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## CONTENTS.

### EDITORIAL:

Roosevelt's Washingtonian tableau.....	225
The National Educational Association .....	225
Inequalities in Wealth.....	225
Methods of getting wealth without earning it .....	226
Lawson's remedy for frenzied finance .....	226
A premonition of industrial depression .....	227
A corporation lawyer on the Jersey bench .....	227
Secession versus Imperialism.....	228
Mayor Dunne's Traction Policy.....	228

### NEWS NARRATIVE:

The Russian naval mutiny.....	231
The Russian-Japanese war.....	232
United States jurisdiction over local crime .....	232
Conflict in the National Educational Association .....	232
Conflict in the Chicago school board.....	233
The Industrial Worker of the World.....	233
Chicago teamsters' strike.....	234
News Notes .....	234
Press Opinions .....	234

### MISCELLANY:

Harvest (verse) .....	235
How They Do in Norway.....	235
Spaces which Paralyze.....	235
Mayor Johnson's Way.....	235
That Rain of Long Ago.....	235
Mr. Bryan on the Real Defenders of Property .....	236
The Bexer Troubles and the "Yellow Peril" .....	237
City Ownership Kills Monopoly.....	238

### BOOKS:

Two American Novels.....	239
Books Received.....	240

CARTOON—The Bull-Dog Scents His Real Enemy (Bengough).....	240
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For terms and other particulars of publication see cartoon page

## EDITORIAL

### Roosevelt's Washingtonian tableau.

"Ten miles from any human habitation, amid the silent towering trees of the great forest," and in "full-rounded tones," ringing "in their low intensity through the woods," while "above in the trees the shrill call of the wood bird to his mate was hushed, and it seemed as if the air had ceased to move," Theodore Roosevelt "on his bended knees prayed for the spiritual welfare of John Hay," as "around him were grouped the members of his cabinet"—together with an eloquent representative of the Associated Press, it would seem, for the above description of the tableau

has been telegraphed to an applauding world. We have here an instance either of a repulsive pose, advertised by request for pious effect, or of a disgusting invasion of President Roosevelt's privacy.

### The National Educational Association.

Of the merits of the controversy in the National Educational Association, which came to the surface at the meeting of the National Council of that association at Asbury Park last week, outsiders may not be able to fairly judge. But it is certain that there is considerable bitterness on one side, and on the other a great deal of complacent cynicism—usually a pretty sure sign of good reason for the bitterness.

Margaret A. Haley led the opposition to certain peculiar plans of organization proposed by the university faction. If these plans are adopted, she said, the government of the association will be reposed "in perpetuity in a self-perpetuating dynasty, whose power to rule can be amended only by special act of Congress," and "the most important educational body in America will be withdrawn entirely from the control and influence of the teachers of our country, and vested in a ring which may have only selfish objects in view." If this indictment is true, the danger to democratic education is serious. Should a self-perpetuating ring of plutocracy promoters be allowed to fix themselves in position to speak in the name and with the authority of the great teaching fraternity of the United States, the result would be disastrous to educational progress. It is not college presidents, backed by dependent professors and leagued on the one hand with plutocratic school trustees and superintendents and on the other with "tainted money" distributors, (few among them knowing or caring much for the mental difference between a school child and an educated jack-daw)—it is not such as these

whose educational ideas are most valuable in developing education in a democratic country like ours. It is the intelligent teachers, who come into personal contact with the children of the schools. If the voice of this body is to be suppressed by a scholastic ring, as Miss Haley predicts, the scheme cannot be thwarted too soon. Possibly this suppression of the voice of the teachers is not designed. But Miss Haley, who has a keen and pretty exact scent for plutocratic combines of the respectable sort, is corroborated by a good many circumstances.

### Inequalities in wealth.

When Prof. Laughlin insists, as he is reported, that "there will be inequalities of wealth just as long as there are differing industrial capacities in men," and attributes the growing bitterness toward wealthy persons to envy, he mistakes the signs of the times and misses the vital point. Though much of the bitterness to which he alludes doubtless does originate in envy, that counts for little. Neither the envy that would rob, nor the sordidness that would conserve the proceeds of robbery, is an important element in any great controversy; and it does not comport with the dignity of a scholar to refer to envy as the cause of the growing revolt against our plutocracy. Every revolution in the world's history, whether political or otherwise, was promoted by some men who were actuated by envy of those in power; and those in power often confused, sometimes unfortunately for themselves, the envy of the envious with the cause they espoused. Prof. Laughlin does the same thing when he attributes to the envious the rising tide of opposition to present day inequalities in wealth. These inequalities have given us living tableaux of the few revelling in luxury on little oases of wealth maintained by the many, while the many fight for a precarious livelihood in surrounding deserts of poverty. Such

tableaus generate general bitterness. But the bitterness springs not from envy of anyone's honest wages of achievement, however liberal; it springs from a sense of outrage at legalized inequality of opportunity for achievement. There is a difference between industrial capacities that are utilized for looting (whether legal looting or illegal), and those that are utilized for production. To the extent that inequalities of wealth are due to the differing industrial capacities in men who devote their energies to producing wealth, even the envious are silent, and all others are glad. But to the extent that those inequalities exist regardless of the utilization of superior industrial capacity, or in consequence of its utilization for appropriating wealth without earning it, to that extent no honest man, rich or poor, high or low, learned or ignorant, ought to be either silent or apologetic.

President Roosevelt falls into the same error of which Prof. Laughlin is guilty. In his speech to the teachers at Asbury Park, the President called it "wicked folly to let ourselves be drawn into any attack upon the man of wealth merely as such." Incontestably true. But so is it "wicked folly to let ourselves be drawn into any attack upon the man" of education, or of physical strength and beauty, or of high office, or of something else, "merely as such." This is a species of wicked folly that few commit; but so is that which Mr. Roosevelt describes. The animus of the popular attacks upon Mr. Roosevelt's "man of wealth," is not merely that he is a man of wealth, but that he seems to get his wealth without earning it, and therefore at the expense of others who do earn it. This is the indictment, and it is time for the apologists to meet it with candor.

**Methods of getting wealth without earning it.**

That some delectable specimens of "the man of wealth" get their wealth in defiance or evasion of

the law, is a fact which becomes more and more palpable as disclosures like that of the Equitable (p. 185) proceed. Only a few months ago persons who ventured to expose these "mackerel men" were duly warned not to attack the rich, "as such"; but now we are learning the character of differentiated "industrial capacities," and discovering the grafting methods of "successful" men like the Alexanders and the Hydes and the Depews. They are really types of the modern "man of wealth" whom we are gently urged not to attack, "merely as such." The fact that only the Equitable crew has as yet been found out, makes it none the less important to hold the others under surveillance. Hosts of them are in national and State legislatures, and on the bench, and in high executive offices; but a larger and more dangerous host are in the inner councils of great corporations, at the heads of manufacturing enterprises, in huge mercantile establishments, in spacious lawyers' offices, and in employers' associations; while their apologists flourish most in our universities, our educational associations, and our pulpits.

But the "man of wealth" who is not to be attacked "merely as such," yet occupies a position of hostility to society, is not always nor necessarily at all, a personal boodler or grafter. The most oppressive appropriations of wealth by non-earners from the earners, may be and in much the larger part actually are, effected by men whose personal honesty is justly unquestioned. It is institutional misappropriation of wealth, not personal dishonesty, that counts for most in the spoliation of industry. For that reason we should not merely refrain from attacking the man of wealth "merely as such;" we should subordinate our attacks even upon the dishonestly rich to our attacks upon dishonest laws and institutions and their defenders.

**Lawson's remedy for frenzied finance.**

In his Kansas speech,—where, by the way, he administered a well-deserved and impudently-invited rebuke to the young Mr. Jerome of New York,—Thomas W. Lawson announced the first step in the remedy for economic maladjustments which he has frequently promised in his *Everybody's* articles (p. 163) to disclose. This first step strikes us as somewhat difficult if not wholly impracticable. It consists in the people's selling every share of stock and every bond they hold, and placing the money thus realized in banks and trust companies not linked with the System, or, better still, in government, State, and municipal bonds. Mr. Lawson relies upon this course to force the System to cover its hypothecated stocks and bonds upon a falling market and cause its collapse. "There," he said, "is my simple plan—to load up the System with the stocks and bonds distributed among the people, in addition to the stocks and bonds it owns itself; then deprive it of the money of the people; result, the artificial price structure collapses, the stocks and bonds of railways and manufacturers and gas companies all drop to the real cost or values of the properties they represent; then the people (the money owners), purchasing the stocks and bonds, and having only to pay interest on their real values, can reduce rates of fare and freight, and the revolution will be complete."

Since Mr. Lawson stated that his remedy comprehends further steps, which, when the proper time comes he will announce, and that he will then set forth and operate the remedy, his first step as described in the speech cannot be very intelligently examined either for criticism or approval. Its practicability seems very doubtful, notwithstanding Mr. Lawson's assurances; because, unless he has invented some scheme to get the people to act together as one until they shall have forced prices down to rock bottom, the System may play a re-

turn match or two to Mr. Lawson's discomfiture. If this possible obstacle be overcome, at least one other will have to be met. When the stocks and bonds have been taken up at real values, after the collapse of the System, the new owners will forthwith water them on their own account unless Mr. Lawson has some method, as yet undiscovered, of coaxing them to reduce excessive freight rates, etc., down to the level of stock values, instead of inflating stock values up to the level of excessive freight rates. And if such a method is to be disclosed, nevertheless the real value of the stocks of railroads, gas companies, mines, etc., is not measured merely by the service the owners perform; it is measured by the tribute-levying power of their monopoly franchise or deed. Consequently, no matter how stocks and stock values may be arbitrarily regulated, the annual value of the monopoly franchise or deed will be annually extorted from somebody's earnings for somebody else's benefit. In that case Mr. Lawson's remedy would not, as he promises, "benefit all alike, the farmer, the laborer, the producer and consumer first and the honest possessor of capital second." But, as he promises that his remedy really will do this, and that "no man can misuse it or turn it into an instrument for his personal benefit," common fairness demands that full judgment upon the remedy be withheld until it is fully disclosed.

#### A premonition of industrial depression.

There are signs of a condition which may overwhelm the "frenzied finance" System in general disaster without the aid of Mr. Lawson's plan for cutting the foundation from under it. These signs are significant of one of those great booms which, rounding out an era of so-called prosperity and culminating in general collapse, have periodically preceded an era of hard times. According to an observant Kansas City correspondent of the New York Evening

Post, business men of the middle West are asking whether one of these booms is upon them, and asking it oftener than any other question. This boom is especially affecting farming lands, and it reaches out to the very foothills of the Rockies. In central Kansas, central Nebraska, and the eastern Dakotas, where farming land is well improved and notoriously productive, prices have for three years increased in value 20 per cent. a year. But, says the correspondent, this is not a circumstance to the movement of lands in the semi-arid region, where thousands of speculators are trying to make fortunes out of the prairies, and the towns are filled with land-seekers and land sellers. Quarter sections here that sold for \$300 three years ago, now bring \$1,000; and even at this price they are bought for a rise. With still greater significance, this land boom is accompanied by a bank boom, as in the ante-panic period of the 30's of which Shepard tells in his *Martin Van Puren*. Quoting a banker, the Kansas correspondent writes:

Everybody seems to have the idea that fortunes are to be made in banking. The fact is that no one has grown rich in the middle West out of banking alone. There are rich bankers, but they have made it out of speculation of one sort or another. Banking itself returns only moderate salaries and dividends, when all expenses and so forth, are charged off. Yet new banks by the score are being started. Every town of 1,000 people has, perhaps, two; scores of towns with only 300 people have a bank. Farmers think it gives them prestige to be bankers. On capital of \$10,000, deposits and loans of \$75,000 to \$150,000 are carried. What will happen when there comes a need for money? How long will it take to wipe out the bank?

All this means financial disaster. It is the distinguishing symptom. Our periods of prosperity have always culminated in the crash of just such booms. They always seem to be localized, as in this case; but in fact they are general. Corresponding symptoms may be seen elsewhere by those who look intelligently. The high-priced building lot in the choice places of flourishing

villages, towns and cities, the high-priced farming land where farming flourishes, and the high-priced lots in urban additions—all these plainly point to speculation in land and to a tendency in prices so high that profitable utilization of land cannot stand the strain. But the same forces are at work where the symptoms are more distinctly speculation in prices of stocks instead of land; for the basic stocks represent landed investments of some sort—railway or other franchises, and mining rights or "industrials" heavily charged with monopoly privileges. Even speculative banking is, as the correspondent already quoted suggests, much more closely related to land speculation than is usually supposed. In some circumstances, all signs fail; but if any dependence at all is to be placed upon signs of industrial change, a financial tornado is gathering its forces of destruction.

#### A corporation lawyer on the Jersey bench.

There is nothing extraordinary in the accession of a corporation lawyer to the judicial bench in New Jersey. That State has lately come to be ruled by corporations, both off and on the bench; and it is almost a recognized function of corporation lawyers there, after learning in their practice what the corporations want, to go upon the bench and give it to them. Probably New Jersey does not completely monopolize this custom. But while there is nothing remarkable in the accession of a corporation lawyer to the bench in New Jersey, there is something remarkable and at the same time gratifying in the accession of such a corporation lawyer as James B. Dill, who has just abandoned an enormously profitable practice to accept a poorly-paid judgeship. One important consideration is the fact that Mr. Dill, although a corporation lawyer, has not been a corporation man. His abilities as a lawyer have been great enough to enable him to be professional and dictate to corporations, instead of being

servile and take dictation from them. That his going upon the bench at what is commonly regarded as a great pecuniary sacrifice, is genuinely in furtherance of a sincere ambition to serve higher interests than the plutocratic schemes for which corporations are a mask, there are many good reasons for believing. Whoever reads Mr. Dill's recent oration at Oberlin, will have no difficulty in detecting in it a true note. While Mr. Dill has had much to do professionally in the interest of corporations and trusts, he seems to have grasped the fundamental truth that trusts depend not upon mere organization, but upon monopoly already established; and his attitude toward these privileges has not been especially friendly. It is hardly probable that Mr. Dill while on the bench will be able to exert any influence against privileges firmly imbedded in the law; but in dealing with the development of newer ones, he may prove his essential democracy sufficiently to commend him to the people as a champion of their rights in another than the judicial arena.

#### Secession versus imperialism.

To those who have fondly believed that the war for the Union was patriotic and its resulting emancipation of slaves a religious achievement, our comment upon it in connection with the Scandinavian situation (p. 193), may very likely have come with a shock. But the thought is well worth considering that our war probably freed the slaves only a little sooner than the advancing economic forces would have done it had the two sections peaceably separated, and that its most notable outcome is the career of imperialism upon which it has launched us.

We were little federated States then, working out the principles of freedom; we are a nation with a big N now, working out, as Rome did, the doctrines of imperialism, and possibly to the same disastrous end. True indeed is it that

it is little countries and not big ones that give the world big men and big principles. It was little Judea, not big Egypt, that gave us the great prophets. It was Greece, not Persia, that gave us the great philosophers. Little England gave us great principles of citizenship, and little Switzerland towers higher in her manhood than in her mountains. We had much of goodness and true greatness to expect of the little States, even if they had broken the links of federation, which we cannot hope for from the powerful and correspondingly autocratic centralized government that we are now erecting. As to the slave of the South, whoever understands economic forces realizes that he would have been freed by them ere now; and whoever knows the old Southern character can hardly doubt that both races would in freedom have been nearer to an equality if the States had not been coerced by war and the slaves freed by an invader.

We of the North are too much disposed to think of the Southern soldier as fighting for slavery. He no more fought for slavery than the Northern soldier fought against it. Slavery was accidentally a concrete cause of the quarrel; but what the Northern soldier fought for was the Union, and what the Southern soldier fought for was the liberty of his State. Defeated in that struggle and bound to their sister States by an imperialistic tie, the new generation of the South has changed in character from the old. Innate love of liberty has been swept away from the new South, and a mad desire for wealth, coupled with an increasing instead of diminishing indifference to the rights of others, has taken its place in the South as in the North. The young Southerner celebrates the patriotism of his Confederate father, and we along with him of our Revolutionary grandsires; but neither section seems to care for the spirit of liberty which once animated both. With the end of the Civil War, State lines began to fade and im-

perialism to loom up, no bigger than a man's hand at first but of truly imperial dimensions now. Of course the Civil War and its results are unalterable facts; but it behooves those of us who believe that with the aid of the history of the past we see somewhat into the future, to keep before our fellows this truth: Governments in and of themselves are nothing; it is only as they affect the development of humanity that they are to be considered. If in our vanity we admire our strong and strenuous government as it influences the grand politics of the world, let us not be blind to the fact that it may at some time undermine the integrity of our citizenship and subject our people to the fate of all the democracies that have tried to realize dreams of empire. There is such a thing as liberty, and such a thing as power, but they are not of the same household.

#### MAYOR DUNNE'S TRACTION POLICY.

The eagerness and unanimity with which the traction-franchise press and other agencies of the traction corporations have "jumped on" Mayor Dunne's so-called "contract" plan for financing and immediately establishing municipal ownership and operation of the traction service (pp. 215-216), is prima facie proof of the excellence of the plan for its avowed purpose.

This proof is corroborated by the trivial character of the objections they put forward, by their assertions that the plan is the same in principle though worse in detail than the "tentative ordinance," and by their transparent pretense that Mayor Dunne has receded from his policy of immediate municipal ownership and operation as impracticable.

From their weakest objection to their unconcealed demands for the restoration of the "tentative ordinance," their method of attack is a demonstration of their bad faith. Under pretense of criticizing a particular plan for securing municipal ownership, they are trying to obstruct all plans for that object, in the evident hope of perpetuating ownership and op-

eration by stock-jobbing corporations.

They denounce the Dunne plan and urge the "tentative ordinance" plan because these plans represent respectively municipal ownership and corporation ownership. That is the difference in essential principle between the two.

The "tentative ordinance," while in mere name a municipal ownership plan, is in principle and almost inevitable effect a perpetual corporation franchise plan. On the other hand, Mayor Dunne's "contract plan," while in mere name a corporation franchise plan, is in principle and effect an immediate municipal ownership and operation plan. Anyone who is learned enough to read English, and mature enough to distinguish similarity of names from identity of things, can see that this is so by reading both plans. Possessing those qualifications, the franchise grabbers make this distinction, and therefore their corrupt agents and their more or less honest sympathizers, whether of the press or the board of aldermen or the party organizations, while advancing at random every objection to the Dunne "contract plan" that occurs to them, all agree with significant unanimity in urging the fraudulent and discredited "tentative ordinance" again upon the people of Chicago. They want the "tentative ordinance" because it would be a practical guarantee against municipal ownership.

Mayor Dunne's "contract plan" is a simple and effective method of establishing municipal ownership and operation of the traction service, not only ultimately, but immediately.

It would place over 100 miles of trackage at once under the control of the city—as much under its control as if the proposed financing and operating company were a bureau of the city government instead of a trustee corporation. Within two years it would place at least 150 additional miles of trackage similarly under city control, and within seven years it would place under such control a large majority of the whole trackage of the city. All this without litigation; for as to that trackage every private franchise claimed by the corporations has either ex-

pired or is to expire during the next seven years.

Meanwhile, the Dunne plan would every day lessen the appraisable value of all withheld trackage, thereby diminishing the financial difficulties in condemnation proceedings and stimulating a desire on the part of the traction grabbers to sell their plants at a reasonable value and their fraudulent franchise claims for whatever the city might consider it fair to offer. And while the trustee corporation, subject at every important step to the approval of the City Council, just as a bureau would be, was financing, constructing and operating the system, the quo warranto proceedings for ousting the 99-year-claim, the referendum and court proceedings for authorizing and validating Mueller law certificates, the referendum proceedings for municipal operation, and all steps for securing any new legislation that might be deemed necessary, could be under way. Meanwhile, also, the trustee company would be creating, out of the profits of operation, a sinking fund for final purchase. And along with all the rest, the city would have the right, not problematically in 13 years either more or less, but at any moment after complying with the requirements of the municipal ownership law, and simply by paying off the actual necessary cost of the system, with 5 per cent. interest, to transfer the management of the system, from the trustee company to a city bureau.

Except as to this capital cost and its annual 5 per cent., no person or corporation would acquire, in the slightest degree, any vested interest whatever. Not only would the system be from the start owned and operated by the city through a trustee company, but that trustee company could not by any legal possibility acquire in the property (except as to the authorized cost and interest), any vested rights. There would be nothing to prevent an instant change from indirect operation by the city through a trustee company, to direct operation by the city through city officials. In granting a franchise to the trustee company upon those terms, the city would in effect be granting the franchise to itself, subject only to repayment of the actual

cost of rehabilitation.

To say that such a plan is a recession from the immediate municipal ownership policy is to make a play upon words.

A similar play upon words has been made by some of the traction-franchise press with reference to the third question of the traction referendum (p. 8) of last Spring.

That question read as follows:

Shall the City Council pass any ordinance granting a franchise to any street railway company?

As the vote was only 55,660 in the affirmative to 141,518 in the negative—an adverse majority of 85,858,—the result seems on its face to be an overwhelming condemnation in advance of Mayor Dunne's plan. But this is so only when that one question is wrested from its context.

There were three questions, not merely that one, voted on at the Spring election, and all bore upon one subject and were interrelated. They presented different phases of a single question—the policy of creating private vested interests, for traction purposes, in the streets of Chicago—and all were negated together.

The City Council and the then Mayor (Harrison) had been committed to the adoption of the "tentative ordinance." This ordinance proposed for one of the street car companies—the Chicago City Railway Company—a private vested-interest franchise for from 13 to 20 years. Under its provisions the city was to have the right, at the end of either period, to take over the property, but upon terms practically prohibitive and calculated to perpetuate the policy of private franchises. It was to this specific ordinance that the first question in the referendum referred, and the ordinance was condemned by 140,049 to 60,136—a majority of 79,913.

But the citizens opposing that ordinance had not regarded it as safe to ask the popular condemnation of that particular measure merely. They knew they were dealing with pettifoggers, who need only ambiguous words in order to play at making profound arguments. Although the people might condemn this particular franchise for the Chicago City Railway Company, the traction-franchise newspapers and alder-

men might nevertheless excuse the adoption of the same kind of franchise but with minor alterations. So a second question was submitted with the first. By their vote on this question the people were asked to say whether the City Council should pass "any ordinance granting a franchise to the Chicago City Railway Company." They responded in the negative with a majority of 82,265—a vote of 139,416 to 51,151.

But still there might be room for pettifogging. Though the people were to vote overwhelmingly, as they did, against granting that particular traction franchise to the Chicago City Railway Company, and against granting any other franchise to that particular company, yet the traction interests might secure such a traction franchise for the Union Traction Company, or for one of its underlying companies, or for a new company organized for the purpose of consolidating all the traction companies of the city. To head off the pettifogging rascals here, the third question was added, whereby the people were asked to say whether the Council should pass "any ordinance granting a franchise to any street railroad company." To that question also the people responded in the negative as stated above.

These are the facts as they were well known at the time; and they clearly show that the Dunne "contract plan" is not at variance with the popular vote on the third question. Not only do these well known facts necessitate that inference, but upon all the approved principles of interpreting intent the same inference is the only possible one.

The three questions were essentially one question, namely, Shall the City Council grant to any corporation, any private profit-making and vested-interest creating traction franchise, such as that of the "tentative ordinance"? It was to this proposition that the people responded with an emphatic negative. They did not negative the principle of the "contract plan" which Mayor Dunne now proposes. That is a plan which creates no vested interest and provides for no profit-making exploitation of the streets. It simply places in the

hands of a trustee company, to be organized and controlled by the City Council, so much of the trackage of the city as is now or may become free of private franchise claims; and it does this for the clearly defined purpose of having such company, as trustee for the city, immediately acquire, finance and rehabilitate such trackage, and manage the same as a traction system during the interval necessary for perfecting the preliminaries required for empowering the city to own and operate directly in its own name. In its details, the ordinance may require alteration; but in its principle, it is unassailable from the standpoint of immediate municipal ownership and operation of the Chicago traction service. A franchise plan only nominally, it is in purpose and effect a system of immediate municipal ownership and operation—indirectly through trustees in its inception; but directly by the city and without the intervention of trustees the instant the city, after complying with the legal prerequisites to municipal ownership and operation, decides to dispense with the trustees and substitute a municipal traction bureau.

Akin to the objection to Mayor Dunne's "contract plan" for immediate municipal ownership and operation,—the objection, namely, that it is in conflict with one of the referendum questions of last Spring—is the objection that it is in reversal of the plans advocated by Dunne in his campaign. He is ignorantly or maliciously said to have abandoned those plans. But so far from being an abandonment or in the slightest degree a variation from his campaign policy, this plan is directly in pursuance of that policy, as may readily be seen by reference to the circumstances and declarations of the campaign.

The campaign began with Judge Tuley's condemnation in August last (vol. vii, p. 343) of the "tentative ordinance." He condemned that ordinance because it destroyed hope of municipal ownership. His reasons for this characterization he gave in detail. Judge Dunne followed Judge Tuley's letter with a speech (vol. vii, p. 357) in which he took the same ground for similar reasons, and advanced

other reasons. In January the campaign was quickened and the canvass begun by Judge Tuley, who, in another letter (vol. vii, p. 670), called for the nomination and election of Dunne as a man—thoroughly known by all to be unquestionably opposed to any compromise "settlement" involving franchise extensions; to be in favor of municipal ownership; to be in favor of it as soon as it can be secured, without any dilly-dilly diplomacy with traction magnates.

When the Committee of One Hundred waited upon Judge Dunne to urge him to respond to Judge Tuley's call (vol. vii, p. 697), the point they laid stress upon was the fact that in their belief—

the present contest will not be a contest between the Republican and Democratic candidates for mayor, but between the citizens of Chicago and J. Pierpont Morgan and his satellites. It is the purpose of the latter to exploit stocks and bonds to be paid for by years of toil and servitude by the people of this city, and to frustrate the efforts of the citizens of Chicago to control their own streets and operate their business for themselves.

When Judge Dunne responded in an open letter (vol. vii, p. 734), to this and other addresses, he said with reference to the early settlement of the traction question:

No further street franchises for corporate manipulation and profit ought or need be made. Immediate municipal ownership, in the sense of immediate proceedings leading to early success, is entirely feasible.

Thus far there is nothing to indicate a policy or plan essentially different from that of the "contract plan"—for which "trustee plan," would be a more accurate name—now proposed by Mayor Dunne.

Proceeding then to the party platform (vol. vii, p. 759), we find nothing at variance with this plan; but we do find a demand clearly favoring franchises in furtherance of such a plan as against franchises which, like that of the "tentative ordinance," would enrich and give power to stock-jobbing corporations. After denouncing the local transportation committee for "preparing to deliver franchises to the companies, by which seven-eighths of the net profits of the enterprise shall be retained by the street railroad companies," and by which the right of the city to

use its streets for traction purposes would be barred "for an indefinite term of years if not forever," the platform demands that—

no grants that would prevent the city from at once owning and operating the street car lines shall be made to these or any other companies.

The recognition of grants that would not "prevent the city from at once owning and operating" is here most obvious.

In the same spirit of recognition of the possible necessity of having recourse to some such plan as that now proposed by the Mayor,—a plan providing for grants that would not prevent the city from at once owning and operating—the platform also declared that the plan would—

resist to the utmost the manifest intention of the Republican party, and certain traction-controlled newspapers, to fasten upon the people of this city the so-called tentative ordinance, or any other ordinance taking the management, control and operation of the street car companies out of the hands of the people.

And in its specific enumeration of the points of its traction policy, when providing for operation pending the full acquisition by the city of the street car franchises, this platform named as a method not only "the police power," but—

other legal authority, to license the operation of the street railways as their street franchises expire, and continue so to license them until municipal ownership can be secured.

In all this platform there is not only nothing at variance with the "contract plan" now under consideration, but everything to justify the adoption of that plan.

What is the essential difference, for instance, between, on the one hand, licensing operation pending full acquisition of ownership by the city, and, on the other, organizing a corporation to acquire and operate as trustee for the city pending such acquisition? None that is inconsistent with Dunne's campaign policy. "Licensee" from time to time, or "trustee" at the will of the city,—there is no difference which does not show the trusteeship to be the more favorable to the interests of the policy of municipal ownership and operation.

And now we come to Judge Dunne's speech of acceptance (vol.

vii, p. 760), which is absolutely conclusive. We cordially commend it to all those cavillers who, in their eagerness to restore the "tentative ordinance," are crying out that Dunne has receded from his immediate ownership policy. In that speech Dunne was so minute and definite on this point, that he almost outlined the specifications for his present "contract plan." After discussing the different possible methods for securing immediate ownership and operation, he said:

There are other ways outside of the issuance of the Mueller bill certificates under which the city could provide means for the purchase of the present street car system or for the building and equipment of new ones. If the city were to offer to a syndicate of capitalists a lease of the car system of the city, providing the syndicate would furnish ready capital for the purchase price of the same, under the terms of which lease the syndicate so furnishing such money should retain and operate such roads under lease by the terms of which they should, first, pay themselves five per cent. upon the money invested and, secondly, provide a sinking fund for the payment of the capital invested, and, thirdly, pay reasonable compensation to the managers of the street car system leased by such a syndicate while operating the property, and after the payment of said liabilities then turn over to the city of Chicago the road free and clear from liabilities, I have no reasonable doubt that wise and prudent financiers would regard such a lease, terminable only at the time when they received their capital and interest at five per cent., as adequate security for the investment. But if a syndicate of capitalists would not be willing to do this there is no question in my mind that if such a lease were tendered to a corporation organized for the purpose of leasing and operating the street car system of the city of Chicago under such an arrangement upon the understanding that the management of the same was to be placed in the hands of competent railway men at decent remuneration, the depositors in the savings banks of Chicago who are drawing but three per cent. interest on their investment would be very glad to back any company organized for such a purpose and under such a management, and exchange their deposits for stock, bearing five per cent. interest.

In his "contract plan," which the traction-franchise touters speak of as an abandonment of his campaign pledge, Mayor Dunne has gone even farther in the direction of the plan quoted above from his acceptance speech. For the

plan of his speech would not allow the city to come into direct ownership of its traction system until the sinking fund of the tenants, or licensees, or trustees, had equaled their investment; whereas under the "contract plan," which he now proposes, the city could acquire direct ownership, not only when the sinking fund should equal the investment, but at any earlier time by making up the difference between the accumulated sum in the sinking fund and the cost of the plant.

What Mayor Dunne has done in his "contract plan" for immediate municipal ownership and operation, is to combine the lessee plan of his acceptance speech with other plans in that speech; and this he has done with such effect as to secure in cooperation the best qualities of all. He has, therefore, thus far redeemed his traction pledges to the people, and dealt the traction-franchise grabbers a blow which they already keenly feel, and from which they cannot recover without further treachery in the City Council.

To accuse him of renouncing his policy is, under the circumstances, too weak a play to count for much or for long in their game. To attack the principle of his plan is to attack the policy for which the referendum vote was cast and upon which he was elected.

## NEWS NARRATIVE

Week ending Thursday, July 13.

### The Russian naval mutiny.

The episode of the Kniaz Potemkin, of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea (p. 213), came to an end on the 8th at the port of Kustenji, in the kingdom of Roumania. After negotiations between the Roumanian authorities and the mutineers, the latter surrendered upon the stipulation that they are not to be extradited to Russia. It was reported on the following day that Admiral Kruger, of the Russian fleet, had received the vessel from the Roumanian authorities and had sailed with her for Russia; but this was corrected on the 10th, when it was stated that the mutineers had opened the sea-cocks and flooded the hold before

delivering over the vessel, and that she was then lying at the bottom of the sea. The Russian government is demanding of Roumania the extradition of the mutineers as thieves and murderers. Over 50 of the crew had voluntarily surrendered to the Russian admiral at Kustenji on promises of clemency, they declaring that they had been forced into the mutiny, and it was reported on the 12th that these promises had been ignored and that the men were to be executed as examples, in consequence of which the whole fleet was bordering upon mutiny.

When the Potemkin was delivered to the Roumanian government the crew of her accompanying torpedo boat refused to join in the surrender. They declared that they had been forced to follow the Potemkin and were therefore not mutineers. On the 10th they arrived with the torpedo boat at Sevastopol, where they were arrested by the Russian authorities and placed upon a transport.

#### The Russian-Japanese war.

Official announcement was made at St. Petersburg on the 8th of the capture by Japanese troops of the island of Sakhalin. This is the long island lying between the Gulf of Tartary and the Okhotsk Sea, to the north of Japan. It is a convict island of the Russian government. Part of it once belonged to Japan, by whom that portion was in 1875 ceded to Russia, which owned the other portion. The area is 29,336 square miles, and the population about 28,000. The population includes probably 3,000 free settlers, 7,000 hard labor convicts, 8,000 released convicts and exiles, 1,500 wives of convicts, and 5,000 children. Japanese occupation of the island is not yet complete, but that it will be made so is conceded in St. Petersburg.

It was announced on the 10th that all meetings of the Russian-Japanese peace envoys not held at Washington (p. 214) will be at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in the new building of the United States navy yard. Muravieff, one of the Russian envoys, resigned on the 12th and it is regarded as certain that Witte will be appointed in his stead.

#### United States jurisdiction over local crime.

A new Federal question has been raised in the United States by the attorneys for Caleb Powers, formerly secretary of State of Kentucky, who is charged with complicity in the murder of Gov. Goebel (vol. vii, p. 569) in 1900. Powers has been convicted of this crime four times and been sentenced to hang; but he has in each instance secured a new trial from the highest court of the State. About to be tried again, he applied to the Federal court for the district of Kentucky for the removal of his case from the State to the Federal courts. The grounds stated for removal were, first, that Powers is denied the equal protection of the laws by the State court by reason of a false construction of the criminal code, and, second, that the State court refuses to recognize a pardon granted before conviction by Gov. Taylor, who is under indictment for complicity in the same offense. The Federal court decided on the 7th that the second ground does not warrant the removal but that the first ground does. Jurisdiction is therefore taken by the Federal court, and the defendant has been transferred by Federal habeas corpus to the custody of the United States marshal to await his trial in that court. An appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States has been taken by the State, which has also instituted proceedings in the Supreme Court to remand the case to the State courts.

#### Conflict in the National Educational Association.

The conflict between two great forces in educational circles, which has heretofore come to the surface most prominently in Chicago (p. 195), broke out with unexpected violence at the forty-fourth annual convention of the National Educational Association at Asbury Park, N. J., on the 7th. The immediate cause of this outbreak was the Congressional charter which one faction of the association proposes. The preparation of this charter was ordered at St. Louis (vol. vi, pp. 215, 230, vol. vii, pp. 205, 252) a year ago, the present charter, granted by the District of Columbia nearly 20 years ago, being about to expire.

The new charter so prepared was unsatisfactory to the opposing faction, and at the meeting on the 6th of the National Council, a governing department of the Association, an objection to its adoption was made. Margaret A. Haley, of the Chicago Teachers' Federation and president of the National Federation of Teachers, raised the point of order that the proposed charter would "turn over to a corporation hereafter to be created by Congress, but not now in existence, the rights and the property of this Association, a thing the board of trustees of this Association has no power or authority to do." The point of order was not sustained, and the proposed charter for submission to Congress was adopted by viva voce vote, the chairman refusing to allow a division upon Miss Haley's demand.

The defeated faction was reported on the 9th by the New York correspondent of the Chicago Tribune to have been supported by the teachers from ten States. In describing the situation and transmitting an interview with Miss Haley, the correspondent said:

That the public school system in all parts of the United States has become a mine for graft is the bold assertion of Miss Margaret Haley, representative of the Chicago Federation of Teachers, in the convention of the National Educational Association, just closed. Miss Haley made a determined effort to defeat the new plan for the incorporation of the educational association at Asbury Park last Thursday, but was defeated. She attributed the defeat to the employment of unfair tactics by Superintendent Maxwell, chairman of the meeting. Miss Haley has appeared in the past at conventions of the Association held in Boston and St. Louis, and in each place has successfully advocated reforms for the rank and file of teachers. In explaining her position in the recent convention Miss Haley bitterly arraigned the leaders of the Association.

"The National Educational Association, which steadily has grown year after year through the efforts of the teachers of this country," said Miss Haley, "is in immediate danger of being placed under the absolute control of a small clique of men unless the teachers take speedy action to prevent it. The Association is composed of 18 departments; one, as it chooses to style itself, the 'National Council of Education,' is composed of such well-known educational leaders as Dr. Harper of the University of Chicago and Dr. Butler of Columbia university. The

new plan of the corporation provides, among other things, to make the National Council of Education, originally part of the Association, absolutely independent. It further places the entire surplus fund of \$130,000 which has been created by the teachers in control of the Council. Opponents of the teachers I represent wish to turn the Association and funds, which include \$10,000,000 recently given by John D. Rockefeller, over to a small, self-perpetuating, independent, and self-governing organization limited to sixty persons. Control of the surplus of the Association is of vital importance to teachers. Unless they can use the money to urge reforms needed, which has been their function in the past, teachers may as well disband the Association. For several years there has been a powerful conspiracy to make a despotism of our entire public school system, until at present there is, as a rule, no such thoroughly terrorized and oppressed body of men and women as our public school teachers. The whole policy of school administration in the United States is centralization, and that is now being forced on the National Educational Association. This movement, I believe, comes at the suggestion of great commercial influences. The American people if convinced that more money is needed for schools give freely, making control of the school system something not to be despised. The best comparison to the fight in the Association can be found in the great financial and fiduciary institutions of New York city, now in the throes of reorganization in deference to aroused public opinion. It was demanded that the institutions be administered exclusively in the interests of policy holders instead of in the interests of a clique of officers and directors who long have been fattening on the profits legitimately belonging to the policy holders. Public opinion demanded that this corporation be mutualized, and that is exactly what we want. It is to save the Association from the demutualization scheme of the National Council of Education that I am fighting."

Another feature of the proposed constitution to which Miss Haley objects is the tying up of the \$143,000 permanent fund of the Association in such a manner that it will be impossible to make use of it without getting the consent of the board of trustees, the board of directors, and two-thirds of the entire membership of the Association. "It is intended," she said, "to obstruct the demands of the teachers that the National Educational Association try to improve the conditions of the teachers—that it work for better salaries, more secure tenure of office, provisions for old age, equal rights for men and women within the profession, validity of diplomas, and other issues of funda-

mental importance to the teachers. As the board of trustees will be empowered to invest all surplus above \$500 in the permanent fund, and as that fund is to be 'safeguarded' as already described, it is apparent that our treasury will be empty most of the time, and that there will be no money available for work of the kind we demand."

A reply to Miss Haley, sent out through the Associated Press from Peoria, Ill., on the 10th by N. C. Dougherty, former president of the Association, was published in the Chicago press as follows:

The Association has two funds, one known as a permanent fund and the other as the expense fund. This permanent fund is made up of sums left over after all expenses are paid, and now amounts to \$175,000. At the convention at Boston \$50,000 was added to it. The trustees of the fund are A. G. Lane, Chicago; F. L. Seldon, St. Louis; Nicholas Murray Butler, New York, and myself. By direction of the members of the Association a charter for the Association was drafted, which was to be approved by Congress, and it was thought by the members at Washington wise to provide that no money should be taken from the permanent fund except on recommendation of the board of trustees and with the approval of a two-thirds vote of the board of directors, containing one member from each State, and indorsed by two-thirds of the members of the Association, each member having a month's notice. The object was to prevent local meetings from squandering the savings of twenty years on something of no account. The plan was approved by active members from all States except the Federation of Teachers in Chicago. Miss Haley feels that the money should be subject to a vote of members of the Association at any time when in convention; that there should be no permanent fund, and that such a fund has a monopolistic tendency and tends to put the control of the Association under the direction and guidance of older rather than enthusiastic members. She feels that capital is against the best interest of the rank and file, and therefore that it is unwise to encourage the holding of large sums of money, only the interest of which could be spent by the Association itself, and that a provision requiring a two-thirds vote of all three bodies would prevent anyone from ever getting at the capital. The whole matter is that of a difference of opinion, and each body is anxious that the best thing for the furtherance of the public schools should prevail. They differ widely as to what is the best thing to do.

Conflict in the Chicago school board. The same controversy in differ-

ent form influenced the election of the president of the Chicago school board (p. 195), which took place on the 12th. The strenuous character of this contest is indicated by the fact that the entire membership of the board, twenty-one, was in attendance, though some members broke into their vacations and came long distances, while one came from a sick bed. It is further indicated by the extraordinary fact that 40 ballots were taken without a choice, and a majority vote was secured only on the 41st. The election went to Edward Tilden, vice president of the National Packing Co., and otherwise largely interested in stock yards industries. He is regarded as representing the faction which has heretofore controlled the board. His vote was 11, while 7 were cast for his principal adversary and three scattered. Although this contest is supposed to have established the organization of the new board on the same fiscal and pedagogic lines as the old one, and to indicate the hostility of the new board, like the old one, to the Teachers' Federation, certain confusing factors entered in, which leave the sympathy of the new board in doubt, however firmly the result may have fixed its policy for the year.

#### The Industrial Workers of the World.

At Chicago on the 22d the industrial union convention (p. 215) completed the organization of "The Industrial Workers of the World." After a prolonged controversy, the convention had come under the leadership of the delegates who affiliate in politics with the Socialist Labor party. The turning point was its decision to organize by comprehensive departments of labor instead of trades. The departments agreed upon are reported as follows:

Department of manufactures: Textile industries, leather, wood working, metals and machinery, glass and pottery, paper mills, chemicals, brooms and jewelry.

Department of public service—Parks and highways, schools, amusements, sanitary, printing, hotels and laundry.

Department of foodstuffs—Tobacco, packing houses, flour mills, sugar refineries, dairies, bakeries, breweries and distilleries.

Department of agriculture—General farming, stock farming, floriculture.

Department of mining—Salt mining, coal mining and metal mining.

Department of transportation—Steam railroads, electric railroads, marine and teaming.

Department of building.

Department of distribution.

The vote against trade division was 39,000 and for it 11,000, the delegates voting the number of men they respectively represent. The object of the departmental arrangement, as explained by its advocates, is to make it possible to "call out" every worker in an entire industry when deemed necessary to enforce labor union terms. The following national labor bodies, aggregating a membership of 50,000, were admitted to membership: The United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, the United Metal Workers, the Western Federation of Miners, and the American Labor Union. A few local unions were also admitted. The next meeting is set for the first Monday of May, 1906, and the following officers were elected:

President, Charles O. Sherman, Chicago; secretary-treasurer, W. E. Trautmann, Cincinnati; executive board—John Reardon, Phoenix, B. C.; F. W. Cronin, Butte, Mont.; Charles McCabe, Minneapolis; C. H. Moyer, Denver; Charles Kirkpatrick, Chicago.

#### Chicago teamsters' strike.

Injunctions against local delivery companies, enjoining them to deliver goods without discrimination against "strike bound" houses (p. 215), were granted by Judge Holdom on the 6th at the suit of the Employers' Association. The organized drivers for these delivery companies—the Baggage and Parcel Delivery Drivers' Union—met on the 9th and by a large majority decided not to strike if the delivery companies, as they proposed, should form a special company—the Chicago Cartage Company—to deliver to "strike bound" houses, with non-union drivers. But this action was opposed at the Teamsters' Joint Council on the 10th, the department store drivers declaring that they could not win the present strike if deliveries were regularly made to the "strike bound" stores. The Council consequently ordered a strike against any concern making deliveries for such houses. The delivery drivers refused to strike, however, unless ordered by their own union. They

deny the authority of the Teamsters' Joint Council to order them out. The special delivery company, The Chicago Cartage Company, is therefore making deliveries with non-union drivers and without interference.

#### NEWS NOTES

—The Epworth League met in international convention at Denver on the 6th.

—Mr. Bonaparte, the new secretary of the navy (p. 218), has announced his refusal to use railroad passes.

—Elihu Root was appointed on the 7th to the post of Secretary of State of the United States to succeed the late John Hay (p. 218).

—The Kansas Supreme Court decided on the 8th that the law for establishing a State oil refinery (vol. vii, pp. 737, 742) is unconstitutional.

—Admiral Sigsbee's flagship, the Brooklyn, bearing the body of John Paul Jones (p. 41), left France on the 8th, bound for the United States.

—A convention of the Indian Territory and Oklahoma met at Oklahoma City on the 12th for the purpose of organizing for Statehood (vol. vii, p. 711).

—Thomas W. Lawson, who has been speaking in the farther West, is to be entertained at dinner on the 15th by the Jefferson Club of Chicago at its rooms, 108 Randolph street.

—President Roosevelt has appointed William J. Calhoun, of Chicago, as a special confidential commissioner to investigate the situation in Venezuela (vol. vii, p. 791; vol. viii, p. 183).

—Maj. Gen. Shouvaloff, prefect of police at Moscow, Russia, was assassinated on the 11th. The assassin, who fired four pistol shots and killed the Prefect instantly, was arrested, but has not been identified.

—It is reported that the struggle in the French Chamber of Deputies over the bill for the separation of church and state bids fair to be renewed in the Senate (p. 218), which on the 11th appointed a committee to consider the bill.

—A national reciprocity convention (p. 83) has been called to meet at Chicago on the 15th and 16th of August. The call is signed by Alvin H. Sanders as chairman of a committee of arrangements appointed by numerous live stock and commercial associations.

—The fastest railroad trip from the Pacific coast to Chicago was completed on the 10th by a special train of the Santa Fe railway chartered for the purpose by Walter Scott, a rich miner. The time from Los Angeles to Chicago was 44 hours and 54 minutes.

—Helen Loftin Johnson, widow of

Albert W. Johnson (a colonel in the Confederate army during the Civil war), and mother of Tom L. Johnson, mayor of Cleveland, died at Fort Hamilton, borough of Brooklyn, New York city, on the 11th, at the age of 71.

—Mr. Jaures, the Socialist member of the French cabinet, having been announced to speak at a Socialist meeting in Berlin on the 9th, the German government notified him that his speaking there would be forbidden. He was to speak on behalf of international peace.

—The one hundredth birthday of Mazzini (p. 218) was celebrated at Hull-House, Chicago, on the 7th. The speakers were Jane Addams, Mario De Biasi, editor of *Il Telegrafo* of New York city, and John Rodigher, president of *Glovine Italia*. Miss Addams was the only one who spoke in English.

#### PRESS OPINIONS

##### ELIHU ROOT'S SACRIFICE.

Minwaukee Daily News (Dem.), July 10.—A great deal is heard of the "sacrifice" made by Elihu Root, in surrendering the retainers paid to him by Wall street clients that he might accept the office of secretary of state. It is difficult to see wherein Mr. Root has made a sacrifice, unless it is assumed that the holding of one of the highest offices in the United States, or the world, for that matter, is a "sacrifice" when the holding of it entails the placing aside of opportunity to amass wealth. In that event, it would be a "sacrifice" and a magnificent display of patriotism for John D. Rockefeller to accept the Presidency of the United States. . . . If money getting were all that is worth while, Mr. Root has made a sacrifice. But what would J. Pierpont Morgan or Andrew Carnegie not be willing to give of his wealth if he could be called upon to make the "sacrifice" and become minister of foreign affairs for the United States of America?

##### CHAUNCEY DEPEW'S SACRIFICE.

Chicago Daily News (Ind.), July 12.—Suppose that Chauncey Depew, instead of selling himself to the gang who controlled the Equitable Life Assurance society under the old management, accepting graft and hush money along with the others, had protested as a director against the way things were going. Suppose that he had refused to vote a salary of \$100,000 a year to young Hyde, the vice president. Suppose he had voted against the loan of \$250,000 on property in which he was interested and which was worth only \$150,000 or so. Suppose that he had declined the \$20,000 a year which was paid him for services not rendered. If he had refused to profit by the looting of the Equitable society he would have shown himself to be an honest man. But would he have remained a director? Would he have been permitted to retain his seat in the United States Senate? Would not "the system" have cast him out entirely?

##### ROCKEFELLER'S JOKE.

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (Ind.), July 7 (weekly ed.).—It was while speaking at Denver in January, 1900, that President Hadley, of Yale, brought forward his famous remedy of social ostracism for trust abuses. . . . Truth compels the statement that few people regarded the Hadley remedy for trust evils as practical or entitled to serious consideration as a finality. But no one anticipated that Prof. Hadley himself would be the one most conspicuously to cover his remedy with ridicule. Accounts of the Yale alumni meeting of Wednesday say that four times in the course of President Hadley's announcement of the Rockefeller gift of \$1,000,000, did the entire audience "cheer" and "yell" and "roar" its approving en-

thusiasm. . . . One is almost forced to the belief that Mr. Rockefeller deliberately laid a trap for President Hadley, which he proceeded straightway to fall into. He is a man, we believe, not wholly devoid of a sense of humor, and it might easily be worth a million in his case to see Dr. Hadley publicly swallow his own plan of meeting the menace of the trusts. It was a great joke and worked to a charm.

## MISCELLANY

### HARVEST.

In Siberia's wilds we sowed, we sowed;  
We planted the seed with the goad, the goad;

With the rasping knout the season through  
We harrowed it well, and it grew—it grew!

In stricken Finland we sowed, we sowed;  
The flower of Freedom we hewed and hoed;  
We struck it down and nourished the weed  
Till the soil is choked with the seed—the seed.

In ancient Poland we sowed, we sowed;  
Every hope of the human heart we mowed;  
With our brothers' bones we rotted the field,  
And out of them springs the yield—the yield.

Before the palace we sowed, we sowed;  
Our fertile seed was the rifle's load;  
In womanly flesh and flesh of child  
We sowed, and the seed runs wild—runs wild.

In crowded cities we sowed, we sowed;  
We watered the seed with the blood which flowed;

With blood and tears we watered it well,  
And behold the harvest of hell—of hell!

Defeat and dishonor thorn the path,  
Murder and mutiny, ruin and wrath;  
O nations of Earth, the nettles ye sow  
In the hearts of a people, they grow—they grow!

—Edmund Vance Cooke, in *Cleveland Press* of July 6, 1905.

### HOW THEY DO IN NORWAY.

On pay days saloons are closed and savings banks open until midnight. Servant girls hire for half a year at a time by contract at public registry office. There is a telegraph box on every street car. Write message, put on right number of stamps, drop in the box. Young farmers can borrow money from government at 3 per cent. Practically no illiterates. Men perhaps the finest in the world physically. Army service universal; only 2.3 per cent. of youths rejected for physical defect. Health splendid. Death rate for men, 18.3, because of dangerous fishing; for women, 16.5. Average expense of living less than any other civilized country perhaps. Average wage earnings, \$88 a year. More reindeer than horses, more sheep than cows. Illiterates—Two men in a thousand in Sweden, three in Norway and Denmark, seventy-eight in Russia, which wants to "improve" Norway and

Sweden by dividing and conquering them; 13.6 even in England.—*New York World*.

### SPACES WHICH PARALYZE.

"Let us suppose a railway to have been built between the earth and the fixed star Centauri," said a lecturer. "By a consideration of this railway's workings we can get some idea of the enormous distance that intervenes between Centauri and us.

"Suppose that I should decide to take a trip on this new aerial line to the fixed star. I ask the ticket agent what the fare is, and he answers:

"The fare is very low, sir. It is only a cent each hundred miles."

"And what, at that rate, will the through ticket one way cost?" I ask.

"It will cost you \$2,750,000,000," he answers.

"I pay for my ticket and board the train. We set off at a tremendous rate.

"How fast," I ask the brakeman, "are we going?"

"Sixty miles an hour, sir," says he, "and it's a through train. There are no stoppages."

"We'll soon be there, then, won't we?" I resume.

"We'll make good time, sir," says the brakeman.

"And when will we arrive?"

"In just 48,663,000 years."—*San Francisco Star*.

### MAYOR JOHNSON'S WAY.

NEVER HAS HIS "BARREL" OPEN.

"We commenced that long ago," said Mayor Johnson yesterday, discussing the talk among leaders of the Republican party of efforts to put a stop to grafting on candidates during campaigns.

"They bother us but little now," the mayor went on to say. "They stopped just as soon as they found it to be a waste of time to apply.

"I don't think our Republican friends would meet with much difficulty in that respect if they would simply make it a rule to give no money to anyone. We have not been troubled at the office or at Democratic headquarters in the last two campaigns, although the trouble was a trifle greater in the first. Those seeking money hadn't learned then that it was useless to apply; that we were not hiring anyone. The only money we pay out is for carriages on registration days and occasionally for men to look after them, though generally that work is performed by volunteers. It is the same on election day. Our only other expenses are for literature and halls.

"No organized effort to stop grafting is necessary. Simply let party committees, candidates and campaign managers refuse to hire men, or give them money on the pretense of hiring them, and the complaint of the activity of grafters will soon cease. At least that is our experience."

Republican party managers for several days have been discussing plans to prevent grafting. Chairman Hy Davis, of the Republican executive committee, has let it be known that he would write Chairman Johnson of the Democratic committee bearing on the question. He suggested a sort of "clearing house," where records of grafters could be kept for the benefit of both parties and the candidates. Mayor Johnson in his statement yesterday says that such a plan is necessary, and that if the Democratic example of closing up the "barrel" is followed there will be absolutely no trouble.

Mayor Johnson stated further that in his first campaign he was troubled to the extent that doorkeepers were necessary at times, but that in his last campaign he sat in his office with doors open and no grafters called. He believes he will go through the coming campaign without any further trouble. —*Cleveland Plain Dealer* of July 2.

### THAT RAIN OF LONG AGO.

"Lawd bless yo' soul, honey! All dis talk I heah do suttinly remin' me ob de story my ole mammy used ter tell me 'bout Mr. Noah. Mr. Noah cum home one day, an' ses he to hes fam'ly an' one or two ob 'hes mos' tickler fren's, ses he: 'It look mighty like we gwine get a powahful spell ob rain,' ses he. 'Shaw, now!' ses one o' his fren's. 'Gwan!' ses he. 'Yo' always talkin' like yo' intimate fren' ob Gawdamighty,' ses he. Noah he doan 'say nuthin'—he busy sha'p'nin' hes axe. 'Wha' yo' doin'?' ses hes fren'. 'I gwine build a ark,' ses Mr. Noah. 'A ark?' ses hes fren'. 'Gawd bless yo', chile, yo' can' float no arks roun' heah,' ses he. Mr. Noah he doan say nuthin'—he busy flin' hes saw.' So hes fren' he go long home an' he stop at de sto' an' tell de boys 'bout Mr. Noah an' hes ark.

"Nex' day de boys cum down to Mr. Noah's place and', sho' 'nough, dere was ole man Noah an' hes boys layin' down de ark. An' de boys dey sot down on de fence an' begun joshin' de ole man. But Mr. Noah he busy sawin' gofahwood an' he doan say nuthin'. Well, suh, ebry day dose folks cum roun' an' purten' dey was habin' de time ob dere lives. 'Good mawnin', Mr. Noah,' dey ses, 'hab yo' heard from yo' fren' Gawd dis mawnin'?' dey ses. An' 'Queer kin' ob crew yo'

got,' dey ses. 'How cum you' son Ham to be so dark-complected?' dey ses. But Mr. Noah he doan say nuthin'—he busy riggin' de steerin' fixin's ob de ark.

"Well, honey, just about when dey was puttin' on de las' licks, sho' 'nough, it begin to rain. An' it suttinly did rain onusually bad dat summah. An' dose folks what was feelin' so funny early in de spring began to hedge a bit. 'Good mawnin', Mr. Noah,' dey ses; 'dat's a nice ark yo' got,' dey ses. But Mr. Noah he powahful busy sproddin pitch on de ark an' he doan say nuthin'. An' it rain an' rain, an' de watah riz an' riz, an' pretty soon de ark was floatin' an' a tuggin' at de ropes ob de ankah, an' dose folks was all standin' on a little piece ob high groun' an' shoutin', 'Hey, Mr. Noah! Wha' you chawge fo' yo' 'commodations?' dey ses. But Mr. Noah he doan say nuthin'—he busy lookin' up Arirat on de map.

"Now, maybe yo' think dat dey was all no-count folks dat was left out ob de ark. No, suh ree! Some ob dem was jus' niggahs, an' some ob 'em was po' white trash, an' some ob dem was quality. But dere was nary one ob 'em had de sense to see dat it war gwine to rain." —J. B. Kerfoot, in "Camera Work."

#### MR. BRYAN ON THE REAL DEFENDERS OF PROPERTY.

Portions of an article by William Jennings Bryan, which appeared in the Philadelphia Saturday Evening Post of June 24, 1905.

Whenever any vested wrong is to be righted or any long-standing abuse corrected, those who profit by the wrong or the abuse are prompt to pose as the defenders of property and to charge the reformers with attacking property rights. This is the historic attitude of those who oppose remedial legislation. The insincerity of the position taken is usually shown by the arguments employed by these self-styled champions of property, and one of the best illustrations of these arguments is to be found in the story of Demetrius, the silversmith. It reads as follows:

And the same time there arose no small stir about that way. For a certain man named Demetrius, a silversmith, which made silver shrines for Diana, brought no small gain unto the craftsmen; whom he called together with the workmen of like occupation, and said, Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth. Moreover, ye see and hear, that not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people, saying, that they be no gods which are made with hands. So that not only this our craft is in danger to be set at nought; but also that the temple of the great goddess Diana should be despised, and her magnificence should be destroyed, whom all Asia, and the world

worshippeth. And when they heard these sayings, they were full of wrath, saying, Great is Diana of the Ephesians.

The silversmith was profiting by the worship of idols; the making of images was the source of his income. He called together those who were engaged in the same occupation and, when all were convinced that Paul's preaching would bring them financial injury, they joined in a protest, but they did not give their real reason for opposing Christianity—namely, that it would cause them a money loss; they pretended a fervent devotion to the goddess Diana. So, today, the beneficiaries of bad laws and bad governmental systems are defending their pecuniary interests with arguments that imply great devotion to the public welfare. Having satisfied themselves that the reforms demanded by the people will lessen their power to extort from, and to tyrannize over, the people, these monopolists and their defenders shout: "Great is Property! Great are the rights of Property!" While the issue between the man and the dollar seems to be an acute one, yet, in the last analysis, there can be no issue between human rights and property rights, for nothing more surely undermines property rights than a disregard for human rights, and nothing brings greater security to property than a scrupulous regard for the natural rights of each human being. But we must always remember that human rights are paramount. In fact, everything depends upon the establishment of the true relation between the individual and dull, inanimate property. . . .

Every attempt to legislate in the interests of the laboring man is met with the declaration that it is an interference with the rights of property. How would property be created but for labor? And who will say that the man who furnishes the capital should be permitted to decide without appeal the conditions upon which property shall be created by those who labor for him? We often hear it asked by the manufacturer: "Have I not a right to manage my own business?" That is not the question. If the manufacturer will set himself to work to produce something with his own hands nobody will question his right to control his own business. But something more is implied by his question. If he would put the inquiry fairly, he would ask, not: "Have I not the right to manage my own business?" but rather: "Have I not the right, in managing my business, to regulate the lives, the liberty, the hopes, the happiness of those whom I employ?" But to ask the question in

this form would be to suggest a negative answer—and he demands an affirmative.

Those who claim the right to determine arbitrarily the hours, the wages and the conditions of labor, demand the right arbitrarily to determine the status of the laboring man and to fix the conditions that are to surround him and his posterity. Is it an interference with property rights to demand that the laboring man shall have a fair share of the proceeds of his own toil—a fair share of the property which he creates? His right to accumulate property should not be ignored. Not only should he be allowed to accumulate property, but he should have leisure to enable him to enjoy communion with his own family and to fit himself for intelligent participation in the affairs of his government. By what authority will the capitalist put his claim to larger dividends above the rights of the wage-earners, and the welfare of the wage-earners' children?

Just now the trust magnates are hurling epithets at those who seek to destroy the trusts. They assume to be the special custodians of property rights, and charge anti-monopolists with communistic, socialistic and anarchistic designs upon "the thrifty and the successful." As a matter of fact, the reformer has never been more grossly misrepresented than he is now by the monopolists. It is the trust magnate, not the opponent of the trust, who is striking at property rights. He trespasses upon the property rights of the small manufacturer and the retailer, and heartlessly drives him into bankruptcy. He trespasses upon the property rights of the consumers, who have a right to purchase what they need in a free market at a reasonable price. The monopolist simply appropriates the property of others. The trust magnate often trespasses on the property rights of the employe, whose skill and muscle he utilizes. He encourages the employe to invest in a home and then he sacrifices that home if he engages in a war with his laborers or finds it profitable to dismantle his plant. Even the property interests of the stockholders are not safe in the hands of the trust magnate, for he has been known to depress the market for the purpose of freezing out his associates, or in order to buy more stock at a low price. Those who, believing that "a private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable," are laboring to restore competi-

tion and to protect the small producer, the consumer, the merchant and the skilled laborer—these, not the trust magnates, are the real defenders of property rights.

#### THE BOXER TROUBLES AND THE "YELLOW PERIL."

This interesting article has been furnished to us by Dr. W. E. Macklin, for twenty years a missionary physician at Nanking, China.

First among the causes of the Boxer troubles I place race hatred, such as existed between the Jew and Gentile, the Greek and Barbarian.

In the character for the names of outside tribes the radical for "dog" is used. The radical gives the root meaning of the ideograph or character.

The Chinese hate outsiders, and even have very ugly nicknames for the various provinces in their own country. The presence and acts of foreigners have added to this hatred. The chief thing that has stirred up the intense hatred that led to the Boxer uprising is the plundering tendency of the Westerner, who desires mining privileges, railway concessions and mortgages on all the natural opportunities of the country. In fact, the foreigner was going to do what the spider does for the fly, but in a larger way. He was going to wrap China up in a net of railways, cornering of mines, and mortgage debt, so that when China awakened she would find herself only a mere shell, and all her nice, juicy portions, as liver, heart and brain, appropriated by the great spider; in fact, do just what the Standard Oil, Beef Trust and the spider "system" are so benevolently doing for this country. China began this when many of the crude forms of stealing were used, like grabbing great slices of territory, which looked more like the load and fly than the spider and the fly.

When Kio Cheu was taken by Germany the Boxer trouble was fully hatched, and murders of unprotected white men, "foreign devils," began to occur.

Another cause was the great missionary movement, with the opening of schools, colleges, hospitals and various philanthropies. The missionaries translated the Bible, and, as in the time of Huss and Wycliffe, Luther, Calvin, Cromwell and William the Silent, revolution was unavoidable.

Men enlightened by the Bible, which speaks of one Father and equality of rights, must seek a change of the old absolutism and corruption.

The missionaries also published papers and periodicals, and translated

many of the best books of the West. This together with the general impact of the West, produced a renaissance which led to a great reform movement, in which great scholars, officials and even the Emperor joined.

The reformer aimed to give up all that was ancient and Asiatic, and adopt the methods of the West, as Japan has done. The wars with England, in 1842, and 1860, and that with Japan later, greatly hastened the fermentation of this great mass.

The Boxer movement was partly a reaction against reform. Renaissance and reform are justifiable, but franchise and concession grabbing are not so.

Another cause was extra-territoriality, that is, foreigners are not under jurisdiction in Chinese courts of law, but under their own consular management. This leads to an imperium in imperio, as mixed cases of foreigners and natives often come before the consul, and natives get under the protection of the foreign flag and bully their neighbors. Missionaries often cause ill-feeling by protecting native Christians under treaty laws. Slick black sheep may get protection in injustice, as well as good men in just cases. One needs to be wary of the wily Asiatic.

The introduction of Western machinery, as railroads and steamboats, scared the Chinese, for if one man can do the work of ten, what becomes of the nine? A great boating population has been ruined by steam. The carters and wheelbarrow men also feared that their trade would be gone, and would fight for their rights. All these and various minor causes had wrought the Chinese into a furor of excitement. The government reacted against reform, though the people were not so much opposed in this regard, but the greatest offense that made their blood boil was that they were being robbed of their land. The newspapers and the people said: "Our country is like a watermelon; it is going to be divided among the Western powers."

The Boxer trouble was largely a great patriotic effort of the people to protect their country from thieves, and there was no Good Samaritan nation to help the poor Emperor to save his country. The ministers were assisting their various nations to rob.

Why did the Chinese use their peculiar Boxer methods? Because China is almost as bad as Africa for fetishism and magic. They called on their gods and fetishes to give them miraculous powers. Hypnotists produced in the Boxer soldiers their trances and visions. Such methods have been used

for centuries in China and the Boxer tricks are not surprising to the student of Chinese history and romance.

Men who know China, predict another Boxer uprising away in the future. China cannot be plundered forever like the noble red man, or the Filipino under American rule. They will rebel and assert their rights to the bounds of their own habitation.

There is indeed a "yellow peril;" and woe betide the concession-grabber and oppressor. The Western thief is not dealing with Africa. Japan may lead or teach the Chinese in this affair. In fact, the Japanese are now everywhere in China, drilling armies, opening schools and colleges and propagating Japanese ideas. Germany, France and England will by and by find an eastern Monroe Doctrine established. It is hard to say whether Japan will have the moral courage to be a good Samaritan to China or not. If she appropriates Corea and Manchuria, she will gain the ill-will of the East. She now has the chance to be a saviour to China and India, and help them to get enlightenment and a free government. If she takes Manchuria as indemnity from Russia, she gains the hatred of the Chinese. She would be the first nation to really act the good Samaritan to another oppressed nation, if she took the opportunity.

At present Japan can dominate the East. The Chinese can produce the best and most hardy soldiers in the world, and those by the million. China is peace loving, but when it comes to fight, Europe cannot equal her. Revolutions in China, throughout her history, have lasted 20 and 30 years, killing off tens of millions of people. They are patient, but when they arise it is terrible.

There will be a Boxer movement in America soon (I hope peaceful), not the beef trust, the steel trust and all the other plundering and oppressive institutions will have to go.

How could France and Germany combined beat Oyama's army, recruited by China and fed by the Chinese? It is out of the question, and their hopes of territory and empire are smashed by Japanese success.

I think the Chinese will not go out of their own land to conquer other nations. They will simply, under Japanese assistance, establish their autonomy, and then make laws gradually to take back their mines and railways, by taxing them out of the hands of the plunderer. They know the method, as it is their old classical one. They will round out their empire by taking in Kiao Cheu from Germany, Siam from

France, and gradually Hong Kong and Wei Hai Wei from England, and later Manchuria and Corea from Japan. Then the real estate man won't be able to foreclose his mortgage on the poor old "sick man" of the far East. The supposed carcass will get up and walk and run, and the carrion crows will fly to their own cover, where they will likely be unmolested by the ex-carcass, if there is no further aggression.

#### CITY OWNERSHIP KILLS MONOPOLY.

Henry T. Rainey, Congressman from Illinois, in the New York American and Journal of May 21, 1905.

In a short time the question of municipal ownership will be directly presented to all the great cities of the country. In spite of strenuous objections, made principally by men who have a pecuniary interest in the private control of public utilities, it must be admitted that there is a growing tendency on the part of city governments to perform for themselves what has long been done by private corporations.

Within the last year or two the demand for municipal ownership in some of our larger cities has assumed almost irresistible proportions. Several weeks ago the question of municipal ownership of traction lines was directly submitted in the city of Chicago to the voters, and the proposition was carried by a majority of 85,000—a full set of city officials was elected upon a platform which declared in favor of immediate ownership of traction lines.

The argument against municipal ownership of public utilities always centers about two propositions. In the first place, it is insisted that "politicians" cannot run a business as well as private individuals who have a direct interest therein; and in the second place, it is insisted that a government which "governs least is best." It will always be necessary for the citizen, in his examination of this question, to determine just how much weight these propositions carry. I purpose to discuss each of them briefly.

It is also contended by some that a city should "regulate," not own; but this is made a part of the proposition that a city cannot run a business as well as private individuals.

Our cities are constantly growing in importance. In the State of New York over one-half of the population lives in cities of 10,000 and over. As our cities increase in population and

extend over more territory, the more remote do people live from their friends, their places of business and amusement, and their dependence upon street cars and telephones correspondingly increases. In the very nature of things the operation of street cars, telephones, waterworks, gas plants and electric lighting plants become monopolies. There can be no competition in the production of any of these things.

Occasionally we have a "war of rates." This is not competition. For a time consumers get the benefit of reduced rates—but the fight always results in the absorption of one company by the other—or in a division of the territory between the contending companies, and the old prices are restored. The consumer must either pay the price demanded and submit to the service rendered, or do without. He can buy only in one place.

In order to obtain for the consumer the service to which he is entitled there must be an efficient method of regulating these quasi-public corporations, or the city must own and control its own public utilities. At the present time the corporations are taking the absolutely indefensible position of opposing both regulation and ownership.

The difficulties of regulating these monopolies of situation are almost insurmountable. There is always present the danger that the corporations will regulate the cities—not the cities the corporations. These monopolies with millions at stake employ the best legal assistance—they build up great political machines and control thereby city governments, and all too frequently resort to a corrupt use of money in order to obtain legislation favorable to themselves. Monopoly in private hands has always taken advantage of the public, and it always will.

There is always the danger that one of these great corporations will steal a march on a complacent public and obtain long time contracts or franchises that will tie the hands of many future city administrations.

The tendency on the part of these corporations is to create insufficient or corrupt city governments. The weaker or more corrupt the city government becomes, the easier it is to obtain those important privileges and franchises which result in large profits to the companies. The apparent weakness, inefficiency and corruption of city governments becomes disgusting to many of our best citizens and they decline to enter city politics and to

make the necessary effort to better conditions. The large profits accruing to the owners of these monopolies attract others of our abler and best citizens and they are likely to become interested in them. They, therefore, become indifferent to good government, and, in fact, unconsciously perhaps to themselves, secretly prefer the other kind of government. In our attempts to regulate these monopolies of situation we are, therefore, face to face with the destruction of our highest civic ideals. As a matter of fact, you cannot keep monopoly in private hands out of politics—and it becomes and is a much more dangerous political factor than public ownership could ever be.

Is there anything in the objection that "politicians" cannot run a business as well as private individuals? This objection assumes that if we have municipal ownership the "politicians" will control these matters. It excludes from consideration the classified civil service idea, which now obtains to such a large extent in the administration, not only of our national government, but also of the government of our cities. But if we admit that the "politicians," as the term is sometimes used, will control a municipal venture, we must admit that the "politicians" now control the administration of these monopolies. They are now controlled in the interest of the companies. The "politicians" are answerable to the corporations which keep them in office and which can defeat them at will. They too often carry out, not the ideas which will be of most benefit to the greatest number of people, but those things which will benefit most of the corporations.

If the "politicians" were answerable to the people direct, and if the corrupting influences of the corporations were no longer a factor, they could hold their offices only by administering these utilities so that the public could get better service—a lower rate, better and more comfortable cars; so that there would be shorter hours and a better wage for labor. It is said that city officers would appoint their relatives and friends to desirable positions—but so do private companies. It cannot be assumed that private management of municipal monopolies is always honest. Some companies are managed honestly—some are not. Public ownership can never develop more dishonesty than has been developed by private ownership.

The strenuous opposition on the

part of public utility companies to municipal ownership leads us to the irresistible conclusion that the control of these public utilities is enormously profitable. What is the valuable asset owned by a street car company? Is it the cars it operates—the iron rails on the streets, the terminals it owns? All these things are of comparatively small value; the first cost is not large. The valuable asset is the right to use the city streets either on the surface or above or below the surface. And this right in nearly every instance has been given to the companies by the cities for longer or shorter periods of time. Is there any reason why the city should give this away? It could construct in the first instance as cheaply, at least, as a private company. In fact, it is reasonable to suppose that the first cost of construction would be less than if done by a private corporation. The work in either event would be performed by contract. A city would advertise for bids. A private company seldom advertises for bids.

It most frequently happens in the case of private corporations that the stock, except one share more than a majority, is placed on the market together with the bonds. The holders of a bare majority of the stock elect themselves directors. The directors, as individuals, organize a constructing company, and then as directors of the public utility company contract at exorbitant prices with the constructing company, in this manner enriching themselves at the expense of the men who have made the original investment. The inevitable receivership follows. And the men who have wrecked the company are generally appointed receivers.

Thus they have a further opportunity under the direction of the United States courts to complete their work of devastation—until the inevitable sale occurs, and they buy in at their own price the property whose values they have destroyed and turn it over to another company organized by themselves. Then they permit the property to pay dividends and are able to place on the market immense quantities of watered stock. Can municipal ownership do worse than this?

If large profits are derived from the use of a city's streets, why should not the city have the profits? A city would be content with less profits and would be willing to yield to the demand for better service, cheaper fares, better wages for employes and shorter hours for labor.

If the city operated and controlled its utilities it would require no corruption fund to establish great public improvements, and this item of expense would not be added to the first cost.

"That government is best which governs least," is a theory which prevailed many years ago. But things have changed. This idea belonged to a different world. The irresistible logic of events compels cities and States to interest themselves in those industries which have a monopoly of situation. If left to themselves these problems will work out in the direction of larger dividends to stockholders and poorer service for the public.

Objections can be raised to municipal ownership—but they are insignificant when compared with the objections to the present system. Assuming that municipal ownership is subject to all the objections that have been raised, and that it will be attended by the failures that are so freely predicted, it cannot make conditions worse than they now are. The movement in the direction of municipal ownership rests on a sound basis. It deserves the cordial support and earnest cooperation of every friend of social progress.

Mrs. Sparks: "I do wish, John, that you would explain this Chinese question to me."

Mr. Sparks: "It's very simple, Maria. You see, the Russians don't want an open door, but desire to keep a slice of China for themselves. Now, the Japanese want an open door and wish to keep Russia from keeping a slice of the country. On the other hand, Germany is trying to keep Japan from keeping Russia from closing the door, and also wants to keep her from keeping Russia's keeping a slice of China. Now, if America can keep Germany from keeping Russia from keeping a slice of territory, the door can be kept open. See?"

Mrs. Sparks: "Oh, yes, it's quite clear to me. Anyhow, the weather's so warm there that the Chinese will find it more comfortable to keep their doors open. Still, I can't see why the Powers are making such a fuss over a little thing like that."—Tit-Bits.

In a world of slaves masters are necessary.—Ernest Crosby.

## BOOKS

### TWO AMERICAN NOVELS.

"The Plum Tree," by David Graham Phillips (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill

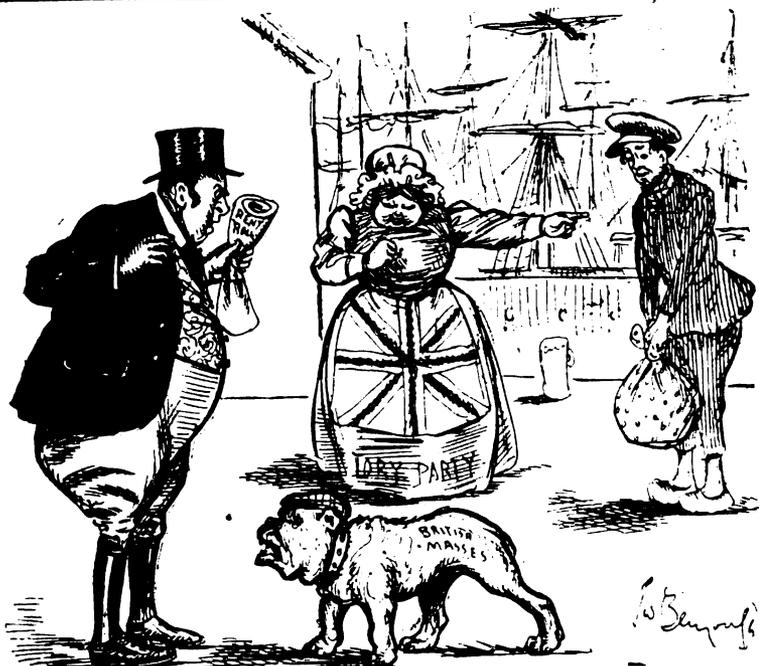
Company), is understood to be a sequel to "The Cost," by the same author (same publishers); but it is so only in a very limited way. Although one of the important characters of "The Cost" appears as a minor character in "The Plum Tree," the two stories are connected only by the slightest thread, and either may be read with full appreciation without reference to the other. Both present remarkably graphic and unusually candid pictures of the kind of American life which, beginning to develop during the administration of President Grant, when it was photographed by Mark Twain's snap shots in "The Gilded Age," came to maturity during the administration of President McKinley.

In "The Cost" we see the unfolding from boyhood to middle manhood, of two strong American types: the practical idealist, who makes the most of himself for the sake of mankind, and the self-centered man who sets out to "get there," no matter who or what "gets left." Playing about these primary characters are familiar secondary ones that fill out the drama down to its tragic ending in the death agonies—commercial, spiritual and physical—of a dethroned monarch of the market.

Individual characters, social environment and business methods and operations are brought out with great skill in this book, by an author who evidently knows the life about which he writes. That he knows it from above, as one who studies rather than wallows in it, is often evident. For example, when he describes the conversation of an important character in these words: "Money, money, money—it was all of the web and most of the woof of her talk. Now it ran boldly on the surface of the pattern; now it was half hid under something about art or books or plays or schemes for patronizing the poor and undermining their self-respect—but it was always there." Or, when he allows the wife of the principal plutocratic character to urge higher ambitions upon her husband. "Why," she asks him, "shouldn't a man with financial genius be like men with other kinds of genius? Why should he be the only one to stay down on the level with dull, money-grubbing, sordid kinds of people? Why shouldn't he have ideals?"

Of the same order is the moral of "The Plum Tree," if a novel without a moral may be said to have one. Neither book professes to teach a lesson; neither is what is known as a novel with a purpose. Neither is a venture at hypodermic injections of a theory. Both are sincere attempts to portray a condition, the condition being that with which we are all familiar—modern plutocracy.

While the interdependence of the commercial and the political phenomena of modern life, constituting the



THE BULL-DOG SCENTS HIS REAL ENEMY!

British Landlordism—Here! Call him off! Sic him on to the "Alien"—anything to divert the brute's attention from me!

plutocracy of the time, furnishes the theme for both stories, "The Cost" deals more prominently with the commercial side, "The Plum Tree" with the political. The period in which the latter culminates is that brief span of years when Mark Hanna leaped from obscure traction manipulator to President-maker and Senator. This will be found, therefore, to be the more attractive novel of the two, by readers interested in recent political history. For here may be caught glimpses of Hanna, Foraker, Rockefeller, Bryan and McKinley; and the mysterious and delicate mechanism of the ponderous politico-political machine may be here inspected. As the novel is not historical, the author makes no effort at biographical fidelity with reference to any of his dramatis personae; but as character studies, they are often startling in their fidelity. Of Senator Saylor, the alter-ego for Senator Hanna, this is notably true. Of President Burbank, it is especially true; his character-resemblance to President McKinley is sharply photographic in almost every feature. Although historical and biographical exactness are on the whole avoided, McKinley is identified with considerable accuracy even as to his career. So is Hanna from the time he acquired national reputation. The circumstances of the Presidential election of 1896 are also clung to pretty closely. But, after all, it is the character studies set in the plutocratic environment of the Hanna-McKinley era that entitle "The Plum Tree" to its place as a picture of American life.

Novels without a moral purpose though these two products of Mr. Philipps's pen clearly are, they can hardly be read without producing a moral effect. This is not because they preach, for they do not preach. It is because they disclose.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—"The Twentieth Century Money Law," by Timothy Dwight (New York: Peter Eckler, 35 Fulton St.). A comprehensive scheme for money reform contemplating the maintenance of a sufficient volume of money kept at par with the national value of silver and gold.

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