

The Public

A Journal of Fundamental Democracy and
A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

8th Year. No. 404

CHICAGO SATURDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1905

Price 5 Cents

LOUIS F. POST
EDITOR

FOR TABLE OF CONTENTS SEE FIRST EDITORIAL PAGE

Entered at the Chicago, Illinois, Postoffice as
Second Class Matter

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION

Yearly	\$1.00
Half Yearly50
Quarterly25
Single Copy05

Extra Copies, \$3.00 per 100, in lots of 50 and upward; if addressed to individuals, \$4.00 per 100

For Advertising Rates and Other Particulars of Publication, See Cartoon Page

The Receipt of a Sample or Marked Copy by a Non-Subscriber is an Invitation to Subscribe

EXTRAORDINARY ANNOUNCEMENT

Great Reduction in the Subscription Price of

THE PUBLIC

The full-page announcement, on the last cover page of this issue, should be read carefully throughout by everyone. It concerns a reduction in the subscription price of THE PUBLIC from and after January 1, 1906, and makes several useful suggestions.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY
First National Bank Building, - - CHICAGO

TOM L. JOHNSON'S

Portrait and the fullest Biographical Sketch ever written about him, will appear in the next issue of THE PUBLIC, January 6, 1906. The issue will contain 32 pages.

The publication is in commemoration of Mr. Johnson's third inauguration as mayor of Cleveland, Ohio, in which office he has been, as described by Lincoln Steffens, the "best mayor of the best governed city in the United States." The sketch is by Louis F. Post, and is of great interest and value. Everyone will enjoy reading it and handing it to others. It describes Johnson's ancestry, his boyhood, his business ventures, his political activities and principles, his official career, and what he has done in Cleveland.

Many advance orders for extra copies have been received and it is hoped to have a very large edition of the issue distributed. The solution of municipal problems is of national and even international influence. The struggle for genuine democracy has begun to center in the cities, and the reading of the story of Johnson will advance the cause of municipal ownership and improvement everywhere.

Everyone should take as many extra copies of the issue as possible, and order them promptly. They are furnished at the regular price: 5 cents per copy; \$3.00 per hundred, in lots of 50 and upward, to one address; \$4.00 per 100 if sent to varying addresses; \$20.00 per 1,000, to one address. All news-stands should order extra copies at once.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY
First National Bank Building - - - - - CHICAGO

Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to advertisers.

The Art of Living Long

The famous work of Louis Cornaro, the Venetian centenarian. Edited by Wm. F. Butler.

Louis Cornaro, who fathomed the secret of longevity more effectually probably than any other person, is a character unique in history. Though possessed of a delicate constitution from birth, he lived to fully set forth, at the ages of 83, 86, 91 and 95, the methods whereby he maintained his complete bodily and mental power until his death at 103.

8vo, illustrated, full cloth, gilt top, 214 pages, \$1.50, postpaid.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY
First National Bank Building, - - CHICAGO

THE STATE

"For a Better and Greater Rhode Island."
\$1.00 Per Annum in Advance.

This paper is issued weekly in the interests of good government in Rhode Island. It is independent in its politics, and fearless in its management.

We Make a Special Appeal to Every
Rhode Islander

in the United States, who wishes to keep in touch with the political reformation of his state, to subscribe for the paper.

Address

"THE STATE," No. 4 Market Sq., Providence, R. I.

Chicago Teachers' Federation

Bulletin

A paper for teachers, dealing with the educational problems of to-day from the standpoint that education in a democracy should be democratic in theory, administration and practice.

\$1.00 Per Year

814 Unity Building, Chicago

THE BOOKS OF CLARENCE S. DARROW

Resist Not Evil

Fourteen chapters on the subject of non-resistance. 12mo, cloth, 179 pages, 75 cents, postpaid.

It is a startling arraignment of the doctrines of force and punishment.—*St. Paul Pioneer Press*.

It will come very close to being a classic.—*Denver Post*.

A Persian Pearl

A volume of essays and literary interpretations. Contents: A Persian Pearl (The Rubaiyat), Walt Whitman, Robert Burns, Realism in Literature and Art, The Skeleton in the Closet.

Large 12mo, cloth and ornamental boards, 160 pages, on high grade deckle edge paper, \$1.50, postpaid.

Each essay is a living, throbbing thing, with a soul that somehow caught the seven hues and with them painted life.—*The Saturday Review, Atlanta, Ga.*

Their high literary merit and charming style render them worth reading, even by those who disagree fundamentally with Mr. Darrow's philosophy.—*Chicago Record-Herald*.

Farmington

An Idyl of Boyhood.

12mo, cloth, 277 pages, \$1.50, postpaid.

"Farmington" is not a book to be taken from the public library, or even to be borrowed from an obliging friend. It is a book to own—to read by the winter's fire and re-read under a summer tree; a book to be kept on the shelf where the oldest favorites live. It is a book for boys, for women—but above all, it is a book for men who have once been boys.—*The Dial*.

The book is very charming, and in much very true. Not a man who has been a real country boy, or who has been cheated by his elders (always with the best motives) of being all the boy he might have been, but, if he has grown up to be ripe enough, will seem to find himself again in many of Mr. Darrow's pages. Our impression is that Mr. Darrow has shown real art in the handling of one of the most difficult forms of literature.—*The New York Times Saturday Review*.

An Eye for an Eye

The story of a murder and its penalty, told in the murderer's own words to a friend who sits up with him in prison the night before his hanging. A striking and forceful narrative.

12mo, cloth, 213 pages, \$1.50, postpaid.

The Open Shop

A thorough discussion and defense of the demand of trade unionism for the closed shop.

16mo, paper, 32 pages, 10 cents, postpaid; one dozen, 85 cents; one hundred, \$5.00.

Realism in Literature and Art

An Essay.

16mo, paper, 32 pages, 5 cents, postpaid; one dozen, 50 cents, postpaid.

Crime and Criminals

An address delivered to the prisoners in the Chicago county jail.

12mo, paper, 16 pages, 10 cents, postpaid; one dozen, \$1.00, postpaid.

The Rights and Wrongs of Ireland

An address delivered at Central Music Hall, Chicago, November 23, 1895, on the anniversary of the execution of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien.

8vo, paper, 32 pages, 10 cents, postpaid; one dozen, \$1.00, postpaid.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY

First National Bank Building, Chicago

Moody's Magazine

A MONTHLY REVIEW FOR INVESTORS, BANKERS
AND MEN OF AFFAIRS

Edited by **BYRON W. HOLT**

MOODY'S MAGAZINE is original and unique
It occupies a formerly unoccupied field
It gives you, in plain, simple language, the gist of all
important news
It looks inside and outside of reports
It publishes facts—all the facts of consequence
It is independent
It is the organ of no corporation or interest
It has no strings to it
It does not suppress or color information
It does not publish advertisements as news matter
It does not sell its editorial columns to its advertisers
Its editorials are fearless and truthful but not
malicious
It is fair and honest with subscribers and advertisers
It deserves the support of all honest investors
It does not attempt to reform the whole world, but
It takes a sound position on all public questions
It believes that what will benefit the public as a whole
will benefit a majority of the investors
It believes in and is willing to trust the people

MONTHLY \$3.00 PER YEAR. Send for Sample Copy

PUBLISHED BY

THE MOODY CORPORATION

35 Nassau Street, NEW YORK

JUST ISSUED

Addresses at the Funeral of Henry George

COMPILED BY EDMUND YARDLEY. WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY HENRY GEORGE, JR.

The eloquent addresses at the funeral services of Henry George, in New York, October 31, 1897, delivered by Rev. Dr. R. Heber Newton, Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott, Rev. Dr. Gustav Gottheil, Rev. Dr. Edward McGlynn, and John Sherwin Crosby. These addresses are an impressive tribute to George and his work, and the volume is an interesting memorial of his famous funeral.

16mo, 64 pages, cloth, 40 cents; by mail, 43 cents. Paper,
25 cents, postpaid.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY

First National Bank Building, CHICAGO

The Book for the Hour!

The Cost of Something for Nothing

By **JOHN P. ALTGELD**

"Reveals a strong man at his mental best."
—*Chicago Tribune.*

Dealing fearlessly with recent social, business and political developments, the late Governor of Illinois warns those who enter into the spirit of modern business speculation and political corruption that there is a moral law which will exact swift and fearful retribution from those who transgress it.

At this time, when multitudes are intent on getting something for nothing, these words of a statesman and a philosopher should not pass unheeded.

12mo., cloth, gilt top. Price, \$1.00 postpaid.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY

First National Bank Building, CHICAGO, ILL.

JUST ISSUED

The City the Hope of Democracy

By **FREDERIC C. HOWE, Ph. D.**

Author of "Taxation and Taxes in the United States
Under the Internal Revenue System."

FROM THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE:

"This volume is a reversal of method. It is an attempt at the Economic Interpretation of the City. It holds that the corruption, the indifference, the incompetence of the official and the apathy of the citizen, the disparity of wealth, the poverty, vice, crime, and disease, are due to causes economic and industrial. They are traceable to our institutions, rather than to the depravity of human nature. Their correction is not a matter of education or of the penal code. It is a matter of industrial democracy."

The work of a scholar who is also a practical man of extensive experience in civic affairs and a fundamental democrat . . . A book that will not only enlighten the student and assist the conscientious legislator, but which in fact mirrors a changing social order—whose forward motion is but just beginning to be felt.—*The Public.*

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

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.

First National Bank Building, - - CHICAGO

Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to advertisers.

AN IDEAL HOLIDAY GIFT BOOK

JOAQUIN MILLER'S

"THE BUILDING OF THE
CITY BEAUTIFUL"

Here is a book, by the famous "Poet of the Sierras," for all who love that which is good and pure and beautiful—and all who seek to help the world onward and to make life richer, nobler and more grandly worth the while. It is the latest and greatest of Mr. Miller's works, a marvelous story which is at once a prose poem, a romance, a master sermon instinct with lofty ethics, and probably the most finished social vision of our generation.

Beautifully printed on toned, laid-antique, deckel-edge, all-rag paper; hand sewed. Gold top. Cloth, with ornamental gold stamp. Contains an exquisite photogravure of the author and his mother on genuine Japan Vellum.

PRICE, \$1.50 NET; BY MAIL, \$1.60

OTHER BRANDT BOOKS

THE GATE BEAUTIFUL

By PROF. JOHN WARD STIMSON. Principles and Methods in Vital Art Education. With thousands of illustrations. Two editions. Cloth bound, \$7.50 net; by mail, \$7.95. Paper covered, \$3.50 net; by mail, \$3.76.

IN NATURE'S REALM

By CHARLES C. ABBOTT, M. D. Ninety drawings and a photogravure frontispiece by OLIVER KEMP. \$2.50 net; by mail, \$2.68.

CAPE COD BALLADS AND OTHER VERSE

By JOE LINCOLN. Drawings by EDWARD W. KEMBLE. "This verse appeals to something inside of you that goes deeper than definitions."—*Pittsburgh Gazette*. \$1.25 net; by mail, \$1.33.

ELEGIES: ANCIENT AND MODERN

By MARY LLOYD. A critical and historical study of elegiac poetry, together with an anthology containing the choicest specimens of this noble form of verse. Two volumes. Vol. I now ready. Each vol., \$1.50 net; by mail, \$1.62.

MONKS AND MONASTERIES

By ALFRED WESLEY WISHART. "As a fair and judicial account of monasticism this may be regarded as ranking with the best."—*Outlook*. Two editions. 8vo. illustrated, \$3.50 net; by mail, \$3.68. 12mo. (new edition), \$1.50 net; by mail, \$1.62.

HOW ENGLAND AVERTED A REVOLUTION OF FORCE

By B. O. FLOWER. With an appendix giving the social and reformatory poetry of the period. \$1.25 net; by mail, \$1.35.

MOONBLIGHT AND SIX FEET OF ROMANCE

By DAN BEARD. With fifty pictures by the author; an introductory study by LOUIS F. POST, of *The Public*, of Chicago; and an appendix. \$1.25 net; by mail, \$1.35.

ORDER FROM YOUR BOOKSELLER, OR

ALBERT BRANDT, Publisher

105 Brandt Building, TRENTON, N. J.

THE MENACE OF PRIVILEGE

A Study of the Dangers to the Republic
from the Existence of a Favored-Class

By **HENRY GEORGE, JR.**

CONTENTS

- BOOK I. PRIVILEGE: ITS EXTENT AND NATURE
The Land of Inequality
The Cause of Inequality
- BOOK II. PRINCES OF PRIVILEGE
Types of Princes of Privilege
Further Types of Princes
How Our Princes Live
Amusements, Dissipations and Marital Relations
Aristocracy a Fruit of Privilege
- BOOK III. VICTIMS OF PRIVILEGE
Despoilment of the Masses
Physical, Mental and Moral Deterioration
- BOOK IV. RESISTANCE TO PRIVILEGE
Organization of Laborers
Dangers of Unionism
- BOOK V. WEAPONS OF PRIVILEGE
Use of the Courts by Privilege
Government by Injunction
The Bayonet in Civil Affairs
Federal Army in Strikes
- BOOK VI. PRIVILEGE THE CORRUPTER OF POLITICS
National Politics
State and Municipal Politics
- BOOK VII. INFLUENCE OVER PUBLIC OPINION
Bondage of the Press
The Hand on the University
Dependence of the Pulpit
- BOOK VIII. PRESENT AND PAST
Centralization of Government
Foreign Aggression
Civilizations Gone Before
- BOOK IX. THE REMEDY
To Free Natural Opportunities
To Stop Taxation Evils, Grants and Immunities
The Natural Order
- INDEX

In marked degree a revelation of threatening social conditions, in all respects sober and thoughtful, enriched with an abundance of pertinent facts, and steadily true to its central theme that privilege is the deadly foe of democracy, this book, written in an attractive as well as elevated style, speaks the word that in present conditions needs most to be spoken. The son, with *The Menace of Privilege*, has extended the father's Progress and Poverty down to date.—*The Public*.

12mo, cloth, 421 pages, with index, \$1.50 net (postage 13 cts.)

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY
First National Bank Building - - CHICAGO

itch for absolutism should be more explicit when they simulate rational methods of thought.

Civil service reform.

"The most remarkable event since the flood," exclaimed Geo. A. Schilling, acting president of the Chicago board of local improvements, when James M. Grimm and Frank J. Roche refused promotion to higher paid clerkships in Commissioner Schilling's department. Mr. Schilling's exclamation was hyperbolic, but the circumstances were tempting to a picturesque imagination like his. For Mr. Grimm and Mr. Roche had refused promotion, not because they didn't want it, but because another clerk, whose competency as a clerk in the department could not be questioned, was ahead of them on the list. Almost any official would have felt like exclaiming with Mr. Schilling: "This is the most remarkable event since the flood."

We call attention to the remarkable event for a more important purpose than complimenting two clerks in the Chicago city hall, or for any other personal or local consideration. While the self-denying action of these clerks should be recognized and applauded everywhere, to the end that similar respect for the merit system in public employment may be everywhere encouraged, it also has about it a lesson of contrast which will be appreciated wherever the influence of a certain kind of civil service reformer is at all familiar.

An example for the purpose of this contrast is afforded by the circumstances of two other cases in the public service of Chicago. Here is one of them: Mayor Dunne saw fit to remove without assigned cause a member of the board of local improvements who had been appointed by his predecessor. As the position was not in the classified service, he was properly amenable to no criticism as for violating civil service rules. The only question involved was whether he was

willing to continue his responsibility any longer for the official conduct of this appointee of his predecessor. Every merit office should be in the classified service, so that all appointing officials can be held responsible for unlawful appointments; it should not be left to the "spirit" of civil service reform, so that spurious reformers can play fast and loose with it. For unclassified office the appointing power is responsible and should have a free hand. But even if the position in question were within the spirit of the classified regulations, Mayor Dunne would have been following President Roosevelt's example, and exercising what the kind of civil service reformers in question insist upon as necessary for an efficient civil service system (when it suits their purpose), namely, the right of removal for any cause or no cause. The other instance differed somewhat. Mayor Dunne removed an attorney, chosen by his predecessor, who has been acting for the civil service board. The Mayor maintains that this attorney belongs to the staff of the corporation counsel's office, which is not in the classified service. If this is so, the responsibility of retaining or removing is the Mayor's. But the civil service reformers who exemplify our contrast, insist that this particular appointee's tenure of office depends upon the civil service board. Mayor Dunne is clearly right. But if he is wrong, then the attorney in question, being in the classified service, is in it illegally, for he does not get his appointment by competition.

Now, no one should question the right of the cavilling civil service reformers to criticise. That right is inalienable. We ourselves have found it so useful that we should be among the first to oppose its abrogation. But when those reformers marshal all their influence and forces, including their newspapers (or are marshaled by these newspapers, as the case may be), to make a concerted attack upon Mayor Dunne,

as if he had actually violated civil service principles, though they know he has not, yet stand by Roosevelt and Deneen who are clearly more open to such criticism, the good faith of their criticism may be fairly questioned. Do they say that Roosevelt and Deneen's policy has nothing to do with Dunne's case? Perhaps they are right. But it has a great deal to do with their own good faith in criticising Dunne so vehemently. And this faction is brought still further under suspicion by the fact that although Mayor Dunne has conformed more closely by far than his predecessors not only to the merit rules but to merit principles, the pretentious "civil service reform" newspapers which are vociferously hounding Dunne on the two cases noted above, have been as silent as the grave about his fidelity, in overshadowing measure, to the principles they profess to conserve.

The city department which in point of political power is the most powerful—the department of public works—Dunne has turned over without restriction to management under merit principles, in the unclassified and the classified work alike. But no one would know it from the "civil service reform" papers. Even when the head of that department, Joseph Medill Patterson, a Republican named by Dunne in the interest of civil service reform, confirmed by open letter his absolute freedom, in promise and in fact, to enforce civil service rules and ideas, these papers gave scant and obscure space to extracts from his letter, and no comment at all. Similarly they have ignored or minimized Mayor Dunne's conflict with powerful machine leaders of his own party over this very question, his excellent non-partisan appointments to the school board, and the plain fact that the City Hall is now far more completely under the merit system than ever before. They are within their rights, of course; but when they exploit what they choose

to regard as Dunne's civil service delinquencies, and suppress and minimize the far more abundant facts counting the other way, they tarnish the luster of their professedly good intentions, and excite curiosity. Possibly this curiosity might be satisfied by reflection upon the fact that almost without exception these vociferous critics did all they could to prevent Dunne's election, and have since done all they could to baffle his efforts to release the clutch of the traction ring from the city.

Official patronage and municipal ownership.

One of the significant editorial comments upon Dunne's removals is something to the effect that they make municipal ownership impossible under Dunne's administration, the implication being that he is a spoilsman and municipal ownership would not be tolerated under a spoils system. This objection to municipal ownership is the invariable mark of the corporation tool or his dupe. It assumes that there is no spoils system under operation of public service utilities by corporations. While the dupes do not know to the contrary, the corporation tools do; and no newspaper ten days old can be credited with being a mere dupe in such a matter. It is true enough that municipal ownership should be under a merit system of operation. But it is not true that the free use of spoils would make municipal ownership a worse factor in politics than corporation ownership is now in every city where it exists.

Consider the traction system of New York, for instance, with its scores of thousands of employes at the mercy of August Belmont. He is a business man, true enough, and will use these employes for business success. But business success with corporations performing a public service under city franchises necessitates a large use of political power. With this amount of patronage at his disposal, Mr. Belmont can mould

political bosses, legislators, aldermen and executives to suit his business needs. He can make appointments and removals at will to accommodate politicians who hunger for patronage; he can coerce newspapers, he can break political slates, he can hold the balance of power in conventions and at the polls, he can gratify lust for loot and can blast ambitions. Public service corporations wield patronage with more blighting effect on public interests, and less possibility of being checked, than the worst conceivable gang of spoilsmen free from all civil service rules but answerable at the ballot box to public opinion, could wield it with an equal number of jobs. The most important reason for municipal ownership is not good service, important as that is, nor financial good management, important as that is, nor a merit system of employes, important as that is; the most important reason is the fact that corporate ownership breeds a corrupt and powerful business and political ring, which is not and cannot be subjected to popular control.

The coming campaign in Great Britain.

American newspapers give but a crude idea, and hardly that, of the principal issue that is shaping in Great Britain for the approaching parliamentary elections. On the one hand the Liberal party, standing for the traditional free trade of England, is confronted with a demand for a protective system. Other terms are used, for the terms of free trade are familiar and hallowed in British sentiment, and this must not be shocked. But the arguments are the same as the protection arguments so common in America, and the wave of economic distress that is sweeping over England helps on the protection crusade. For protection answers the longing for a change which always wells up among an impoverished people. Now the Liberals cannot meet this protection challenge with a mere "let alone" policy. They must offer an alter-

native to protection. And this they are doing. With some timidity yet with much more boldness than could have been hoped for a few years ago, they are demanding the taxation of land values, and making arguments for it that would have thrilled the heart of Henry George. In this way the land question has been projected into British politics. One would hardly suspect it from our Associated Press reports, but it is plain enough in the English papers.

As an example of the radical kind of campaigning the Liberals are making, we may cite the speech at Patrick, near Glasgow, on the 28th of November, by the Liberal leader, who is now British prime minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. After explaining that free trade, good as far as it goes, is not a solution of the problem of poverty, he proceeded, as reported in the Glasgow Herald of Nov. 29:

Let us get at the actual cause of the mischief, for that is our way of effecting improvement. Instead of fastening upon our imports and impaling them, we should ask ourselves whether all has been done that might be done by developing the resources of our own country—(cheers)—among which I include the cultivation of the minds and character of the people. If our Gulliver [Chamberlain], when he comes back from his travels in Laputa land, were to bestow his attention, for instance, on agriculture, which he told us was ruined, and which Lord Onslow, the minister for agriculture, told us the other day had only received from the present ministry six hours of parliamentary time in the last few years, he would be compelled to admit that plenty of employment could be found if the land were made accessible—(loud cheers). To the men who are working and able to work, abundant and potential wealth lies in the fields only waiting to be extracted until greater freedom of security is given to those who would develop it. . . . There is no task, sir, to which we are called more urgently by every consideration of national well-being than that of colonizing our own countryside. (Cheers.) But let us look to the towns. (Hear, hear.) There also will be found causes for non-employment more fertile than Mr. Chamberlain can find in the tariffs of the foreigner. We find a rating [local tax] system which dis-

It was reported from St. Petersburg on the 21st that the Czar had definitely refused to meet the revolution with a grant of universal suffrage. But the new electoral law as gazetted on the 26th proved to be unexpectedly liberal. It was accompanied with a statement explaining that in view of the fact that even some of the Western countries do not possess universal suffrage, the cabinet could not assume the responsibility of decreeing it. It leaves the ultimate decision to the national assembly (p. 327) itself. The election list is to be published presently, and then the date of the elections will be announced. As soon as the government receives notification that half the members are elected the national assembly will be convoked. The extension of the suffrage applies especially to the cities. Besides the workmen in the factories and mills, who are especially provided for, it will include every owner of real estate paying taxes, persons conducting enterprises like shopkeepers paying licenses, persons paying a lodging tax or occupying separate lodgings, and persons in the government service, including railroad men. All limit of rent paid by lodging holders as a voting qualification is removed. The indirect system of electoral colleges is retained. A new feature of the law is that the workmen instead of being allowed a specified number of class representatives have to take their chances in the electoral colleges with the other classes. And instead of the cities having separate representatives, the electoral colleges will be by provincial representation. The workmen will choose an elector for every 10,000 men. The result is illustrated by the case of the province of St. Petersburg, where the electoral college will contain fourteen peasants, eighteen agricultural landlords, fifteen city landlords and twenty-four workmen. By this method while the workmen's electors are the largest class they will only be able to elect representatives in combination. While the grant greatly extends the concessions of last August (p. 327) it does not meet the growing demand for universal suffrage and is expected to prove a great disappointment. The revolutionary organizations no longer want

concessions; they are boldly proclaiming that nothing but the complete overthrow of the autocracy and the establishment of a democratic republic will satisfy them.

A manifesto has been issued by the international socialist bureau at Brussels, addressed to the socialists of the world, which appeals for moral and financial assistance for the socialists of Russia. The bureau, acting on the suggestion of socialists in the United States, sets January 22 as a day for meetings all over the world, at which funds are to be raised for the Russians.

Restoration of the autonomy of Finland.

The attempt to Russianize Finland (p. 511) has been abandoned, and the constitution guaranteed by Alexander I of Russia, early in the 19th century has been restored. The event was consummated at the Finnish Diet on the 23d, when the Russian Governor General, in the name of the Czar, formally gave back their ancient liberties to the people of Finland. The presidents respectively of each of the four estates—the nobles, the clergy, the burghers and the peasants—replied in cordial terms, but each was careful to say that the Czar's manifesto was "accepted as the restoration of the original constitution and the rights of Finland guaranteed by Alexander I."

A revolutionary revival in Santo Domingo.

A revolutionary event in Santo Domingo (vol. vii, p. 731) was reported on the 25th, which is marked by the flight of Carlos F. Morales, who was placed in the presidency about 18 months ago (vol. vii, p. 157) through the intervention of the United States, in settlement of a civil war which had been several months in progress. The reason for President Morales' flight was not understood. The dispatches merely said that he had fled from the capital city followed by a detachment of troops sent in pursuit of him by his cabinet. Dispatches of the 26th told of his having been overtaken with his bodyguard of 60 men near San Cristobal and fired upon.

As appeared from belated dispatches a revolt led by Guayubon,

Dajabon and Sabaneta, had previously broken out against the government, on account of the arrangement with the United States (vol. vii, p. 731) for its possession of the Dominican custom house as trustee for foreign creditors; and on the 26th dispatches from Washington explained Morales' flight as—

a direct result of a change of policy on the part of the Administration which has occurred in the last few weeks and which is attributed rightly or wrongly to the recent visit here of Col. Colton. Before Col. Colton came the instructions to the American minister to Santo Domingo and Rear Admiral Bradford, commander of the formidable force of warships gathered about the island, were to maintain Morales in power. Those instructions took no account of the growing hostility to Morales caused by the presence of a large American naval force and by the injudicious declarations of the Dominican Executive that he could rely upon the United States to keep him in office. In fact, some months ago, when Gen. Ramon Caceras, who to-day is the biggest man in the island and who has held the post of vice president, brought such pressure to bear upon Morales that he threatened to resign, Minister Dawson came to his rescue, declaring the United States would not stand for any such procedure. "Morales has been elected for four years," the American minister is reported to have announced, "and until his term has expired or he legally is removed from office for just cause the American government will recognize no other president but Morales, and should the Dominicans resort to force American marines will be landed to maintain order." At that time this declaration saved Morales. Since Col. Colton's conference with the President and Secretary Root the instructions to Rear Admiral Bradford to land forces to prevent a revolution were countermanded and Commander Southerland was directed not to interfere in the internal affairs of the island and to land marines only to protect American life and property and the customs houses which are under American jurisdiction. Abandoned by the United States, Morales was left a prey to the dominant faction, which hated him most. There was nothing left for him but flight, and he has taken to the bushes. On account of the flight of Morales, Vice President Caceras has been called to the Presidency by the cabinet.

Gigantic franchise consolidation.

A franchise consolidation of gigantic proportions is reported

from New York city. It is said to bring under practically a single control, dominated by August Belmont, the entire traction system (vol. vii, p. 788; vol. viii, p. 118) of Manhattan. This consolidation is reported as meaning that—

Belmont accomplishes his long cherished plan of placing under one management railways whose total capital stock and bonded indebtedness are largely in excess of \$450,000,000; that in the hands of one man has been placed the management of every means of local transportation in Manhattan borough; that all competition has been destroyed; that there will be but one bidder for the thirty odd subways that are planned to better the conditions of interborough travel in the greater city; that for all improvements in rapid transit, for transfer privileges, for safety in travel, for cheaper fares, more comfortable cars, better schedules, quicker time, the people of New York can look to but one man—August Belmont; that Belmont will have under his control an army of more than 100,000 employees.

The interests identified with Belmont are said to be the Pennsylvania railroad and the New York & New Jersey Tunnel Company, the former controlling the United Service Corporation of New Jersey, which owns most of the trolley lines in all parts of the State. The tunnel company will control the tunnels by which those trolley lines expect to gain ingress to New York. Comptroller Grout expresses confidence that the consolidation will not prevent competition in bidding for the construction of the new subways. "Within the next three weeks," he predicts, "an independent corporation will be formed to bid upon the new subway routes laid out by the Rapid Transit Commission."

On the 26th Mr. Belmont authoritatively announced that he and Thomas F. Ryan had in fact agreed upon the consolidation noted above, and detailed the terms, which are reported in substance as follows:

A great holding company is to be formed with a capital stock roughly estimated to be \$150,000,000 and a bond issue of \$70,000,000. This company will issue its stocks and bonds in return for the securities of the Interborough Rapid Transit, the Metropolitan Street Railway and the Metropolitan Securities Company. The lion's share goes to the Interborough Rapid Transit Company. The Metro-

politan Street Railway stock, which is a guaranteed 7 per cent. issue, is cut down to a 5 per cent cumulative preferred stock, and for the surrender of the rights to the dividend a bonus of 50 per cent in new common stock is given. The Interborough stockholders will receive \$70,000,000 of new 4½ per cent bonds and \$31,500,000 of common stock. In this way Interborough is placed immediately upon a 9 per cent basis. Metropolitan Street Railway will receive \$52,000,000 of the new 5 per cent preferred and \$25,000,000 of the new common of the holding company. It is understood that the Ryan interests hold very little of the old street railway stock. The Metropolitan Securities stockholders receive drastic treatment. They first will be called upon to pay another assessment of 25 per cent, or \$7,500,000 in cash, into the treasury of the new holding company, thus making a total payment of \$22,500,000. All they will get in the new holding will be \$25,500,000 of common stock. Experts figured tonight that this new stock will sell at 30 at the outset. If this price is correct the men who formed the holding company will stand to lose in cash \$14,850,000.

Death of Judge Tuley.

Murray F. Tuley, the Chicago judge whose fame is deservedly national though his public service has been almost exclusively local, died at Kenosha on the 25th at the age of 78. His most distinguished work has been in connection with the kind of local progress which is of national interest because, no matter where it occurs, it concerns in principle every city and town of the Union—the municipalization of public utilities. Judge Tuley had been obliged from failing health to withdraw from active work early in the Fall. The withdrawal was considered temporary, however, until within a few hours of his death.

When it had been announced that Judge Tuley's funeral would be strictly private the following letter, signed among others by Gov. Deneen and Mayor Dunne, was addressed to Mrs. Tuley and presented in person by Mayor Dunne:

Dear Madam: We beg to assure you that we have no desire to disturb you with suggestions in this hour of your sorrow, though it is our sorrow also; and if what we are about to propose is not acceptable to you, we trust you will understand that we are actuated solely by respect and affection for the

memory of your husband and our friend. Judge Tuley was our most distinguished judge and chief among our public spirited citizens. Respected by all classes, he was loved by thousands of his fellow citizens, regardless of class. It seems to us, therefore, that opportunity for the people of Chicago to pay their last tribute of respect should be accorded, unless you, with assurance of this natural desire on their part, object to a public funeral following a period of lying in state. If you do object, we are certain that all your husband's friends will desire to have your wish respected. But if there is no serious objection on your part, we are equally certain that we voice the sentiments of the great mass of the people of Chicago in making this suggestion. We may add with equal assurance that the public desire to which we allude is prompted not by idle sentiment, but by a genuine respect for such a career and public service as Judge Tuley's has been, and affection for the man who has set so high an example of citizenship. With sincere sympathy and respect, we are, very truly yours.

But Mrs. Tuley objected that Judge Tuley's life had always been unostentatious, and she was certain of his desire for a quiet and simple funeral service. The service was accordingly held at her house on the 27th, attended by the judges of the city and a few invited friends, and conducted by Jenkyn Lloyd Jones. There will be a memorial service at Lincoln Center on the 31st at 3 o'clock, at which Mayor Dunne, Jenkyn Lloyd Jones and Jane Addams will speak. A larger meeting under the auspices of the Iroquois Club and the Bar Association and other bodies, will be held on the 28th of January.

NEWS NOTES

—The Merchants' Trust Co. and the Memphis Banking and Trust Co., of Memphis, regarded as among the strongest financial institutions of the South, failed on the 27. The failures are reported to be due to wild speculation in cotton.

—Henry Harland, the novelist, whose pen name of "Sidney Luska" was famous 25 years ago, died in Italy on October 21, at the age of 44. A son of Thomas Harland, once a well-known lawyer of New York; he was a grandson of Stephen Pearl Andrews, the introducer of phonography into the United States and later the author of "Universology."

—Invited by Acting-Gov. Ide to be his guest while visiting Manila, Wil-

that belief happens to be worth money to them, they on their part ought to respect those who lose money by refusing vaccination. Money, of course, is dross; but it is a proof of sincerity to be willing to pay it. And we are sacrificed to a theory—for facts are against vaccination, and every one of the arguments which used to be relied on has broken down under examination, and has broken down in a not over creditable way. The medical defenders of vaccination now fall back on authority, and ask how unlearned and ignorant laymen dare to have an opinion of their own as to whether their blood is contaminated by the injection of diseased matter. But ignorant as we may be, we are not so ignorant as not to see that the arguments for compulsion knock each other down. Nor are we so unobservant as they suppose us. It is not necessary to study medicine to see through their grand fundamental fallacy—the decline of smallpox on the introduction of vaccination. It is true that as soon as vaccination came in, smallpox went out, so to speak. But this learned profession, trained to observe and to deduce from observation, forgot to tell us that something else went out, too—inoculation for the smallpox. They also forgot to mention that the abatement took place 40 years too soon for vaccination to take the credit of it. It is as though we ceased to sow a certain weed, and then attributed its disappearance to some patent dressing not applied till 40 years later. We are also able to see that their own belief in the protective power of vaccination dwindles and dwindles—of course, this demands more frequent vaccination.

It is by mis-statements, suppression of cardinal facts, concealment of statistics, tampering with death certificates, and naked demands of blind trust in a profession which is always setting up new theories and discarding old ones, that this particular theory maintains itself. On a theory, contradicted by historical facts, by experience, and by common sense, homes are broken up, and promising young careers are ruined. They reason in a circle, they beg the question, they ply us with Tenterden steeple, and they send us to prison, and close the doors of employment against us. When shall we realize that a very different degree of certainty and a very different style of argument can alone justify a majority—even when it is a majority—in coercing a minority? And this is not so much a majority as a

profession, and the more vaccination is discredited by facts the fiercer grows the persecution, until the law itself is openly set at naught, and the persecution is not even legal!

EXPULSION OF THE BRITISH.

An article of extraordinary interest recently appeared in *The Guardian*, of Manchester, England. The article was written by the Hon. Rollo Russell, and was entitled "The Expulsion of the British." It is no more nor less than a severe arraignment of the present system of land tenure in England and, what is more unusual, it is also a frank acknowledgment that the present system is the source of a large number of the appalling national ills from which the English people are now suffering.

Several years ago a bill was enacted into law in England furnishing a legal method whereby parish authorities could provide small land allotments for country laborers. At the time this measure was under discussion, statements were made by most distinguished Englishmen that there was no demand for such allotment and that the men would not take them as a gift. Subsequent experience has demonstrated that the demand for these allotments was far greater than could be supplied, and wherever a home acre was offered at moderate rental, it was quickly snapped up. As Mr. Russell very clearly sets forth, the land laws of Great Britain are the most exclusive and antiquated now existing in Europe, and the desire of an English laborer for a piece of land can rarely be gratified. "He is effectually expelled from his own country."

Of course, the primary cause for the condition which Mr. Russell bewails lies in accumulation of land into large parcels under individual ownership and the creation of a tenantry class which, even to this day, lives largely under conditions which prevailed in the days of the feudal barons. The English workingmen complain, and are calmly advised by English landlords to emigrate. The emigration figures for Great Britain show most conclusively that this advice is being quite generally followed, and that the most desirable and energetic laborers of that country are getting away from it as fast as they can. It is significant, also, that these people are not emigrating to any country where land conditions are similar to those which prevail in England, but invariably direct their footsteps towards those parts of the earth's surface where it is possible for the

ambitious and industrious man of small means to secure a freehold.

In England, therefore, it is almost impossible to secure a few acres of ground on a freehold or even on secure tenure, with or without a cottage, or even the facilities for building one. Homes are thus practically prohibited. The hindrances in the way of cottage building are found in the custom of low rents, low wages, the landlord's liability for repairs, and the desire of a majority of the landlords to preserve wild game free from disturbance by human activities. For these reasons, it is not only the lack of facility for purchase of ground which interferes with the building of homes, but in rare instances is it possible to find either landlord or tenant who will build for rent under such conditions as make it worth while for the tenant to consider himself as permanently established in a home.

The contrast to this condition is found in France, where few villages exist in which the laborer has not a choice of plots of land in his immediate vicinity. The small farm is there available and appreciated, and in every part of the country not only small properties but good markets are abundant. "The French population remains on the land, self-supporting, secure, creating in almost every small town, and even village, a full supply of home-grown food. Many a commune provides for all the ordinary wants of life, grain, vegetables, fruit, meat, milk, wine, fuel, building materials and clothing. This equality of opportunity and common prosperity in ownership keeps millions of workers in the country and adds greatly to the permanent wealth, health and strength of the nation.

"The land system of France may be shortly described as a system of family ownership, for properties, large and small, are by law divided among families. The French peasant, though poor, would never think of exchanging his rights for the position of the English laborer, who has no field, no garden, no home of his own, who only works for hire and may any day be ejected."

The strength which the small landholding gives to a nation is shown not only in France but everywhere in the world it is prevalent. In Germany, for instance, the ease with which land can be bought and sold is held by the greatest German economists to be socially and politically the mainstay of the nation. The German govern-

ment itself offers inducements to small settlers to buy farms and remain upon them for life in security. In Belgium, Switzerland and in Holland the success of small cultivators and the easy methods of transferring small farms has been set forth by the best writers of those countries, and is held as the greatest source of strength to the government and the nation. Quite recently a certain large area in Holland, which was formerly barren, has been converted into what is now practically a garden supporting hundreds of cultivators, each making a good living from one or two acres. Such a situation as this will be paralleled when the United States government enters into a full realization of the reclamation work now under way in the West.

A curious feature of this subdivision of large land holdings into small plots is the sudden increase which is given to values. Land which, when included in a large estate, hardly yielded an amount sufficient to pay the taxes upon it, when subdivided among a lot of people compelled or desirous of making their living therefrom, has always jumped in value, at times even a hundredfold. What this means to the community, to the state and to the nation, as well as to the individual, it is not necessary to explain. It is self-evident. Even in England examples of this are not lacking. In the Channel Islands the land laws are very similar to those which prevail in France. The people are prosperous, the islands are intensely cultivated, and the conditions generally afford marked contrast to those prevailing in England. In recent years an attempt has been made in England itself. These efforts do not extend over a large area, but the results have been in every way satisfactory where, as Mr. Russell says, "an effort has been made to escape from the mortifying control of the feudal proprietor."

There is a widespread British prejudice against small holdings or small proprietorship, individual or co-operative. English economists talk of the exodus from the country to the city as though it were something beyond the control of artificial conditions. English agriculture has been in a state of depression for many years, notwithstanding the fact that it has been proved that intense and intelligent cultivation of the land results in a profit of from \$50 to \$250 per acre.

This land problem, as it exists in

England, is one which faces every civilized country in the world, either now or in the future, unless most radical measures be adopted to prevent the accumulation of land in a few hands, and ways and means be always provided whereby those who are able and willing to buy and cultivate one acre can secure the same as easily and under as favorable conditions as the man who is able and desires to purchase a thousand acres.—James Davenport Whelpley, in Maxwell's *Talisman* for Oct., 1905.

THEY WERE GOING ON YOUR PILGRIMAGE.

From "I've Been Thinking," by Charles Battell Loomis. New York: James Pott & Company, 1905.

A plutocrat, an aristocrat, a scientist and a pugilist found themselves traveling together. They were all of a size, each one was inclined to be arrogant, and while they were outwardly polite to each other there was not a man among them who did not look down upon the other three.

And a proletariat walked afar off, beneath the contempt of any one of them.

In the course of their journeyings the four entered into a great building devoted to trade and full of men of business, who as soon as they saw the plutocrat began bowing to him and asked him to come and take the highest seat. "For," said they, "you began with one cent and now you have a thousand millions."

The aristocrat sniffed, the scientist sneered, and the pugilist snorted, but there was no doubt of it that if every dog has his day the plutocrat was now having his.

But the proletariat walked afar off, beneath the contempt of any one of them.

After a season they left the hall of the men of trade and traveled to an antique Colonial mansion, which they entered. And here the aristocrat took precedence, and, while the other three were treated with civility, it was he to whom the honors were paid. "For," said one, "his line runs back for many generations, traced in the bluest blood."

And the plutocrat said: "Why, I can buy him out."

And they bowed the plutocrat out.

The pugilist jeered audibly at the family pretensions, and he also was asked to go outside.

The scientist sneered to himself, but he was suffered to remain, for an an-

cestor of the aristocrat had been a patron of a scientist of the fifteenth century, and there was a tradition in the family that it was quite the proper thing to condescend to science.

Now the scientist was plainly bored at the rigid etiquette and ceremony of the place, and after a time he rejoined his companions, who were waiting outside, and in a little while the aristocrat came out also, being of a restless temperament and loving travel.

But the proletariat walked afar off, beneath the contempt of any one of them.

It so happened that in their travels they came to a university, and all four entered it.

And now it was the scientist who was honored and was invited to a chair, the chair of learning. Whereat the pugilist openly scoffed.

And he went out—with undergraduate help.

For in those days pugilism had not been recognized as one of the fine arts.

And the plutocrat said: "What's the matter with my giving a million dollars to this institution? I guess my name will then last as long as that of the scientist."

But he was not a good guesser.

The aristocrat said: "I understand the reason for these honors to our good friend the scientist. What a pity the fellow has not blood as well as brains."

And the proletariat walked afar off, beneath the contempt of any one of them.

After a time they took up their travels again and came to a great stadium where games and trials of strength were in progress. And it was free to all in honor of the birthday of the ruler of that country. Yes, even the proletariat was there!

The pugilist had begun to swagger as soon as he had come in sight of the stadium, and when the multitude saw him they let forth great cheers, and said: "Make way for the only champion!" And he took a seat of honor, glad that his three companions had lived to see this day.

But the scientist drew back in disgust and marveled that the world should worship brawn.

As for the plutocrat, he said: "I could give every man in this crowd a thousand dollars and never notice it."

But he didn't do it.

The aristocrat was once more in his element, and he proceeded to patronize the pugilist and took him off to introduce him to some of his titled friends.

and friend and companion of John Brown in the Kansas border warfare. He is a thorough democrat and has often made a wealthy patient wait while he treated a poor washer-woman.

To claim that even a slight pressure upon a nerve, or a small deviation of a vertebra from its normal position, would cause serious trouble in some other part of the body, and to say that to put the human machine in perfect order, thus allowing a free flow of blood through the body, would cure any curable disease was too ridiculous for the ordinary "regular" physician to believe. But this is the fundamental principle upon which osteopathy is founded; and when to this heretical doctrine is added the fact that osteopathy has cured many so-called "incurable" cases, we have sufficient cause for bitter opposition to the new science on the part of organized medicine. From the earliest history, opposition to new and decidedly different ideas has always been "for the protection of the dear people." It seems impossible for the majority of men and women to have any definite conception of what equal freedom means. Those in power feel that they must regulate the lives of their fellow-men or dire disaster will follow.

Dr. Booth gives a detailed account of the legislative fights for legal recognition in the various States, and they who are unacquainted with the methods employed by the "ins" to keep out the "outs" would be surprised to find that machine politicians are not alone in using every means to prevent legislation that is opposed to their interests. The statements are sustained by proof which cannot be doubted.

The book also contains a chapter on various other methods of healing, and the more than 400 pages are well worth careful perusal by all who wish to judge of a system on its merits and not on the testimony of its opponents; also by those who care to see another example of the struggle of a new and radically different idea for recognition.

Dr. Booth has done a great service in compiling this history, especially as he was able, Dr. Still and the other earliest practitioners being still with us, to give their personal experiences, an advantage which later historians will lack.

FLORENCE A. BURLEIGH.

EVOLUTION OR REVOLUTION.

Evolution — Revolution; Which?
By H. M. Williams. The M. W. Hazen Co.

Here we have a book laying out a scheme of government with an amount of detail which indicates that the author, who evidently thinks his plan evolutionary, has no appreciation whatever of the idea of evolution as a law of growth. He approaches the subject as one of Alice's friends in Wonderland opened a conversation:

"The time has come," the Walrus said,
"To talk of many things:

Of shoes—and shops—and sealing wax—
Of cabbages—and kings—
And why the sea is boiling hot
And whether pigs have wings."

The author seems at times to analyze, but his analyses are not logical distinctions; they are arbitrary classifications. Some notion of this, and at the same time of the general character of his book, is suggested by his theory of legislative checks and balances.

He finds in society "three sources of power, muscle, brains, money"—money meaning not currency, but property—"as represented in true manhood, education, and the homes of our citizens." Therefore he would divide Congress into three houses: The Commons, to represent the muscular power, the House, to represent the brain power, and the Senate, to represent the money (or property) power. For the election of this legislative body, every man would have one vote—for representation in the lower house; every man educated up to a certain standard would have two votes—one each for representation in the lower and the middle house; every educated tax payer (paying a certain amount of taxes) would have three votes—one each for representation in all the houses; every educated woman would have one vote—for representation in the middle house; and every educated and tax-paying woman would have two the middle and the upper houses.

Though this seems rather fanciful, it is not more so than many institutions which we accept as matter of course, because we are accustomed to them; such, for instance, as hereditary legislators in Great Britain; and a large popular assembly automatically registering only the will of the speaker in the United States.

The book as a whole is given over so completely to detail without principle, that it ought to delight the heart of the publicists who while insisting upon government declare that there are no natural laws of government.

ETHICS OF IMPERIALISM.

The Ethics of Imperialism: An Inquiry Whether Christian Ethics and Imperialism are Antagonistic. By Albert R. Carman. Boston: Herbert B. Turner & Co. Price \$1.00 net.

With apologies to that hackneyed chapter on snakes in Ireland, one might say that Mr. Carman could have made his monograph on the ethics of imperialism the shortest in literature. He need have written no more than this: "There are no ethics in imperialism." Evidently he felt this himself, for while he has extended the thought over a hundred and sixty-odd most readable pages, he has really not altered it.

At times one suspects that Mr. Carman may be slyly laughing at innocent imperialistic readers who imagine that imperialism is ethical after

all and that Mr. Carman is demonstrating it.

The trend of his discussion is through that labyrinthine no-thoroughfare philosophy which so divides human motives into egotistic and altruistic as to leave no room for the profound philosophy of the golden rule, which recognizes an egoism that includes others and an altruism which includes self. Rigidly defined, altruism doubtless does lead logically to suicide; but egoism, rigidly defined, leads as certainly to murder. The equilibrium is found by whatever name we distinguish it, in loving others neither more nor less than self but equally with self.

Ignoring this equilibrium, Mr. Carman seems to find ethical elements in imperialism, the ethical elements of national self-defense. In all progress, writes Mr. Carman, there has been a preservative or defensive "fighting unit:" the individual, the family, the tribe, and now the nation; and the question on which the ethics of imperialism turns with reference to imperialistic wars is merely a question of whether "the war will strengthen the chances of the imperializing nation to survive."

To this ethical theory Mr. Carman looks for the extension of liberty. He regards liberty as a gift of egoism to which altruism has been the persistent foe; for "men who have felt it laid so heavily upon their consciences to care for the interests of others that they would resort to means to force 'good' upon others which they would not willingly endure themselves, have in many cases well-nigh murdered human liberty in their altruistic zeal for human betterment." But that observation, a most welcome one, condemns imperialism, which is now as always heretofore resorted to for precisely such "altruistic" ends. This is not the altruism of the golden rule, as Mr. Carman himself testifies when he adds: "They have done unto others what they would that these others should not do unto them; and the result has been disastrous to all concerned."

In so far as Mr. Carman seems seriously to ascribe ethics to imperialism, its ethics are those of brutishness and savagery and not of civilization. What he says in criticism of altruism is very true, as he understands altruism; but we conceive that injustice to others for one's own good is quite as reprehensible and as pregnant with ultimate disaster as injustice to others for their good.

MONOPOLIES PAST AND PRESENT.

Monopolies Past and Present. An Introductory Study. By James Edward Le Rossignol, Ph. D., professor of economics in the University of

Denver, etc. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company. Price \$1.25. In embodying in a single small volume a digest of that great mass of historical information regarding monopolies, which, until he wrote, had been collected only in several special treatises, Prof. Le Rossignol has rendered a useful service. His work in this respect appears to have been done conscientiously and judiciously.

Of the general principles, however, which Prof. Le Rossignol defines, and by which he is influenced in his running comment on the historical facts he has collated, it can only be said that he has apparently been always conscientious and frequently judicious.

His contrast of monopoly and competition, as varying "in inverse ratio to each other," is excellent. So is his observation that "no monopoly is entirely free from the influence of competition, and that seldom is competition so fierce as to leave no opportunity for monopoly and monopoly profits." But his formal definition of monopoly is fatally defective.

He defines "monopoly as the control of the supply or the demand of an economic good, by one person or a combination of persons, to such an extent that that person or combination of persons is able to control the price of the economic good." This definition is fatally defective, not for what it states, but for what it omits. It fails to take into consideration a tremendous and fundamental monopoly, one which exists in favor of large numbers of persons who are not combined and between whom competition acts and reacts with great freedom, yet which is to most other persons as hard and fast and destructive as if the favored persons were in formal combination. Indeed, it might be said that they actually are combined, but automatically by community of interest, instead of agreement.

We should conclude that Prof. Le Rossignol intended to include such persons inferentially in his definition, were it not that the rest of his book forbids this conclusion. At page 14, for instance, in referring to the rise of land values near growing cities, he says: "This is due to the increased utility of the land, and to the consequent eagerness of the people to buy it; the owners do not possess or exercise any control over the price as long as they compete with one another in the sale of their lands." But what about persons who, wishing to use the land productively, are eager to buy? Aren't they victims of monopoly in consequence of laws allowing the appropriation by a few, without appropriate and full use, of all this land of increasing utility? It is thus made so scarce in the market that its value keeps constantly ahead of its utility. Aren't those eager buyers, then, as truly and almost as

abjectly, victims of monopoly, though the owners compete among themselves, as they would be if the owners were formally combined?

Because he ignores, or, as appears at page 15, unconsciously rejects this insidious and fundamental form of monopoly from his definition, Prof. Le Rossignol falls into such errors as suggesting that the power of the Standard Oil company and other great trusts resides in the magnitude of their produced property (capital), instead of in the effect of their monopoly of tactical localities and privileges.

A collateral but much less important error of the book consists in confusing patents for inventions with copyrights of books. Patents operate to create monopolies of the essential ideas of inventions, but copyrights do not create monopolies of the essential ideas of books. All that is monopolized by a copyright is the author's own collocation of words, everybody being free to adopt and utilize his ideas in their own verbal collocations. Not so with patents. They, like grants of ownership in the earth, create monopolies of the laws and forces of nature. It may be that neither patents nor copyrights should be granted, or that it is proper to grant both. This question we do not now discuss. Our point is that economists should avoid confusing two things so essentially different economically, even if lawyers do see a resemblance in statutory form. Economics and statutes are in different categories.

CIVICS.

Advanced Civics: The Spirit, the Form, and the Functions of the American Government. By S. E. Forman, Ph. D. New York: The Century Co.

Dr. Forman's book is not only a political text book of a high order for school use, but it is a work that would elevate the morality and clarify the intelligence of our citizenship if it were in general and common use.

The author explains in his preface that he has constantly "kept in mind the truth that instruction in civics should have for its highest aim the indoctrination of the learner in sound notions of political morality." In trying to make his book realize that purpose he has for the most part succeeded.

His chapter on "Popular Government," for instance, is in this respect all that could be desired. "We are accustomed," he writes, "to associate the idea of tyranny with kings, but what is tyranny? It is an exercise of power without regard to justice." For this reason he holds that in popular government a majority may tyrannize over a minority; and so he urges majorities in popular governments to avoid the danger of tyranny, by remembering

"justice and right" which "are not always identical with the popular will." And here he quotes approvingly from another writer, who says: "To say that the will of the majority makes a thing right or wrong is a palpable absurdity; right and wrong are what they are by their own nature."

How thoroughly sound that idea of political morality is; and how singular that the author who adopts it on page 14, should so completely lose sight of it on pages 102 and 105 as to say this:

The suffrage, or the right of voting, is sometimes regarded as a natural right, as a right inherent in citizenship. Men say that you might as well deny the right of acquiring property or of defending one's person from attack, as to deny the right of suffrage. This view is justified neither by the facts of history nor by the present policy of the government.

If "right and wrong are what they are by their own nature," how can "the facts of history" and "the present policy of the government" prove that the suffrage is not "a natural right?"

But this is only one important defect in a book which on the whole well represents a reviving spirit of natural righteousness in social relationships. Another defect of importance is the misinterpretation on page 269 of Adam Smith's first principle of taxation as equality in proportion to abilities. Smith did use the phrase "in proportion to abilities," but he so qualified it as to show that what he referred to was income derived through the aid of government, which is a very different thing from income regardless of governmental aid in its acquisition.

Quite exceptional is the author's statement of the character of the "single tax." Although he describes it as a tax "on land," which to many minds suggests an area tax instead of an ad valorem tax, the idea that this tax would be "in proportion to value" is brought out clearly enough. Brief though the explanation is, it gives a substantially accurate statement of the fundamental principle.

OUR PHILIPPINE PROBLEM.

Our Philippine Problem. A Study of American Colonial Policy. By Henry Parker Willis, Ph. D., professor of economics and politics in Washington and Lee University. New York: Henry Holt & Company. Price, \$1.50 net. Sold by The Public Publishing Co., Chicago.

"The Philippine problem is approaching—indeed has even now arrived at—a point where definite action looking to the future is essential." It is under this conviction that Henry Parker Willis reviews our experience as a nation in governing the Philippines, and suggests the main elements of the problem. He has qualified himself especially for his task by extensive travel in the islands, careful inquiries of persons most directly re-

newspaper dispatches down to the latest utterances of Secretary Taft. "One of the foremost facts in the relation of this country to the Philippine islands," writes Dr. Willis, "is that Americans do not know what is in progress there;" and then he shows that the reason they do not know is because they are not allowed to know. It is a dangerous thing for any resident of the Philippines who does know to make his knowledge public.

After reviewing the conditions of the past and describing those of the present, Dr. Willis considers the future. Regarding this he makes the outlook clear. He does not believe that the Philippines will prove of value as a market for American goods, nor that they will prove a better field for the investment of American capital if controlled by us than if native rule be established. The islands, he says, "are a source of expense and trouble to the American people as a whole, and our occupation thus far has been injurious to the native inhabitants."

In outlining a course of action for retreating from this shameless venture of our nation in imperialism, Dr. Willis suggests that "the first step to be taken is to surrender to the natives all such branches of government as can be safely intrusted to them without risk to public security and order or to private property," at the same time allowing them "to shape institutions of their own for the conduct of their affairs rather than be compelled to conform to rigid molds." The beginning of this policy should be made with the local governments, by abolishing the present "sham democracy," with its form of self-government without the substance, and substituting a true democracy under an assembly "allowed actually to legislate, unrestricted by any 'commission' or upper house composed of Americans and exercising the real power."

TAXATION.

The Elements of Taxation. By Newton M. Taylor. Edited and published by C. F. Taylor, Philadelphia. Price, 25 cents.

This extended essay on taxation is evidently the result of a good deal of hard work in collecting material, but the evidence of clear thinking in utilizing the material is not so impressive.

The material collected is far from complete; for the author infers that the only excuse offered for exempting personal property from taxation is the difficulty of collecting personal property taxes. The truth is that this is only a secondary objection to this confiscatory taxing policy. In the same connection his dogmatic remark

WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH RUSSIA? TOLSTOY TELLS

IN HIS LATEST UTTERANCE

A GREAT INIQUITY

(Reprinted from The London Times and from THE PUBLIC.)

It seems to me that Tolstoy has made a most remarkable, though brief, statement of the whole question. His illustrations are well-nigh perfect and his appeal is irresistible. All in all, it is the clearest and most forcible statement of this great human problem that I have seen for a long time.—Victor C. Alderson, President Colorado School of Mines, Golden, Colo.

It is a grand utterance. I wish it could be studied by every socialist in the country.—Hamlin Garland.

Its substance touches the marrow of the conflict between democracy and privilege, at present nowhere raging more fiercely than in Great Britain.—Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

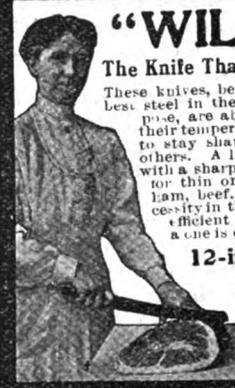
Popular edition, paper, 48 pages, 5 1/2 x 3, 4 cents a copy, postpaid; 100 copies to one address, \$2.25—to varying addresses, \$3 50—postpaid.

Illustrated edition, paper cover, 48 pages, 8 1/2 x 3 1/4, 10 cents a copy, postpaid; 12 copies for \$1.00, postpaid.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.
First National Bank Bldg., CHICAGO

JOSEPH McDONOUGH
"Ye Olde Booke Man"
OLD AND NEW BOOKSELLER and IMPORTER
39 and 41 Columbia St., Albany, N. Y.
Monthly Catalog Free. Books Not in Stock Hunted for and Reported Free of Charge.

"WILCUT"
The Knife That Holds Its Edge
These knives, being made from the best steel in the world for the purpose, are absolutely perfect in their temper and are guaranteed to stay sharp longer than any others. A long, flexible knife for thin or accurate slicing of ham, beef, etc., is a prime necessity in the kitchen of every diligent housekeeper. Such a one is our
12-in. Slicing Knife sent prepaid for \$1.50



All live dealers sell Wilcuts, or we will send prepaid, for 40c., a 6-inch, or for 65c., an 8-inch butcher knife. Our Special
\$5.00 Kitchen Assortment of Knives includes 6-inch butcher knife, 10-inch steak knife, 6-inch boning knife, 12-inch ham slicer, 6-inch French Cook's knife, 4 1/2-inch kitchen knife, 8-inch bread knife, 4-inch fruit knife and 4-inch paring knife. This forms a complete assortment of "sharp edged" knives for the kitchen. No equal sum spent otherwise will yield one-half the usefulness, pleasure and convenience to housekeeper or cook. Your money back if not perfectly satisfied. Send for catalog 11.
Wilkinson Shear & Cutlery Company
Reading, Pa.

Hours: 10 a. m. to 4 p. m. Tel. Harrison 127.
CHARLES L. LOGAN, D. O.
OSTEOFATHIC PHYSICIAN
Office 45 Auditorium Bldg.
HOTEL WARNER—EVENINGS. CHICAGO

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

CONTRACTORS
GEORGE H. ATKINSON.
CONTRACTOR.
Telephone, Electric Light, Trolley and Municipal Work. Trolley Roads built complete and financed.
Lincoln Trust Building, Jersey City, N. J.

HOW TO GET RICH WITHOUT WORKING
A Story of the Making of a Millionaire **Φ Φ**
By **EDWARD HOMER BAILEY**
A very interesting story—and an eye-opener.
12mo. paper, 14 pages, 5 cents per copy, \$2.00 per 100 copies, postpaid.
The PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY
First National Bank Building, - CHICAGO

Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to advertisers.

that "every man should pay taxes according to his ability," indicates deficient qualifications for discussing taxation elementarily.

Single taxers will be entertained by the author's notion that while Henry George held that a tax on land values would not be shifted, "Mr. Shearman held that it would, and each one has followers on this question among single taxers." His own idea is extraordinary. He thinks that real estate taxes in stationary towns would not be shifted from landlord to tenant, the rents being "so low that the tax could not be shifted;" but "in towns and cities that are growing rapidly, and where there is an active demand for tenement houses, the rents may be raised to a point that would include the taxes, and they would then be shifted from the landlord to the tenant." But wouldn't the rents of such property increase whether there were a tax or not? Doubtless. Then the higher rent would not be a shifting to the tenant of the tax; it would be part of the price of superior location. Whether or not the landlord paid the difference out again in taxes would not affect the tenant's rent; if he did, the rent would be no more; and if he did not, the rent would be no less. The author evidently does not grasp the meaning of a shifting tax.

There is a mass of material in this book which ought to be valuable, but the author's qualifications for handling it, as indicated in the instances noted above, are not calculated to inspire confidence.

THE UP-TO-DATE PRIMER

By J. W. BENGOUGH

With illustrations by the author.

A first book of lessons for little political economists, giving a clear exposition of single tax principles.

It offers an easy and attractive way of mastering the ground principles of the single tax.—*Review of Reviews.*

A witty yet philosophical book of one syllabled words . . . It imitates the style of the old-fashioned progressive school primer.—*The Public.*

12mo, limp cloth, 75 pages, 25 cents per copy, postpaid; one dozen, \$2.50; fifty, \$9.00; one hundred, \$16.00.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY
First National Bank Building - CHICAGO

GARRISON THE NON-RESISTANT

The great apostle of abolition, William Lloyd Garrison, was born in Newburyport, Mass., December 10, 1805. The centenary of his birth is suitably marked by the publication of Ernest Crosby's notable book "Garrison the Non-Resistant."

It is a sympathetic sketch of Garrison's career which considers slavery and the Civil War from an entirely original point of view. In the opinion of the author President Lincoln made a radical mistake in undertaking to coerce the seceding States, and the enthusiasm for the "Union" of sections which hated each other he regards as immoral in itself and the source of prolific subsequent evils, including the growth of the sentiments of imperialism and militarism, together with the foundation of the trusts and the aggravation of the labor problem. That the war failed to settle the race question is obvious. If the "erring sisters" had been allowed to go, slavery would, he thinks, have died a natural death, and the States would have reunited, the race question having been peacefully and genuinely solved.

Even those who fail to accept this view of history will find it interesting and full of suggestion, and the account of Garrison's life and the record of the personal observations of the author in the South of today are both vivid and entertaining.

Published by The Public Publishing Company, First National Bank Building, Chicago. 16mo, 144 pages, with photogravure portrait of Garrison, price 50 cents (postage 5 cents).

ATTORNEY'S

B. C. STICKNEY
Attorney and Counsellor at Law
Patents and Trade Marks
Expert in Patent Causes
152 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK

MSS. WANTED

We gladly read all kinds of Mss. without charge and make offer for publication in beautiful volume form; especially interested in works dealing with economic and sociological subjects. Address for catalogue and full information (Dept. T. P.)

BROADWAY PUBLISHING CO.
835 Broadway - New York

Portraits of Tolstoy

We have a very limited number of separate half-tone prints of the full length portrait of Tolstoy appearing in our new illustrated edition of Tolstoy's "A Great Iniquity." These prints are on heavy paper, 9x5½, suitable for framing. While the supply lasts we will send them for ten cents each, postpaid.

The PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY
First National Bank Building, CHICAGO

CHICAGO &
ALTON
RAILWAY
"THE ONLY WAY"



THE CHICAGO & ALTON
runs the largest passenger engines
in the world

They keep the trains on time

Between Chicago,
St. Louis,
Kansas City and
Peoria

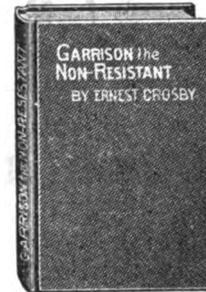
GEO. J. CHARLTON, General Passenger Agent
CHICAGO, ILL.

Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to advertisers.

The Books of Ernest Crosby

Garrison the Non-Resistant

An account of the career of William Lloyd Garrison, with a lively discussion of the propriety of overcoming slavery by war, the promotion of reform by peaceful methods, and a consideration, from an entirely original point of view, of the results of the Civil War in the South and in the North. Mr. Crosby has written nothing more profound and spirited.



16mo, cloth, 144 pages, with photogravure portrait, 50 cents; by mail, 55 cents.
It vividly portrays the prophet of abolitionism, who was "as harsh as truth" and "as uncompromising as justice," and who "could be heard," not merely as a figure in a historic episode, but as one of a line of prophets in an evolutionary movement of which the end is not yet and whose protagonist was called the Prince of Peace.—*The Public*.

Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable

A collection of chants in the cause of justice and brotherhood.

12mo, cloth, 188 pages, \$1.50; by mail, \$1.62. Paper, 40 cents; by mail, 44 cents.
"Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable" is one of the significant books of the times—a suggestive and inspiring utterance. These prophetic chants are a noble protest against the wrongs and failures of civilization.—*Edwin Markham*.
Do not fail to get and read "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable." It is a fine, true, high, noble, unselfish work. It will do you good, no matter what you believe. There is a profit in its reading you cannot afford to miss.—*New York Journal*.

Captain Jinks, Hero

A keen satire on our recent wars in which the parallel between savagery and soldiery is unerringly drawn. Profusely illustrated by Dan Beard.

12mo, cloth, 400 pages. \$1.50, postpaid.
There is not a dull page in the book.—*South African News, Capetown*.
The author has added to our literature a notable work of satire, which, whether right or wrong, must appeal to all endowed with the national sense of humor.—*New York Mail and Express*.

Swords and Plowshares

A collection of poems filled with the hatred of war and the love of nature.

12mo, cloth, 126 pages, \$1.20; by mail, \$1.29. Not sold by us in Great Britain.
A stirring, remarkable book of verse.—*St. Louis Mirror*.
By far the most striking apparition among the poetical productions of the American book market of recent months is Ernest Crosby's "Swords and Plowshares.".....It is a noteworthy book.—*New York Staats-Zeitung*.

Tolstoy and His Message

16mo, cloth, 93 pages, 50 cents; by mail, 54 cents. Not sold by us in Great Britain.

A concise and sympathetic account of the life, character and philosophy of the great Russian.—*New York Press*.
A genuinely illuminative interpretation of the great philosopher's being and purpose.—*Philadelphia Item*.

Tolstoy as a Schoolmaster

An essay on education and punishment with Tolstoy's curious experiments in teaching as a text.

13mo, cloth, 94 pages, 50 cents; by mail, 53 cents.
This little book is written in Mr. Crosby's best vein. It is illuminated with his own fine comments on that about which he writes, and we laid it down wishing there had been as much again of it.....We commend "Tolstoy as a Schoolmaster" to the young and progressive teachers of the nation.—*Advocate of Peace, Boston*.

Broad-Cast

New chants and songs of labor, life and freedom. This latest volume of poems by the author of "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable" and "Swords and Plowshares," conveys the same message delivered with equal power.

12mo, cloth, 128 pages, 50 cents; by mail, 54 cents.
There is a good deal of thought, force and descriptive power in the book.—*London Times*.
The thoughts are so poignant with knowledge of our selfish, trivial souls that they force response in the reader.....Pregnant with truth and as keen as steel.—*Boston Evening Transcript*.

Edward Carpenter, Poet and Prophet

An illuminative essay, with selections and portrait of Carpenter.

12mo, paper, 64 pages, with portrait of Carpenter on cover, 20 cents, postpaid.
A beautiful pamphlet telling in a beautiful way the story of the beautiful life of this poet-sandal-maker of England. This man, standing somewhere between Walt Whitman and John Ruskin, partakes of the sweetness and strength of both and is to be better known.—*Unity, Chicago*.

Golden-Rule Jones, Mayor of Toledo

An appreciative sketch of Samuel M. Jones from an intimate viewpoint.

In press, 16mo, paper, 60 pages, 25 cents; postpaid.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, First National Bank Bldg., Chicago

Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to advertisers.