

# The Public

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

GENERAL LIBRARY,  
UNIV. OF MICH.  
JAN 13 1906

8th Year. No. 406

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JANUARY 13, 1906

Price 5 Cents

**LOUIS F. POST**  
EDITOR

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

## TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION

Yearly . . . . . \$1.00  
Half Yearly . . . . . .50  
Quarterly . . . . . .25  
Single Copy . . . . . .05

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

Money Orders or Chicago or New York Drafts are preferred for remittances. On all local checks add 10 cents for exchange, as required by the Chicago banks. The subscription price has been reduced from \$2.00 to \$1.00 yearly, and the exchange must be collected.

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

FOR TABLE OF CONTENTS SEE FIRST EDITORIAL PAGE

## A VERY POPULAR FEATURE

The issue of THE PUBLIC of last week, January 6, containing Louis F. Post's biographical sketch of the Hon. Tom L. Johnson, with half-tone portrait of Mayor Johnson as a supplement, is much in demand.

While the supply lasts, extra copies will be furnished at the regular prices, given in the adjoining column.

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

## 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

## 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

Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to advertisers.

## 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

## 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*

YOU NEED A MAGAZINE THAT IS BOLD, FEARLESS, JUST AND PROGRESSIVE, AND THEREFORE SHOULD READ

## "THE ARENA."

It is again edited by B. O. FLOWER, who was the founder and for six years the sole editor, and since it has been greatly enlarged and improved it is now everywhere recognized as having surpassed its old self. W. T. Stead, in the *Review of Reviews*, London, says:

"A mirror of the progressive thought and action, not only of America, but of the whole world."

The staff of contributors was never stronger or more representative of the best progressive, earnest and conscience-guided thought than at the present time. Besides giving special emphasis to Political, Economic, Social and Ethical Problems, it is also a mirror of the important advance movements in Art, Literature, Education, Science and the Drama.

Buy the current number from your newsdealer. If he doesn't sell it

**SEND FOR A  
SAMPLE COPY**

giving the name and address of the dealer.

**25 cents a copy. \$2.50 net a year.**  
(Foreign subscriptions, 12s. 6d.)

**ALBERT BRANDT: Publisher,**  
105 Brandt Building - TRENTON, N. J.

**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

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.

Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to advertisers.

THE MOST IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT OF

# The Public

Reduction in Price and Improvement in Quality

We have now reached a point in our progress where we believe we can give **THE PUBLIC** to our subscribers in its present improved form and with all its high character and excellence maintained, at a greatly reduced price. From January 1, 1906, the subscription price will be \$1.00 yearly, 50 cents half-yearly, 25 cents quarterly. This is cutting the former price in two. We have for a long time been hoping to be able to do this, and our increasing business makes it possible now to announce the reduction.

All who are willing to continue to pay \$2.00 a year are urged to do so, each one sending, if he will, the name of a friend in addition to his own, whereupon the two subscriptions will be filled, instead of one.

For some time past our circulation has steadily increased under the \$2.00 rate, and we rely upon securing a much larger and more rapid increase under the \$1.00 rate. Our object is to get **THE PUBLIC** into the hands of everyone who can be brought to favor thorough-going honesty and fairness and fundamental democracy in all political and economic affairs. **We appeal to all our readers to co-operate in this work in every way they can. Everyone can help in one or more of the following ways:**

- (a) **By taking as many subscriptions as possible and encouraging others to do likewise.**
- (b) **By advertising regularly in **THE PUBLIC** if the reader's business or profession at all permits.** Rates are given on page 640 of this issue and are regularly printed on the cartoon-page. They are very favorable. Our circulation has risen to over 6,500 weekly under the \$2.00 rate. It is certain to grow to 10,000 very soon, and, as it approaches this figure, the advertising rates will be advanced. We will, for a time yet, make time contracts at the present rates. There is an excellent bargain here for all advertisers. We reserve the right to refuse all advertisements deemed in any way objectionable. As our circulation grows, **THE PUBLIC** will be steadily improved.
- (c) **By sending us addresses of acquaintances and others likely to be interested in **THE PUBLIC**, to whom sample copies can be sent, and by sending accurate lists of men and women who wish to help the forward movement of American democracy and are especially interested to promote direct legislation, proportional representation, the recall, and direct nominations for office, equitable assessments and just taxation, the single tax, free trade, municipal ownership of public utilities, government ownership of railroads and telegraphs, universal suffrage, anti-imperialism, etc.—also lists of public spirited Republicans who are opposed to the plutocratic domination of their party. Also by sending to others copies of **THE PUBLIC** after reading, calling attention to the paper.**
- (d) **By buying as many books as possible from us and encouraging others to do likewise, bearing in mind the advantages of giving our books as presents—for birthdays, weddings, and commemorative and other occasions.** Our book catalogue should be in the hands of every reader and is sent free anywhere on request. **We supply any book published**—as well as those listed in the catalogue. Books rare or not well known will be searched for and supplied as promptly as possible. Prompt, accurate and thoughtful service characterizes our book business. As the business increases, we shall be able to bring out many new books of great interest and importance to real democracy.

We wish to take this opportunity to thank our many friends for past co-operation.

**THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY**

FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING, CHICAGO

Please mention **THE PUBLIC** when you write to advertisers.

# The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

Volume VIII

Number 406

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JAN. 13, 1906.

## CONTENTS.

### EDITORIAL:

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Another instance of the other ox.....              | 669 |
| Mazzini.....                                       | 669 |
| A significant discrepancy.....                     | 669 |
| Chloroforming the children of the poor.....        | 669 |
| President Roosevelt and Peace.....                 | 669 |
| Senator Rayner's splendid speech.....              | 670 |
| Corporation automatons in the Chicago Council..... | 670 |
| The Democratic Mind (Dillard).....                 | 671 |

### NEWS NARRATIVE:

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| A new phase of the Chicago traction question..... | 672 |
| Municipal politics in general.....                | 673 |
| The inauguration of Gov. Pattison.....            | 673 |
| Ohio mayor's association.....                     | 673 |
| British politics.....                             | 673 |
| Politics in France.....                           | 674 |
| News Notes.....                                   | 674 |
| Press Opinions.....                               | 674 |

### RELATED THINGS:

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| A City's Saint (verse).....                    | 674 |
| Failure.....                                   | 675 |
| George Foster Peabody's Democratic Sanity..... | 675 |
| The Debt of American Democracy to Greece.....  | 676 |
| Principles of Municipal Ownership.....         | 677 |
| Mr. Bryan's Stunt.....                         | 681 |
| A Declaration of Independence.....             | 681 |
| Theology.....                                  | 681 |
| To Encourage Valor.....                        | 681 |

### BOOKS:

|                              |     |
|------------------------------|-----|
| The Evolution of Man.....    | 682 |
| The Book of Chicagoans.....  | 683 |
| The Grain Trust Exposed..... | 683 |
| Books Received.....          | 683 |
| Periodicals.....             | 683 |

CARTOON.—The Way to Freedom and Prosperity (Bengough).....684

For terms and other particulars of publication see cartoon page

## EDITORIAL

### Another instance of the other ox.

The Fairhope Courier of December 15 quotes from the Mobile Register the details of the recent sale of a tract of eighty acres of land in the suburbs of that city. "Here is an increase," says the Courier, "of over 2,600 per cent. in a few years with a prospect of a like increase in another like period, and this in a staid old town like Mobile. We hear no complaint that the fortunate owners of this property should reap in a few years, without effort on their part, a sum sufficient to enable them to live the balance of their days without labor and in greater comfort than can be hoped for by the average laborer working steadily; but, judging by some of our experien-

ces, there would be a great howl should a like amount of land values be collected for the public benefit."

### Mazzini.

The English Cooperative News published as its leading article in a recent number an excellent sketch of Mazzini, calling him Italy's "greatest and most striking personality since Dante." So he will be rated henceforth—Italy's noblest man for a thousand years. Yet who would have ventured to think so fifty years ago? A pale foreigner, not permitted to live in any country on the continent, teaching the children of his poorer countrymen in a cheap London tenement—who would have said that this man would be numbered among the world's supreme characters, among the precious few to whom we give the name of prophets? As Mr. Gilder recently wrote of such a hero—

"We fashion a heaven of late reward,  
His life all dark, and desolate, and hard."

### A significant discrepancy.

The pro-franchise papers of Chicago which had been attacking Mayor Dunne editorially for violating "the spirit" of civil service reform in his appointments, were indiscreet enough on the 7th to gloat over the dilemma which ward workers of his party were thrusting upon him. These complained that his steadfast refusal to violate "the spirit" of civil service reform was ruining his party. Something here seems to need reconciling. Probably it is the good pretenses and the good faith of those papers.

### Chloroforming the children of the poor.

A Miss Crozier, who is described as "a sociological authority," is quoted by the press dispatches as favoring the chloroforming of the children of the poor. "I would rather personally," she is quoted, "administer chloroform to the poor starving children of Philadelphia, than see them living as they must do in squalor and misery."

We are not willing to believe that any woman who is worthy to be called either a woman or a sociological authority would say this in the sense attached to the words. It is more probable that Miss Crozier said something meaning that it would be more humane to chloroform these children than to force upon them, as our institutions do, the abnormal social conditions which make them unjustly poor in order that others may be undeservedly rich. At any rate we shall take the liberty of believing that this is what Miss Crozier meant, until we have better authority than a telegraphed newspaper interview for the satanic interpretation that has been put upon her words.

### President Roosevelt and peace.

Mr. Roosevelt's message (p. 610) was notable not only for its great length, but also for the omission of important suggestions—crowded out probably by the overflow of less important ones. Although he, the strenuous war lord of America, had achieved special distinction as a peace maker, he made no suggestions in his message which could be very effective in preventing war. And yet Mr. Bryan had directly pointed out to him (p. 391) an excellent and simple plan. Before leaving for his tour of the world Mr. Bryan urged President Roosevelt to utilize his new reputation as a peace-maker for making war difficult instead of easy to begin, by asking Congress for authority to submit all disputed points of international questions to an impartial board for investigation and report. This would not be arbitration, to which nations not unreasonably object to bind themselves in advance; but it would effect as much as arbitration, because an impartial board, with the penalty before it of causing war by an unjust report, would in most if not all cases effect a reconciliation. This would be better in most cases than making peace after terrible loss of life; it would foster international friendliness better even than ar-

bitration, and it would thereby prevent wars. But Mr. Roosevelt in his message said nothing of Bryan's suggestion. It is not to be presumed that he was silent because the suggestion came from Bryan. That would be too small for a mind like Roosevelt's. It must have been because the militant mind of the President likes better to make peace than to keep peace.

**Senator Rayner's splendid speech.**

A new voice, a strong voice, and a welcome voice was heard in the Senate of the United States on the 8th. It was the voice of Rayner—reputed to be one of the greatest lawyers in this country—the new Senator from Maryland, a State to which we had long since ceased to look for high ideals.

Senator Rayner's subject was the foreign receivership which President Roosevelt has established over the custom houses of Santo Domingo. Mr. Rayner said he found no clause in the Constitution empowering our government to act as a receiver for any nation. But that part of his speech which probed the depths of this new iniquity, was his criticism of President Roosevelt's primary doctrine that the great nations are within their rights when they forcibly collect money claims against other nations by blockade, bombardment and seizure of custom houses. "I respectfully deny," he said, "that foreign nations are within their rights when they actively intervene in favor of the contractual claims of their subjects." Elaborating his criticism he continued:

With great deference to the President, this proposition is at war with the elementary principles of international law. There are some exceptions that sustain his statements in countries where anarchy and a failure to administer justice prevails, but with an exception in cases that are sui generis, the rule is an inflexible and unbending one, precisely to the contrary tenor of what the President states it to be. In this country nearly every secretary of state, including Madison, Adams, Clay, Webster, Cal-

houn, Marcy, Seward and Blaine, have given the broad denial to suggestions of this character, so that until the new doctrine was promulgated it was considered a postulate and a fundamental law that governments would not interfere in behalf of the contractual claims of their citizens, except through the channels of diplomacy and the proper presentation of the claims by their ministers.

As President Roosevelt bases his unprecedented and unwarranted occupation of the Dominican custom houses (vol. vii, p. 731; vol. viii, p. 630), upon a curious interpretation of the duty of this government under the Monroe doctrine, Senator Rayner, with as much polite deference to Mr. Roosevelt's exalted station and as little respect for his imperial policy, considered that phase of the subject. This is the Roosevelt doctrine, he said, but not the Monroe doctrine. Referring to Jefferson's comments on the famous message of Monroe, he asked:

Was he contemplating the probable bombardment of a Caribbean fort to enforce the payment of a usurer's bond? Was his mind perplexed by a vision of a war conducted by bailiffs and constables and collectors in the interest of foreign pawnbrokers, whose weapons are pledges and debentures, and who, struggling with each other for preferences and priorities in their insatiate chase for plunder, sweep down upon the pitiful revenues of those bankrupt and impoverished republics, until they become prostrate supplicants at the exchequer of the world, and are willing to yield their resources and concessions at any price or sacrifice that may be dictated in the gambling dens of the European stock market? . . . The new Monroe doctrine is strictly a financial doctrine. The income is money, the legend is cash, and the foreign hordes who are advancing into the state department are a syndicate of relentless mercenaries and money lenders, who traffic in calamity, look upon national misfortunes as so much merchandise, and who for a venal profit would call a vendue and auction to the highest bidder the liberties of mankind.

Senator Rayner's is one of the few inspiring speeches that have been heard in the Senate chamber since McKinley and Hanna ushered in the now expiring era of imperial plutocracy at home and im-

perial conquest abroad. Nor was it a mere lawyer's tour de force. The man who uttered those sentiments must have been inspired by sincere conviction or he would not have closed with this confession of a type of patriotism which is as rare as it is profound and exalted:

I am with the slave in every darkened corner of the globe where he is struggling to be free, and I hope the day may come when every government that is built upon the bowed bodies of its subjects may disintegrate, and that upon its ruins republican institutions may arise. However deeply, Mr. President, as I may love my country, with all the devotion I would lay upon her altars, with a fervid reverence for her flag wherever its colors greet the eye, I would rather see that flag lowered and trampled upon than used as a pirate's ensign, and raised, not as an emblem of honor, but as an instrument of terror and oppression to the helpless and enfeebled races of mankind.

**Corporation Antomatons in the Chicago council.**

The traction-corporation ring in the Chicago Council has now confirmed what few Chicago citizens had failed to guess, that this ring, despite all its virtuous pretenses, is a ring in fact. Whether its members or any of them are paid, either directly or indirectly, by the traction companies, is another question. If future disclosures should reveal corruption, we should have another case of good men gone wrong or bad men found out, according to the point of view; if, however, there is no corruption, the irreverent and cynical may repeat their sneer, that "reformers come cheap." Wholly apart from these considerations, the fact is now plain, that the majority of the local transportation committee, from one motive or another, and supported in their course by a majority of the Council, have ignored the instructions of their constituents and taken orders from the traction companies. It matters little whether such men are tainted or not; they are unfaithful public servants.

The facts speak for themselves. These men were elected by their respective constituencies because they were, for a variety of reasons

—personal, political, etc.—preferred for their duties as a whole to the candidates in opposition. But in each instance they were specifically instructed by their constituencies on one point. By overwhelming majorities they were instructed to cease negotiations with the traction companies and to proceed without delay to give the city a municipal traction system in place of the inefficient and corrupt and corrupting system of the companies. Instead of obeying those instructions these aldermen have refused to do anything or consider anything but negotiations with the inefficient and corrupt companies. After three months devoted to these negotiations they adopted the ordinances which these companies presented to them, and reported them to the Council for favorable action. In doing so they became in effect sponsors for those ordinances, and some of their number had the temerity to recommend the ordinances as not only the best the companies would agree to but as positively good. And yet, in the twinkling of an eye the same ring has had those ordinances referred back. What for? For the correction of some oversight prejudicial to public interests? Not at all. For the substitution of municipal ownership measures, as their constituencies have instructed? By no manner of means. They have had them referred back for the purpose of renewing negotiations with the traction companies. Such men are either too sophisticated or too innocent to be fit for any public service in which any important interests of the public are in conflict with any very valuable financial interests of aggressive and conscienceless corporations.

#### THE DEMOCRATIC MIND.

There cannot be a democracy without the democratic mind. That was the trouble with the attempts at democracy in the past; that is the trouble with the democracy we are trying to-day. There has been progress, but the trouble is that too few have yet been edu-

cated, even now, to the standard of the democratic mind.

"The real doctrine," says the cleverest of modern essayists, "is something which we do not, with all our modern humanitarianism, very clearly understand, much less very clearly practice. There is nothing, for instance," so he continues in his witty way, "particularly undemocratic about kicking your butler down stairs. It may be wrong, but it is not unfraternal. In a certain sense, the blow or kick may be considered as a confession of equality; you are meeting your brother body to body; you are almost according to him the privilege of the duel. There is nothing undemocratic, though there may be something unreasonable, in expecting a great deal from the butler, and being filled with a kind of frenzy of surprise when he falls short of the divine stature. The thing which is really undemocratic and unfraternal is to say, as so many modern humanitarians say, 'Of course one must make allowances for those on a lower plane.' All things considered, indeed, it may be said, without undue exaggeration, that the really undemocratic thing is the common practice of not kicking the butler downstairs."

In this comic and paradoxical way Mr. Chesterton goes home to the point. And that he knows what he is talking about is shown by what he further says in a more serious way. Alluding to his illustration of the butler, he says: "It is only because such a vast section of the modern world is out of sympathy with the serious democratic sentiment that this statement will seem to many to be lacking in seriousness. Democracy is not philanthropy; it is not even altruism or social reform. Democracy is not founded on pity for the common man; democracy is founded on reverence for the common man. It does not champion man because man is so miserable, but because man is so sublime."

If anything better than this has been said lately, I have not seen it. It is high time that just these words should be said to our modern humanitarians and to many of our modern reformers—"Democracy is not philanthropy." So long as philanthropy has in it one whit of the protective spirit of superi-

ority it is not only not democratic, it is not truly philanthropic.

It ought to be understood, once for all, that charity towards fellow man as inferior is no charity, it is pharisaism.

Modern praise goes to the man who gives liberally, though in condescension. The upper public does not discriminate. It does not see that the condescension damns the giving. It does not see that such giving is twice damned—it damns him that gives and him that takes. And why? Because such giving really separates, a fact which so many would-be good people fail to see. They do not see that the man with the democratic mind may give without harm, while the man without the democratic mind cannot give without harm.

This applies, of course, not only to giving but to doing. And here the confusion is even greater, and therefore demands the plainer speech. There are hundreds of would-be good people who are to-day devoting themselves, as they think, to the welfare of the masses by establishing social settlements and going down to live in slums. If any of these are working without the truly democratic mind of man to man, they are wasting their time in hopeless pharisaism.

A man may give his money to feed the poor, may give his time to wood-yards and social settlements, may write books on how the other half lives, may be called the best citizen of the metropolis, may be heralded as philanthropist, may head every newspaper list for any charity, and yet, if he have not the democratic mind, be as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal so far as democracy is concerned.

This is the lesson that all those need to learn who talk about the ingratitude of the poor. They do not understand it. Of course not; because they have not yet advanced in education toward the democratic mind as far as many of the poor have. The lower public does discriminate.

The same blindness affects many reformers in local politics. They do not understand why workingmen are not with them in movements that seem manifestly good. I came recently in contact

with a movement for increasing liquor licenses from a minimum of one hundred to a minimum of five hundred dollars. The leaders complained that the workingmen were opposed, although it was understood that the increased revenues were to go to the public schools. They could not see that the whole burden of their campaign had been such as almost inevitably to alienate the support of self-respecting workingmen. They talked about the workingman precisely in the spirit of the modern humanitarian dealing with Chesterton's butler. They talked all the time about saving the poor workingman from the temptation of the corner saloon.

This is the trouble with very many well-meaning reformers. They do not think or talk of the workingman as a man, but as an inferior to be looked after and protected. They have not the democratic mind, and they cannot see that many workingmen, certainly the leaders, are better educated than themselves.

The education of the democratic mind has spread, in spite of all reactions, during the past century. The American revolution and the French revolution were days of high enlightenment which could never be forgotten. Reactions might come, but the idea of the democratic mind was destined to abide. The nineteenth century preserved the spirit in the face of every difficulty. And men came to voice the spirit. Even Carlyle in his confusing voice could not away with it. It became the tragedy of his life. He tried to preach autocracy, and said more than most men of his day to destroy it. In his splendid inconsistency he dealt many hard blows to the superstitious reverence for aristocracy and oligarchy.

Carlyle was a friend to the Italian outcast, who, more than he, undermined the ancient superstitions of subserviency. The time will come when we shall all do reverence to this great Italian who was hunted out of the governments of Europe because he, more than any man of his day, had the democratic mind. What he said fifty years ago about the democratic mind can never be amended. The Chestertons of to-

day can only illustrate and expand what he said a half century ago. His only mistake was that he thought the day of fruition was near at hand, just as the men of the New Testament expected the "day of the Lord"; but his words are true in spite of all postponement, and they may profitably be set beside the words of the modern essayist which I quoted above.

"Yesterday," said Mazzini, "we revered the priest, the lord, the soldier, the master; to-day we reverence the man, his liberty, his dignity, his immortality, his labor, his progressive tendency, all that constitutes him a creature made in the image of God."

Can we not see in these solemn words of Mazzini, coupled with the light words of Chesterton, something of the meaning of the democratic mind? To acknowledge and profess this democratic mind is the supreme problem in America to-day. We are trying at present to save ourselves by one-sided prosperity and one-sided philanthropy. We need to open our eyes to the new light of the democratic mind, which still cherishes, in spite of the ridicule of reactionists, the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

The gist of the whole matter is this: The democratic mind emphasizes humanity; the aristocratic mind emphasizes the distinctions in humanity. And our whole attitude toward life depends always upon where we put the emphasis.

J. H. DILLARD.

## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Thursday, Jan. 11.

**A new phase of the Chicago traction question.**

Another unexpected twist in the Chicago traction situation (pp. 577, 598, 657) has thrown everything into confusion.

As already reported in these col-

umns (p. 577) the majority of the local transportation committee of the City Council had on the 4th of December, after several weeks of negotiation with the traction companies, reported three ordinances for a 20-year private corporation franchise, one ordinance for each of the present traction systems. In reporting these ordinances the majority of the committee recommended that "after consideration and favorable action by the committee of the whole, they lie on the table" until after the city election in April, and that meanwhile the Council take the necessary steps for securing a referendum vote. They described the ordinances as "the one practical solution of a problem of extraordinary complexity and difficulty, and as the most direct way to complete municipal control of local transportation," and averred a belief that "they reach the limit of concession by the companies, and that the choice lies between their acceptance, and prolonged litigation with the continuance of intolerable service."

Nearly four weeks went by without action by the Council in committee of the whole, and without any steps on the part of the Council looking to a referendum; and as the time limit for securing the necessary referendum petition of over 100,000 signatures would expire early in February, the coalition of municipal ownership organizations decided that the delay was suspicious and therefore took steps to secure a referendum (p. 657) on their own initiative. This petition was first publicly announced in the Chicago Examiner on the 2d. Immediately upon its announcement the majority of the local transportation committee got together and hurriedly prepared referendum questions (p. 658) which the minority characterize as unfairly formulated. These questions were presented to the Council at its meeting on the evening of the 2d, when their consideration was postponed. This was the situation when the new twist, alluded to above, threw everything into confusion.

The first significant thing was the publication on the morning of the 4th in the Record-Herald, one of Mr. Victor F. Lawson's papers,

which has long favored franchise extension, of a double-leaded editorial making the following announcement:

The Record-Herald cannot under any circumstances advise its readers to vote to adopt any of the pending franchise ordinances at the referendum next Spring unless the following defects which now appear to exist in the North and West Side ordinances are overcome, so that the city will be made absolutely safe against losing its share of the bargain through technicalities: (1) The inadequacy of the provisions concerning the existing bond lien; (2) the faultiness of the treatment of the relation of the Consolidated Traction Company to a unified service; (3) the failure to specifically provide for a renewal fund to guarantee continued good service to the termination of the grant.

This announcement was followed by gossipy reports of a luncheon given on the afternoon of the 4th by Mr. Lawson, at which representatives of the traction interests, including Judge Grosscup and the counsel he has recently appointed to advise him, namely, Mr. John M. Harlan (Mayor Dunne's adversary at the mayoralty election), together with Alderman Foreman, Edwin Burritt Smith and others. Other gossipy reports were to the effect that a new faction in the City Council, usually distinguished as "gray wolves," and holding the balance of power between the municipal ownership and the franchise extension factions, had adopted a policy which made the passage of the ordinances impossible without satisfying them. It was also reported that the question involved is the injection of full value into \$32,000,000 of Union Traction "water."

These were the circumstances when, at the meeting of the City Council on the evening of the same day, the 4th, Alderman Raymer, a franchise-extension partisan, offered this resolution:

Resolved, by the City Council of the city of Chicago, that the majority and minority reports of the committee on local transportation reported to this Council on December 4, 1905, be and they are hereby recommitted to the committee on local transportation, with instructions to consider all suggested amendments and such other

matters germane to the question as may be presented to it.

The resolution was adopted, and on the 8th a meeting of the local transportation committee was held, at which Victor F. Lawson, John M. Harlan, George C. Sikes, George E. Hooker and Walter L. Fisher were present by invitation of the committee, and spoke. Walter L. Fisher, head of the Municipal Voters' League, is reported by the Tribune to have stated that he favored municipal ownership in preference to any other settlement, but in default of that he favored an amendment of the ordinances.

#### Municipal politics in general.

A movement in furtherance of a more democratic system of municipal government, free from national political influences, has been set on foot by the Municipal Voters' League of Chicago. It has called a conference of non-partisan municipal organizations throughout the country. This conference will be in session at the City Club, Chicago, on the 11th and 12th. Its scope is to be confined to the following question: "The extent to which municipal elections should be separated from national party politics and the control of national political parties, and the best means by which such separation as may be deemed advisable can be brought about."

#### The inauguration of Gov. Pattison.

Through a misunderstanding of the reported facts we stated last week (p. 659) that John M. Pattison was inaugurated as governor of Ohio on the 1st. The inauguration day was the 8th instead of the 1st. In his address on the 8th Gov. Pattison promised a non-partisan administration. He devoted his address largely to the subjects of temperance and of public ownership of public utilities. On the latter subject he called—

attention to the interest that is being taken in the subject of home rule for cities, particularly as to the right of each city, town, or village at large to decide for itself all questions of local policy, especially those of public or private ownership of all public utilities, including street railways, water works and lighting systems. If it is according to your judgment that pro-

vision should be made for submitting such matters to the people, then upon request from such portion of the citizens and voters of such city as you may think advisable, a vote shall be taken and the majority shall decide the question. If such authority should be given, it certainly should be guarded by the merit system of appointment and tenure of office. Although heretofore this may have been a subject of party interest, it should not be one of partisan action. If this privilege were given, one or more cities would probably take advantage of it at once. While this idea of home rule in a larger sense is being favorably discussed in various portions of the country and in some of the leading cities of our own State, surely some immediate action should be taken by the General Assembly to prohibit any municipality from giving away or selling any franchise of any nature, or from extending any franchise without first submitting it to a vote of the people of said city.

#### Ohio mayors' association.

The association of Ohio mayors recently formed at Cleveland (p. 579) met on the 9th in Columbus to recommend changes in the municipal code to the legislature. Among the changes proposed were a strictly merit system administered by a non-partisan civil service board appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the council; one director for public service instead of a board; one director of public safety; the appointment of a city solicitor, and taking from the governor the power to remove a mayor; also a referendum on franchises. The only serious discussion was on the 12th recommendation which defined the administrative power of a city to consist of a city solicitor, city auditor, city treasurer and the directors of the public service and public safety, and made them appointable by the mayor and removable by him. This was adopted by a vote of 17 to 4.

#### British politics.

The long-looked for parliamentary campaign in Great Britain (pp. 595, 627) has now begun. The new Liberal cabinet met for the last time prior to election on the 6th. At a meeting of the privy council on the 8th a proclamation dissolving Parliament was agreed upon and the King signed it. He at the same time summoned a new Parliament to meet on the 13th of February, and writes for elections

were immediately issued. The first election will take place at Greenwich on the 13th; the last must take place by the 27th. The campaign will therefore be much shorter than was expected. But it is a strenuous one. On the 9th, 2,500 speeches were delivered, and in the London Times of the 10th there were 18 columns of election matter. Millions of pamphlets and handbills have been issued.

#### Politics in France.

Meanwhile there is to be a Presidential election in France. It will come off on the 18th of January. There are several candidates, but the leading ones are Fallieres, president of the Senate, and Doumer, president of the Chamber of Deputies. The former is the candidate of the progressive republicans, and the latter of the moderate republicans. The election of President is not by popular vote, but by a majority, voting in secret, of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies sitting together in National Assembly or Congress.

#### NEWS NOTES

—William R. Harper, president of the University of Chicago, died on the 10th at Chicago.

—Ex-Gov. La Follette was sworn in on the 4th in the United States Senate (p. 659) as a Senator from Wisconsin.

—A new cabinet was formed in Japan on the 5th with Salonji as premier. The Tokio dispatches describe it as a clever coalition intended to please both the Seiyukai party and the followers of the late government of Count Katsura. The progressive party, of which Count Okuma is the leader, reported to have been left out in the cold, will constitute the strongest opposition to the new ministry.

—The republic of Ecuador was declared by President Garcia on the 6th to be in a state of civil war, the revolutionary troops being under Col. Teran and holding the provinces of Tunguragua and Chimborazo. Gen. Leonidas Plaza, Ecuadorian minister to the United States; sailed for home on the 6th in response to a cablegram from President Garcia summoning him to take command of the government troops.

#### PRESS OPINIONS

##### THE PHILIPPINE PROBLEM.

The Boston Post (Dem.), Jan. 6.—Promptly upon reassembling after the holiday recess, Congress plunges into the discussion

of the Philippine tariff, and the struggle is now on between the advocates of fair play for the Filipinos and the representatives of protected interests in sugar and tobacco in this country. The monopolies demand that nothing shall be conceded to the people in the way of freer trade. This is one phase of the anomalous relations established with those islands. So long as these relations exist, the worry will continue. Representative McCall proposes to end it all, to bring immediate relief and to perform an act of international justice; and the means which he proposes is as simple as it must be effective. The resolution which Mr. McCall has introduced looks to the neutralization of the Philippines by international agreement. The President is authorized to enter into negotiations with the powers of Europe for the purpose of establishing the Philippine archipelago as a neutral territory, with an independent government recognized internationally. This would cut the gordian knot. The Philippines are a burden and a perplexity to the United States, and their present condition is an exasperation to their people. In case of foreign complications which may arise any day, they would be a national peril. No happier relief can be expected than such as Congressman McCall indicates in his proposed joint resolution.

##### THE CHICAGO TRACTION QUESTION.

The Chicago Examiner (Dem.), Jan. 8.—There are just three classes of Aldermen to whom the fate of the pending 20-year traction ordinances are committed. There is the "gray wolf" class, which publicly announced in a recent roll call, that it could muster about 15 votes. There is a second class far more dangerous to Chicago's interests in this crisis than the first. It is composed of Aldermen who are trying to force obnoxious franchises through the Council with the aid of their purchasable colleagues. The second class doubtless contains several Aldermen of personal integrity. They are working for the traction interests in the vain hope that they can serve the franchise-grabbers and yet keep their own names unsullied. The third and only class of Aldermen that is obeying the popular will comprises those that are voting steadily and consistently for municipal ownership. . . . The attempt to force these 20-year grants through the Council in defiance of the people's expressed will, has created a community of interest. Men who shrink from personal contamination by boodlers stand ready to profit by the acts of boodlers. That has been the history of every important special privilege grant. The present crisis has been brought about by the very "respectable" gentlemen who give orders to their franchise-hawking Aldermen-buying agents.

##### POSTAL REFORM.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Jan. 3.—There has been a great deal heard about "postal reform," but the "reform" has been spurious and of a character of most of the "reform" in our governmental affairs, studiously avoiding the root of the evil and contenting itself with abating a few minor abuses. Not until the postal department is freed from the influence of the railways and express companies will there be any hope of genuine reform. And that is not possible so long as Congress is dominated by "the interests" which find in government an invincible ally in the exploitation of the public.

##### WATCH THE OHIO LEGISLATURE.

Columbus Press Post (Dem.), Jan. 1.—It has been a long time since majorities in both House and Senate were as nearly eliminated as we find them to-day; but the time was ripe for change; it was ripe for the wiping out of partisanship; it was ripe for discontinuing the domination of the

majority of one party over the minority of another party. . . . It will be impossible to pass a purely partisan measure, if the members are honest with themselves, conscientious toward their constituents and loyal to their principles. This is not the time to predict what will be done; it is not the time for praise or blame. It is the time to wait with open and unprejudiced mind, free to judge of the merits and demerits of all bills presented.

##### THE GRAFT OF GRAFTS.

Minneapolis Journal (ind.), Dec. 31.—Some hundred or so years ago an ancestor of Nicolas Longworth settled in a bend of the Ohio river and invested his modest fortune in cheap lands. The city of Cincinnati happened to grow upon that land, and the senior Longworth, seeing what was going on, had the foresight to cling to much of this land. Henry George's doctrine not being in effect, viz., that the increment belongs to the people who make it and not to the holder—the crowd that settled there made the Longworths very wealthy. Hence it is not necessary to take up any 10-cent contributions or run endless chains to make Miss Roosevelt a wedding present.

#### IN CONGRESS.

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the official report of Congressional proceedings. It includes all matters of general interest, and closes with the last issue of the Record at hand upon going to press. Page references are to the pages of Vol. 40 of that publication.

Washington, Jan. 4-6, 1906.

##### Senate.

No business of general interest or importance was transacted on the 4th, when the Senate assembled after the holiday recess; and adjournment was voted until the 8th.

##### House.

Upon assembling on the 4th after the holiday recess the House concluded in committee of the whole its consideration of the President's message (p. 674); and on the 5th it took up consideration of the bill providing revenue for the Philippines (p. 676), which it continued on the 5th (p. 711) and 6th (p. 731).

Record Notes.—Timman resolution on Santo Domingo (p. 665).

## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

#### A CITY'S SAINT.

A memorial poem in honor of Josephine Shaw Lowell, of New York, by Joseph Dana Miller. This poem was first published in the Outlook of December 23, 1905, which made in connection with it the following explanatory statement: "A memorial meeting was recently held in New York City in honor of Mrs. Lowell, whose death took place last October. It will be remembered that Mrs. Lowell's husband, Charles Russell Lowell, fell fighting for the Union, and that her brother was that Colonel Robert G. Shaw who commanded a Negro regiment and whose monumental tablet by St. Gaudens is one of the finest works of American sculpture, while she was intimately associated by blood and marriage with George William Curtis, Francis S. Barlow, and other men of note. Mrs. Lowell served for thirteen years as Charity Commissioner in New York, and ten years before that was active in founding the Charity Organization Society. In many other ways she aided in carrying out purposes of social value, and was engaged heart and soul in all good causes, municipal as well as philanthropic."

"A woman lived and now a woman dies;"  
If that were all, this line were much too long;

But with her went from out our social  
skies  
A light, and voice like a remembered  
song.

Some saints have lived who on the ensan-  
guined field  
Walked with the balm of healing in their  
hands;

And not until the eye of God is sealed  
Fadeth the glory where some woman  
stands,

Shedding strange radiance from her ten-  
der eyes;  
Now in the town, and now in court or  
camp—

Some woman with her deed of sacrifice,  
Lighting the world like an eternal lamp.

And she to whom War's tragedy of pain  
Had brought its tears—whose husband,  
brother, friend

Passed in the cannonading to the slain—  
Walked with her lonely sorrow to the  
end.

But in that sorrow's self-forgetfulness  
She wrought whose splendid task is done  
too soon;

Because she lived, the evil days are less  
Bridging these civic nights to highest  
noon.

And mid the populous town, its walls that  
rise,  
Its massive structures wrought of myriad  
hands,

This story of a woman's sacrifice  
Shines like a beacon where the city  
stands.

This shall outlive its mortar and its stone.  
This shall be told where cities rise and  
fall;

A woman working in its ways alone  
With loving hands built bastions round  
its wall.

#### FAILURE.

The Great Financier sat in his  
sumptuous office and thought ear-  
nestly.

"My life has been a great suc-  
cess. I have secured everything that  
the heart of man could desire, money,  
fame, power—everything."

"But you have not secured me,"  
whispered a something from out the  
surrounding silence.

"What are you?" queried the Great  
Financier.

"I am Love."

"But I have secured control of the  
money of the country. I have se-  
cured control of the coal mines of  
the country. I control the grain mar-  
kets, the railroads, the mills and the  
factories."

"But you do not control me," said a  
chilling voice from out of the sur-  
rounding silence.

"What is it that I do not control?"  
queried the Great Financier.

"I am Death."

And when they found the Great

Financier in the morning they found  
him captive instead of captor.—The  
Commoner.

#### GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY'S DEM- OCRATIC SANITY.

This letter from George Foster Peabody, of  
the great banking house of Spencer, Trask  
& Co., New York, and until recently the  
treasurer of the Democratic National Com-  
mittee, strikes a clear and true note of gen-  
uine democracy. It was published in the  
Brooklyn Eagle of January 5, and is re-  
produced here as an indication of hopeful  
tendencies of the radical sort among con-  
servative men.

My attention has been called to a  
complimentary reference to me in your  
editorial columns of December 15,  
which issue of the paper I did not see.

I thank you for your designation  
of me as "safe and sane." May I ven-  
ture upon your further courtesy to  
presume upon the patience of your  
readers who, though not interested in  
personal views, are rightly interested  
in the attitude of Democrats to the  
subtle and grave dangers that now  
confront the country? I am in sym-  
pathy with the position of those Dem-  
ocrats called by the Auburn Citizen  
"the liberal element" in the party;  
with the exception that I think the  
party should go farther than some  
"liberals" may now be ready to go.

I trust and believe that I am both  
"safe and sane" in my Democracy, but  
I gather from the article that there  
are differences of interpretation of that  
phrase. It is, I think, both "safe and  
sane" for party managers to be true  
to the platform and honestly advo-  
cate the principles proclaimed. I be-  
lieve it is "sane" to look facts in the  
face and strive to deal with the dyna-  
mics of the matter in hand, and that it  
is always "safe" to trust the people to  
manage all of their affairs. Especially  
"sane and safe" is it to trust the peo-  
ple about rights granted by the com-  
munity—such as the use of the public  
streets on and above, as well as be-  
low, the surface, and corporate claims  
based on the grant of the public right  
of "eminent domain."

I believe that the time has come for  
the Democratic party to be true to its  
foundation principles of human lib-  
erty and personal rights. I believe  
these include the common rights of the  
whole community, and we should find  
the righteous method of now applying  
them to the conditions created by the  
present enormous production of wealth  
by the brains and hands of men made  
more efficient through education.

A patent fact in the social structure

of to-day is that the average man does  
not have continuous employment, and  
further that the whole surplus pro-  
duction beyond the daily consump-  
tion, is to so large an extent divided  
among the few who may not unfairly  
be called "possessors of privileges." I  
think that three sources of privilege  
will account for this: First, franchise  
privilege granted by representatives  
of the people; second, taxation of the  
many for the benefit of the few, the  
so-called protective tariff; and, third,  
increasingly concentrated control of  
land, the foundation source of  
all wealth. The special fact un-  
der the third clause is the al-  
most invariable valuation of land  
for taxation on a basis of favor-  
itism for the holders of unimproved  
land, and also to the great advantage  
of those holding large tracts of land.

Holding these convictions, I favor  
an early organization of the rank and  
file of those Democrats who believe  
that personal and public rights can be  
now enforced with due regard to prop-  
erty rights—Democrats who mean to  
make the fight to do this on definite  
lines of principle, win or lose, at the  
next election. I favor, therefore, a  
simple and short and frank platform,  
that is radical in saying what it  
means. Such a platform will drive  
from the party those who have been  
in the past so skillful in explaining  
away the indefinite platform attacks  
upon the Republican protective tariff  
as put in for effect; that is to say,  
in bad faith. I believe that with such  
a platform the party will be practical-  
ly single-minded if it shall find a lead-  
er who will be trustworthy because he  
is experienced and of known character  
and capacity and believes in the plat-  
form; one who is not merely concerned  
to get into office on a popular wave of  
disgust with the party in power; not  
a man who makes rash promises to  
right every wrong, but a man who be-  
lieves in making haste surely, if slow-  
ly, to right great and fundamental  
wrongs, which have been entrenched  
through generations by cunning legis-  
lation, and too often by collusive ex-  
ecutive action or omission.

I would assert in such platform gov-  
ernment ownership as the future pol-  
icy for all businesses based on rights  
to use of streets or roads or the ex-  
ercise of eminent domain, as the  
only equitable solution of this greatest  
modern problem. I would assert the  
necessity of municipal operation of  
street railroads and lighting facilities,  
as of water distribution, as the only

sure reliance for pure politics in our vast centers of population and to offset the serious hindrances caused by street mains and railroad construction and operation, and to avoid unnecessary duplicate and competitive construction, always in the end paid for by the people. I think a sound Democratic platform should oppose the proposition of the Republican President to have railroad rates fixed by a commission who will deal with the managers of what is still private property; such power must in the nature of the case produce a crop of scandals, and the most compact machine for political influence the world has ever known.

The private toll roads of early days were made public highways free to all travelers and commerce. A score of years of practical experience in official relation to the modern highway of commerce, the railroad, convinces me that neither economy nor efficiency will permit the use of these highways by separate owners of engines and cars, and that consolidated and cooperative management is essential to their largest usefulness. I have for ten years or more held the confident opinion that government ownership of all railroads was the one final solution; but the details must be worked out patiently and the steps taken conservatively.

I believe that economic laws, (although hidden), are as sure in their working as the law of gravitation. The concentration of control of the railroads of the United States into comparatively few hands was not the definite conscious purpose of these few, but has in effect been forced by business conditions and the economic competition which, because of the instinctive even though unconscious hunger for land monopoly, built railroads both too fast and too poorly. The combination of the protective tariff and the land monopoly, as in the case of the United States Steel Corporation, adds force to the argument that these few but great corporate interests when concentrated will practically control the government unless the government now deals with the evident dangers on some basis of economic law. The now compact Anthracite Coal Combine which has the double strength of land monopoly and railroad corporation, is another instance in point.

The temptation is perhaps natural to consider these stupendous aggregations of corporate wealth which so

challenge both admiration and antagonism as the cause of many evils; they are an effect of the cause—legislation based upon false economic standards. We should be careful to seek for the basic and not the superficial remedy. The true remedy must be found through righteous and equitable taxation of all corporate values—and until the government shall recover for the people the franchise values they should be taxed as is the case in the State of New York.

Do the officials of any of these monopolies ask that the tax assessor place their properties on the tax list at the value quoted on the market for the securities? A former president of the Steel Corporation stated under oath that the iron ore lands were of sufficient value to justify the full par issue of the common stock. Would the directors welcome the assessment of those lands at the value their president swore to? Again the present price of the Great Northern Railway stock is believed to be based upon the confidence that the iron ore lands held by the company will in the future prove of untold value. Would that company, organized to operate a railway as a public carrier, retain these lands unused if they were taxed at the value indicated in the market price of the stock?

I hope that the Democratic party will in this matter follow the lines indicated by the Liberal party of England in its advocacy of the principle of ground rent taxation.

I would not ignore the fact that individuals of wealth, and corporations, honestly believe that they pay an undue share of taxes; but they are, I think, deceived as to the rightful owners of the increment in land and franchise values. Do we ever hear of any great railroad or other corporation using publicly its great influence in behalf of a strict enforcement of the law that all property shall be assessed at its full value? Full and fair taxation is the government's right and true remedy for very many of the crying ills of the day. When the life of the nation is supposed to be threatened by war the propriety and honesty of compelling a man to give his time and risk his life, and also pay extraordinary taxes, is admitted. Is not the true life of the nation more seriously endangered by unjust taxation and the misuse of governmental powers than by any war?

The Democratic party can and should deal with the dangers that con-

front the country and promptly propose a sound economic remedy with righteous principles of taxation and the return to simplicity and economy by an immediate reduction of our army and navy.

#### THE DEBT OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY TO GREECE.

Speech of Judge Edward Osgood Brown, of Chicago, at the first American meeting held at Hull House, Chicago, under the auspices of Miss Jane Addams in cooperation with the Greek colony of Chicago, January 3, 1906. The president of the organization committee was the Rev. Leon Pegeas, the secretary was Dr. C. Petroulas, and the subject for discussion was "The Progress of the Greeks in America and Their Relations with the American People."

I am asked to-night to speak to the men and women of the Greek Colony of Chicago a few words of the welcome that we of this great western city of the plains, who love "with the veneration of worshippers and the gratitude of children," the country from which they came, are glad to bid them.

As I thought of what I might say, there came to me the question: Are we not all in this western world colonists of Greece in a sense essentially true?

If the mark of a colony is indebtedness to the mother country, not alone for material and physical ancestry, but for political institutions and laws, for culture, for the arts of expression in literature and design, for great molding and guiding principles in philosophy and the conduct of life, for all that which stamps what is best in a developing community with its impress, are we not all colonists of Greece? Is not the only Chicago which we can really love a Greek Colony?

From the great works of Greek genius have sprung, directly or indirectly, all the noblest creations of the human intellect. To all the great minds who have struggled for liberty since the age of Pericles, the spirit of Greece has been inspiration. By the pursuits in which she taught men to engage, have they been made wiser, happier and better. Fresh in eternal youth, her glory and influence will survive so long as civilization lasts.

How, then, can we fail of an affectionate interest in those who, with the same intellectual and moral indebtedness as we to those wonderful men who were the proud offspring of her youth, belong also to them by physical kinship and descent?

You do not need to be assured of a welcome from the great Philhellenic heart of the American democracy, as represented by its scholars, its statesmen, its teachers and its truest lovers and defenders. They are glad that by every claim of intellectual kinship and association they can call you their elder brothers.

Others, better fitted by training and study in your literature and art, your history and your national character, are to speak to you to-night, to voice our appreciation and gratitude for that, from which, as a great writer has truly declared, have sprung all the strength, the wisdom, the freedom and the glory of the Western World.

From the enjoyment of hearing them I shall detain you but a moment, while I say a very few words specifically of the great debt which the lovers of democracy and the enemies of privilege and arbitrary power owe to the inspiring and encouraging example of the City of the Violet Crown.

When democracy is sneered at and condemned, when privilege is defended and the people called the mob, when it is said, as it is but too often, by pessimists and reactionaries, that universal suffrage is a mistake and that men are not fit to govern themselves, but must be governed from above, my first impulse is always to bid the carper and the critic consider the Athens of Pericles and of his associates and immediate successors. Never was better illustrated than there and then the truth, eloquently expressed by Henry George, "Where liberty rises, virtue grows, wealth increases, knowledge expands, invention multiplies human powers; and in strength and spirit the freer nation rises among her neighbors as Saul amid his brethren, taller and fairer!"

Athens adopted a pure democracy, and order was not disturbed, while progress was wonderfully hastened. Genius, freed from repression, given equal opportunity in every art and in every part of the conduct of life, sprang into its natural leadership. Then were produced in poetry, oratory and the other arts the works which have been at once the emulation and the despair of all after time. Liberty and equality created sentiments, motives, sympathies and capacities to which before the people, mentally alert and spirited as they had been, had been nevertheless strangers.

And when, by the superficial student of our institutions and our government, or even by judges and lawyers

bent on magnifying their own offices and power, I hear the real bulwark of our rights and of our free democracy—trial by jury—criticised and derided as inefficient or extravagant, I appeal again to Athens. From the judgment of individual magistrates to dikasteries chosen by lot from all the citizens, Pericles transferred the disposition of the life, liberty and reputation of her citizens. The results justified the step. Those results, as a rule, follow jury trial to-day and here, that is, impartial and uncorrupt decisions, from the plain understanding of those who, placed in humble station, feel themselves nevertheless to be the guardian of their fellow citizen against the injustice and oppression of the powerful on the one hand and against the violence and fraud of the wicked on the other.

And beyond this is another advantage, common to the dikasteries of Athens and to the juries of Illinois. They were and are schools of citizenship. Every jury is a separate class, where the laws and the consequences of disobedience to them are practically taught. The information which such a system spreads, the sense of dignity and independence it inspires, the courage it creates, cannot and ought not in a democracy to be properly weighed in pitiful higgling over its pecuniary cost. I wish that to-day in Chicago the system of jury trial were as simple, as pure and as truly democratic as it was twenty-three hundred years ago in Athens, the capital and crown of your proud race.

But I must stop. For why should I to Greeks single out Pericles and his work for praise? There comes to me the thought, Shall I speak of Pericles and not of Socrates? Of Socrates and not of Plato? Of Plato and not of his pupil, "the Master of those who know?" Of Herodotus and not of Thucydides? Of Thucydides and not of Aeschylus? Of Aeschylus and not of Euripides, "the human," with his droppings of warm tears?" Nay, shall I linger with loving reverence on all these names and say no word of praise for those of the later heroes of Greece, in her war for independence—names of whom an American poet has declared that there were "no prouder even in her own proud clime"? It is an old proverb that to be a Greek is itself to be a noble. To praise Hellas and the Hellenes is superfluous. To express adequately to them our affectionate gratitude is something beyond my power. To attempt but feebly so

to do is forbidden by the necessary limits of the place and time. With all my heart, I bid you, Sons of Greece and of the Isles of Greece, Godspeed in your career hereafter as citizens of Chicago! It is no mean city, but only as it approaches in sweetness and in light the Athens of more than twenty centuries ago, will it achieve the high mission that we who are loyal pray for it.

#### PRINCIPLES OF MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

Speech of Louis F. Post as guest of the evening on the occasion of the Jackson Day banquet of the Jefferson Club of Minneapolis, at the National Hotel, Minneapolis, January 8, 1906. Toastmaster, D. W. Parsons; speakers: F. D. Larrabee, of Minneapolis; Thomas D. Hurd, of Duluth; Louis F. Post, of Chicago; Gov. Johnson of Minnesota; T. D. O'Brien (Insurance Commissioner of Minnesota); Mayor Huston of Cedar Rapids (Ia.); George P. Douglas and Fendell Winston, of Minneapolis, and ex-Mayor Haynes of Minneapolis.

Mr. Toastmaster: I cannot be insensible of the honor of this reception. I thank you most cordially for it. Often before I have come to your city, and always with pleasure to myself, but I have never felt so much satisfaction as on this occasion when I meet for the first time your splendid Governor, whose name is as a household word with me and my friends. (Applause.) There is a certain play which I always enjoy, but which has a title that never sounds true to me. It is "Too Much Johnson." (Laughter.) From what I know of Johnsons in contemporary public life we cannot have too much Johnson. I wish there were a Gov. Johnson like yours in every State (applause), and a Mayor Johnson like Tom L. Johnson, of Cleveland (applause), in every city.

It is well that a Jefferson club should celebrate Jackson's birthday. There are three memorial days which every Jefferson club should celebrate—Jefferson's, Jackson's and Lincoln's. For Lincoln, too, was a democrat, a Jeffersonian democrat. On a neighborhood house in Chicago there is a tablet: "Dedicated to the public service and the memory of Abraham Lincoln, democrat." (Applause.) Let us not forget that the Republican party, whatever it may be now, was organized by Jeffersonian democrats because the Democratic party of that day had betrayed its trust and turned from a defender of human rights to an apologist for human slavery.

The particular work of these three typical democrats has been done and is a thing of the past. But the democratic spirit and purpose of their work live

on. They had their problems and solved them by democratic principles; we have ours to solve by the same principles. Let us honor their memories, gentlemen, but let us not content ourselves with walking among their graves. Our democratic work is of the present and the future and not of the past.

It is in this view, I presume, that I have had assigned to me as my toast the subject of municipal ownership. And this toast is appropriate to the occasion. For municipal ownership, though a local question in each instance, is on the whole a general question, for it is agitating every city in the land. In dealing with it, I shall be elementary—academic, if you please—but I shall also try to be practical.

Students of municipal affairs are accustomed to saying that municipal government is business, and not politics. Let us accept the dictum and see where it leads us to.

Municipal government, then, is business. Yes, but whose business?

Sometimes we are told that it is the business of property owners. But this is plutocracy, and will not bear criticism. The rights of property owners are no more sacred than the rights of property earners. (Applause).

Others think that municipal government is the business of the educated. In a certain sense this is true. If the city needs a bookkeeper, one who knows how to keep books is better for the purpose than one who does not; so, if the city needs a garbage truckman, a man who is skilled in trucking garbage will best perform the job. But neither special nor general education especially qualifies any man to determine general policies. The educated man, like the rich man, is just as apt as the poor or ignorant man to favor bad policies.

If municipal government is business, it is the business, not of a class, but of all the people of the municipality. (Applause).

But now comes a further question. If municipal government is business, and not politics, and is the business of all the inhabitants, and not of a class, by whom shall this business be done? The details should be done, of course, by experts. Everybody will agree to that. Bookkeepers for bookkeeping, lawyers for legal problems, doctors for sanitary conditions, and so on. Technical work requires technical experts. But the essential question is not who shall execute the details of municipal business, but who shall control

its purpose. The answer would seem to be obvious. If municipal business is the business of all the people of the city, then all the people of the city ought to determine its purpose. Now, there are two general ways in which the people can do this. They can do it themselves through experts employed directly as public servants, or they can do it by farming it out.

The farming out principle is an old one. Tax farming, for instance, was once a common thing. The government would sell for a lump sum the right to collect taxes. In one form and another even the administration of justice has been farmed out. But we have learned by sad experience what we ought to have realized without experimenting at all, that when a government farms out its functions, the functions will be operated, not for the general good of the people, but for the particular profit of the public-function farmer. It may be regarded as a settled principle, therefore, that the farming out of public functions must not be tolerated. So we may conclude that if municipal government is the business of the whole people, the whole people must do this business themselves through public servants responsible directly to them.

And now another problem confronts us. How can we distinguish municipal business from private business? I think there is a simple, but infallible test. Any kind of business which cannot be done unless the municipality either farms it out or does it itself, is municipal business.

There is a vast variety of businesses in every city which will be done in the best possible way if the municipality keeps hands off, neither forbidding nor hindering nor helping. The retail grocery business is an example. If the municipality does nothing regarding this business, private individuals will attend to it, and competition will regulate it. The city will not have to farm it out nor do it itself. Of course, if the city arbitrarily forbids it without a license, then the city must be asked for permission. But the nature of the business does not require permission. Consequently the business is not municipal business. It is clearly a private business, and there are many like it.

But there are businesses which cannot possibly be carried on by private enterprise without the consent of the municipality. An example is the levy-

ing and collection of taxes. No one can go into that business without authority. Its nature is such that it cannot be done unless the city either farms it out or does it itself. Therefore, by the test, it is municipal business.

But municipal business ought not to be farmed out. Municipal business should be done through public servants, responsible to the people whose business it is.

Let me then ask you to apply these principles of municipal business. What are the chief businesses that are municipal in their nature?

One of them is the supply of water. The business of water distribution in a modern city cannot be done at all, unless the municipality either farms it out or does it itself. It follows that the municipality should do it.

And experience demonstrates with reference to that business that this is better than farming out. Wherever we have a private supply for cities, the service is poor, the prices are high, and the owners corrupt public officials and bedevil politics. Wherever we have a municipal water supply, the service is much better and often excellent, and the prices lower. The bedevilment of politics and the corruption of officials are vastly less in all cases and are done away with altogether in many.

Let me give you a concrete example. The water system of Chicago was established in 1854 by a popular referendum. It was opposed by the financial interests then, on precisely the same grounds that all municipal ownership is opposed by those interests now, and from the same motives—a desire to maintain opportunities for legal graft. It has been in operation now for half a century. It furnishes water much cheaper than any private water company anywhere, and if the water isn't as good as it might be, that is the fault, not of the water system, but of the conditions which make of our source of water supply a dump for sewage. It has cost \$38,000,000; and the plant is worth to-day, without computing land values or franchise values, but only the plant itself, at least \$25,000,000. Its profit to the city in 1904 was nearly 50 per cent. on the collections—\$1,800,000 profit on \$4,000,000 collections.

Compare that result with results anywhere where they farm out the municipal business of water supply. Compare it with the traction service in Chicago itself. Our trac-

tion plant has been farmed out during that same half century. It has cost about the same as our water plant—\$35,000,000. To reproduce it would cost about the same as our water plant is worth—\$25,000,000. But the net profit of the traction system is double that of the water system—over \$4,000,000 for traction in contrast with \$1,800,000 for water. Worse yet, these enormous profits go into private pockets, whereas the water profits go into the public treasury. Still worse, the private traction system is the principal cause of nearly all our municipal corruption. It is our greatest evil power in politics.

But the water supply is not the only business function of a municipality. The furnishing of light is another. For neither can this business be done at all unless the municipality either farms it out or does it itself. Think of it a moment. Can any person go into the business of furnishing light to a city without authority from the city government? You know that this cannot be done. The distribution of light, like the distribution of water, necessitates a special use of the highways, which, in its very nature, must be restricted. Everybody may drive a wagon on the streets at will, only observing a few simple rules to avoid confusion; but nobody can lay water mains or gas mains or string electric wires along or across the highways without permission from the authorities. These are primarily municipal functions, and the municipality must either perform them through its own agents, or farm them out. The farming out of such functions is wrong in principle and oppressive and corrupting in practice. Consequently the municipal lighting business must be carried on by the municipality.

Here, again, we can get some light from actual experience, though much less than from the water supply service. The tendency toward municipal ownership and operation of the water supply business has been going on for a century. A hundred years ago nearly all municipal water service was farmed out, but now, so satisfactorily has public operation proved by comparison, there are few cases of farming out to be found. With municipal lighting, however, the tendency to municipal ownership extends back only a few years. Consequently the instances of public ownership are few. But the tendency is marked and the results are highly encouraging.

Let me give you the experience of

Chicago, where we have had a public electric lighting plant since 1887. We have been greatly restricted by law in the operation of this plant. Not until the past year have we been allowed to sell for private consumption. But notice the results of even this partial experiment.

Not only have we had an opportunity to experiment with public ownership and operation in this particular for 17 years, but we have had during these years an opportunity to compare public service with private service. For the public service has not covered the whole field, and we have had to rent part of our electric lighting from a private company. Now let me give you the data for 1904, the latest I have.

The candle power furnished by the city was 10,068,000. The total cost was \$277,666. Compare that with the data as to the lights supplied to the city by the private company. These furnished 1,392,000 candle power, at a cost of \$70,371.20. That is to say, the company charged us more than five cents per candle power, while the city plant supplied us at less than three cents—or but little more than half.

Suppose we take the figures for the whole 17 years of the life of our electric lighting plant. We have expended, all told, \$5,372,837.65, including interest. The same lights which the plant has supplied during that time, if rented at the rate we have to pay the private companies, would have cost \$5,879,858.78, including interest. So we have a profit of \$447,021.13, from which, however, we should deduct a proper sum in lieu of taxes. But taxes would have amounted to no more than \$135,000. So we have a net profit of more than \$300,000, and a plant worth about \$3,000,000. Isn't that a better showing than a bundle of old receipts? (Laughter.)

Another thing. Whether you like the idea of paying high wages for public service I don't know. Some of our Chicago people can be horrified no more easily than by being told that the city pays higher wages than sweating employers do. The fact is, at any rate, that this lighting service of ours does pay higher wages than private employers pay for the same work. And yet we save money to the city by hundreds of thousands of dollars over what the expense of private service would be. Isn't it better to pay high wages to our workmen, and save money, than to pay high profits to corporations, and lose money?

Now, Mr. Toastmaster, I am not unmindful of the one solitary instance which private ownership advocates cite to prove that municipal lighting systems are failures. I allude to the Philadelphia gas works. They did have municipal ownership and operation of the gas supply in Philadelphia, and they did turn it over to a private corporation. If this turning over had been done in good faith it would have been a most important consideration. But it was not done in good faith. It was done through corrupt manipulation by the Standard Oil crowd. The Standard Oil crowd was trying for years to get possession of this system. And at last they succeeded. You know how the Standard Oil does that sort of thing. Its rule in dealing with public officials is this: "If at first you don't succeed, buy, buy again!" (Laughter.) The secret came out in the recent Philadelphia election. The Standard Oil crowd, who are farmers-general of public business, corrupted the city government again and again until they brought about a situation in which they could buy the gas works. To cite this as an instance of failure of municipal ownership of the municipal lighting business is like saying that a woman is not a good housekeeper because a burglar has broken in and stolen her silver spoons.

Still another great business, now largely and wrongfully farmed out, is intra-mural traction. No private person or corporation can operate a traction business in a modern city without getting permission from the municipality. The business of street transportation on tracks cannot be done at all unless the municipality either farms it out or does it itself. It follows that the municipality should own and operate traction facilities.

I cannot give you yet an example of municipal ownership of traction service in Chicago, but I can refer you to Chicago for a most impressive example of private ownership. I shall do so because I have been so often asked here about the situation in Chicago.

Fifty years ago a corrupt legislature granted 99-year franchises, and since then there have been shorter franchises which are rapidly expiring. The 99-year franchise doesn't count for much except as a club. To-day there are 274 miles of single trackage free from all claim of franchise, and all of the remaining trackage, less than 500 miles, will in a very few years be free of all franchise claims except the 99-year claim.

Mayor Dunne was elected, in spite of the machinery of his own party, in spite of the Republican party, in spite of those "good government" people who mean well but are generally on the wrong side of all important public questions on which the great financial interests are on the wrong side, and in spite of all the great newspapers except Hearst's. He was elected on the issue of municipal ownership without further dilatory compromises.

When he came into office he found this situation: A municipal ownership law had been passed, but it was like a hurdle-race course. Every little way there was a hurdle which the municipal ownership people would have to leap, and where the corporations could trip them up. First there had to be a city ordinance, where they could be tripped up by corrupting the City Council. Then there had to be a referendum, where they might be tripped up by political skill and newspaper clamor. Then there would be fights in the courts to test the law and the ordinance, where more tripping up could be done. And even then we wouldn't have municipal operation until another ordinance had been passed, and carried by a three-fifths majority on referendum and approved by the courts. I am not saying that these hurdles are unnecessary. I am only saying that they are there.

Now every accident at any of these hurdles, and every delay, would count in favor of the traction companies. Accident would be their friend, and delay would be their friend. So when Mayor Dunne looked over this situation he concluded that the first thing to do was to reverse that condition. The first thing to do, was to make accident and delay the friend of the city instead of the companies. So he consulted with Mayor Tom L. Johnson, of Cleveland, and as a result he recommended what he had foreshadowed in his speech of acceptance—a franchise to a new company to be especially organized for the purpose. It was to be in name a private company, but in effect a trustee for the city. Its expenditures were to be determined by the City Council. Its dividends were to be limited to five per cent. a year. The city was to be at liberty to take over at any time for actual cost, plus the five per cent. dividends and a small bonus. And meanwhile the company was to maintain a sinking fund, under the control of the city, of all its net income, which should go toward paying the purchase price when the city should take over. The sinking fund alone

would have paid the whole estimated price in ten years.

If this plan had been adopted, the city instead of the old companies would now occupy the advantageous position. Accident and time would now count for the city instead of counting for the companies, and the companies would have to play the part of the con and come down and make a reasonable settlement.

Well, the companies saw this as well as we did. They knew what Dunne's plan meant and how effective it would be. So they set in motion all their machinery to kill the plan and discredit Dunne. They turned loose all the local papers but Hearst's, and the only reason they didn't turn his papers loose was because they couldn't. They set the Associated Press at work and flooded the country with misinformation. They had their friends in the City Council refuse even to consider Dunne's plan. The councilmanic committee had no time for this. They were too busy considering a plan drawn up by the traction companies. As they had a majority in the Council, they were able to hang the whole matter up.

Mayor Dunne has been true to his pledges and full of grit in standing up against the great franchise interests. But the traction companies control a majority in the City Council, and this majority prevents any progress except in the interest of the companies.

There are three parties in the Council. There are the municipal ownership members who stand by the Mayor—a small minority. There are the friends of the traction corporations, who are not known to get their pay in any other way than in the general good will of the great financial interests. And there are the "gray wolves" who are not satisfied to take their pay in good will but want "long green." These three parties are now engaged in a rough and tumble and I can't tell you how it will come out.

Let me in summarizing simply say that on the general subject of municipal ownership we must consider experience, and we must also consider principle. As matter of principle, we find that municipal government is municipal business; that municipal business is the business of all the people of the municipality; that municipal business consists of those businesses which cannot in their nature be done unless the municipality manages them or farms them out; that no governmental function should be farmed out, and, therefore, that the municipality should do its own business through

its own servants, responsible to all the people. On these principles there is no escape from the conclusion that municipal utilities should be owned and operated by the municipality. And that conclusion is confirmed by experience. Wherever we have tried municipal ownership and operation of municipal utilities we have found it superior to private ownership and operation. And everywhere and all the time we find that where these businesses are farmed out the result is disastrous. Private ownership and operation of municipal utilities results in expensive service, in bad service, in irresponsible service, and in the creation and strengthening of financial combinations which corrupt public servants and demoralize popular government.

Remember that we are not proposing to take over a private business; we are proposing to resume a public business of which we have been wrongfully divested. Remember that there would be no more political patronage under public ownership than there is under private ownership; for the corporations now give their appointments to public officials for favors received or expected. Remember, too, that public operation is as important as public ownership. The only instance of public ownership with private operation that I recall is in Union county, New Jersey, where the county owns a trolley line which the private companies operate; and the only difference between that line and the lines that the companies own and operate is that the county instead of the companies bears the cost of maintenance and gets nothing for it. If you have private corporations performing any part of the public business your public business will be corrupted and you defrauded.

And what are you men of Minneapolis going to do about it all? Mr. Larrabee has told you what you can do. Are you going to forget it? Don't imagine that the people are indifferent because they seem to be apathetic. They may be waiting for a call. Only three years ago Judge Dunne and a few others met to consider what could be done to arouse the people of Chicago on this subject. They were hopeless. But they didn't settle down contented, and to-day Judge Dunne has been mayor for nearly a year, elected on that very issue and under the worst possible political conditions of the ordinary kind. Of course your financial interests are apathetic; of course your newspapers are therefore

apathetic; of course your big lawyers and your ambitious lawyers are therefore apathetic; of course your "good government" people who want to put the lid on saloon privileges and take it off of corporation privileges are apathetic; of course the disinterested stranger who comes here with public service stock in his strong box at home, will show you in interviews why you should be apathetic. But I don't believe the people of municipalities as a whole are apathetic. They are only waiting for leadership. And this regardless of party.

We have plutocratic Republicans and plutocratic Democrats. They ought to get together. (Applause.) Let us force them to get together. (Applause.) We also have democratic Republicans and democratic Democrats. They ought to get together too. (Applause.) And they are getting together on issues of municipal ownership all over the country. Local issue though it is, it is national in its significance.

Don't understand me that I would have the Democratic party abandon the distinctly national issues. The great national issue is the tariff question; not as a question of tariff reform merely, but as a question of tariff abolition—as a question of equal rights and no privileges. No legislative body has the right to levy taxes so as to obstruct trade and thereby create business monopolies. To be democratic we have got to have free trade. (Applause.) But free trade comprehends more than the tariff question. It comprehends the railroad question too. It is just as bad to empower railroad companies to obstruct trade and create monopolies as it is to allow custom house officers to do it. That is the national aspect of this great issue of equal rights. Its local form is municipal ownership of municipal utilities. And these are at bottom all one question—tariff monopolies, railroad monopolies, and municipal monopolies.

On this comprehensive question new political alignments are being made. Mass upon mass, Republicans are ready to unite with us, on the equal rights side of this question. But we must say the sincere word in the sincere way that will give them confidence. Republicans don't like to come into the Democratic party, and how can we blame them? The record of the Democratic party cannot be pointed to with unmixed pride. (Applause.) But democratic Republicans will come into the Democratic party when they are confident that it stands for democracy sincerely.

The burden of creating this confidence, my friends, so far as Minneapolis is concerned, is upon you. Give the

word, give it as men devoted to a cause and not as men seeking offices, give it so you will be believed, and you may depend upon it the people of Minneapolis will respond. (Applause.)

#### MR. BRYAN'S STUNT.

At the celebration of the Chicago Press Club's silver jubilee, William Jennings Bryan told a story of his younger days, illustrative of the truth that a man's public utterances, founded on honest convictions, do not, as a rule, make enemies of those he opposes in his creed, political or otherwise. It was in the earlier days of his career in Nebraska, when he was blossoming out as a political orator, and in the gubernatorial campaign then in progress he delivered scores of speeches against the Republican candidate.

"But election day came," said Mr. Bryan, "and the candidate whom I had consigned to political oblivion was victorious by something like 58,000 majority. I felt rather small and humiliated, and I trembled at the thought of ever meeting that man. I would dodge around to avoid running against him and did my best to keep him from getting his eye on me.

"At length there came a time when I was placed upon the programme for an occasion where he presided. There would be a speech, then a song, then another speech, then perhaps some music, then another speech and so on. As my turn approached I began to grow nervous in anticipation of the moment when the man I feared would call me forward to introduce me. Finally my name was called, and as I stepped out on the platform the governor came forward with outstretched hand and a kindly smile. Instantly my heart swelled with gratitude toward him. He took my hand in a cordial clasp, and leaning forward asked in a stage whisper: 'Beg pardon, Mr. Bryan, do you speak or sing?'"—Chicago Tribune.

#### A DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

When in the course of current events, it becomes necessary for a people to smash the political bands which have connected a particular set of political bosses with the public treasury and to become once more a free and independent citizenship for which the laws of nature and of equal suffrage intended them, a decent respect to the exigencies and conventionalities of modern politics requires them to uncover the causes which impel them to demolition.

We hold these truths to be self-evi-

dent; that all bosses are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator, the people, with certain vested rights; that among these are greed, graft, and the granting of franchises; that to secure these, party organizations are instituted among men, deriving their unjust powers from the manipulation and consent of the bosses; that whenever a set of bosses fails to exercise its prerogatives without undue publicity, thus outraging the self-satisfied peace and contentment of the constituency, and endangering the perpetuity of valuable special privileges, it is good policy to squelch or eliminate them and to enthrone another set which has not yet had the opportunity of repudiating its pledges.

On such a full sea are we now afloat.—Ellis O. Jones, in Life.

#### THEOLOGY.

Some children were quarreling one day and calling one another names.

"You are stupid," said one; "if you were not, you would think as I do."

"If you were not wholly blind," said another, "you would see with my eyes."

"Your ignorance is what troubles me," said a third.

"Ignorance is not so bad as ill-will," said a fourth.

Just then came by the Angel-who-understands-things.

"What are you quarreling about, children?" asked the Angel.

"About our God," said the children.

"Oh!" said the Angel. "The God of Strife, I presume."

"No!" cried one. "He is the God of Peace."

"He is the God of Wisdom!" said another.

"He is the God of Love!" said a third.

"Indeed!" said the Angel. "I never should have thought it."—Laura E. Richards, in "Golden Windows."

#### TO ENCOURAGE VALOR.

The Canadian Camp of New York feeds on rare animals and has been eating spiral-eared polar mice. Its members hold that the "only justification a hunter may have for hunting is that he eats the game he kills." This sentiment is capable of extended application. For example, war can be justified as a means of food supply by savage tribes who frugally eat their slaughtered enemies. Think of the tremendous waste of civilized nations that spend hundreds of dollars on raising a boy, and when he

reaches the age when he is useful send him to be killed, and after the battle bury his body, and at great cost transport other provisions for the army. What an incentive to valor if every soldier knew his food was before him, and

He who fought and ran away,  
Nor got nor was a meal that day.  
—Life of December 14, 1905.

"Please state to the court exactly what you did between eight and nine o'clock on Wednesday morning," said a lawyer to a delicate looking little woman on the witness stand.

"Well," she said, after a moment's reflection, "I washed my two children and got them ready for school, and sewed a button on Johnny's coat, and mended a rent in Nellie's dress. Then I tidied up my sitting-room and watered my house plants and glanced over the morning paper. Then I dusted my parlor and set things to rights in it, and washed my lamp chimneys and combed my baby's hair and sewed a button on one of her little shoes, and then I swept out the front entry, and brushed and put away the children's Sunday clothes, and wrote a note to Johnny's teacher, asking her to excuse him for not being at school on Friday. Then I fed my canary bird and gave the groceryman an order, and swept off the back porch, and then I sat down and rested a few minutes before the clock struck nine. That's all."—Pittsburg Gazette.

A woman may vote as a stockholder in a railroad; if she sells her stock and buys a house, she has no voice in the laying out of the road before her door which her house is taxed to keep in order and pay for. If she may vote upon specific industrial projects, why, in the name of common sense, may she not vote upon the industrial regulation of the state.—George William Curtis.

"Do you think that our country will ever succeed in getting rid of grafters?"

"Yes," answered Senator Sorghum. "There will be a time when grafters are unheard of. But it will be due to the change that is constantly going on in our vocabulary. There will be a new word that means the same thing."—Washington Star.

O, when I was a l'il' boy  
I laughed an' then I cried,  
An' ever since I done the same—  
More privately, inside.

—Kate Douglas Wiggin.

## BOOKS

### THE EVOLUTION OF MAN.

*Evolution of Man.* By William Bolsche. Translated by Ernest Untermann, Ph. D. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.

William Bolsche's "Evolution of Man," excellently translated by Ernest Untermann, Ph. D., is put forth by the socialist house of Charles H. Kerr & Company (Chicago) for the purpose of enlightening working men and working women. "The capitalists who live off your labor," reads the publishers' announcement, "do not want you to know the facts about the evolution of man; for if you know these facts and reflect about them, you will find out that it is not true that an Almighty God created some people rich and some people poor," etc.; "you will find out that the ruling classes have served a useful purpose in history, but that their work is done, and that the work of the future must be done by you, the working class."

According to our own observation, materialistic evolutionists are just as alert at justifying conditions of wealth and poverty as are believers in an Almighty God as a respecter of persons. If the latter impiously attribute these conditions to God's providence, the former "scientifically" attribute them to natural laws under which the fittest survive. Indeed, there would seem to be greater hope of making the pious realize that their God is not a respecter of persons, than of making the scientific see that the laborer is worthy of his hire.

And what reasonable hope of social justice can be based upon the theory that although the ruling classes have served a useful purpose in history, their influence is over and it is now the turn of the working classes? If the ruling classes have served a useful purpose, who can say they are not serving a useful purpose still? If robbery of the working classes was good in the past, why not now? Or, if not good now, why was it good in the past? If this flotation theory of economic adjustments is what working men and women are to get out of Bolsche's "Evolution of Man," they are not likely to find it a very nourishing educational diet.

But they will find it, nevertheless, a very compact and interesting statement, not unmixed with a good deal of speculation, but accompanied with the supporting facts, of what the author regards as the accepted scientific theory of the origin of the human race.

Man appears to have ascended from a hairy species of mammal which was also the progenitor of the gorilla. By a succession of logical and evidential hops, skips and jumps, interspersed with a variety of more or less convinc-

ing facts, the descent is carried backward from this monkey-like animal to the fish, and thence to the worm. Tracing the worm to its lowest type (which Haeckel calls the "gastrula"), a cylindrical skin-and-stomach animal with but a single orifice, the author reports this type as the ancestor in one direction of animals (and therefore of man), and in the other of such mixed animal and vegetable life as the sponge. Some gastrulae "attached themselves to the bottom of the sea;" but "another group of the gastrula forms adopted the creeping mode of life," and "this would be the line leading to genuine worms and then through vertebrates to man." Going still farther backward, it is found that "all animals, from the lowest to the highest, come out of one single cell," which makes man brother to the plant. A suggested explanation of the origin of the first living cell brings the relationship possibly back to the clod; for the author cites Fechner and Haeckel in support of the assumption that "in some way feeling is a basic property of all matter in the universe, including all inorganic substances," and from that assumption he infers the possibility of "the natural evolution of life" from inorganic matter by causal processes analogous to those which lead on from the worm to man. His chief reliance with reference to the latter evolution is the familiar theory that embryonic growth portrays in its various stages the evolutionary development of the type.

It is somewhat curious to note the author's cheerful welcome to "scientific" hypotheses which would make the whale-and-Jonah story blush. He frequently reminds one of the Sunday school boy who defined an agnostic as "a person that believes 'most anything except religion."

But really, it makes little difference whether this mixture of scientific fact, myth and speculation is true or not, so far as concerns the great issue between idealism and materialism. This book is offered as an advocate of materialism, because scientific socialism rests upon that hypothesis; but even if all its facts were proved, all its conclusions demonstrated and all its speculations verified, the vital question would remain unanswered. We should still have to ask whether this evolution—so distinctly a succession of effects from causes and so obviously significant of purpose, intent, idea—is a mere flow of chance changes? We should still have to ask whether it is possible for man to ascend from inorganic matter without the impulse of a force potentially equal at least to the summit of his ascent. The author himself leaves this gate to the citadel of materialism wide open when he assumes that life, with all its human

possibilities, is a property even of inorganic matter. That is equivalent to a concession that the inorganic does not originate human consciousness, will and intelligence, but is merely one stage in a series of manifestations of what we understand by idea—one stage in the expression of an anterior or underlying and perpetually animating purpose, which comprehends human life in its scheme.

There is much more in Bolsche to confirm the theory of the ideal as opposed to the material concept of the origin and perpetuation of the physical universe; but just to the extent that this is so, does his essay contravene the materialistic philosophy by which scientific socialism stands or falls.

#### THE BOOK OF CHICAGOANS.

**The Book of Chicagoans: A Biographical Dictionary of Leading Men of the City of Chicago.** Edited by John W. Leonard, editor of Who's Who in America. Price, \$8.50. Chicago: A. N. Marquis & Company.

When in 1899 John W. Leonard edited, and A. N. Marquis & Co. published, the first number of Who's Who in America, they put out as perfect an initial work of its kind as could well be made; and every succeeding issue has been fully equal to the first in editorial supervision, while more comprehensive in contents. We have frequently had occasion to consult these volumes for data regarding men and women of more or less prominence in the United States, and never once have we missed a name which we could fairly say ought to have been included. And the biographical data, which is trustworthy because it is furnished by the subjects themselves, is remarkably responsive to the needs of searchers for such information. So far as concerns the responsiveness and trustworthiness of biographical data, *The Book of Chicagoans*, by the same editor and publisher, is equally satisfactory. The data is even more minute. But *The Book of Chicagoans* falls far short of doing for Chicago what *Who's Who* does for America.

The last issue of *Who's Who* (1903-05) the price of which is \$3.50, comprises 1,669 pages, or space for 2,000,000 words in the type used, whereas *The Book of Chicagoans*, the price of which is \$8.50, has only 626 pages, with space for about 900,000 words in the type used. This discrepancy as to price, is open to the explanation that there is a larger market for *Who's Who* in America than for *The Book of Chicagoans*. But other defects cannot be so well explained.

Without going further into detail we may note, for example, the omission of the names of Raymond Robins and Emil W. Ritter, both of whom are men of good standing and leading representatives of reputable efforts and activities—the one as a sociological worker,

the other as leader of the Referendum League in some of the most important and successful public work ever done in Chicago. But the worst defect of all is the exclusion of women. This has been done deliberately, for the book is described in the preface, and correctly, as the best showing ever made of biographical data concerning those "living men who best represent the reputable efforts and creditable activities of the city of Chicago." Yet its principal and only conspicuous title is "*The Book of Chicagoans*." Probably no city in the world is better distinguished for representative women; but this "*Book of Chicagoans*," entirely unlike *Who's Who*, in that respect, is without one woman's name. *The Book of Chicagoans*, which omits the name of Jane Addams (hers for instance, for there are many others of local distinction though they lack her international fame) is hardly a satisfactory work of its kind.

#### THE GRAIN TRUST.

**The Grain Trust Exposed.** By Tom Worrall, Omaha: Price, paper, 50 cents. Sold by The Public Publishing Co., Chicago.

Tom Worrall has lived in Nebraska since he was five years old. In 1896 he embarked in the business of buying and selling grain at Agnew, Neb., a siding on the Union Pacific railroad, in competition with the Omaha Elevator company, which owned and operated the only Agnew elevator. During the first winter he bought grain from the farmers and shoveled it direct from the wagons into the cars. "We did a good business in those first few months," he says; "the Nebraska Grain Dealers' association, although it was in existence, was young and neither very strong nor very active. . . . Because it was weak, there was competition in the buying and selling of grain at every station in Nebraska. . . . It was later . . . that it thrived and grew until its shadow overspread the State. . . . In July, 1897, the agent of the Union Pacific . . . informed us that we could not have any more cars unless we had the grain in sight. . . . This, of course, was impossible without a place to store the grain; and for a time we were shut out of business."

The Nebraska grain trust had put its heavy hand upon him, in its stupendous scheme for pillaging the farmers. Its purpose was to compel farmers to sell grain at a price fixed by the trust or see it rot on their hands. The members of the trust did this by agreeing not to compete with one another, and to drive out of the field at whatever expense any outsider who might attempt to go into the grain business to compete with them.

Worrall fought the trust for months. But it had thousands of dollars in his pennies, and at last he was forced

into a position where he must either start life anew a penniless man or join the band. He joined. It was no honorary or associate membership, either, he writes; he worked as diligently for the trust as he had previously worked against it, and rose to prominence in its counsels. When he grew weary and ashamed of his connection with the trust and quit it, he again attempted to "do business in the open." The trust again swooped down upon him and again was on the point of driving him out of business. But this time, instead of capitulating or allowing himself to be ruined, Worrall went into the courts.

His book is designed to tell farmers "the whole truth and nothing but the truth" about the trust, "and having made clear to them how they have been victimized," to ask them to join him "in restoring the grain business in Nebraska to an honest and competitive basis." It relates in a homely and straightforward style the history of the grain trust, with painstaking accuracy and thoroughness of detail, giving actual facts, dates and names. The author reveals in numerous passages a sturdy individualism and democratic instinct. "I would rather leave for my boy and for my neighbor's boy," he writes, "an opportunity to go forth and work, relying on themselves for success, than leave to them a heritage of tainted wealth, secured through a system such as has been operated by the grain trust of Nebraska." Mr. Worrall seems not to perceive the importance of railway favor to the success of the grain trust; and if he suspects the relation of land monopoly to the case, he refrains from noting this obscured but fundamental consideration. Nevertheless, his work, like Lawson's, is of incalculable value in unmasking one gang of conscious conspirators, whose power comes from legal privilege.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

—The Independence Day Horror at Killbury. By Asenath Carver Coolidge. Illustrated by Cassius M. Coolidge. Published by Hungerford-Holbrook Company, Wattertown, N. Y. To be reviewed.

—Songs of Russia. Rendered into English verse by Alice Stowe Blackwell, author of "Armenian Poems." Published by the author, 45 Boutwell ave., Dorchester, Mass. Price, 50 cents. To be reviewed.

—Letters and Addresses of Thomas Jefferson. Edited by William B. Parker, lecturer in English, Columbia University; and by Jonas Viles, assistant professor of history, University of Missouri. Published by The Unit Book Publishing Co., New York. This book is described as the only collection of the writings of Jefferson published in a single volume at small cost. Under the unique method of this publishing house, the price of the books, in paper binding (13 units of 25 pages per unit at 2 cents each), is 26 cents. With 30 cents extra for cloth it is 56 cents, and with 50 cents extra for leather it is 76 cents. The postage is 8 cents extra regardless of binding.

#### PERIODICALS

A witty ancient once said that no crowd of men was ever gathered to-



**THE WAY TO FREEDOM AND PROSPERITY.**

*Policeman Campbell-Bannerman*—Keep straight along this Road till you get to Henry Geo ge Square, no turning at all—straight ahead, sir, that's it.

gether without doing much harm. And now comes the Independent and declares that we owe our colds to crowds. The guilty places are street cars, dance halls, theaters and churches; though as to the last the writer naively adds, that "in modern times they are so little crowded that their danger has been greatly lessened." The editorial is well worth reading as a prelude to the winter campaign.—J. H. D.

An article worth reading is that on Government Aid to Railroads, in Watson's Magazine for January. According to the author, W. G. Joerns, the government has given to railroads more land than was comprised in the original 13 States; more than is contained in the entire solid South, leaving out Texas; more than the whole middle West contains—including Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota. What wonder that some Americans are richer than Crassus or Croesus. By land grants and tariffs we have done our best to make them so.—J. H. D.

"A unique and endless charm," says William Knight, in the London Academy, "belongs to the 'De Senectute' of Cicero. And upon it he bases a very delightful new article. It is not possible, however, to add much to what Cicero said long ago. No more beautiful essay was ever written. It is the very flower of the best that was in ancient thought and philosophy. What could be finer than the combined hu-

mililty and faith, of the closing thought? "I confess that I do not understand this life, nor do I regret having been in this world; but I look on my departure as the leaving of an inn, not as the going away from my home."—J. H. D.

A writer in the London Daily News has recently given some interesting reminiscences of John Bright. There was truth in the contrast Bright made between himself and Gladstone: "Gladstone goes coasting along, turning up every creek, and exploring it to its source before he can proceed on his way, but I have no talent for detail. I hold my course from headland to headland through the great seas." The writer closes with a wish which many will echo: "I live in hopes that John Morley will complete his great gift to us and to a future generation by writing a life of John Bright, which may stand side by side with his masterpiece on William Ewart Gladstone and Richard Cobden."—J. H. D.

In noticing the death of Dr. Richard Hodgson, secretary of the American branch of the Society for Psychical Research, the Philadelphia Press pays tribute to his great power in detecting humbug. "Later on in life," adds the

**ATTORNEYS.**

**FRED. CYRUS LEUBUSCHER,**  
COUNSELOR AT LAW,  
Rooms 811, 812, 813 and 814,  
253 Broadway, Borough of Manhattan,  
Telephone: 404 Cortlandt. NEW YORK.

**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 miscellany, 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.

**TERMS:**—Annual Subscription, \$1.00; Semi-Annual Subscription, 50 cts; Quarterly Subscription, 25 cts; Trial Subscription (4 weeks), 10 cts; Single Copies, 5 cts. Free of postage in United States, Canada, Cuba and Mexico. Elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week. All checks, drafts, post office 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 all local checks add 10 cts. for exchange, as required by the Chicago banks. Subscribers wishing to change address must give the old address as well as the new one.

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

**TERMS OF ADVERTISING**

|                                     |                        |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|
| Per agate line, - - -               | each insertion, \$0.05 |
| Per inch, (14 lines), - - -         | .. .. . 70             |
| Per column (133 lines), - - -       | .. .. . 65             |
| One-quarter page (100 lines), - - - | .. .. . 5.00           |
| One-half page (200 lines), - - -    | .. .. . 10.00          |
| One page (400 lines), - - -         | .. .. . 20.00          |
| Front cover page, - - -             | .. .. . 25.00          |
| Front cover half-page, - - -        | .. .. . 15.00          |
| Last cover page, - - -              | .. .. . 25.00          |
| Last cover half-page, - - -         | .. .. . 12.50          |
| Last cover quarter-page, - - -      | .. .. . 6.25           |

Advertising Forms Close on the Tuesday Preceding the Saturday of Publication.

writer. "It will be remembered that Dr. Hodgson became a believer in the trance phenomena of Mrs. Leonora Piper, of Boston, a medium who is a friend of Prof. James, of Harvard, and of other eminent men. To certain hard-headed people this acceptance of Mrs. Piper's manifestations by Dr. Hodgson was looked upon as a weakness. Be that as it may, up to the time of his death no one had such a

**NO ONE SHOULD FAIL TO READ**

the most important announcement, in this issue, opposite the first editorial page, of a great reduction in the subscription price of **THE PUBLIC**, notwithstanding its improvement in quality, which will be maintained.

The statement concerning this welcome step forward contains matter of real interest to every reader.

**THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.**

First National Bank Bldg., Chicago

record in the detection of humbug in spiritistic phenomena as Dr. Hodgson."  
—J. H. D.

"After all," says the Springfield Republican, "there is reason to rejoice because the New York football conference has been held. Like the month of March, it came in like a lion and went out like a lamb, yet even March has its uses. The conference is a precedent for getting together in the future, when things of more importance may be accomplished." If there ever was a fake conference, this was one. There was so much talk against the game that the bosses felt that something must be done; so they had a meeting, passed a few glittering resolutions, and the football rebellion of 1906 was over.—J. H. D.

If the American people imagine that land-grabbing is a thing of the past, let them read the words of Louis E. Aubery, state mineralogist of California. Mr. Aubery says: "The timber land frauds exposed in Washington and Oregon are petty compared with similar frauds now being carried on in California. Hundreds of thousands of acres of the finest timber and richest mineral lands in the State are being seized by the timber grabbers." Commenting on this, the Springfield Republican speaks of the good work of the interior department under Secretary Hitchcock, and urges congress to amend the land laws according to his recommendations. If congress does nothing else, it ought to do this.—J. H. D.

"Not many years longer," says The Independent, "will the Anglican church be established in England, even. Gladstone disestablished it in Ireland, where the overwhelming majority of the people were of another form of the Christian faith. The new government will very likely prepare the way, at least, to disestablish it in Wales, where the same condition exists as in Ireland. In Scotland the Established church is awaiting its release. It is time that the Anglican church should get ready for its impending change." It is well known that the sentiment for disestablishment has been growing in the church itself. It is perhaps true that a majority of the most energetic workers among the clergy favor the change.—J. H. D.

The Living Age for December 30 reprints from the London Speaker a fine appreciation of the new prime minister. His elevation is indeed a triumph which makes the world seem a better place. He is a man of courteous, almost retiring, disposition, the kind of man who would feel abuse most keenly, and yet he has never hesitated to face calumny of the meanest kind. He has been more abused than any man of his party. Because he believed it would be treason to do so, he has never

## THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

By HERMANN LIEB

An effective statement of the origin, history, and usefulness of The Initiative and Referendum and of their great importance in the self-government of American cities.

12mo, 178 pages, cloth, 75c., postpaid; paper, 40c., postpaid

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.  
First National Bank Building . . . CHICAGO

## New Popular Paper Covered Editions

### The Land Question

By HENRY GEORGE

Containing only the brochure of seventeen short chapters, entitled "The Land Question."

16mo, paper, 89 pages, 10 cents, postpaid; 12 copies for \$1.00, postpaid; 100 copies for \$6.00, carriage extra.

### The Shortest Road to the Single Tax

Consisting of:

#### THE CONDITION OF LABOR

By HENRY GEORGE

#### THE NATURAL TAX

By THOMAS G. SHEARMAN

Chapters IX and XIII (the constructive chapters) of "Natural Taxation."

#### THE SINGLE TAX PLATFORM

Adopted at the Single Tax Conference (International), Chicago, 1893.

16mo, paper, 134 pages, 10 cents, postpaid; 12 copies for \$1.00, postpaid; 100 copies for \$6.00, carriage extra.

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 with a sharp, keen, lasting edge, for thin or accurate slicing of ham, beef, etc., is a prime necessity in the kitchen of every efficient 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 1027.

CHARLES L. LOGAN, D. O.

OSTEOPATHIC PHYSICIAN

Office: 45 Auditorium Bldg.

HOTEL WARNER—CHICAGO  
EVENINGS.

## Natural Taxation

An Inquiry into the Practicability, Justice, and Effects of a Scientific and Natural Method of Taxation.

By THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

12mo, 268 pages, cloth, \$1.00; by mail, \$1.08

Paper 50 cents; by mail, 55 cents.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.

First National Bank Building, - CHICAGO

### 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

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

kept silence when unpopular things needed to be said. Moreover, he does not belong to the narrow sect of English "intellectuals," and, as the writer in the Speaker says, he "has kept aloof from all the enervating influences of English social life."—J. H. D.

F. Anstey, the clever author of "Vice Versa," which was widely enjoyed 15 or 20 years ago, has an amusing story in the Strand Magazine for January, entitled the "Adventure of the Snowing Globe." Whether the author is merely writing an amusing skit, or whether he meant to write a satire, the reader must determine for himself. Whether intentionally or not, the story tells very well the absurdity of fighting dragons with present processes of law as it is administered in the courts. The same number contains the first part of an interesting account of the mutiny on the Russian man-of-war last summer.—J. H. D.

Kropotkin has an article in Nineteenth Century, dated November 21, on the revolution in Russia. There is no doubt in his mind that Russia is in the midst of a genuine revolution. "The first year," he writes, "has already proved that there is in the Russian people that unity of thought without which no serious change in the political organization of the country would have been possible, and that capacity for united action which is the necessary condition of success. One may already be sure that the present movement will be victorious." If lovers of freedom the world over rejoice that Russia is at last breaking her bonds, it is not hard to imagine the feelings with which men like Kropotkin view the situation—the men who have spent their lives and suffered all manner of hardships for this result.—J. H. D.

A most refreshing piece of plain and honest writing is the article in the Independent of December 28 on the University and Business Methods. It is by Prof. Cattell, widely known as editor of Science and the Popular Science Monthly. "The waning of democratic ideals," says Prof. Cattell, "has been one of the most marked symptoms of recent decades. The regression may be attributed in large measure to the developments of modern science." These are the words of a man of science, and they confirm what has been said more than once in this column of The Public. Of course the fact is not the fault of science, but of the little men of science. As to the hard words Prof. Cattell utters about college management, perhaps not many college men will express, but there are not many who will not feel, very hearty approval. There is not a more servile wage earner in America to-day than the average college professor.—J. H. D.

JUST ISSUED

## The Changing Order

A STUDY OF DEMOCRACY

By

OSCAR LOVELL TRIGGS, Ph. D.

Contents: Introduction; Democratic Art; The Esoteric Tendency in Literature; Browning; Subjective Landscape Art; George Inness; The Critical Attitude; An Instance of Conversion; Tolstoy; A Type of Transition; William Morris; The Philosophy of Play; Democratic Education; Where is the Poet?; The New Doctrine of Labor; The Sociological Viewpoint in Art; The Philosophy of the Betterment Movement; Industrial Feudalism—and After; The Workshop and School; A School of Industrial Art; The Philosophic and Religious Ground: Walt Whitman; The Outlook to the East.

12mo., cloth, 300 pages, \$1.50, postpaid.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.  
First National Bank Building . . . CHICAGO

## 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

JUST ISSUED

## BOSSISM AND MONOPOLY

By THOMAS CARL SPELLING

Author of "Trusts and Monopolies," "Law of Private Corporations," "New Trial Appellate Practice," etc.

A clear examination of real and imminent dangers to republican institutions in the United States, including an analysis of the relation between monopoly and bossism; with a comprehensive discussion of adequate remedies, from a legal and independent view-point.

12mo, cloth, 345 pages, with index, \$1.50 (postage, 14 cents).

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.  
First National Bank Building, CHICAGO

THE PORTRAIT OF

## Tom L. Johnson

FRAMED OR UNFRAMED

The excellent half-tone portrait of Tom L. Johnson, which accompanies this issue as a supplement, will be furnished on heavy artist's proof paper 11x14, without printing except fac-simile signature, delivered postpaid in mailing tube, for 50 cents. This edition of the portrait is intended for those who wish to frame it.

We will furnish the same portrait, neatly framed complete in black oak with stamped brass corners, or in gilt, as preferred, and boxed for shipment, for \$1.00, carriage extra. Black frames will be sent unless otherwise ordered.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.  
First National Bank Building . . . 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

Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to advertisers.

## ATTORNEYS

**B. C. STICKNEY**

Attorney and Counsellor at Law

Patents and Trade Marks

Expert in Patent Causes

152 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK

**Why Crane Your Neck**

When you can look straight ahead if you put your copy in front of you on a

**Brown Copyholder**

SEND TWO DOLLARS AND TWO SUBSCRIPTIONS TO

**The Market Place**

A MAGAZINE OF  
BUSINESS STUDY

And we will send you a copyholder at once. You'll wonder how you lived without it. Other things you need, if you'll read the list. Send for it now.

THE MARKET PLACE CO.  
Newark, New Jersey

**ANNOUNCEMENT OF  
BANQUET TO  
MR. J. W. BENGOUGH,  
OF TORONTO**

The members and friends of the Henry George Lecture Association will tender a banquet to Mr. J. W. Bengough, the cartoonist of THE PUBLIC and lecturer on the staff of the "Association," on Friday, March 2, 1906, at 6:30 P. M., in the banquet hall of the Auditorium, Chicago.

Mr. Hamlin Garland will be Toastmaster.

The Committee on Toasts and Speakers will be: Hamlin Garland, Wallace Rice, Louis F. Post, W. Chas. Tanner and Trumbull White.

The other committees having the event in charge will be announced in a later issue of THE PUBLIC.

For further particulars address

F. H. MONROE, Pres.  
610 Steinway Hall, Chicago, Ill.

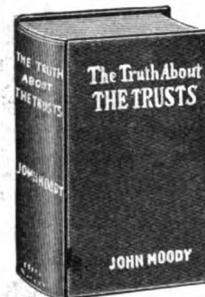
**THE BEST BOOKS ABOUT TRUSTS****The Truth About the Trusts**

A description and analysis of the American Trust Movement.

By John Moody, Editor of "Moody's Manual of Railroads and Corporation Securities."

A comprehensive work, embracing descriptions, histories and annals of all the Great Trusts, Industrial, Franchise and Transportation, giving the facts regarding their Formation, History, Financial Relations and General Characteristics. The entire Trust Movement analyzed, and its many remarkable features vividly illuminated, the text being supplemented by a number of striking maps and charts. A truly panoramic view of the entire Trust Movement. The volume is a perfect mine of information on the subject of Trusts, and should be in the hands of every student, lawyer, capitalist, man of affairs, investor and citizen—any one to whom the "Trust" problem is of any interest whatever.

Large 8vo, cloth, 540 pages, de luxe edition, \$5.00; by mail, \$5.28. Popular edition, \$2.00; by mail, \$2.28.

**Combinations, Trusts and Monopolies**

By Edward J. Nolan, LL. B.

A Discussion of the Origin, Development and Treatment of the Modern Industrial Combination.

12mo, cloth, 353 pages, \$1.50; by mail, \$1.58.

**The History of the Standard Oil Company**

By Ida M. Tarbell, author of the "Life of Napoleon" and the "Life of Lincoln."

With many illustrations and portraits and reproductions of important documents.

A thorough and complete history of the Standard Oil Company, containing an immense amount of material which has never before been published; the first consideration of the largest and most powerful of all trusts by one of America's greatest historians.

Two volumes, cloth, 8vo, \$5.00; by mail, \$5.45.

**The Greatest Trust in the World**

By Charles Edward Russell.

It tells graphically, convincingly, the facts about the Beef Trust. It is a tragic romance of systematic commercial buccaneers. It shows how these men have taken advantage of conditions to secure a food monopoly, with activities ramifying in every conceivable direction. It shows the inside workings of the monopoly; how the wheels go round; the potency of the rebate; the extortion derived from rolling refrigerators. Originally published as a serial in Everybody's Magazine.

12mo, cloth, \$1.50, postpaid.

**The Dark Side of the Beef Trust**

By Herman Hirschauer.

A treatise concerning the "canner" cow, the cold storage fowl, the diseased meats, the dopes and preservatives, and what takes place on the other side of the partitions of the packing houses. The author is a practical butcher, with forty years' experience in the cattle and meat business, and was for many years manager of a cold storage beef house for one of the chief packers of the Trust.

12mo, cloth, 160 pages, 75 cents, postpaid. Paper, 50 cents, postpaid.

**The Grain Trust Exposed**

By Tom Worrall, President of the Worrall Grain Company, Omaha, Neb., and Member of the Omaha Grain Exchange.

A complete and fearless exposure of the history and inside workings of the Grain Trust in Nebraska. Nothing is held back; nothing is concealed; the truth is told about every man concerned in the plot, and every man is called by his right name. The book tells a remarkable story of lawlessness and oppression, and of highhanded means used to filch from the producers of Nebraska millions of dollars. Similar conditions apparently exist in almost every grain producing section of the United States.

12mo, paper, illustrated, 211 pages, 50 cents, postpaid.

**THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY** FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING, CHICAGO

Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to advertisers.

## Six Dollars for Three Dollars Three Dollars and a Half for One Dollar

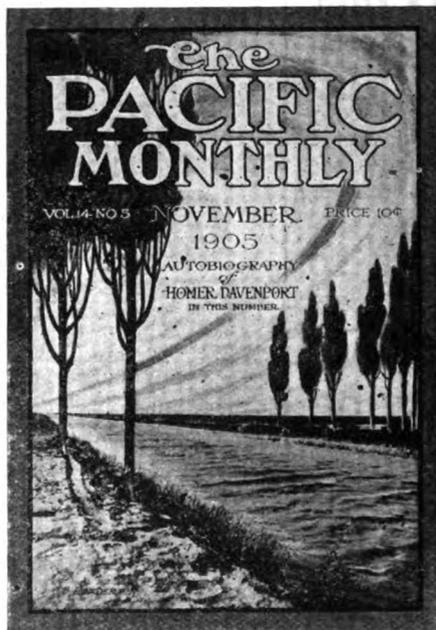
Read these Remarkable Offers by the  
PACIFIC MONTHLY

In order to introduce the Pacific Monthly to a large number of new readers, we have decided to make the most liberal offer that has ever been made in the history of periodical publishing. We do this, knowing that if we secure a new reader for the Pacific Monthly for a year he will be glad to continue his subscription with the magazine; on that score we rest easy, knowing the splendid magazine that we are now issuing and the extended plans for its continued improvement and beautification.

No western magazine has ever before attempted the great work which the Pacific Monthly is doing. It is in a class by itself. The Pacific Monthly depicts thoroughly the great movements which are making for the supremacy of the Pacific. It is characteristically western. It tells you about the opportunities, development and progress; yet it is of genuine interest for many other reasons. It is broad in its scope. It is beautifully and elaborately illustrated. It has eight wideawake departments—virile, timely, every one characterized by enthusiasm and energy. No magazine uses finer paper or illustrations. No 10 cent magazine has more stories monthly, and the Pacific Monthly stories are snappy—you read and enjoy them. Easily the magazine is worth Two Dollars. Yet, we have this extraordinary offer to make to you:

1st. For \$1.50 we will send you the Pacific Monthly for one year and a gold fountain pen which retails for \$2.50. We guarantee this pen to be high grade and the superior of any One Dollar pen made. If it is unsatisfactory in any respect you may return it and get your money back.

2nd. For Three Dollars we will send you for one year The Pacific Monthly, The Review of Reviews, The Cosmopolitan and The Woman's Home Companion. This is the lowest offer ever made by a publishing house. It is giving Six Dollars for Three Dollars. Write us today, filling out enclosed blank.



THE PACIFIC MONTHLY, Portland, Oregon.

Enclosed find ~~\$1.50~~  
\$3.00 (mark out sum not enclosed) for which send me The Pacific Monthly and fountain pen (or) The Pacific Monthly, The Review of Reviews, The Cosmopolitan and The Woman's Home Companion.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to advertisers.