had lost no opportunity to condemn his political methods.

But even with this combination of Senator Stillman and McGuire, I did not feel secure. Bradley was a popular campaigner, and had the younger members of the party with him. He was a brilliant speaker of the agitator sort, and was going about from county to county looking after his interests. To make things more secure, I called a conference of the leading railway officials of the State. They all had local attorneys to look after their interests in the counties through which their roads passed, and had great influence with the county auditors. I explained to them the dangers of Bradley's election; showed them that if he had his way, their taxes would be increased by millions, and that the next step would be some attempted reduction of freight and passenger rates like those which had been tried by the Granger laws of the West.

We worked out a plan of campaign. From them I secured promises of campaign subscriptions. Through their general counsel they were to get in touch with their local attorneys, and make a fight in the Convention, and where possible have the local attorneys go to the Legislature themselves. This was the more easy inasmuch as most of the attorneys had been chosen because of their political prominence. In the Democratic counties the same policy had been pursued. For the railways wanted some one who would look after their taxes, who knew the juries, and kept in touch with local political affairs. By this means we would be able to undermine Bradley in the country districts where he was strongest, and secure a strong following of able men in the Assembly who would aid the city delegates. I took the names of their attorneys, and one by one had them call upon me, and then aided them materially in their campaigns. For while I was not chairman of the State Committee, I had been made treasurer, and distributed the campaign funds myself.

In my own county I arranged for the selection of delegates to the State Convention who were satisfactory to us, and subsequently made up the slate for the Assembly.

On the evening of the State Convention we had perfected our arrangements. We controlled the Temporary Chairman, who appointed the Committee on Credentials, which passed upon contesting delegates. The Committee threw out a number of counties representing Bradley, and by this means we increased our majority on the floor. The Committee on Permanent Organization reported officers favorable to us, and, although Bradley made a vigorous fight, Martin was easily nominated, and resolutions of an ambiguous sort relative to taxation and election reform incorporated into the platform.

The following November the State ticket was elected by a large majority, and the Republicans had an easy control of both houses in the Assembly. All this time I was in frequent consultation with Stillman and McGuire over the Senatorship. A few weeks before the Assembly convened interviews appeared in a number of the leading papers from prominent politicians suggesting my candidacy for the Senate. These were backed by editorials to the effect that this was a business age, and business men were needed to deal with the large affairs of the nation. They said our expanding trade, the necessity of a protective tariff and measures of this sort demanded that we have men of business experience, if America was to take her proper place in the family of nations.

On the convening of the Assembly caucuses of the Senate and House were held for the nomination of Speaker and Clerk. These were most important offices to us. The Speaker made up all committees, and the Clerk, through his influence and control of legislative matters, was able to be of great assistance to us. We had decided upon satisfactory candidates, and they were chosen with but little opposition. There was little danger from any tax legislation, for the State Convention had shelved Bradley's proposals, and the committees were so made up that they would follow our wishes in their reports upon pending legislation.

The chief fight was to be over the United States Senatorship and the legislation demanded by the brewers. There was a strong undercurrent of opposition to the latter measure among the country members, while they were mostly favorable to Williams for the Senate. Williams was very popular with them, and the temperance sentiment in the smaller communities was very pronounced. I knew the representatives from my own district could be relied upon to do as I wanted in these matters, as there was little interest in temperance legislation in the larger cities, and the Brewers' Association was an influential force in politics. I opened headquarters at the leading hotel and announced my candidacy for the Senate. I called in the representatives from the country districts. I was sure of my own delegation and that of McGuire, as well as of some friends of Senator Stillman, who was supporting my candidacy in a quiet way. He did not want to appear openly in the matter because of his long intimacy with Williams. But that was not necessary, as I had the support of his friends in the Assembly. As Treasurer of the State Committee I had met with many of the candidates, and my

Publishers' Column

The Public

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

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

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

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

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION

Yearly \$1.00
Half yearly50
Quarterly25
Single copies05
Trial subscription—4 weeks10
Extra copies in quantity, \$1.00 per 100, in lots of 50 and upward; if addressed to individuals, \$1.50 per 100.
Free of postage in United States, Canada, Cuba and Mexico. Elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week.

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

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

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

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

TERMS OF ADVERTISING

Per agate line, each insertion.....\$ 0.00
Per inch (14 lines), each insertion..... 1.00
Per column, (120 lines), each insertion..... 10.00
One-quarter page (30 lines), each insertion..... 5.00
One-half page (120 lines), each insertion..... 10.00
One page (240 lines), each insertion..... 20.00
Last cover page, each insertion 25.00
Last cover half page, each insertion..... 12.00
Last cover quarter page, each insertion..... 6.25
Advertising forms close on the Tuesday preceding the Saturday of publication.

Hours: 10 a. m. to 4 p. m. Telephone Harrison 1927

CHARLES L. LOGAN, D. O.
OSTEOPATHIC PHYSICIAN
Office: 45 Auditorium Bldg.
HOTEL WARNER—EVENINGS CHICAGO

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

SUCCESS IN LIFE
By LOUIS F. POST
A reprint of a favorite little essay in THE PUBLIC, first published in 1902.
16mo, paper, 14 pages, 4 cents, postpaid. One dozen copies 25 cents, postpaid.
THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO., First National Bank Bldg., CHICAGO

long interest in State politics made me known to the balance. I also set the wires in motion from New York and Chicago, and in this way secured the support of the railway interests, who suggested to their attorneys, of whom there were half a dozen in the Assembly, that it would be a courtesy which they would appreciate if they would support me for the Senate. This was effective in a majority of cases, for the railway attorney in a small town is second in importance only to the judge, even though his retainer does not exceed a few hundred dollars a year; and a word from the General Counsel with such men is of great weight.

I had placed the outside conduct of my campaign in the hands of Buckley and McGann, whose experience in local affairs stood me in good stead. They knew how to reach men whom I could not. They entertained them, got acquainted with their habits, found out about their home connections and necessities. In this way they were able to learn how they stood, and keep them in line. I told them that I did not want to know anything about what they did or how they accomplished it, but that my friends had raised a campaign fund of \$20,000, which had been deposited for their use, and that they might have some entertaining to do with some of the members. By these various means I was soon pretty certain of election, for, as far as I could learn, I had rounded up a majority of the Republican members before the caucus.

There was strong opposition, however, and pronounced indignation among the country members over the retirement of Senator Williams. Some bitter speeches were made in the caucus, and many of the papers of the State opposed me with vehemence. But so long as I had the votes at my back I felt that such voices could be ignored, especially as they would be just as loud in support of me as soon as the election was over. For the country newspapers subsist on political patronage. Their revenue comes from the publication of ordinances and the printing of party documents and political matter.

On the night before the caucus there was a round up of all my adherents, and on the following day my name was the only one presented to the caucus, Senator Williams having in the meantime announced that he would not be a candidate for re-election. I was glad he had done this for it made it easier for many of the men to support me. For they could always retire behind the action of the caucus and say that they were bound by it, which they could not have done had Williams made a fight. Moreover, it made our control of the Assembly more secure. Bradley had been on the ground looking after the candidacy of Williams, but he had no organization and nothing to offer the men. For we controlled the State organization, we had organized both houses, and many men were willing to trade their votes for positions on good committees, like Railways and Transportation, Corporations, Judiciary and City. For the big measures came before these committees, and the sort of men who most wanted to get on these committees were the men we really most wanted there. Bradley had no inducements to offer and had to make his fight single-handed. He made some disagreeable charges, said it was the first time money had ever been openly used in the election of a Senator, and that the State

had now passed into the hands of a triumvirate of Bosses, Doodle and Beer.

But we had eliminated him from State politics. He was discredited, as were his socialistic theories and high-sounding virtues. We now had nothing to fear from taxation measures or legislation which aimed to break up the party organization. Moreover, before the session ended we were able to secure some much-needed legislation permitting street railway, gas and electric lighting companies to consolidate. This was in the line of economy and would enable us to combine our properties and greatly increase their earnings. We also made it impossible for cities which had already granted franchises to companies, to make competing grants. In this way we made ourselves secure from striking companies which were organized merely to be bought out. As for the Brewery Syndicate, the legislation which they desired was of an unimportant sort, and while some opposition to it appeared, it was passed in the closing days of the session.

My long experience in politics had made me rather indifferent to what the press might say. I had learned that the public has a short memory and that success easily glids public opinion. Among the editorial expressions on my election the following are indicative of the divergence in point of view. The first is from a State paper, the second from one of the leading periodicals in New England.

+

Editorial in the ——— World.

THE BUSINESS MAN IN POLITICS.

The election of Mr. W. B. Palmer to the United States Senate by the joint action of the Assembly yesterday is indicative of a new era in politics. While all citizens regret the retirement of Senator Williams, after his many years of distinguished service to the State, their regret is in a sense assuaged by the choice of so distinguished a successor. No man in the State has done more for the development of the community in which he lived than has Senator Palmer. Drawn after graduation from college to the then developing West, he has lent his energy to the upbuilding of its industries and the development of its great resources. Starting life with nothing save untiring ability to work and an insight approaching genius for business, he rapidly acquired a position of eminence in his chosen city, and despite his commanding wealth has always borne his share in the political life of the community. With such talents as he possesses for finance, with years of experience as President of the United Trust Company, his counsel will be of service to the nation in these days of specious financial proposals and populist agitation.

During the past decade America has assumed a commanding position among the powers of the world. Our trade is expanding, the mills and factories of New England and Pennsylvania and the golden prairies of the West are sending our surplus products into the markets, so long held in undisputed sway by Great Britain. America has outgrown her limitations. She has become a world state, and the change which has come over our point of view and business interests is reflected in the choice of such a man as Senator Palmer to represent the commonwealth at Washington. It is time we had more business men in politics. The disturbing influences engendered by proposals for tariff reduction, for cheap money and a stay-at-home foreign policy can only be checked by men whose large experience and unquestioned success enable them to speak with the conviction born of experience in such matters.

Announcements

MEETINGS, LECTURES, DEBATES, ETC.

Chicago—Single Taxers desiring to assist at open-air meetings to be held in Chicago are requested to send their names and addresses to John Weiler, Jr., 30 Macedonia St., Chicago.

General.—Mrs. Estella Bachman Brokaw, Station A, Pasadena, Calif., wishes to correspond with persons who have carefully read Oliver R. Trowbridge's "Bisocialism."

ATTORNEYS

FRED. CYRUS LEUBUSCHER,
COUNSELOR AT LAW.
Rooms 811, 812 81, and 814
258 Broadway, Borough of Manhattan.
Telephone: 404 Cortlandt. NEW YORK

WILLIAM H. HOLLY

LAWYER

1506 Tribune Building. CHICAGO

Telephones: { Central 2056
Automatic 4065

John Moody & Co.

Dealers in

Investment Securities

35 Nassau Street, New York

Our Advancing Postal Censorship

By LOUIS F. POST.

28 pages, 6x8, 8 cents, postpaid; 100 copies, \$2.25, postpaid.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY
First National Bank Building, Chicago

WANTED—Capable man, with progressive ideas on public questions, to organize and manage lecture course in home city. For basis of compensation and full particulars, address

Dept. A, International Lecture Association
610 Steinway Hall, CHICAGO

Our Despotie Postal Censorship

By LOUIS F. POST

Reprinted from The Public of March 10, 1906

Paper, 33 pages (3x6), 3 cents, postpaid; 100 copies to one address, \$1.75, postpaid; 100 copies to varying addresses, \$3.00, postpaid

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY
First National Bank Building, Chicago

THE SINGLE TAX By George A. Briggs

An address before the Elkhart Society of the New Church.

18mo, paper, 66 pages, 10 cents, postpaid.

The Public Publishing Co., First National Bank Building, Chicago

If the Assembly just opened would rest content with what it has done and then adjourn, the business interests of the State would breathe easier.

+

Editorial from the ——— Republican.

THE DEGRADATION OF THE SENATE.

Press dispatches from the State of ——— announce the election of William B. Palmer to the United States Senate to succeed Senator Williams, who now retires from that body after eighteen years of distinguished service. Few men have passed so many years in that body and enjoyed such universal respect and affection as Senator Williams, and the reasons assigned by him for declining to be a candidate for re-election are not in harmony with the recent activity of Mr. Palmer in the politics of his State, or the occasional "Inspired" editorial which suggested his name during the past few months. Advices from Washington indicate the real reason to be a loss of control of the State organization, which has passed into the hands of Palmer, who has risen in the past few years from the position of "boss" in his own city to an absolute control of the State. To the credit of Senator Williams be it said, that he has ever been unwilling, and as politics are now organized, probably unable to control the organization, which has been instrumental in his unseating.

The advent of such a man as Boss Palmer, as he is locally known, into national politics indicates the extent to which commercialism has invaded our politics. His election demonstrates the degradation which has submerged American politics through the corrupt use of money. The means by which Mr. Palmer rose to local prominence in the Republican party differ in no essential respect from the means employed in a dozen other States. Drawn into politics by the nature of his business, which was that of dealing in franchises, privileges and tax evasions, he used his political power for the furtherance of his private ends. And while the disclosures of boodling and corruption in connection with the street railways and gas franchises in his native city have not been traceable to him personally, they have been brought to the door of those interests which he owns and controls. In the past few years the power which he has acquired at home has been used in the State for the holding up of needed legislation, and the methods of his rise to power in the councils of his party have recently been exposed in a biographical sketch in one of the leading magazines. These exposures have not been denied. They are but typical of the process by which business and politics have become woven together. The one is dependent upon the other. An examination of the Congressional Directory shows the same thing to be true in State after State. In the East it is the street railways and the railroads which are in control of the States. In Pennsylvania it is the industries protected by the tariff. In the Middle West the franchise and transportation companies are sending their lawyers and representatives to the Senate, while in the far West those who have organized these States in order to evade taxation, to prevent adequate labor laws, and otherwise to subordinate the welfare of their commonwealth to their own pecuniary advantage, have thereafter taken advantage of their powerful organization for their own election to the United States Senate. This is no longer exceptional. It has become well-nigh universal. An enumeration of the highest legislative assembly in the land forms a catalogue of directors, officers and attorneys of the great privileged interests of America. The special lobby has largely disappeared. The United States Senate has become its own lobby. When one appreciates this fact, the hostility to the Isthmian Canal becomes manifest; the indifference to railway regulation is explained, and the impossibility of anti-trust legislation and of tariff reduction is demonstrated. Everywhere it is the same. It is not retail or wholesale business, but monopoly in-

THE CITY

The Hope of Democracy

BY
FREDERIC C. HOWE, Ph. D.

Contents

INTRODUCTORY
THE NEW CIVILIZATION
THE PROFIT ACCOUNT
THE LOSS ACCOUNT
THE AMERICAN CITY AT WORK
THE SOURCE OF CORRUPTION
THE BOSS, THE PARTY AND THE SYSTEM
THE WAY OUT—MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP
DOES MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP PAY?
THE CITY REPUBLIC
THE CITY CHARTER
THE COST OF THE SLUM
THE CITY'S HOMES
THE CITY'S WRECKAGE
THE WARDS OF THE CITY
THE CITY BEAUTIFUL
THE CITY'S TREASURE
THE REVENUES OF THE CITY
THE CITY FOR THE PEOPLE
THE HOPE OF DEMOCRACY
INDEX

Emphatically the best work on the present outlook of the city. Every chapter is valuable, timely.—*Unity, Chicago.*

A simple, lucid, penetrating analysis of the economic, social and political problems that our city must solve. The style of the book is such a delight, its marshalling of facts so impressive and its point of view so unusual, that all students will welcome it, while the vigorous and intensely practical way in which the questions of the hour are discussed make the book exceedingly useful to public officials and active men of affairs.—*Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow, Cincinnati, Ohio.*

The book is a bugle blast to the hosts of American democracy.—*Joseph Leggett, in the San Francisco Star.*

12mo, cloth, 319 pages, with index, \$1.50
(postage 15 cents).

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.
First National Bank Building, CHICAGO

terests which are making their way to Washington. The retirement of Senator Williams is in keeping with this process, which has all the ear-marks of concerted action; while the election of Mr. Palmer but emphasizes the process which is going on, and impels to the conviction that the great issue before the American people is whether monopoly shall own the Republic or the Republic own monopoly.

(To be continued.)

BOOKS

SONGS OF RUSSIA.

Songs of Russia. Rendered Into English Verse by Alice Stone Blackwell. Published by the Author, 1906, 45 Boutwell Ave., Dorchester, Mass.

"This little volume aims to give a glimpse into the thoughts and aspirations of some Russian lovers of freedom as revealed in their poetry." Certainly the twenty-nine poems (all short) make us wish for more than a glimpse. The different phases of Russian feeling for liberty are strikingly represented.

The utterly hopeless dirge is sung by Polivanov, who spent twenty years in prison, and soon after his release committed suicide. The wild defiance of the desperate reformer is shouted by Gorky in his "Storm-Finch":

The Storm-finch soars fearless and proud 'mid the lightnings,

Above the wild waves that the roaring winds fret;
And what is the prophet of victory saying?

"Oh, let the storm burst! Fiercer yet—fiercer yet!"

But the two most interesting contributors are Nadson and Nekrasov, who strike the minor and the major chord of optimism. Nadson's is the sweet, self-conscious voice of the gentle-spirited seer, who turns often for comfort to man's love and nature's beauty.

Nekrasov, in the few short lyrics given us, shows himself undoubtedly the talented poet and powerful prophet of freedom. He may be telling gloomy truths, but his poems have the ring of a paean of victory. Witness "Russia's Lament," and "Freedom."

The Jew's cry for universal liberty is heard in two weird narrative poems by Rosenfeld, and in Edelstadt's "At Strife," all translations from the Yiddish. On finishing the book one feels like saying to the author: "Thank you, for the inspiring selection of poems, and, thank you, again, for an introduction to Nekrasov."

ANGELINE LOESCH.

+ +

CONISTON.

Coniston. By Winston Churchill, author of "Richard Carvel," etc. With illustrations by Florence Scovell Shinn. Published by the Macmillan Company, New York. Price, \$1.50.

A fine study of politics and politicians, not of the past as it purports to be, but of the immediate present. The scenes are in New England, the period Grant's administration, the political and politico-business maneuvers anywhere in the United States and now. This novel is one of the hopeful signs of

"The most important contribution to economic science during the past quarter of a century in this country."—*Detroit Tribune.*

Bisocialism: The Reign of the Man at the Margin

By OLIVER R. TROWBRIDGE

An entirely new and original, as well as thoughtful and scholarly, work on Economics. It for the first time furnishes a scientific means for determining the proper scope of Economic Science, and discusses all its phases and phenomena in a complete and consistent manner. It treats of the positive theory of value, and points out clearly the distinctive economic principles which dominate the established order, and also those involved in anarchism and in the different forms of socialism. It discusses the economic principles involved in all the leading reform movements since the civil war.

I am delighted with "Bisocialism. I think nothing but Post's oral lectures can equal it as a plain and lucid explanation of the fundamental principles of political economy. There is, I think, no publication that so simplifies the whole science which has mystified so many people.—*F. M. Crunden, Librarian of Public Library, St. Louis.*

In the flood of economic literature which has poured from the press since "Progress and Poverty" marked a new era in this field of inquiry, no saner contribution to the discussion of the great problem of the distribution of wealth has been made than this from the pen of Mr. Trowbridge. He has treated his subject as no one else has attempted to do. Undoubtedly he has written a clear and powerful exposition of the science of political economy. In certain aspects it is perhaps the best thing in its line that has been produced.—*Warren Worth Bailey, in Johns town Democrat.*

12mo, cloth, 427 pages, \$1.00; by mail, \$1.10.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.
FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING, CHICAGO