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EDITORIAL

The Chicago traction surprise.

Few things could have been more surprising in Chicago than the sudden abandonment of the traction ring last week by a body of its supporters whose continued support had been confidently counted upon. This desertion was so precipitate that the ring was completely broken up; and in the twinkling of an eye Mayor Dunne's municipal ownership and operation ordinances, long ignored by the Council, were adopted and referred to the people for final approval.

When they had caught their breath after this catastrophe the head centers of the traction ring and its faithful newspapers began to "talk back." The burden of their complaint was that Dunne's

victory had been given him by the "gray wolves." By "gray wolves" are meant aldermen who are not averse to taking their bribes raw, and have consequently been condemned by the Municipal Voters' League. But it happens that of the aldermen who changed from the ring side to the municipal ownership side, about half had been approved by the League. And even if all had been sure enough "gray wolves," there was no visible bad reason for their coming over to Mayor Dunne. His side was not the boodle side.

The weakness of hinting that Mayor Dunne's victory is tainted because "gray wolves" brought it to him, was evident enough; so the ringsters began to explain that the "gray wolves" had gone over to Dunne not to get boodle there, but because they couldn't get it from the franchise side. "They left us," said one of the traction ring aldermen, "because they wouldn't vote for the franchise ordinance without 'the stuff.'" Well, why should they, or anyone else for that matter—why should they have voted for that ordinance without getting "the stuff"? "The stuff" was in it. Somebody was going to get "the stuff," if not in one way then in another; and why should "gray wolves" be expected to vote "the stuff" to other people, however respectable, without getting any of it themselves?

There was something rich about the superior manner in which the traction ring and the traction-ring newspapers, attributing their humiliating defeat to the "gray wolves," began criticising Mayor Dunne for accepting such disreputable assistance. It was even pointed out to him, between sobs and in tears, that public opinion would revolt at municipal ownership because the gray wolves had voted for it! But what had the traction ring and its newspapers depended upon before but these same "gray wolves"? With their votes Mayor Dunne's municipal ownership programme had

been baffled for four months or more. Yet the ring did not deplore that result because the "gray wolves" produced it; they laughed, and joked, and enjoyed themselves, and each time called it "another snub for Dunne."

If there is any special or peculiar reason for the action of the "gray wolves" in deserting the ring and voting for Mayor Dunne's policy, it is not generally known. But everyone has a theory, and we have ours. Our theory may not be complex enough to be true, but here it is. We suspect that the ring managed in one way and another to hold the "gray wolves" together in support of the extension ordinance, until the ring began to break down, and as the signs of this breakdown appeared, the "gray wolves" ran to cover. They did not relish the idea of strengthening their reputation as boodlers without getting the boodle. More respectable grafters might afford to do that, but they could not. Perhaps they were the more expeditious in this movement from learning of the immense success which had attended the collection of signatures to the municipal ownership petition promoted by the Hearst papers. In less than two weeks after the petition had been issued it was signed by 130,000 voters; and at the time of the upheaval in the City Council when the traction ring collapsed the signers numbered 164,000. The evidence of a quiet determination on the part of the people to drive the traction grafters out of the city by establishing municipal ownership is unmistakable. Why shouldn't the "gray wolves" have noticed this? Whatever else they may be, they are not fools. At any rate they did desert the traction ring, which had been grateful for their association and support; and that fact is more important than the reason for it.

That the people of Chicago will clinch the victory of last week against the traction ring, by approving the Dunne ordinance at the election next Spring, is as evi-

dent as any future thing can be. The ready response and numerous signatures to the referendum petition furnish proof enough. And that the traction ringsters expect a landslide against it is evident in many ways. For one thing the various agencies they are accustomed to "working" are busily engaged in efforts to drag red herrings across the trail. Crimes of a kind that have long been common to large cities of the West and which are by no means novel in Chicago, are exploited as evidence of a carnival of crime. In fact the city is as safe as it ever has been, and this exploitation is for the purpose of diverting public attention from the immediately pressing traction question to the perennial question of crime suppression. For instance, the Chicago Tribune of the 23d said: "The people will applaud Mayor Dunne if he will temporarily put other business aside and make war on murderers." Again, on pretense of lessening crime by employing more police, a cry has gone up for doubling saloon licenses. This is for the purpose of diverting public attention at a critical moment from the traction question. And so it goes. Even the Federal government is called upon to threaten summary interference with the tunnels at a moment when public opinion may be thereby disturbed; and one genius has seriously advocated the municipalization of milk, about which few are thinking, as a more pressing question than the municipalization of traction, about which everybody is thinking. Anything to distract the multitude while the traction ring gets its coveted plunder. Whoever has lived in a city at a time when great grafters were in imminent danger of losing their graft, will realize how many and subtle are the agitations in Chicago now, for defeating the municipal ownership movement at the polls next Spring. But the indications are strong that the current for municipal ownership and operation has set in with such force and so swiftly that it cannot be diverted.

Good citizenship in Cincinnati.

The Citizens' Bulletin of Cincinnati in a recent issue has some good things to say of the opportunities for public service in private station, in the course of which it makes this remark:

Owing to the prevailing want of confidence in others which has been referred to, we can imagine how a man might well decline office in order that he might at least retain, if not increase his influence, and thereby not jeopardize some patriotic cause which he may have been working to advance and which is so dear to his heart.

These observations were apropos of the refusal of Mr. Daniel Kiefer, of Cincinnati, who had done much to elect Mayor Dempsey, to accept the office of purchasing agent under the new administration, an office for which he was exceptionally well qualified.

The facts in Mr. Kiefer's case had been published in the Cincinnati Commercial of January 5, from which we quote:

Although strong pressure was brought to bear upon Daniel Kiefer yesterday to get him to accept the proffered position of purchasing agent to the board of public service, even from President Marx, Mr. Kiefer has declined the appointment. He had this to say last night: "No, I cannot see that it is my duty to accept the position of city purchasing agent. Some capable person can be found among those who need the salary. It is distressing enough to see the army of place seekers, many of them in their mad struggle for jobs ready to cut each other's throats—and all unconcerned as to the distress of those whom they will displace; many of the deserving ones of necessity must be disappointed. I shall not add to their disappointment or to their distress by crowding anyone out. Besides, why should I take public office when I have retired from my own business to devote myself to other work that I have at heart? Is it in the nature of things that competition for employment should become more and more bitter; that wages should tend to a bare subsistence, and that those willing to work should look in vain for the opportunity? When men see that a tax on industry makes living high and opportunity scarce; that a tax on land values would open land, cheapen rent, multiply opportunity, there will not be 20 men seeking one job, as is the case at the City Hall to-day. I had rather get the initiative and referendum, and after that

the single tax, than to have all the jobs in the State. I think I can best serve the cause of economic betterment by keeping my name off the city pay-roll.

We are not of those who believe that men who strive to remove governmental evils should hold aloof from service in public office. Neither do we sympathize with the notion that a cause can be better served in private than in public station. Even when the acceptance of office might involve misapprehension of motives and excite hostility that might for a time discredit one's cause, it may be best to challenge the opposition and leave the outcome to time. He who works for a good cause must not be too selfishly anxious to keep his hands unsoiled. But in Mr. Kiefer's case it seems that he came honestly to the better conclusion; and no one can read his interview without feeling that here is a man who would take an office or refuse it regardless of every selfish consideration.

Swedenborg's birthday.

The 218th anniversary of one of the greatest scientists and most eminent men of his day, Emanuel Swedenborg, occurs on the 29th of the present month. It will be celebrated by a small ecclesiastical organization which traces its religious doctrines to Swedenborg's teachings. But this man's influence upon religious thought has been so wide that no celebration of his memory by one religious body can do it justice, and his philosophy reaches so deep and strikes so true that his services to mankind may properly be appreciated apart from all considerations of conventional religion. Whoever sees no order or idea of development, nor any beneficent purpose in the universe, may find nothing to interest him in the Swedenborgian philosophy, for it rests upon the theory of infinite and beneficent purpose, cause and effect; but to him who does recognize this idealistic order, however he may express it and regardless of his church affiliations, and even of his having any, cannot be insensible to the claims of Sweden-

borg's philosophy. Most especially does this philosophy appeal to those who believe that love is a natural law and human equality its corollary. For Swedenborg rationally finds God's love to be no respecter of persons, and from this he as rationally demonstrates that the earth is God's gift to men solely upon the condition that they use it with the recognition that it is his for their use and not theirs for their own greed.

Longworth's tests of capacity for self-government.

Congressman Nicholas Longworth, of Ohio, who recently visited the Philippines with the Taft party, said last week in a speech in Congress that the Filipinos are incapable of self-government. Had he left the subject there, he would only have expressed a more or less valueless opinion. But he was imprudent enough to give his reasons, and there were two. The first was the Filipinos' "lack of appreciation of the duty of the public officer to the people." But by that test many Americans are unfit for self-government, and some of them are quite rich and very respectable. Is Mr. Longworth quite sure he could stand the test himself? His second and only other reason for denying to the Filipinos capacity for self-government was even more amazing than the first. It was that they utterly lack "a conception of the dignity of labor." This test would have disfranchised the whites of the South before the Civil War, and it would disfranchise the whole labor exploiting class to which Mr. Longworth belongs. For any man or any class that tries to escape the necessity for laboring, that tries to make others their hewers of wood and drawers of water, and that lives and lords it with unearned incomes drawn from labor—for any such to affect a conception of the dignity of labor, is not far from the extreme of impudence.

The scarcity of land.

Mr. James J. Hill expresses con-

cern for the future of this country because there is no more land to offer settlers; and the New York Sun tries to reassure him by arguing that "there is room and a good living in the United States for two or three times the present population." But the Sun and Mr. Hill are thinking only of farming and farmers. They seem to imagine that only agriculture requires land. Yet agriculture requires less land per capita, if the land be measured by value, which is the only way to measure any necessary, than almost any other vocation. The Sun is right, of course, in saying that there is abundant land for agricultural purposes; but it as well as Mr. Hill is wrong in segregating agriculture from general production. All production requires land, and land is just as scarce for one kind as for another. That is to say, it commands a higher price than it is worth for present profitable use. But there is no physical scarcity of any kind of land. One of the most obtrusive facts of our time is the tremendous superabundance of all kinds of unused land. If all the land of this country were put to its best and full use it would afford room and a good living, not for two or three times the present population, as the Sun puts it, but for many times that number. The present difficulty is not that land is scarce, but that land values are high.

The land question in England.

If anyone doubts the rapidly growing interest in England concerning the land question, the December number of the Westminster Review ought to settle the doubt. The second article is entitled "The Liberal Party and the Land Question;" the fifth is entitled "The Taxation of Land Values;" the eighth, "The Quarter-Centennial of the Single Tax Movement." Nor are these all. A large part of the editorial matter is devoted to the subject. Under such headings as "The Landlord the Heaviest Burden," "The Root of the Evil," "Idle Lands for Idle Hands," these editorials utter a

strong, clear call to action, ringing with vigorous truth vigorously proclaimed.

Of certain acquirements and acquisitions.

The Indianapolis newspapers tell of a man who has committed to memory the multiplication table, not only up to the 12 times 12 of our youth, but as high as to 1,000 times 1,000. And he can do such wonderful things as to multiply, by only a slight calculation and in a few minutes, 14,551,915,228,336,851,806,640,625 by 68,719,476,735. Now of what use to him or anyone else is this fantastic acquirement? The question is natural enough, but is it any more pertinent than to ask the use of acquiring a hundred million dollars more or less? If the first performance benefits nobody neither does it injure anyone, and this cannot be truly said of the second.

THE TRACTION ORISIS IN CHICAGO.

Another stride in the municipal ownership movement in Chicago, the present storm center of this movement in the United States, necessitates another summary of its progress.

Our first full explanation of the circumstances of the movement (vol. vi, p. 195) brought the story down to July, 1903. In a subsequent review (vol. vi, p. 468) the facts were outlined to October of the same year. The relation to the movement of the municipal election of a year ago was then discussed (vol. vii, p. 722), and the character of Mayor Dunne's "contract plan" was examined soon after (vol. viii, p. 228), while all the events as they have occurred have been recorded in our news columns and discussed in our editorials from week to week. But we have offered no general review of the subject for more than two years. We purpose now to tell the story briefly from the beginning to the present time.

I

On the 30th of July, 1903, the franchises of the street car systems of Chicago began to expire. Some expired on that date, others have expired at different times since, and some have yet a few years to run. The reason they

began to expire on the 30th of July, 1903, was because that date marked the expiration of a 20-year blanket franchise granted as a compromise of controversies between the traction companies and the city.

The city had claimed expirations in 1883, but against this claim the companies had set up a 99-year State grant running until 1958. To shift the burdens of this question to a future generation, the city agreed, upon the promise of payment of a trifling car-license tax, to extend all franchises for 20 years from July 30, 1883 "without prejudice to existing rights." Other 20-year franchises were subsequently granted, and these will all have expired in about ten years. When the compromise ordinance expired, July 30, 1903, the old controversy over the 99-year franchises was renewed. Indeed, it reached a heated stage before that date.

Meantime, however, the companies had endeavored to fortify themselves by purchased legislation; and in 1897 they secured the so-called "Allen law," which authorized the City Council to grant extensions for 50 years instead of 20. But outraged public opinion prevented action under this law and soon brought about its repeal.

An unexpected factor resulted from the adoption in 1901 of the now famous public policy referendum. Under this law, at the Spring election of 1902 Chicago voted for municipal ownership of street railways by 142,826 to 27,998, out of a total vote for candidates of 213,857. This vote was so emphatically significant of public sentiment that Mayor Harrison immediately appointed a committee of aldermen and unofficial citizens to consider the subject, and his committee recommended a bill for municipal ownership to be approved and urged upon the legislature by the City Council. It was known as "the Finn bill." But the traction interests had got into negotiation with the local transportation committee of the City Council, and the Finn bill was consequently blocked.

After a political contest at the Spring election of 1903, a contest in which this question was the dominant issue, the Mueller law was passed by the legislature as a

substitute for all proposed measures. This law, not to be operative in any city until adopted by the people of that city, authorized municipal ownership and operation upon certain conditions. It was adopted by the people of Chicago at the Spring election of 1904.

II

Prior to the adoption of the Mueller law by the people of Chicago, one faction of the traction interests resorted for safety to the Federal courts. For two factions had developed in the course of years—the City Railway company owning one block of franchises, and the Union Traction company owning another block.

It was the quarrel between these two factions that made the enactment of the Mueller law possible. The Union Traction "crowd" opposed the law altogether. The City Railway "crowd" favored the law, but only as a club with which to intimidate the other "crowd." Though they favored the law they were opposed to making it operative, but by favoring it they forced its passage.

It was to get further out of the reach of this "club" that the Union Traction "crowd" went into the Federal court. They believed that the 99-year franchise claim would fare better in that court than in the State courts. But to get there they had to defraud the court in order to give it jurisdiction, and this they did. When the case was decided, the decision sustained the 99-year claim in part. An appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States was argued early in the present month, but the decision of that tribunal has not yet been rendered.

III

Before the expiration of the compromise agreement of 1883, and after the passage of the Mueller law by the legislature, the city authorities, acting in accordance with the views of the City Railway "crowd," indicated their purpose to grant another 20 years extension of franchises upon conditions nominally calculated to terminate all franchise rights at the end of the term.

This extension policy was subsequently embodied in what came to be known as the "tentative ordinance." This ordinance, report-

ed to the City Council by the local transportation committee in August, 1904 (vol. vii, p. 305), nominally required the relinquishment by the companies of the 99-year claim, and provided for a 20-year franchise extension terminable by purchase of the lines by the city in 13 years, but upon terms that made its perpetuation almost certain.

When that report was made Mayor Harrison startled the city with a proclamation recommending the "tentative ordinance" as "the best practical solution of the traction question in the present circumstances," and notifying the public that "if a referendum is desired upon the proposition," those who oppose the ordinance must "immediately undertake the work of securing the signatures necessary to have the question placed on the ballot at the November election." For doing this he had allowed only 26 days—making a necessary average per day of over 4,000 signatures.

Mayor Harrison ignored the fact that at the municipal election in April, 1904, only four months prior to his proclamation, the people had voted adversely to the principle of the ordinance as to which they were now warned that if they did not get up an enormous petition instantly they would be regarded as approving it by their silence. They had voted for immediate municipal ownership by 120,744 to 50,893, and against granting traction franchises by 120,187 to 48,056. The fact that Mayor Harrison, ignoring this vote against the principle of the "tentative ordinance," demanded a petition, in what seemed an impossible time, for a vote on the ordinance itself, as a condition of his not signing the ordinance, has identified him in the public mind with the City Railway "crowd," which was reasonably regarded as the secret sponsors for that ordinance.

The signatures to the petition came in so numerous that Mayor Harrison and his friends abandoned all hope of defeating the popular will; and long before the referendum vote on the "tentative ordinance" its friends had abandoned it.

This referendum took place at the election of April, 1905, when Dunne was elected mayor. The

ordinance was voted down by 140,049 to 60,136.

IV

Dunne's election was the result of the popular opposition to that ordinance. He and the late Judge Tuley alone of all Chicagoans in high station, had opposed the ordinance; and when Judge Tuley nominated him for mayor five months later, the popular response was electric.

After being in the office three months, and having had expert examinations made into the legal, physical and financial circumstances of the traction question, Mayor Dunne submitted his "contract plan" to the City Council.

This plan provided in substance for a construction company, which should put the street car lines into good condition and turn them over to the city upon demand without other compensation than reimbursement for actual necessary and approved expenditures, with 5 per cent. interest.

Notwithstanding that Dunne showed that there was 274 miles of trackage free from all franchise claims, and so located as to serve 1,000,000 people, the local transportation committee (a majority being under the influence of the traction interests, which had come together under the direction of J. Pierpont Morgan), refused even to consider Mayor Dunne's plan. Instead, they invited the traction representatives to join with them in formulating an extension ordinance—the very thing that had been twice voted down by the people. To the naked eye this does not indicate disinterested devotion to the public interest.

After nearly three months of that work, the majority of the committee reported an extension ordinance. This ordinance was even less favorable to public interests than the tentative ordinance. It was so manifestly a traction-interest ordinance that even the newspapers and public men that encouraged the traction ring in the Council were obliged to refuse it their support.

Thrown into confusion by this desertion, the ring had the whole matter referred back to the committee on local transportation, where an attempt at readjustment was made. But the traction interests were now also in a state of rupture, and no adjust-

ment was possible. So the extension ordinance was reported back to the Council.

V

When Mayor Dunne became convinced that the majority of the committee on transportation were determined to suppress everything not calculated to give the traction interests the franchise extensions they were seeking, he brought the matter directly before the Council. Here he encountered the same sinister influences that had baffled him and his supporters in the committee.

On the 9th of October he addressed a message to the Council (p. 438) recommending that body to direct its committee to cease considering the extension of franchises and to report upon the "contract plan" he had submitted. The recommendation was voted down by 45 to 18.

At the next meeting of the Council, October 16, Mayor Dunne recommended (p. 456) that the committee be instructed, pursuant to the previous referendum votes, to cease negotiations with the existing traction companies except for the purchase of the property by the city. This recommendation was voted down by 37 to 27.

At the next meeting of the Council, October 23 (p. 472), Mayor Dunne called attention to the fact that at the Spring election of 1904 every ward had voted for proceeding at once to municipal ownership under the Mueller law, and recommended that the local transportation committee be instructed to proceed without delay to prepare an ordinance for acquiring ownership of the street railways under the Mueller law. Consideration of this recommendation was postponed for a week, and then (p. 491) defeated by 45 to 21.

The rogues and the fools who supposed that in making these recommendations Mayor Dunne was floundering hopelessly, enjoyed what they called the "snubs" he got from the Council. They did not realize that he was pursuing a well defined and carefully formulated policy, cumulative and consistent in every step—from the first message, that of June 5 submitting the "contract plan," to the last, that of November 13 submitting a municipal ownership ordinance. But this is what he was doing, as an examina-

tion of the record in the light of the result will show.

The latter message (p. 527) was a carefully prepared history of his efforts to execute the people's will and of the obstructions he had encountered at the hands of the Council and its committee; and with it Mayor Dunne submitted a carefully prepared ordinance for municipal ownership. Another message submitted at the same time an ordinance for municipal operation. Both messages recommended the passage of the ordinances and their submission to the mandatory referendum of the Mueller law. They were referred to the committee on local transportation; but the majority of that committee, refusing to consider them, continued to devote all their time and energies to negotiating extension franchises with the existing companies. On the 27th of November they agreed upon an ordinance which they reported to the City Council on the 4th of December (p. 577).

At the same meeting the minority reported Mayor Dunne's municipal ownership and operation ordinances with a recommendation that they be passed and referred to the people under the mandatory referendum of the Mueller law. This recommendation was then defeated by a vote of 44 to 22.

VI

Up to that point Mayor Dunne's programme seemed hopeless unless a favorable majority could be elected to the new Council. But on the 2d of January, Hearst's papers, which had been effectively instrumental in enrolling the large petition of a year ago against the "tentative ordinance," announced a petition for a referendum on the new phase of the traction question. Demoralization was at once apparent in the traction ring. Their plans must have been endangered by the appearance of this petition.

Further evidence of demoralization appeared when they had the subject referred back to their committee as noted above.

Their entire disruption and the collapse of their plans was evident, when they brought their discredited ordinance back to the Council, and in utter hopelessness fixed a day for discussing it in committee of the whole.

Theirs was now a sinking ship, and the "gray wolves" who had theretofore voted with them and whose votes they had gratefully received, abandoned it.

When the subject came up in committee of the whole, a motion to substitute the minority report for the majority report—Mayor Dunne's ordinances for J. Pierpont Morgan's ordinances—was easily carried. The biters were bitten, the snubbers were snubbed. The people of Chicago will not only vote next April on municipal ownership and operation of street cars, but they will vote in such manner that their decision must be obeyed.

THE NEWS.

It was a wonderful and useful idea to develop the system of spreading news by cooperation. This is practically the idea of the Associated Press.

But suppose the idea is warped; suppose the emphasis of news is shifted from really important news to the news that is favored, or is simply sensational. Then we have a false view of the world's passing history—false, because there is a shifting of emphasis from what is important to what is of forced or trifling or morbid interest.

Take an illustration. The papers publishing the Associated Press dispatches have contained lengthy telegrams of useless details concerning President Harper's death. Now Dr. Harper, as president of the University of Chicago and as a writer on Old Testament criticism, had a national reputation. It was right and proper that the facts of his death should be made known with fitting comments. But why the lengthy columns?

Let us put the matter distinctly and definitely by way of contrast. A prominent man, no less a person than the present Premier of the English government, has recently made speeches favoring the taxation of land values. This, one would think, is a piece of news almost "sensational." The announcement of a policy by England's Prime Minister in regard to a question which has been discussed throughout the world for the past twenty-five years, ought surely to

be considered a subject of international interest. Yet not a word of attention has it received in the news of our newspapers. Now why is it that papers which have no word about so important a matter, can give columns to the life and death of a college president, whose work at best was not far reaching?

The Associated Press is a great institution, but it will have to improve in the quality of its discrimination, if it hopes to hold the confidence even of those who live on newspapers. Many people are already beginning to question whether the news that is daily given them is to be trusted as a reasonably fair and complete account of contemporary history.

J. H. DILLARD.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

AUSTRALASIA (see p. 690).

Corowa, N. S. W., Australia, Dec. 22.—The Shires bill was passed early this month. Its principal provisions are: Land values only to be taxed; minimum tax, one penny, maximum two pence, in the pound; suffrage to be one tax-payer one vote for each councillor to be elected; women tax-payers to be on equality with men, both as to voting and eligibility for the council. In the present municipalities, women tax-payers, if single or widows, may vote, but not married women, and no woman may be a councillor.

The shire tax on land values will take the place of the present State tax of one penny in the pound; but there will be no exemption, so even if a shire does not make the tax more than one penny, this act will cause a satisfactory step forward in land value taxation. The local government extension bill, obliging the existing municipalities to tax land values only, is almost certain to be passed next session.

Another good measure passed by the New South Wales parliament is a liquor act, somewhat similar to that of New Zealand. Each State electorate is constituted a licensing district, in which a local option poll will be taken on the day of each general election for the State parliament, and every State elector has a vote. Three propositions will be submitted: (a) Continuance of existing licenses, (b) reduction, (c) no license. A bare majority will be sufficient to carry "a" or "b," but to establish a no-license electorate it will be necessary that there be a three-fifths majority, and that the whole number of voters at the polls be not less than 30 per cent. of the

electors on the roll. The same majority will be required to restore licenses in a no-license district. A special licensing court is to be constituted to administer the act. If reduction be carried, the court has to decide on the particular houses and the number to be closed. The number is not to exceed a quarter of the existing licenses. No compensation will be paid; but a time limit, varying from three to eight years, according to circumstances, is fixed, after which the licenses will not be renewed. Badly conducted houses will get the shortest time. There is a local-option liquor law in Victoria which allows for immediate reduction only, and provides for compensation—a system which works out very, unfavorably to the general taxpayer.

The New Zealand elections were held on December 6, and, contrary to expectation, Mr. Seddon's majority is considerably increased. The latest returns (incomplete) are: Government, 56; Opposition, 16; Independent, 6. Messrs George Fowlds and A. W. Ell were reelected; Mr. P. J. O'Megan was defeated by a small majority. The Independent Labor party was annihilated. The liquor prohibitionists did not do nearly so well as they expected. Local-option polls were taken on election day, but the final results have not yet been reported. So far, the number of no-license districts has been increased from three to four, and reduction carried in several others. No license has to be carried by a three-fifths majority.

Mr. Max Hirsch, the eminent free trader and leading single taxer of Australia, who sails for Europe on the 26th, was given a farewell dinner in Melbourne on the 19th.

ERNEST BRAY.

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. 25.

Surprise in Chicago traction proceedings.

When the franchise extension ordinances came on the 18th before the committee of the whole of the Chicago City Council, pursuant to special order of that body (pp. 693-94), the proceedings were

unexpectedly brief and the result surprising.

Soon after the Council assembled Alderman McCormick of the 21st ward, a franchise extension member, moved that the body go into committee of the whole. The motion was carried and Mayor Dunne withdrew from the chair in favor of Alderman Werno (anti-franchise) as chairman of the committee of the whole. Alderman Bennett (pro-franchise), a leading member of the committee on local transportation, immediately moved that the franchise ordinances as reported by a majority of that committee be taken up section by section for amendment and adoption. This was in accordance with the franchise extension programme. But the programme was instantly interrupted by Alderman Kunz, classed by the Municipal Voters' League as a bad alderman ("gray wolf"), with a motion to substitute the minority report of the local transportation committee for the majority report. As Alderman Kunz, who is recognized as one of the shrewdest men of the Council, had taken no part in the traction controversy since Mayor Dunne's election, and as he has a considerable following and his motion involved the adoption of a vital part of Mayor Dunne's plan for municipal ownership and operation, against which a majority of the Council were on record, this motion made a sensation.

In support of his motion Alderman Kunz said:

We have given only one side a show for years. Now, let's give the people a hearing. They are calling for municipal ownership. Pass the Mueller law certificate ordinance. If they indorse and approve it at the polls give them, then, their own traction lines. The question has been taken out of our hands by the traction companies. They don't care to treat, they say, with your committee. Let the people speak now. This is the time to act.

Alderman Kunz was supported by Alderman Cullerton, who is also on the blacklist of the Municipal Voters' League as a "gray wolf," and who had theretofore voted against Mayor Dunne's plans. Alderman Cullerton said:

This is the first opportunity I've ever had in the many years that this all-important question has been before the people of having any chance to

give my views. It has been stated here that the only traction company which is able to finance a scheme of rehabilitation of the street railways of Chicago has said flat-footed that it would not accept the ordinances drafted by the local transportation committee. For years the traction question in this city has been made the political football of parties. Harrison always said he would settle it, if it could be settled right, but he never intimated what would be a right settlement. Now we have, as the result of much hard work by the transportation committee framed an ordinance which safeguards the interests of both contending parties, and at the twelfth hour what happens? The City Railway company, the only company which is in a position to offer and give good service, kicks over the traces and says: "No, we don't want this ordinance." What has happened? Simply this: The Chicago Union Traction company is bankrupt, and the Chicago City railway, which is solvent, refuses to accept what the committee has offered. Mr. Morgan, the owner of the City railway and the owner of Union Traction worthless securities, wants to make use of this City Council to put into life a defunct corporation and to make good millions of worthless stock. He wants to force this City Council to permit a dead corporation to run for fifteen or twenty years longer, and give in return, what? A rotten service.

After bitterly arraigning John Maynard Harlan, whb, he said, represented, not the people but his clients, the owners of stocks and bonds in the Union Traction company, Alderman Cullerton continued:

For these reasons I am absolutely opposed to the consideration of the report of the majority of the local transportation committee. I am utterly opposed to continuing negotiations with companies whose sole purpose is to dilly-dally and delay bringing this question to a settlement. I favor the substitution of the minority report.

The principal speakers for the majority report were Aldermen Snow and Foreman. The latter is identified in franchise extension leadership with Alderman Bennett. Mr. Snow urged the impracticability of immediate municipal ownership. Mr. Foreman said:

If by some action of this committee the Mayor's \$75,000,000 ordinance should be put on the ballot and found illegal and inoperative, it would certainly reflect somewhat on this committee. The minority report proposes that this sum shall be used as opportunity may be presented for the pur-

chase or construction of street railways. This is to be subjected to a single vote; there is to be no further passing by the people on the question. The dollars must wait in the treasury until the opportunity is presented. Now, if \$75,000,000 is a good sum to issue, why not issue \$175,000,000 or \$200,000,000? It is proposed to saddle this city with a gigantic debt to be used as the Council may direct.

Alderman Foreman then read a legal opinion given the local transportation committee by Edwin Burritt Smith in which Mr. Smith advises that the ordinance proposed by Mayor Dunne would be illegal, because—

The moment the first part of the proposed system is acquired it becomes the property of the city and its revenue a particular fund of the city, subject to the mortgage securing the street railway certificates issued for its acquisition. When another issue of certificates under such mortgage is made, say a year later, to purchase or construct an addition to the system, such new issue of certificates will be a new and additional lien upon the first part already owned by the city, as well as upon the addition acquired with their proceeds. This is expressly prohibited by the constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court in the Alexander case. Of course, this would apply to all subsequent issues of certificates under a mortgage covering property previously acquired by the city.

Alderman Foreman then proceeded:

The minority plan proposes to acquire street railways in direct contradiction of the Mueller law. Do you think any court on earth would ever authorize such an omnibus issue of certificates? The Mayor in his message of July 5 said the contract plan was the best. The State of Michigan tried municipal ownership of railroads and canals, by bond issues, with the result of a bad taste in the mouth and a load of debt. How long would it take under this plan to acquire municipal ownership? The only man who has been lost sight of in the municipal ownership quest is the man who rides in the street cars. The majority report is the result of five or six years of hard study and the best advice possible from engineers and lawyers. There is no reason, law or anything in the history of Chicago that justifies the substitution of the minority for the majority report.

The debate was closed by Alderman Dever, the floor leader in the Council in behalf of Mayor Dunne's municipal ownership programme, and a man of pronounced

and undisputed integrity. He said:

Aldermen Snow and Foreman are for municipal ownership until it comes to voting for a municipal ownership programme, and they lay that on the table. If our ordinance is illegal, why didn't the majority try to make it legal? They had it before them for months, and never even read it, much less did they consider it. If there had been an open, honest discussion months ago we might have had something they approved to lay before the Council, and if there are any defects in the ordinance the responsibility is upon their shoulders. We wanted to make an agreement with the majority last September that these ordinances should be placed on the ballot side by side, on equal terms, but they would not consent. They wanted it so their ordinance should be effective as soon as approved by the people, but merely an advisory vote on ours that would leave the whole question open. A game of heads we win, tails you lose, was all they would agree to. We asked a final settlement of the traction question, and that is all we ask now. As the majority ordinance was drafted and reported to the Council, it provided that in the event of the city's obtaining municipal ownership before the end of the twenty-year period the companies should be paid for their unexpired ninety-nine-year rights, plus the value of the then unexpired part of the twenty-year grant. The order of the Mayor is a mere enabling act. It is not an act for acquiring ninety-nine-year rights and tangible property. It provides merely that the City Council shall have the power, after the people have approved the ordinance, to proceed by a progressive municipal ownership programme. Within two years from now 270 miles of trunk lines will be available for municipal construction. We can drive the companies out of business. We shall not have to wait three years before they will be coming to us on their knees. It is not necessary to go into court and condemn the property of the companies. We will force them, through competition and the possession of streets where franchises have expired, to fair terms. The gentleman talks of a failure of municipal ownership in Michigan. That was because Michigan was owned by corporations. I can tell him about 124 cities of Great Britain that have attempted municipal ownership, with failure in only one case.

Commenting on the opinion of Edwin Burritt Smith in legal criticism of the ordinance proposed by the minority report, Mr. Dever is reported by the Record-Herald to have—

asserted that the error in the language of the majority ordinance, by which the companies would have been allowed franchise rights for the unexpired portion of the twenty-year grant, had been made by Mr. Smith.

He added:

I would rather trust a lawyer who said the issue would be legal and who had not made such an error than one who had.

Mr. Dever then concluded:

The contract plan, it has been said, was preferred by the Mayor. Had the whole question been thoroughly and fairly worked out four or five months ago, we should not have this order of the Mayor before us to-day. The majority of the committee refused to read, much less to consider, the contract ordinance. We may, however, have to come to it, as a means to an end. The new company proposed by it can be used as a construction company to operate while all legal points are being settled. The "contract plan" is as good to-day as it ever was. When you wouldn't consider the contract plan we forced this plan. We wanted to put both questions on the ballot, your ordinance and ours, and we made that proposition four months ago. We make the same proposition to you to-day. It is simply a question of whether you want a settlement now and forever.

Alderman Raymer (pro-franchise) now moved the previous question, which was carried by 36 to 28, and thereupon came the surprise. On motion of Alderman Kohout (anti-franchise) a yea and nay vote on the motion to substitute the minority report resulted as follows:

Yeas—Coughlin, Kenna, Harding, Richert, Dailey, McCormick (Fifth ward), Martin, Moynihan, Fick, Harris, Hurt, Scully, Hoffman, Cullerton, Uhlir, Zimmer, Considine, Riley, Harkin, Beilfuss, Kunz, Nowicki, Dever, Sitts, Conlon, Ryan, Powers, Finn, Dougherty, Sullivan, Werno, Schmidt (Twenty-fourth), Wendling, Bradley, Burns, O'Connell, Hunt, Kohout—38.

Nays—Dixon, Pringle, Foreman, Young, Snow, Bennett, Maypole, Smith, Stewart, McCormick (21), Reese, Schmidt (23), Hahne, Williston, Dunn, Reinberg, Lipps, Stewart, Raymer, Larson, Roberts, Badenoch, Eldmann, Bihl, Ruxton, Hunter, Race—27.

Absent—Potter, Jones, Brennan, Butler, Carey.

For the purpose of explaining the significance of the vote we make the following comparison with the vote of October 30 (p. 491), which

was distinctively the test vote prior to the present rupture. We distinguish the aldermen as "g" for "good" and "b" for "bad" according to the reports of the Municipal Voters' League; and as "R" for Republican and "D" for Democrat. By "For Dunne" and "Against Dunne" we allude to the attitude of the aldermen respectively with reference to Mayor Dunne's municipal ownership programme:

Against Dunne, Oct. 30; for Dunne, Jan. 18.—Moynihan (b. R.), Schmidt 24th (g. R.), Wendling (g. R.), Burns (g. R.), Hunt (g. R.), Dailey (g. R.), McCormick, 5th (b. D.), Martin (b. D.), Hurt (b. D.), Scully (g. D.), Hoffman (g. D.), Cullerton (b. D.), Harkin (g. D.), Conlon (b. D.), Ryan (b. D.), Powers (b. D.), Sullivan (g. D.).

For Dunne, Oct. 30; against Dunne, Jan. 18.—Reinberg (g. D.).

Against Dunne, Oct. 30; against Dunne, Jan. 18.—Dixon (g. R.), Pringle (g. R.), Foreman (g. R.), Young (g. R.), Bennett (g. R.), Smith (g. R.), McCormick, 21st (g. R.), Reese (g. R.), Schmidt, 23d (g. R.), Hahne (g. R.), Williston (g. R.), Dunn (g. R.), Lipps (g. R.), Siewert (g. R.), Raymer (g. R.), Larson (g. R.), Roberts (g. R.), Badenoch (g. R.), Eidmann (g. R.), Bihl (g. R.), Ruxton (g. R.), Hunter (g. R.), Maypole (g. D.).

For Dunne, Oct. 30; for Dunne, Jan. 18.—Harris (b. R.), Uhlir (g. R.), Beilfuss (g. R.), Sitts (g. R.), Harding (b. R.), Coughlin (b. D.), Kenna (b. D.), Richert (g. D.), Fick (b. D.), Zimmer (g. D.), Considine (g. D.), Riley (g. D.), Nowicki (b. D.), Dever (g. D.), Finn (g. D.), Dougherty (g. D.), Werno (g. D.), Bradley (g. D.), O'Connell (g. D.), Kohout (g. D.).

Absent, Oct. 30; against Dunne, Jan. 18.—Snow (g. R.), Stewart (g. R.), Race (g. R.).

Absent, Oct. 30; for Dunne, Jan. 18.—Kunz (b. D.).

Against Dunne, Oct. 30; absent Jan. 18.—Potter (g. R.), Jones (g. R.), Brennan (b. D.), Butler (g. R.), Carey (g. D.).

When the committee of the whole rose and reported to the Council, Mayor Dunne in the chair, Alderman Bennett (pro-franchise) moved to adjourn. The motion was lost by 35 to 30. Alderman Kunz (anti-franchise) then moved that the ordinance in the minority report, as formulated for passage in committee of the whole, be passed. Alderman Dever (anti-franchise) objected, on the ground that the amendments specifying new lines for municipal construction might require frontage consents. Al-

derman Harkin (pro-franchise) moved postponement of consideration of the ordinance until the 22d. Alderman Cullerton (anti-franchise) moved to table Alderman Harkin's motion. Alderman Kohout raised the point of order that the Kunz motion was before the Council and the Mayor ruled that no ordinance could be passed until the amendments to it had been published, under the Council rules. Alderman Foreman (pro-franchise) obtained a reversal of this ruling, on the ground that the amendments were not of consequence and that there had been publication of the ordinances. The chair ordered a roll call on Alderman Cullerton's motion to table Alderman Harkin's motion. This vote, a "yea" for which meant an objection to postponing the ordinances to the date of the next Council meeting, resulted in a tie, the yeas being 32 and the nays 32. Mayor Dunne cast the deciding vote, in favor of the Cullerton motion, and the ordinances were before the Council for immediate disposition. Then came the vote on Alderman Kunz's motion for the passage of the first ordinance of the two in the minority report—the ordinance for authorizing \$75,000,000 of Mueller law certificates for the establishment of municipal ownership under the Mueller law. The ordinance was adopted by 37 to 27, the personnel of the vote being the same as in committee of the whole, except that Harkin now voted against the Dunne programme and Roberts (pro-franchise) did not vote. Upon the announcement of that vote, the second ordinance of the minority report—the ordinance authorizing municipal operation—was put upon its passage and adopted by the same vote as the other. Alderman Kunz moved to reconsider the action on both ordinances and to lay his motion on the table, and this was adopted. These ordinances, if approved by the Mayor, will be placed upon the mandatory referendum of the Mueller law. If the first receives a majority of the vote cast on the question it will thereupon be a law. The second must receive 60 per cent of the vote upon the question, but upon receiving that proportion it also will thereupon be a law.

After the passage of these ordi-

nances by the Council, Alderman Dever (anti-franchise) moved to adjourn to the following day. "The Mayor and his friends," he said, "are willing to take up the majority ordinances with the purpose of placing them on the little ballot for a public opinion vote, as the majority of the local transportation committee have proposed." But Alderman Foreman (pro-franchise) raised the point of order that there was no majority report before the Council any longer, the order substituting the minority report having disposed of it. Alderman Foreman pressed for a ruling and the Mayor decided with him, that the majority report had been disposed of. Then Alderman Finn renewed the motion to adjourn to 10 a. m. the next day, and Alderman Foreman moved to table the motion. The motion was tabled by 36 to 20, as follows:

Yeas—Coughlin, Kenna, Dixon, Pringle, Foreman, Richert, Dailey, Martin, Young, Snow, Bennett, Moynihan, Flick, Harris, Hurt, Scully, Hoffman, Cullerton, Maypole, Smith, Kunz, Dever, Sitts, Conlon, Ryan, Powers, Stewart, Reese, Dougherty, Sullivan, Schmidt (23), Hahne, Siewert, Rayer, Hunt, Hunter—36.

Nays—Harding, McCormick (5th), Uhlir, Zimmer, Considine, Riley, Harkin, Beilfuss, Nowicki, Finn, McCormick (21st), Werno, Schmidt (24th), Williston, Dunn, Reinberg, Lipps, Larson, Wendling, Bradley, Burns, Roberts, O'Connell, Badenoch, Eldmann, Bihl, Ruxton, Kohout, Race—29.

It was supposed that the pro-franchise leaders would reintroduce their franchise ordinance at the regular meeting on the 22d and allow the other side to join them in carrying out their original plan of putting it on the referendum ballot so as to enable the voters to choose between Mayor Dunne's programme and theirs. But they took no steps in the matter, and except as they may make a negative campaign at the Spring election against the Dunne programme, they appear to have abandoned the contest.

Woman suffrage movement in Chicago.

The first of a series of mass meetings in the interest of municipal suffrage for women in Chicago was held at Lincoln Center on the 19th. Mrs. Ellen M. Henrotin presided and Jane Addams, Ella S. Stewart and Jenkin Lloyd Jones spoke. The specific object of the

meetings is to influence the charter convention (p. 696) to provide for municipal woman suffrage. A letter from Mayor Dunne was read by S. Grace Nicholes in which the Mayor said:

I am in hearty sympathy with your woman suffrage movement, and as a member of the Chicago charter convention would vote to incorporate a plank for woman suffrage in the charter. Unfortunately, I cannot be present at your meeting, but you have my moral support and the assurance that I think the women of Chicago are as intelligent and as well entitled to the suffrage as are the women of Denver, which city I have just visited and which seems entirely satisfied with the practical results of woman suffrage.

Commemoration in Chicago of Russia's "bloody Sunday."

A procession of Chicago Socialists marched through sleet and slush on the 22d to commemorate the "bloody Sunday" of a year ago at St. Petersburg (vol. vii, p. 679) when with frightful slaughter the Czar's troops indiscriminately fired into a body of workingmen and women who were peaceably approaching him with a petition under the leadership of a confiding priest. The commemorative procession is reported to have numbered 1,000 men and women, and the subsequent mass meeting at North Side Turner Hall 2,000. Among the speakers at the mass meeting were Thomas J. Morgan, Seymour Stedman, J. Maylon Barnes, C. R. Breckon and A. M. Simon. The red flag of universal peace and brotherhood is reported to have been conspicuous.

Commemoration of "bloody Sunday" in New York

A much larger demonstration on the 22d is reported from New York. The number in procession there is said to have been 15,000, including 230 socialist and labor organizations. At the subsequent mass meeting at Union Square resolutions denouncing the Russian government and demanding of the United States the abrogation of the extradition treaty with Russia were adopted.

Commemoration of "bloody Sunday" in Europe.

Socialist demonstrations at Rome on the 21st in commemoration of "bloody Sunday" are reported to have been interfered with by the authorities. A meet-

ing near the Botanical Gardens was charged by infantry with fixed bayonets and the soldiers received with showers of stones. At another point the approach of cavalry was opposed with hastily constructed barricades. Many socialist meetings were held in the principal cities of France on the 21st in commemoration of the same event, and in Germany, where disorder had been predicted, dispatches from all the cities and large towns reported on the 21st that orderly demonstrations had taken place. Preparations for disorder were made by the authorities at St. Petersburg, where the victims of the massacre are buried, but there are no reports of violence.

The Russian revolution.

St. Petersburg dispatches are to the effect that the Russian revolution (p. 657) has been completely suppressed. It is evident, however, that this is not true of the Baltic provinces, for a dispatch of the 23d from Riga states that—

military operations for the pacification of the Baltic provinces are proceeding actively under the direction of Governor General Sologub, who is controlling the movements of 30,000 troops acting in different localities. The Governor General estimates that the revolutionists number 20,000 men, and that it will take two years to crush the guerrilla warfare.

All revolutionary leaders who are captured are promptly condemned by drumhead court-martial and summarily shot.

Progress of the British elections.

Our last week's report from the Parliamentary elections in Great Britain (p. 691), included the returns for the 17th. Since then Glasgow has returned 4 Liberals and 1 Laborite out of 7 contests; and two of the three successful Conservatives are free traders. Lancashire and Manchester went strongly Liberal. James Keir Hardie, Socialist, was reelected on the 18th. By the returns up to that time the Liberals had secured a clear majority over all other parties. On the 24th the London dispatches analyzed the returns thus far as follows:

Liberals, 311; Conservatives (Unionists), 139; Irish Nationalists, 81; Laborites, 45; Socialists, 2.

The bearing of the British elec-

tions upon what is known in this country as the single tax was described in the Springfield (Mass.) Republican of January 19, by C. B. Fillebrown of Boston, who wrote:

In an admirable portrait of the new English cabinet, from the pen of Prof. John Atkinson Hobson of London, he sets forth as likely to be a leading feature of government policy, to which many members of the new ministry stand committed, the taxation of ground values. . . . The progress of the taxation of land values in the British Parliament, as indicated by successive records in "second reading debates" upon different bills for the last four years, was summarized by Charles Trevelyan, M. P., as follows:

1902.....229	158; majority against 71.
1903.....138	170; majority against 13.
1904.....158	225; majority for 67.
1905.....112	202; majority for 90.

In an editorial of the same issue of the Springfield Republican the land value taxation issue is emphasized. "It should be noted," reads that editorial, "that the leadership of the Liberal party has been keenly alive to the necessities of its future existence, and that it is to-day prepared with a programme entirely aside from free trade, which is designed to attract working class support. 'Social reform' has been made a war cry by Liberal papers and speakers, and it covers a body of reforms which strike at economic rather than political anachronisms and abuses." Proceeding, the Republican says:

Liberalism to-day contemplates "alteration of the incidence of taxation so that the ground landlord, the owner and the rich shall pay their just proportion of taxation," as John Burns has expressed it. The Liberal Premier, in his Albert Hall address, made significant remarks when he said: "We desire to develop our undeveloped estates in this country; to colonize our own country; to give the farmer greater freedom and greater security in the exercise of his business; to secure a home and a career for the laborer who is now in many cases cut off from the soil. We wish to make the land less of a pleasure ground for the rich and more of a treasure-house for the nation." "We can strengthen the hand of the municipalities by reforming the land system and the rating system, in which I include the imposition of a rate on ground values." This suggests nothing less than an attack on the English aristocracy's land monopoly. Labor legislation, too, in favor of the trade unions, is substantially promised in order to counteract

some recent judicial decisions. Municipal ownership of public utilities will also be encouraged.

Mine Workers' convention.

At the session of the United Mine Workers of America at Indianapolis (p. 696), on the 19th, the issue between this organization and the socialist organization of miners, the Western Federation of Miners, was disposed of adversely to the Federation. It was upon a motion that the United Mine Workers accept in lieu of initiation fees the transfer cards of the Federation. President Mitchell opposed it and it was voted down by a decisive majority. On the 20th the convention adopted a resolution declaring for the construction of good roads across the continent by convicts, on the ground that this would enhance the prosperity of trades unionists, farmers and taxpayers generally, and would add to the wealth of the Republic. It declared also against Japanese and Korean immigration. The following specific demands to be presented at the conference with employers at Indianapolis on the 25th was adopted on the 21st:

1. A straight advance of 12½ per cent for all miners and mine laborers.
2. All bituminous districts to be admitted to the conference where they are represented by both mineworkers and operators.
3. A 7-cent differential must be established between pick and machine mining on the mine run basis.
4. A uniform day wage scale to be paid to all classes of day labor.
5. Boys under 16 years of age shall not be permitted to work in or about the mine.
6. That the wage agreement or contract between the United Mine Workers and the operators shall continue for one year from April 1, 1906.
7. All other conditions of the present wage agreement that do not conflict with the above demands shall remain in force for the same period as the new scale.

John Mitchell was reelected president at the session of the 23d, with the following colleagues: Vice president, T. L. Lewis; secretary-treasurer, W. B. Wilson; delegates to the American Federation of Labor, John Mitchell, T. L. Lewis, W. B. Wilson, John Dempsey, H. C. Perry and John Fahey; delegates to the international mining congress at London, John P. White, president of the Iowa

miners, and Patrick Gildae, president of district No. 2 of Pennsylvania.

Revolution in Ecuador.

Later reports from Ecuador show that the revolution reported last week (p. 696) to have ended, has been so far successful as to have put the revolutionists in control of the government. A new government was formed at Guayaquil on the 20th, with Vice-President Baquerizo Morena at its head and Guayaquil as the capital. Rioting followed, and within an hour Gen. Eloy Alfaro, who had captured Quito as the leader of the revolution, was proclaimed president. Gen. Leonidas Plaza, the Ecuadorian minister to the United States, who had reached Guayaquil on the 18th, and assumed command of the armies against the revolutionists, was obliged to make his escape. He found refuge on the Chilean steamer *Loa*, bound for Panama.

NEWS NOTES

—Secretary Root announced on the 19th that President Roosevelt had selected Luke E. Wright, governor general of the Philippines, to be first ambassador to Japan.

—George Jacob Holyoake, the author, lecturer, advocate of secularism and most distinguished agitator for industrial cooperation, died at Brighton, England on the 22d. He was born in 1817.

—On the 22d the number of signatures to the Chicago traction petition for the purpose of securing an advisory referendum (p. 657) exceeded 175,000. It is on exhibition at the Examiner office, No. 124 Dearborn street.

—Tuan Fang and Tai Hung-Chi, Chinese high commissioners, are visiting this country with their suite for the purpose of studying the political institutions of the United States and gleaning all available information respecting economic, social, industrial and educational conditions.

—The commission appointed by the senate of Finland (p. 511) to prepare a project for the reform of the Diet has agreed to the principle of a single house legislature, the members to be elected by universal suffrage. Both men and women who have reached the age of 21 will have the right to vote.

—Judge Holdom, of Chicago, refused on the 22d to allow a jury trial in injunction proceedings (p. 511) against E. R. Wright and E. E. Besette, officers of the printers' union of

Chicago. He found them guilty of contempt for violation of an injunction forbidding payment or promise of transportation or other rewards to induce imported employes to quit work.

—At the election on the 21st for officers of the Chicago Federation of Labor, regarding which a violent faction headed by a leader known as "Skinny" Madden has caused several breeches of the peace, the Madden faction was defeated. John J. Fitzpatrick was elected president and Edward N. Nockels, secretary. A large force of police was necessary to prevent repetitions of previous successful movements by the Madden faction to break up the meeting.

—A committee appointed by the Municipal Ownership League of Chicago is arranging for a banquet in commemoration of the action of the City Council in placing upon the ballot of the mandatory referendum the questions of municipal ownership and operation of street railways, the banquet to be given on the evening of the presentation to the election commissioners of the huge petition for municipal ownership now on exhibition at the Examiner office.

—A testimonial banquet is to be given at the Iroquois Club rooms, No. 200 South Clark street, Chicago, at 6:30 on the 27th, to the minority members of the local transportation committee of the City Council, "in recognition of their able, faithful and successful services to the people of Chicago in the cause of municipal ownership of street railways." The aldermen to be thus honored are Charles Werno, William E. Dever, Nicholas R. Finn, Michael Zimmer and John J. Bradley.

PRESS OPINIONS

THE PUBLIC OWNERSHIP CLOUD.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Jan. 24.—The time has come when railway discrimination must stop. It is no longer a question whether the railroads shall or shall not be controlled by the public. The question now is whether they shall be controlled or owned by the public. And those who oppose public control play directly into the hands of those who advocate public ownership.

BRITISH DEMOCRACY.

The Chicago Examiner (Dem.), Jan. 20.—The wonderful triumph of the Liberals in England had its most striking illustration in the sweeping victory that they won in London. The Liberals and the Labor candidates practically took all the seats in Parliament away from their Tory or Unionist opponents. Liberalism in England is by this election put in power. To be put in power is not always a great advantage. It means also that the party in power is put on trial. But every party which has the courage of its convictions should be willing to be put on trial. If the English Liberals are not able to conduct the government, they should be turned out, and they will be. That is one of the points in which England has the better of us. We can't turn anybody out of

office, either an individual or a party, until years after the election. . . . The English system is a better one, for a vote of no confidence, or a vote against a government measure, means the change of power from the party in power to the opposition. In our national legislature a vote against the Administration means nothing at all.

GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY'S LETTER.

Springfield Republican (Ind.), Jan. 19.—Mr. Peabody's ideas of safety and sanity are then extended to the tax question, with the conclusion: "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." . . . Mr. Peabody evidently finds in land monopoly and the protective tariff a principal source of the unearned and excessive wealth and power of those great capitalistic combinations which are not reached by his plan of public ownership. . . . Briefly stated, the Peabody platform for the Democracy is: Public ownership of railroads and street railways and other public-service businesses based upon the use of streets or right of eminent domain; reform of the tariff as a protector of trusts; and ground rent taxation as a remedy against monopoly in general having its basis in private ownership of the stores and wealth of nature. It may well be doubted if these views of what is safe and sane will find acceptance among those Democrats who invented and make an authoritative use of the phrase. Nevertheless, having regard to the great problem of monopoly, which is almost universally recognized as upon the country in serious and aggravated form, it is quite possible that more safety and sanity may be found in such a programme than in any one so far presented under the title of "safe and sane." Anyhow, it is of no slight significance that a man of Mr. Peabody's surroundings should advance so radical a programme as this.

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 as handed upon going to press. Page references are to the pages of Vol. 40 of that publication.

Washington, Jan. 8-13, 1906.

Senate.

A message from the President on the Isthmian Canal Commission was laid before the Senate on the 8th (p. 785), and on the same day the Tillman resolution on the Santo Domingo question was discussed (p. 787). Senator Morgan discussed his freight rate bill on the 9th (p. 841). There was some discussion on the 10th of the pure food bill (p. 885) and of the ship subsidy bill (p. 889); and on the 11th a discussion relative to the Morocco conference resulted in a secret session (pp. 911-913). There was no session on the 12th and 13th.

House.

Consideration of the Philippine tariff bill was continued on the 8th (p. 817), the 9th (p. 848), the 10th (p. 901), the 11th (p. 945), the 12th (p. 959) and the 13th (p. 989).

Record Notes.—Speech of Champ Clark on the Philippine tariff bill (p. 761); J. Warren Keifer's speech in reply (p. 920). Text of Bacon's resolution on the Morocco conference (p. 787). Text of Senator Rayner's speech on Santo Domingo question (p. 788). Text of the pure food bill before the Senate (p. 885). Text of Fillipino memorial for independence (p. 965).

Dressmaker—And would you have leg of mutton sleeves, madam?

Customer—Most certainly not. I am a vegetarian.—Punch.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

FOR THE CAUSE.

I heard men saying: "Leave hope and praying,

All days shall be as all have been;
To-day and to-morrow bring fear and sorrow

The never-ending toll between."
When earth was younger, 'midst toil and hunger,

In hope we strove and our hands were strong;

Then great men led us, with words they fed us,

And bade us right the earthly wrong.

Go, read in story their deeds and glory,

Their names amidst the nameless dead;
Turn then from lying to us slow dying,

In that good world to which they led;
Where fast and faster our iron master,

The thing we made, forever drives,
Bids us grind treasure and fashion pleasure

For other hopes and other lives.

Let dead hearts tarry and trade and marry,
And trembling nurse their dream of mirth,

While we, the living, our lives are giving
To bring the bright new world to birth.
Come, shoulder to shoulder, ere earth grows older!

The Cause spreads over land and sea;
Now the world shaketh and fear awaketh,
And joy at last for thee and me.

—William Morris.

THE MODEL WITNESS.

The opposing counsel: "What is your name?"

The witness, appealing to the judge:
"Am I obliged to answer this?"

The judge: "You are."

The witness: "My name is Todgers."
"First name?"

"I decline to answer."

"On what ground?"

"It would be construed into a reflection on the good taste of my parents."

"Where were you born?"

"I decline to answer."

"Why?"

"Because all my information on the subject is of the hearsay character."

"But you were there at the time?"

"I decline to admit it."

"What is your age?"

"Before answering I desire to consult with my attorneys."

"What is your ostensible business?"

"I do not remember."

"Are you in any way connected with the Ramrod trust?"

"I do not remember."

"What is its capitalization?"

"I do not remember."

"What is your salary?"

"I do not remember."

"Are you married?"

"I do not remember."

The judge: "The hearing will now be adjourned until ten a. m. to-morrow. And I want to congratulate the opposing counsel on the marked progress they have made in advancing the case."—The Plain Dealer.

A SWISS EXPERT GIVES EVIDENCE OF THE SUCCESS OF THE REFERENDUM SYSTEM.

"Gustav Buscher, of Zurich, Switzerland, was in Buffalo," says the Times of that city, "studying municipal conditions. He has already visited New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and Cleveland, and has many interesting comparisons to make as to the way municipal affairs are handled in this country and in Switzerland. He is a firm believer in municipal ownership, and says that in his country a success has been made of the venture in whatever direction it has been tried. Mr. Buscher says that the referendum is one of the fixed institutions of Switzerland.

"Speaking of the referendum, which gained its origin in Switzerland, Mr. Buscher said: 'It is one of the fixed institutions of my country. The voters have the right to petition for the privilege to vote on any law passed by the legislature. The people are conservative and on most occasions vote "no" at these referendum votes. I believe in government railroads, telegraphs and telephones because they are natural monopolies. This principle is a great success in our country. The railroads were taken over by the government three years ago and we have cut the fares down to a little over a cent a mile. The employes work less now than before and get better wages.'"

What has been accomplished in Switzerland should be possible here; but it is well to note that before attempting municipal or government ownership the Swiss wisely first installed the referendum system as a check on their representatives, and a preventive of grafting and corruption.

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY.

AMOS CURRIER.

These words of simple eloquence, delivered at the grave of an inconspicuous man in an obscure New England village, are an example of what might be said with truth of scores upon scores of thousands of men and women who in these days of spectacular self-service are living modest lives of radiant usefulness to their fellowmen. They form a portion of an address delivered by the Rev. Charles Haddon at the funeral of Amos Currier at Contoocook, N. H., November 21, 1905.

There are two classes of employes:

one class thinks everything of their pay and does the least possible amount of work to get it; the other class demands their pay, indeed, but they think less of that than they do of the importance of their work and the satisfaction of having it well and thoroughly done. To the latter class belonged Amos Currier. On this principle he has lived and worked every day for the last 34 years right here among us and with us, and you all know it. This is the fruit of his life; this is the fruit which to you railroad men, merchants, mechanics, professional men, farmers, clerks and workers of every kind, he, as a parting gift, leaves you to-day. Take it, eat it and graft it into your lives that you may build up from this community a class of men who shall perpetuate that kind of fruit.

But Amos may have carried this principle to excess. He is dead at 54, when it seems as if he ought to have lived to be at least 75 or 80. He may have done more than he could do in justice to himself and the general community. He loved and studied the flowers, the stars, music and the mountains, and was interested in all public improvements, and we have reason to regret that, as he has done work enough for any one man, he could not have had and given us the benefit of a score of declining years of comparative leisure wherein these other qualities would have had opportunity for larger development.

And this leads me to express the thought that we are all inclined to place too much stress on the mere accumulation of property. What Amos has left behind on the material side as the result of his work I know not. I hope enough to supply the needs of a bereft companion as long as she lives in this world, but he has not left the community with the impression that this and not the faithful performance of his work has been the supreme object of his life. He had a higher thought than that, and this higher thought, this conviction in the minds of the community, is a fruit, a legacy to leave behind, infinitely more valuable than the millions which unjust laws, special privilege, perjury and an insatiate and uncontrollable love for money have enabled some of our day to accumulate and which some day they will leave to the injury of every one into whose hands it will fall.

We are, almost every one of us, doing some useful work; we are cultivating the soil, raising milk, cutting and

hauling wood, making machines, spinning silk, making needles, sawing lumber, building houses, keeping house, collecting, storing and selling goods, grinding grain, furnishing light, keeping school. Amos had charge of the railroad station, on his faithfulness in which, in large degree, depended the lives, safety and convenience of, as you may say, everybody here, and not less is this true of those men, also, who daily traverse the tracks in the three directions from this center, of whom that life-long worker, the late Cyril T. Webber, was one. All these men are doing useful work, and so far as they do it with a greater regard for its real use to the world than to their mere self-interest, they are doing the noblest work that can be done. An angel from heaven could not do better.

All these uses, however, have relation to the body and the life of the body; but there is another class of works and a more important one, that we are all doing at the same time; I mean the works that influence our character, for character goes with us after death. These are works that go forth from us without effort of our own. They are like the works of the tree which impresses us with its beauty, its strength, its stability and its grace, and in so many ways seems to us almost human. I meet a citizen in the street; all I know of that man comes up to my mind. If I have discovered any trait of nobleness in him it will add itself to any similar trait in me if it can find any such, and that trait in me is thereby strengthened. If it can find none I may thereby see my lack. I see a man under great provocation control his temper and suppress the bitter reply. He helps me do that thing when my turn comes to be tempted. I hear a man make some casual remark—it is, perhaps, unimportant in itself, but I note that somehow it gave an upward instead of a downward turn to my thought, and a hundred times afterward I think again of that little circumstance and I am somewhat lifted thereby above things low and debasing and elevated somewhat in the direction of things pure and heavenly. So a cheerful word, a smile or look from a friend, a genuine feeling of sympathy expressed in any of a hundred ways, is as real a help as any of those things that come in the form of tangible wealth; but they are on our spiritual side and we are too apt to count them as nothing. I have mentioned only two or

three of the ways in which we may spiritually help one another, but there are as many ways of doing it as there are different kinds of bodily employment in the material world. The fruits of our bodily life, our physical labor and its accomplishments, are often very much alike, but it is these spiritual fruits, that is, these spiritual elements in our natural fruits or labors, that give them their crispness, their juiciness, their flavor and their mellowness. You men who have for years come in daily contact with Amos Currier may have sometimes found him a little rough and forbidding on the outside, but I guarantee you have always found him sweet and tender within.

You have seen, my friends, a pot of molten iron in a furnace or, perhaps, a dish of melted lead in your own homes. There was always a little film of dross trembling on the surface. Whatever there was of this attaching from earth to the spirit of our friend, let us believe that the gentle winds that blow over the river of death will bear away, and in his face, when we meet him there, we shall see reflected the unsullied image of the author of his spirit, the very Sun of Heaven.

EFFORTS AT SELF-GOVERNMENT BY THE REVOLUTIONISTS IN THE CAUCASUS.

From one of Ernest Poole's able articles now being published in *The Outlook*. This especial article appeared in *The Outlook* of Nov. 18, 1905. The region described lies between Batoum and Tiflis.

First we saw poverty. The bare cabins looked the colder and leakier in the fast thickening rain. The children were weak and thin; no jolly shouts or laughter, only dreary silence. "Well," I remarked to Ivanoff, "I hope the old Governor does expel us, the sooner the better. For of all the sickening holes on earth this is the worst."

"Right, stranger," said a sad-eyed peasant, ragged and lame. "It's a dead place, for sure."

"Where in thunder did you learn English?"

"Four years with Buffalo Bill—he make me a Cossack in the rough rider troop. We have the bully time! So I broke my leg. So here I am." He spat sadly into the mud. But when I told him why I had come, he brightened. "Good. Write it in all the most big papers—how we are poor—why we strike. I will show." He took us to peasants, we used our Tiflis letters be-

sides, and all morning we took their stories.

"Poorer every year!" cried one white, stooping old peasant, his sturdy voice shaking. "I was a serf before the emancipation in '64. Our owner took from my father every year one cow, eight swine, 12 chickens (to feed to his hunting falcons), one pig, and ten poods of gomee (rice). He could strap us in his stocks or beat us as he pleased, and when he punished a man he beat the man's parents, too, for giving birth to such a devil. [An old Persian custom.] In '64 we were freed. But then our old owner shouted: 'You don't own this land. Get off!' And we had to take the very worst land, and so we starved. My father shouted: 'This is a devil's trick!' So they grabbed him at night away to Siberia, and we never saw him again. The new land got so bad we rented our old land, and so we were slaves again. They kept raising the rent, and, besides, the police and priests and judges of the czar made us pay, or they would beat us or curse our souls. So three years ago we just stopped plowing. Then the owners grew angry because their fields were idle; they took our cattle. We went and took our own cattle back. And the police and judges shouted: 'This is a revolution!'"

"We have a letter from Tolstoy," said one quite intelligent man, a doctor. "He is glad of our three years' struggle. He says we make the best of all revolutions—without guns or fists or knives. We just say to the owners: 'Keep your fields. We will not come.' And to the Governor: 'Please stay in your town. We will pay you all your taxes, we will pay for all your judges, priests and policemen. But let the judge sit in his house, the priest in his church, and the policeman in his jail. We will punish our own criminals, marry our own lovers, bury our own dead—and so we do. When a lad loves a girl so he groans when he is not with her, then he just brings her before all the people and says: 'I love her and want her to be my wife until she dies?' And the old men ask her: 'Do you love him?' And she says 'Yes,' and so they are happy. So, too, we bury our dead, and they are just as happy in Heaven as they would be if the Russian priests had mumbled over their graves Russian words that most of us can't even understand. And our criminals? It is easy to catch them, for every man is a policeman; and easy to find out their rights or

wrongs, for every man is a witness. And if the thief will not give back what he stole from his brother, then we just leave him alone, no one ever speaks to him, he has to go with priests and policemen, and soon he becomes nearly crazy, and works till he can give back. We do not punish, we just cure. And so all kinds of disputes are settled. For now we know that we are all brothers, and any man who is mean or bad is ashamed when we make him stand up before all the people. So it is with the women. One woman had always been ugly to her sick old husband; she spat at him and called him a dog and made him eat his supper in the cow-shed. This man was so sick in his lungs he could not help himself, and he was very sad. So our old men went to her cabin and said: "This old husband will die. Now, when we make a new life here, we must all be kind to each other like brothers, since the Czar's people are not kind. But you are a bad example to all. Now you just let him in for supper." So in he crept from the cow-shed, coughing, and while he ate he said: "This is my first supper here in 20 years." And now she is always kind to him, because she knows if she is bad she must stand up before all the people. So we get along nicely. But the priests and policemen and judges don't get along nicely, for now they have only their salaries—no more bribes. And so they have brought the Cossacks."

THE DEVIL & CO (LIMITED).

All the devil wants is a good working partnership with respectability; and this he is sure to win by showing respectability that it pays to take him in. Then "He is not so black as he is painted" in the first line of the popular chorus whose finale is the chant: "We praise thee, oh God, for the many benefits taken away from others and given to us. We thank thee that in Thy great power Thou sought out us and that made us great also."

A vicious or disreputable traffic never rests till it has got a heedless public to participate in its profits by accepting a license at a price for its legal existence, or in some other manner got the government to take stock in it. Such a traffic virtually says to a city council: "We are here to stay, and mean business, at the same time we want to be law-abiding; to be taken inside the law is worth something to us, so you might as well make something out of us and help the town along; come, don't be

squeamish, be public-spirited and take us in. Besides, if you don't, there's no knowing how bad we'll be." Then, when our school fund and our public library fund accrue from the permits of saloons and brothels, the community is in full partnership with these industries which are thereby permanently sustained, respectability must defend its partners.

When railroad corporations, bolder still, virtually say to a State's representatives: "We have got almost everything we want since we have got a monopoly of the carrying trade, and are raking off all the public will bear, at the same time we might be annoyed and impeded in our business by any adverse State laws, especially such as might relate to taxation. And there's no telling how much expense your State would have to incur in litigation if you do not favor us in this little matter of exemption from taxation." Then, when several hundred passes (to say nothing of other favors) are snugly lodged in the pockets of sundry legislative and judicial functionaries, and of various county assessors, the State's officials begin to discover a warm feeling in their hearts for these monopolists, and somehow it happens that when the legislature adjourns the State has become a party to any and all the hold-up methods railway corporations may see fit to pursue. Nor has it even got so much as license fees to exonerate itself with; instead, its people are bound to actually pay tribute to the carrying trade.

Yet who can tell how much is tribute or booty and how much is for actual honest service? How convenient this mixture is! The word tribute takes us back to the eighteenth century when organized piracy roamed the high seas, crippling commerce and leaving devastation and terror in its path. These pirates had no mix-up about their trade, but when they were strong enough to make their demands on trading nations they called a spade a spade, and boldly demanded annual tribute as a price for withholding their pirate guns, for ceasing to cripple the sea traffic. Modern pirates do not roam the high seas to cripple trade now, they are established in custom houses, crippling trade at our ports, and are really hired men for the arch pirates who have fattened into trusts through tribute or tariffs demanded first from foreign traders and received by government as price-money for still great-

er tribute thereafter accruing to trusts from consumers of trust-made goods. It is the government-partnership or power of might in this tribute or loot-taking that gives it its high tone. Pure piracy had a regal power transcending mere partnership, but a thief or burglar has no standing in society. Why, it is a penal offense to receive goods stolen by a burglar or highwayman; you are a party to the offense; even if these gentry do have honest callings in the day-time, that makes no difference.

Of late, however, this questionable partnership has assumed a far more sinister phase. Our Carnegies and Rockefellers have been so polite, so affable and pious, so generous to some libraries and universities that many institutions are continually on their knees to these idols. They are not only willing to pledge a partnership themselves, but are willing to mortgage the youth of the coming generation. Of course privately owned seats of learning can, perhaps, claim a sort of right to warp the morals of their students, but for a State university like that of Nebraska to whine and crouchingly hold out the hat to piracy is disgraceful. It is as much a giveaway on the fiscal affairs of the State as was disclosed two years ago in Chicago when schools had to be closed because the rich were systematically dodging their taxes. For a university to take John D. Rockefeller's money is more than taking him into partnership, it is putting him in the school-room as teacher of his own methods. It is instituting a school for highwaymenism, to which Fagin's school for pickpockets was only a kindergarten. Once set up such a man as a patron saint of a college or university, and all the ethical ideals of the school will be let down to those of a corsair.

Suppose a symmetrical towered building is to be added by Rockefeller to one of our universities; is it possible for the countless youth that will swarm therein to withhold their admiration from the great benefactor? Nor will they fail of the natural emotion of gratitude for benefits enjoyed. From that point to a defense of the methods of these modern buccaneers is an easy step, and attempted emulation a foregone conclusion. So much for example, but that is not all, for is anyone simple enough to suppose that a school fostered by the head of a great trust will ever unveil the sacred obscurity that envelops the

question of tariffs? Is it likely that any question of political economy or public conduct involving the vested interests of wealth will ever be illumined? Lord Macaulay declared that if the admission of the law of gravitation involved any considerable financial interests, that principle would still be unsettled.

A course at such a university would send out into the world graduates crippled for life in their moral intelligence. To discern right from wrong on all great issues of the day would be out of their power. And to declare that these immense benefactions do not hamper free speech in universities in the face of daily facts to the contrary is absurd.

And more insidious than the dissemination of error in subsidized universities is that possible in endowed public libraries. Books having such an innocent look on their backs and such noble titles are filled with the most intricate tissues of lies so beautifully interlaced with truth that it would take a court of law to tear them apart. Worthless hack-writer versions of our greatest statesmen's lives belittle our highest models of citizenship like the Morse series which practically writes Thomas Jefferson down to the level of our lowest successful politicians, at the same time declaring him one of our greatest men. Biographies of new men, in which various kinds of freebooters are whitewashed to appear kind and good and angelic, worthless text books on history and political economy, all these are but too ready to creep into the best of libraries, but when a man whose whole life action is set against justice to all men because he believes with his whole heart in the special right of a few men to the earth, and has a fierce class loyalty, and a fiercer determination to make his own morals accepted as a world standard, his power for evil when let loose in a public library is unlimited.

His very virtues, since they are in partnership with his warped ethical sense, make him all the more formidable. In short, in these matters of public benefactions, if "we should not look a gift horse in the mouth," we should by all means look the title of the gift horse right well in the mouth, lest we become receivers of stolen goods and take the Devil into partnership. — Lona Ingham Robinson, in Des Moines (Ia.) Register and Leader of February 29, 1904.

BOOKS

THEY MUST.

Sie Muessen. Ein Offenes Wort an die Christliche Gesellschaft. (They Must. A Candid Word to Organized Christianity.) By Hermann Kutter, a Protestant clergyman, of Zuerich, Published by Albert Mueller's Verlag, Zuerich. Price three francs.

About a year ago a book was published in Switzerland, that in spite of its being unnoticed by nearly all the great newspapers, has found more readers and made a deeper impression than any book of the same kind ever published in that country. It had the somewhat strange title: "Sie Muessen." ("They Must.") Its author was the Rev. Hermann Kutter, a highly esteemed clergyman of Zuerich. The book deals with the relations between the modern social movement and Christianity. But this way of speaking of the book would be misleading. It is not one of the ordinary, more or less cleverly written and skillfully compiled books on social subjects, that are put on the market every year, like any other regularly manufactured product. It is written in earnest. It is written because the author had something to say that did not permit him to remain silent; because he was burning with a holy wrath against injustice and perfidy; because he hungered and thirsted for righteousness. The whole book is like a thunderstorm, like a blast of doom. It is as "harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice." It shows us our present Christianity in all its weakness, meanness and wickedness. It shows us with inexorable clearness that our life is the flat negative of our faith, that we are accustomed to betray our holiest belief for the sake of our selfishness. No wonder that all the believers in the gospel of things as they are, were frightened by this book. No wonder that the leading newspapers dared not speak of it. And no wonder, too, that those who, in their scientific narrow-mindedness, think to have solved all the riddles of life by a skillfully combined theory, could not understand the book. He who never heard an inward voice bidding him to leave his work and do something for the sake of truth, of justice, of humanity, cannot understand it.

To comprehend fully what the book means, one must have an idea of the attitude of the church towards the socialist movement in Switzerland and in Germany. When the socialist party first began its work, there was nearly nobody among the respectable classes who looked upon it otherwise than with the utmost contempt. And when it became evident that this movement was not to be overcome with mere contempt, that it was to be-

come a power in political life, contempt turned into hatred. The government persecuted it, the church cursed it. For the truly good, narrow-minded citizen, a socialist was a criminal, an infidel. Did they not openly confess that the present order of things must be abolished, that they would overthrow throne and altar? What could be more hateful than this?

I do not know what was the opinion of the Rev. Mr. Kutter about the socialists when he began to consider their activity, but I think I am not mistaken in supposing that he at first viewed them in the same light as most church people do. But he began to doubt the correctness of this judgment. He began to investigate the matter, and the more he investigated the stronger grew his impression that he was terribly mistaken; the more he thought of it, the stronger grew his belief that the socialists were abused and despised for the same reason that the first followers of Christ were abused and despised for—because they defended the interests of the poor, and attacked mammon. It was true that the socialists were opposed to the present order of things. But they were opposed to it because it is built upon a fundamental injustice. They were opposed to the belief in God; but it was only because the word of God had been used to shield perfidy, because for the sake of God, man, the image of God, was trodden under foot. The more he thought of it the more he became convinced of this terrible truth, that the church that claimed to be the servant of God had become the servant, the mere tool of His worst foe, mammon; that the spirit of the power that makes for righteousness was nowhere working in the church, but only in that movement and party which the church so heartily denounced as the enemy of religion and order.

I think there are many among the clergy and other classes of well-to-do people who are more or less conscious of this truth. But they prefer to be silent. They know that it is dangerous to say such things. But Mr. Kutter does not belong to this kind of men. It was a duty imposed upon him by his conscience, to bear witness to the truth, and he did not hesitate to fulfill his duty.

He entitled his book, "Sie Muessen" ("They Must"), which means that the socialists are not working on their own account for their own sake, but that they are merely the tools of the higher power that is developing mankind to a better and nobler life.

But though Mr. Kutter appreciates fully the good work the socialists are doing, he does not believe at all in their scientific theories. He evidently thinks very little of Marxian socialism. His real view of the social question is dis-



VIDE DICKENS.

Bill Sikes, Pecksniff and Uriah Heep, these three: but the worst of these is Uriah Heep!

closed on page 240 of his book, where he says that mammonism (which term he uses for the power that corrupts our social life and oppresses the toiling masses) is, in its concise form, property in land.

He believes that all men have the equal and inalienable right to the use of the earth on which they must live and die. There is no doubt that he has been inspired with this belief by the author of "Progress and Poverty."

To those who oppose the idea of the equal rights of all to the earth, he speaks as follows:

You say that he who has bought a thing owns it rightfully, whatever it may be.

I reply to you with the words of the great American, H. George:

"The equal, natural and inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, does it not involve the right of each to the free use of his powers in making a living for himself and his family, limited only by the equal right of all others? Does it not require that each shall be free to make, to save and to enjoy what wealth he may, without interference with the equal rights of others; that no one shall be compelled to give forced labor to another, or to yield up his earnings to another; that no one shall be permitted to extort from another

labors or earnings? All this goes without the saying."

And to those who object to single tax on account of its impracticability and impossibility, he answers:

Why do you pile up impossibilities of all kinds in your books? Why do you believe in all the impossible whims and fancies of your brain whilst you are speaking at once and with rare unanimity, of "impossibility" and "craziness," when the only reasonable and therefore the only possible thing is brought before you, namely, the right of all men to the earth that God has given to them? Why, indeed, if it is not because the mammon has perplexed your intelligence?

Mr. Kutter frequently refers to the injustice of land monopoly; he urges that a change in our social conditions can only come by society as a whole taking possession of the land, by abolishing the absolutely unjustifiable land monopolies of every kind (page 241).

The foregoing may be deemed sufficient to characterize the spirit of the book. It affords new proof that the

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BOOKS RECEIVED.

—The End Inevitable: Passing of the Competitive System. By C. E. Obenchain. Girard, Kan.: Appeal Publishing Co. Price 50 cents.—Another socialistic assault upon competition, which proceeds upon the assumption that competitive conditions, and conditions in which competition is unbalanced and its effects distorted by monopolistic influences, are the same. Consequently cooperation and competition are treated as antithetical, whereas it is

SPECIAL NOTICE TO SINGLE TAXERS OF CHICAGO

The Single Taxers of Chicago and vicinity, and their friends, will dine at the Washington Restaurant, N. W. Corner Wabash Avenue and Adams Street, Chicago, on the first Friday evening of each month, at 6 p. m. The dinner on February 2nd will be table d'hote. For further particulars communicate with the committee at 1202 Ashland Block, Chicago. (Telephone, Central 925.)

On March 2nd the Single Taxers will attend the banquet to J. W. Bengough at the Auditorium Banquet Hall, instead of holding the usual monthly dinner.

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free competition and natural cooperation that are identical. The antithesis of competition is not cooperation, but monopoly. Distinguished for statistical multifariousness rather than analytical severity.

—The At-One-Ment of Christian Science and Single Tax: A Feeble Attempt to Unite Two Mighty Subjects. By Julia Goldzier. Second edition. Published by Julia Goldzier, 26 E. 45th St., Bayonne, N. J.—The author, a Christian Scientist, acknowledges that she transgresses a Christian Science rule by publishing a book to show that economic truths are one with all truth, and therefore that the single tax is at one with Christian Science. Her economic statements though, not always expressed with exactness, are throughout with singular fidelity to good logic and good sense.

PERIODICALS

It is a remarkably just and discriminating tribute to the late Edward Atkinson which appears in the January number of the Free Trade Broadside. "His multifold interests in human affairs," says the writer, "were maintained by extraordinary industry and mental activity. For more than 40 years his copious expositions, all prompted by sincere regard for the common weal, have been scattered broadcast from press and platform. No fiscal, educational or social topic escaped his investigating eye, and, if his contributions were of uneven value, it was because the task attempted exceeded the limit of ordinary intellectual possibility." It is well that the writer brings out the side of Mr. Atkinson's mind which made him an idealist in addition to his facts and figures.—J. H. D.

Tudor Jenks, in Good Housekeeping for January, gives us a new game on the checker-board, which is worth passing on to households where there are children to be amused. Here are his directions: "Set the checkers as usual, but only on two rows, instead of three, giving each player eight men—four on the king-row and four on the next. Then move alternately as if playing checkers, but with this difference: There is no jumping, no piece can ever move backward; there are no kings. Consequently when either side has no further move the game is over, and the blocked player is beaten." More skill can be developed in the game than would seem possible at first. A good name for the new game would be "Jenks," after the discoverer.—J. H. D.

Whether the news be "crooked" or true that newspapers in certain parts of the country are planning to "get even" with the railroads for withholding passes, there appears in a number of statements to this effect a naive confession that heretofore the newspapers have been favoring the railroads. The Nebraska Independent, of January 11, publishes what purports to be a resolution of the Pittsburg Newspaper Publishers' association, which says "that hereafter no railroad official of the Pennsyl-

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Jerome K. Jerome, the English humorist, has shown that he can be intensely, as well as wittily, serious. The Literary Digest for January 13 publishes extracts from an important article of his in the January number of the Woman's Home Companion on the subject of reading. Among other good things he says: "The canting talk about art for art's sake will have to be forgotten. An author exercises too much influence upon his readers, especially upon his youthful readers, to be able to shirk responsibility. You might as well talk about patent medicine for patent medicine's sake. A book either does good or it does harm. You cannot divorce literature from life."—J. H. D.

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