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A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

Eighth Year

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**LOUIS F. POST**  
EDITOR

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It has been said that Bisocialism is an odd title for a book. It is, however, an accurate and expressive title for Oliver R. Trowbridge's book. The author draws a sharp distinction between what is commonly called socialism, but which he calls omnisocialism, on the one hand, which would socialize all forms of property, and, on the other hand, that public policy which he contends real economic science demands, which would socialize all ground values and all public utilities and leave all private utilities free from monopoly. It is a masterly book. The price is \$1.50; by mail \$1.60.

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# The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

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## EDITORIAL

For a good many years it has been customary in the cities of the United States to select grand jurors from one class of citizens—the so-called "better" element. The workingman class has been excluded.

This was of little importance so long as criminal accusations did not involve conflicts of industrial interests in industrial communities. But in these days of economic maladjustments and consequent industrial disturbance, this packing of grand juries with the members, apologists and humble dependents of one industrial

class, is fraught with danger to a due administration of the criminal law.

Nothing will more certainly and quickly destroy public confidence in the good faith of criminal procedure, than a well grounded suspicion that any vital part of the judicial machinery is operated for one industrial class and against another; and this packing of grand juries, under the circumstances now prevailing in industrial centers, is calculated to excite that suspicion. Especially is it likely to do this, when there is so much of a suspicious character in the results. Indictments against labor leaders seem to be easy to get; indictments against the "better element" are well-nigh impossible. A labor grafter like Sam Parks may be brought to book; but the "better element" who supplied the graft go free without so much as an indictment. Petty extortioners in labor circles may be indicted, but great hoodlums like those of the Equitable insurance company receive no attention from these grand juries.

Those circumstances must be taken into account in considering the action of the grand jury which has just indicted several labor leaders in connection with the Chicago strike. Presumably that grand jury had evidence sufficient to warrant those indictments. If the present grand jury had been drawn from the body of the people, regardless of class or class interest, this presumption would have weight, as it ought to have. But its weight is greatly lessened by the fact that the body was composed of men apparently devoted to the interests of the employing class. Its foreman, who is closely connected by family ties to one of the large mercantile establishments composing the employers' union, stands at the head of a newspaper which depends for sustenance upon the advertising of the members of this organization and is committed

thick and thin to their one-sided industrial policy. How can the rank and file of labor unions be expected to look without suspicion upon wholesale indictments of their chosen leaders, by a grand jury so constituted and so led?

But the grounds for this suspicion are not limited to what the grand jury has done in indicting labor leaders. If there is any injustice in this, it may be rectified in great degree at the trial when both sides are heard; if there is no injustice, open trial may confirm the grand jury's secret inquisition. The suspicions that this grand jury has excited, whether justly or not, are not so much because it has indicted labor leaders, but because it has indicted them while seeming, at any rate, if not actually, to have protected the "better element." If grand juries are to serve as agencies for setting the criminal law in motion against labor leaders and warding off its blows from employers, its usefulness is at an end. If it excites reasonable suspicion of so doing, then also is its usefulness at an end. And how can it be said that such suspicion is not reasonable, in a case in which the grand jury, composed as we have stated, and having a foreman such as we have described, readily finds batches of indictments against labor leaders, without acting against employers upon notorious charges of criminality equally great?

The partisan animus of this grand jury, if, indeed, it does not merit more severe characterization, is disclosed by its utterly unwarranted attack, by way of presentment, upon Mayor Dunne. In some respects this presentment is a gem. "The grand jurors firmly believe," it declares, "that it is the first duty of the Mayor and the officers charged with the duty of preserving law and order to see that the streets are kept free from all violence and disorder," and they "believe that had this

been done much of the disorder and slugging would have been prevented." Quite so. If the streets had been kept free from all violence and disorder much of the slugging and disorder would doubtless have been prevented. Here, truly, is a Bunsby come to the seat of judgment. Isn't it plain that slugging and disorder would have been prevented if the streets had been kept free from violence and disorder? Verily! There can be no slugging when there is no violence, and no disorder when there is no disorder.

But why does the grand jury present Mayor Dunne for not keeping the streets "free from violence and disorder"? No mayor of any city has ever been able to do that; and there is not a single word in this presentment declaring that Mayor Dunne has neglected his duty, unless it be in the statement that he has "full authority to prevent all gatherings that are likely to result in lawlessness," coupled with a naked innuendo that he has not prevented all such gatherings. The presentment is a hotch potch of Bunsbyisms and innuendoes, evidently designed to insinuate maladministration without declaring it.

Its bad faith is evident from the distinction it makes between Mayor Dunne and Mayor Harrison's hold-over police officials. For while Mayor Dunne is by innuendo charged with maladministration of police affairs in the strike, Harrison's hold-over police officials are commended. Yet it must be plain to any intelligent mind that if anyone is guilty of maladministration of the police force, it is not the Mayor (who has instructed the Chief of Police to preserve order and is insinuatingly condemned by the grand jury without the presentation of a single condemnatory fact), but the chief of police himself, whom the grand jury commends.

It is evident by this time that Mayor Dunne cannot, with safety to his administration and the

cause for which he was elected, much longer remain quiet while the enemies of his administration and its cause weave their webs around him. Every day's events make more evident the truth to which all the circumstances point and to which we have frequently alluded (pp. 97, 113, 129) that the enormous financial interests that Dunne defeated at the city election are plotting to baffle his administration. He cannot extricate himself by deferring to their representatives to any extent whatever. His hope of a successful administration lies, as did the possibility of his election, in challenging and relentlessly fighting them all. They cannot be won over; they must be struck down.

To begin with, the City Hall is filled with henchmen of Mayor Harrison, who are hostile to Mayor Dunne and his policy. They could not defeat him at the polls; they are pulling wires to ruin him in office and thereby clear the ways for Harrison two years hence. Every man of them who has been allied with Harrison and his policy is a dangerous man for Dunne to trust. Then there are the purely partisan prejudices of Republicans. Men with these prejudices will be against every thing that Dunne does, merely because he is a Democrat; to defer to them is not non-partisanship. But the most vicious and most dangerous of all Mayor Dunne's secret enemies are those satanic creatures who, from the beginning of his administration, have plotted to involve it in civic chaos. To accomplish this, they have played upon the keys that vibrate in the headquarters of political factions, in the headquarters of labor unions, in the headquarters of employers' unions, in the editorial and counting rooms of daily newspapers, and in the recesses of grand jury rooms. They have millions at stake and they know how to play the game. For Mayor Dunne to defer to their lawyers or other intermediaries, or for one instant to heed the wheedling or blanché before the innuendoes and

attacks of the newspapers they control, would be suicidal. Every step he has won thus far has been in spite of the opposition of all these forces, and his experience in the past must be his guide in the future.

That he will not yield to the subtle enemies of good municipal government who are arrayed against him now as in the campaign, his courageous conduct in the campaign is the best possible guarantee. But it is a lonesome and thankless as well as confusing task, and now more than ever before he needs the cordial and outspoken sympathy and support of all who intentionally made his election possible. This is no time for them to throw their influence against him. By doing so, they would only play into the hands of his enemies and theirs.

Casual readers of Chicago papers recently, might suspect the Teachers' Federation of being a very dangerous body—dangerous to the public schools. That they are dangerous, very dangerous, is true; but not to the public schools. They are dangerous to the privileged interests of Chicago which for years have been starving the public schools by dodging their honest taxes. It was because the Teachers' Federation, against the efforts of the school board, and the Harrison administration, and the allied monopolies, exposed some of this tax dodging (vol. iv., p. 696), and forced the traction companies to disgorge, that it called down upon its leaders the vengeance of the corporate rascality of Chicago; it is because that organization is believed to contemplate further exposures of the same character, that the plutocracy of the city is again rallying against it. It is not because the public schools are believed to be in danger from teachers that the truly devoted women of the Teachers' Federation are being systematically attacked; it is because the assailants—some of them ignorant, some of them catspaws, some of them contemptibly sordid and self-

seeking, most of them brutal—believe that the schools are about to be rescued from the clutches of a tax-dodging plutocracy.

In Chicago, as in many other places, the school question is at bottom an issue between taxation and pedagogy. On the one side are the financial interests which insist upon favoring tax dodgers at the expense of teachers and consequently to the detriment of pupils, and call it business management; on the other are the educationists who stand for sound methods of pedagogy. A parallel issue is that which arises between the factory method and the school method of education. The factory method regards the relation of teacher and pupil as analogous to that of the mechanic and his product, and consequently makes low-salaried teachers mere cogs in a vast mechanism which high-salaried superintendents control from a distance with metaphorical bell pushes. The intensely human relation of pupil and teacher is sacrificed to the mere mechanical relation of workman and product. The latter issue adapts itself to the former; for the factory method, being of the business type, fits harmoniously into the grooves of the tax-dodging interests. It is essentially business, business, business, as opposed to humanity and what humanity implies. It is, moreover, essentially autocracy as opposed to democracy.

From the pedagogical point of view the school question is editorially stated with great clearness and fairness by the Elementary School Teacher for March, 1905. The article is too long for reproduction here, but we reproduce in another column so much of it as is explanatory of the present situation. It will be observed that this excellent school periodical, in no way connected with the Teachers' Federation, explains the nature of the present controversy in Chicago in a manner that fully accounts for the otherwise unaccountable assaults which the

plutocracy of this city, through their press and through certain members of the Board of Education, are making upon the Teachers' Federation and its efficient leaders.

One of the hopeful signs of the times is the revolt of so many clergymen and religious periodicals against the plutocratic influences that have so long strangled them. It takes time to awaken people to the subtle evils that beset them, and much patience is necessary; but as sure as there is a just God in the Heavens is all this devilry in swallow-tailed coats destined to come to grief. History is full of parallels. The times call not for despair nor pessimism, but for righteous purpose, a little courage, and reasonable patience.

#### ASSESSMENTS.

It goes without saying that in steady and persistent disregard of law and justice the processes and results of assessments take the lead. Other departments of government may vary in righteousness. The iniquity of assessments is constant. In every community the inequality is outrageous. Everyone knows it who thinks of it. Occasionally some one blabs out the fact. And yet the same old shameless condition continues.

You may hear a community pleading its poverty—not enough money for schools, or for roads, or for any public function; whereas any approach to a fair assessment would yield abundance of revenue for every purpose. It is absurd, when you come to think of it, that any community should talk of being too poor to support its legitimate community functions. What such a community is poor in, is not sources of revenue, but the essentials of citizenship and public spirit.

But apart from the question of revenue obtained and its uses, the worst feature of assessments is the heinous injustice of the inequality. Whether this be due to the hit-and-miss incapacity of the assessors, or to their partiality, or to pulls, or to bribes direct or in-

direct, the fact of inequality exists.

It exists in a remarkable regularity in one respect, which makes the inequality all the more execrable. What is this feature, occurring regularly everywhere, that constitutes the overtopping iniquity of assessments? The history of taxation in all countries shows it, and every man who has looked into the matter to-day knows it. But it is worth while to say it again, and it ought, to our shame, to be said over and over. It is this: that small holdings are assessed, and therefore taxed, relatively higher than large holdings.

There may be exceptions, but this is the general truth. As a rule the larger the value the smaller is the relative assessment. The small holder has not the pull or the influence which the large holder, whether individual or corporation, possesses, and accordingly he suffers injustice.

What is the remedy? First, a practical remedial measure consists in adopting a more definite method. For example, we should compel a separate assessment of the land from improvements—by actual acreage in the country, and by actual front-footage in the towns. This would at least avoid the loose manner, prevalent in most places, of assessing in the mass.

But secondly, the remedy lies in creating and concentrating a public sentiment, through publicity and education, which will compel assessors to do their duty. In this way the press of the country can perform a great economic service.

J. H. DILLARD.

#### WHY DID THEY LAUGH?

A thousand members of the Chicago Young Men's Christian Association recently listened to an address by William J. Bryan. They laughed incredulously when he told them that he would rather talk about religion than politics. Again they expressed their incredulity in laughter, when he said that he could talk better when he was receiving no compensation. They were still unconvinced when he insisted that he was sincere. And those young men were not hoodlums. They were members of the young Men's Christian As-

sociation—the equals in morality and intelligence of any other body of young men in the country.

What irresistible influence was it that impelled them to laugh in the face of the orator when he said that he could talk with greater satisfaction when he was to receive no compensation, because it was impossible to lose sight of self when one was talking for money?

Subsequently the writer attended, as an invited guest, a meeting of a young men's club, and listened with interest and profit to the reading of two thoughtful and well written essays upon the "Causes of the American Revolution." This meeting was in a city a hundred miles and more from Chicago, the scene of Mr. Bryan's address. After the papers had been read and discussed, and during a lull in the proceedings, one young man remarked, smilingly: "The papers say that Mr. William Jennings Bryan, in an address before the Young Men's Christian Association, at Chicago, said he'd rather talk on religion than to talk on free silver." And this was greeted with a burst of laughter!

But neither were these young men hoodlums. They were the equals, in every good respect, of any other group of young men that could be culled out from the youth of any city in Illinois—or of any other State.

An infinitely tactful lady, who knew (what the first speaker did not know) that an admirer of Mr. Bryan was present, relieved the situation by saying: "I heard Mr. Bryan once, and he impressed me as being a profoundly religious man. The splendid truths he uttered, and his convincing eloquence, reminded me of the great preachers of a generation ago. I should not wonder if he spoke truly when he declared his preference for religious themes."

After a moment of impressive silence, the admirer of Mr. Bryan added: "All really great men are profoundly religious. Theodore Roosevelt frequently preaches from the pulpit, Gladstone loved to expound the doctrines of Christianity. All truly great and sincere men are irresistibly drawn toward the Christ." The lady of infinite tact bowed acquiescence,

and the palpable silence gave unanimous approval.

Now, why did the young men laugh derisively at the thought of Mr. Bryan's declared preference for religious themes, and for neighborly service? The answer is, of course, that they believed him to be insincere.

But another and far more important question arises here, and that question is: Why did they believe him to be insincere?

There are but two answers: Either their minds had been poisoned against Mr. Bryan in particular, by misinformation regarding him, or else their minds had been poisoned against men in general by their knowledge of them!

In either case the thoughtful man will realize that the situation is most deplorable. The fact that young men of the Republican party have been so shamefully deceived in regard to the character of one of the greatest of contemporary Americans constitutes a heavy indictment against those who are guilty of the deception.

Of course not all those who picture Mr. Bryan as an unprincipled demagogue are conscious falsifiers. Persons who themselves possess no moral principles are not likely to recognize moral principles in another. With such, right and wrong are determined by their personal likes and dislikes. And such men are as naturally and inevitably repelled by the lofty ideals of a Bryan, as is the savage by the arts of peace.

Such men it is who poison the minds of unsophisticated youth against every good man whose efforts at social reform meet with a sufficient measure of success to attract their attention. It was such as they who, unable either to understand or confute the doctrines of the Nazarene, sought to turn the force of popular superstition against him by suggesting Beelzebub as the source of his power.

In Mr. Bryan's Chicago speech he gave utterance to the profoundest social philosophy, and to the purest religious sentiments. Not only there and then, but everywhere and at all times he has done the same. Although Mr. Bryan's public life has been a consistent

concrete expression of all this, yet the young men doubted his sincerity! Why?

Is sincerity in public men so rare that its existence in the noblest is doubted? Or is selfishness so nearly universal as to preclude belief in the sincerity of one who declares his satisfaction with opportunities for gratuitous service?

Had the young men's faith in their fellow men been destroyed by the moral poison-mongers of the partisan press, and by the multitudinous revelations of dishonor in both the political and commercial life of the nation? Or (God forbid that it should be so) has the spirit of the times despoiled our young men of the power to appreciate the matchless value of gratuitous service when circumstances demand it?

To what purpose do our college men read history if they fail to become impressed with the universal testimony to the incomparable value of such sacrifice? To what purpose the training of the university if it does not arm the graduate against the false witness of the partisan?

It is fashionable in some quarters to deplore the blind trust of the trade unionist in his leaders; but do not our educated men follow as blindly their partisan leaders?

Either the members of the Chicago Young Men's Christian Association have blindly accepted the false characterization of Bryan by his political opponents, or else they reject his moral philosophy. If their derisive laughter was a spontaneous rebuke to insincerity, then they are manifestly ignorant of the character of a man who has lived in the public view for ten years past—they have permitted their party leaders to deceive them. If their laughter was aimed at the philosophy expressed by Mr. Bryan—that service is the law of progress, and that political platforms should be based on the golden rule—it indicates a moral decadence that is truly startling!

Nineteen hundred years ago Jesus said: "Whosoever would be greatest among you, let him serve all the rest"—and the people could not understand his doctrine.

To-day Mr. Bryan says: "I am happiest when serving my fellow

men without pay"—and they laugh in his face!

We think we know why the people of two millenniums ago rejected this philosophy; but do we know why the people of to-day reject it also?

EDWARD HOWELL PUTNAM.

## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

### CLEVELAND.

Cleveland, June 4.—Mayor Johnson's low-fare and municipal-ownership "outing" yesterday has proved to be a more effective factor in promoting the municipal-ownership movement than its organizers had hoped for. Their hopes had been raised to a pretty high pitch by the expectation of a joint meeting of Mayor Johnson, of Cleveland, and Mayor Dunne, of Chicago, as representatives of the two cities in which that movement has taken most advanced shape. This expectation was chilled by the inability of Mayor Dunne to leave Chicago in time to keep his appointment. But Mayor Dunne's guest, Mr. Dalrymple, the manager of the municipal traction system of Glasgow, who attended at Mayor Dunne's request, made two casual remarks in his speech which, owing to their fatuous exploitation by the local traction interests, have furnished the low-fare and municipal-ownership advocates with some of their best material.

Quite in a casual way, Mr. Dalrymple remarked that less than five-cent fare would be quite impossible with universal transfers. This incidental remark was taken up, after the usual manner of American newspapers, and made much of, as if it had been the central point of Mr. Dalrymple's speech. All the changes were rung upon it, by means of labored editorials, interviews with beneficiaries of traction privileges, etc., to make it appear that this visiting expert was opposed to Mayor Johnson on the subject of low fares.

Also in a casual way Mr. Dalrymple said that municipal ownership in order to succeed must be divorced from politics; and this remark was exploited as the judgment of a municipal ownership expert against municipal ownership where city government is influenced by politics.

In order to emphasize the importance of these remarks, great stress was laid upon Mr. Dalrymple's transcendent qualities as an expert in the management of the municipally owned traction lines of Glasgow. Consequently, the fact is more widely advertised in Cleveland to-day than anything else could have advertised it, that Glasgow has a municipally owned traction system, and that it has long been in successful operation—in every way su-

perior to the privately owned systems of the same country.

On the face of it Mr. Dalrymple's two statements noted above seem to the unthinking to be adverse to the low-fare and municipal-ownership movement.

Had this been otherwise, they would not have been exploited, and the occasion would have been allowed to pass as an ordinary political picnic. But that neither of them is in reality at all embarrassing a moment's thought will show.

That spoils politics must be kept out of municipal business is universally insisted upon by municipal ownership advocates. One of the prime arguments for municipal ownership and operation of traction service is that it is necessary to drive politics out of that service. The greatest political corruption of our cities to-day is directly traceable to the hand which municipal service corporations take in city politics. Mr. Dalrymple's statement on this point is therefore a welcome admonition to us to get rid of political corruption in municipal government by getting rid of public service corporations.

On the subject of low fares, it is not remarkable that so good a traction expert as Mr. Dalrymple should make the mistake of supposing that universal transfers would necessitate five-cent fares, for he has no expert knowledge regarding transfers, transfers not being in use with him. He is opposed to transfers, as is every intelligent traction expert; for they operate to give some patrons more than their money's worth and others less. But he neither knows nor pretends to know, from experience, that universal transfers would necessitate five-cent fares. On this point he is flatly contradicted by the action of the president of the Cleveland system, who offers universal transfers with a four-cent fare. If transfers are impossible on a five-cent basis how can the present company give them on a four-cent basis?

But whatever may be the worth of Mr. Dalrymple's testimony on a point regarding which he is not an expert and does not speak from experience, there is no doubt of its value on the points regarding which he does speak from experience. And the value of this testimony is enhanced by the good character and ability as an expert which the Cleveland traction interests have given him in order to throw a glamour about his incidental remarks which they interpret in their own favor.

The real substance of Mr. Dalrymple's speech here was a strong endorsement of municipal ownership and operation with low fares. On these points he spoke from experience.

He said that the average cost per passenger in Glasgow is less than one-cent, and that the average fare per passenger is less than two cents. It is true that wages are lower in Glasgow, as are some other expenses. But all told these expenses are not 40 per cent. less, and to offset that lesser cost the expense of furnishing a seat to every passenger must be considered. There are no "strap hangers" in Glasgow. Nevertheless, the average cost per passenger is less than one-cent and the average fare is less than two cents.

So Mr. Dalrymple stated, and he is borne out by the official reports. By vouching for him as an expert, the traction interests save the other side all necessity for proving his competency as a witness, and the substance of his speech will live and agitate for low fares and municipal ownership long after his incidental remark about transfers—a remark not drawn from his experience but exploited by the traction interests, although their own management disproves it—has been forgotten.

Local politics are getting ready to boil. The gubernatorial campaign is on. Gov. Herrick has been renominated by the Republicans and the Democratic convention is to meet in a few days. Herrick has made himself very unpopular, even in his own party. Cox, of Cincinnati, has succeeded Hanna as State boss. Leading Democrats in different parts of the State are confident of defeating Herrick. This may be hoping for too much.

But the effect in Cleveland is marked. Johnson will doubtless be the Democratic candidate for reelection as Mayor, and there is no observable indication of any possibility of his being defeated at the polls. Republicans, plutocratic Democrats, the agents of corporations, all concede his reelection, and the democratic Democrats are confident. When the Republicans abolished Spring elections they expected to sweep Johnson under by mixing the vote on State officers with that on local officers. But now they fear that the effect will be reversed. Instead of being swept under by a Republican avalanche for State officers, Johnson is likely to sweep the Republicans under by a Johnson avalanche for city officers.

L. F. P.

## NEWS NARRATIVE

Week ending Thursday, June 8:

Dissolution of the Swedish-Norwegian Union.

Norway has declared her union with Sweden dissolved, and re-

nounced her allegiance to King Oscar of Sweden. This act is the result of King Oscar's veto (p. 136) of the bill of the Norwegian parliament, called the Storting, providing for a foreign consular service separate from that of Sweden.

Concurrently with dethroning the King of Sweden and Norway as King of Norway, the Norwegian parliament on the 7th empowered the State Council to exercise for the present the regal power, and adopted the following address to the King:

Your Majesty: Whereas, all the members of the Council of State have laid down their offices, and whereas, his majesty, the King, has declared himself unable to establish a new government for the country, and whereas, the constitutional regal power thus becomes inoperative, the Storting authorizes the members of the Council of State who retired to-day to exercise until further notice as the Norwegian government the power appertaining to the king in accordance with Norway's constitution and existing laws with those changes which are necessitated by the fact that the union with Sweden under one king is dissolved in consequence of the King having ceased to act as a Norwegian king. The course of developments which have proved more powerful than the desire and will of individuals has led to this result. The union entered upon in 1814 has from the first hour been differently interpreted by the two nations both with regard to its spirit and letter. Efforts have been made on the Swedish side to extend the union and on the Norwegian side to confine it to the limit laid down by the act of union and otherwise to assert the independent power of both States in all matters not defined in that act as coming under the union. The difference of principle in the interpretation of the character of the union has provoked much misunderstanding between the two peoples and has caused much friction in the interpretation which during the recent negotiations between the two countries has been laid down by Sweden as against Norway. The Norwegian people were bound to perceive the injury to their constitutional right, their independence and their national honor. The union was justified so long as it could contribute to the welfare and happiness of both peoples while maintaining their independence as sovereign states. But above the union there stands for us Norwegians our Norwegian fatherland and for the Swedes their Swedish fatherland, while more valuable than the political union are the feelings of solidarity and voluntary cohesion of both peoples. The

union has become a danger to this feeling of solidarity of the Norwegian and Swedish peoples which should secure the happiness of both nations and constitute their strength abroad. If the union is now severed the Norwegian people have no loftier wish than to live in good harmony with all, and not least with the people of Sweden and the dynasty under the direction of which our country, despite many bitter disputes affecting the union, has attained such important intellectual and material development. As evidence of the fact that the work and struggle of the Norwegian people for the full independence of the fatherland has not been founded on any ill-feeling toward the royal house or the Swedish people and has not left behind any bitterness toward either of these, the Storting respectfully solicits your Majesty's co-operation to the end that a prince of your Majesty's house may be permitted while relinquishing his right to succession to the throne of Sweden to accept election as king of Norway. The day on which the Norwegian people elect their own king to ascend the ancient throne of Norway will open up an era of more tranquil conditions in Norway, of good and cordial relations with the Swedish people, and of peace, concord and loyal co-operation in the north for the protection and culture of the people and their freedom and independence. Convinced of this, the Storting ventures to express the confident hope that as what has now been done will turn out to be for the good of all as well as of your Majesty, for whose person the Norwegian people will retain their high respect and devotion.

King Oscar immediately telegraphed to the Norwegian Council of State the following reply:

Have received the communication of the Council of State. Record the most decided protest against the method and action of the government.

#### The Russian Japanese War.

Later accounts of the Russian-Japanese sea battle of the 27th and 28th (p. 135), call for no important alterations of last week's report. Nor is there anything to add except that on the 2d the Japanese authorities at Tokio reported the Japanese loss to have been 113 killed and 424 wounded. From the same source had come on the 1st estimates of the Russian loss, placing it at from 7,000 to 9,000 killed and wounded and 4,000 prisoners.

Three Russian cruisers which were disabled in this battle, came into the harbor at Manila on the

3d. Upon being notified of this, President Roosevelt summoned his cabinet to discuss the matter, and on the 5th it was publicly announced that the President had ordered the vessels to leave American waters by noon of the 6th or dismantle. He is reported to have thereby made a precedent, the Washington dispatches explaining it as follows: "Heretofore the principles of international law regarding neutrality have been interpreted to mean that warships of a belligerent nation calling at neutral ports could stop only twenty-four hours, unless they were in need of supplies, in which case they were to be allowed coal and provisions to take them to their nearest home port, without regard to the time it took to load the stores, except that there must be no unnecessary delay. But the President directs that the twenty-four hour limit must be strictly enforced, and necessary supplies and coal must be taken on within that time, because the Russian ships were suffering from damages due to battle, the American policy being to restrict all operations of belligerents at neutral ports by allowing no time for repair of damages suffered in battle." The vessels have since been ordered by the Russian government to remain at Manila under the terms exacted by the American government.

#### The Domestic Situation in Russia.

The popular excitement in Russia (p. 136) caused by the naval defeat has not subsided. It appears to be extensive throughout the Empire, and to penetrate even into the Czar's council, the burden of the demand being that the war shall not be kept up without the consent of the people represented in a parliament. At Moscow this sentiment is most outspoken. Twenty-two members of the Moscow municipal council were reported on the 6th as having signed the following declaration:

Our hearts are aching. Neither reason, equity nor sense of responsibility to the national conscience can admit that this most disastrous and bloody war of history, the causes of which are incomprehensible to this tortured country, should continue without the consent of the Russian people. Moscow should courageously raise her voice in this year of pain and say that any fur-

ther postponement of a convocation of the representatives of the nation is impossible. The hour has arrived for the people to decide between war and a peace honorable to Russia, and for Russia to proceed to the reconstruction of the national edifice.

A new Zemstvos congress (p. 91) in session at Moscow on the 6th, and composed of 280 delegates, including the mayors of 25 cities, decided to demand the convocation of a zemsky sobor and the submission to it of the question of peace or war. The morning and afternoon sessions of this congress were held without molestation, but the evening session was broken up under a special order from Gov. Gen. Trepoff, sent from St. Petersburg.

The Czar had given to Trepoff, a subordinate of Mr. Bouligin, as minister of the interior, extraordinary powers. In consequence, Mr. Bouligin resigned and Gen. Trepoff became practically minister of the interior with the powers virtually of a military dictator, subject only to the Czar. He is authorized to arrest without accusation and to banish without trial and it is expected that his administration will be more aggressive than that of Plehve, who was assassinated (vol. vii, p. 584). Gen. Trepoff denies that he is in any sense a dictator, but admits that in addition to his powers as governor general of St. Petersburg, the Czar has given him control of the police regime in Russia and authority over political crimes. He adds:

My policy will be to prevent uncensored political agitation and to confine political movements strictly within the scope of the law. My appointment does not mean in any way a change in the programme of reforms, which will proceed parallel with the work before me. The project proposed in the rescript on reforms, that is to say, a national assembly, has been completed by the Bouligin commission and is now under consideration by the committee of ministers.

#### The Chicago Teamsters' Strike.

From Russia to the United States, the circumstances of the Chicago strike (p. 138) claim first attention. On the 3d the grand jury of Cook county returned indictments against several labor leaders, including Cornelius P. Shea, president of the Teamsters'

International Union; J. B. Barry, business agent of the Express Drivers' Union; and Charles Dold, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

In connection with these indictments the grand jury made a presentment in which they asserted:

It is common knowledge that within the last six weeks the streets of Chicago have been the scenes of great disorder and in several instances because of this disorder murder has resulted. Reputable citizens and business houses have been unable to have their teams driven in the streets without fear of molestation. The grand jurors firmly believe, without attempting to pass judgment as to which side is right or wrong in the present strike, that it is the first duty of the mayor and the officers charged with the duty of preserving law and order to see that the streets are kept free from all violence and disorder. The grand jurors believe that had this been done much of the disorder and slugging would have been prevented. Once the right to use the streets without fear of violence is established by the Mayor, he should be urged to make every effort to use his influence, official and unofficial, to bring peace between the contending parties. From the evidence which has been presented to them the grand jurors believe that the mayor has full authority to prevent all gatherings that are likely to result in lawlessness, and that if he would exert the authority which is vested in him there would be no need for policemen on wagons to insure their safe conduct through the streets. The grand jurors desire to commend Chief of Police O'Neill, Inspectors Lavin, Shipley and Wheeler for the frank and full way in which they testified before them, and to express the opinion that if these officers receive the proper directions they will carry them out to the letter.

Replying to these strictures Mayor Dunne said in an interview given out on the 4th:

The grand jury report, which Foreman A. A. McCormick terms in today's Tribune "his" report, is grossly unfair and unjust to me. It declares "It is the first duty of the Mayor and officers charged with the duty of preserving law and order to see that the streets are kept free from all violence and disorder." It is the duty of the Mayor and such officers to use every effort so to do, and that I and the other officers of the law have done. That we have been remarkably successful in so doing is known to the general public and to the State's Attorney, who declares in to-day's Tribune: "As a matter of fact, there hasn't been near-

ly so much violence in the present strike as there might be when the extent of the territory covered and its duration are considered." We have sworn in from 1,200 to 1,300 extra policemen, and these extra men and practically the whole police force have been devoted during the two months' strike to seeing that the merchants and express companies of Chicago sent their wagons through the streets of the city without hindrance. Every requisition from them upon the police force has been honored, even to the extent of denying police protection to the rest of our citizens. The public knows this and Mr. McCormick and the grand jury must have known it. . . . I have succeeded in getting the wagons through the streets and deliveries are being made, as the statements of the merchants and their advertisements in the daily press admit. At the same time I have done everything possible to adjust the unfortunate controversy between employers and employes. This the public knows, and the grand jury might have known if they had made the most cursory inquiry. Again this unfair report declares: "If he (the Mayor) would exert the authority which is vested in him there would be no need for policemen on wagons to insure their safe conduct through the streets." What does the grand jury mean by this? What authority have I failed to exercise? Why not specify wherein I have failed? If the grand jury means that I have failed to call in the militia, I answer that, until I fail to get wagons through the streets and maintain law and order with the police, I have no right, legally or morally, to call for the assistance of the militia. I do not intend, until it be necessary, to deal Chicago and its business interests that hurtful blow. The animus behind the whole affair is apparent. More than three weeks ago certain interests in this city demanded that I call in the militia. A situation under the law warranting such a call did not then exist, and has not since existed. I refused to do so, and I will refuse until it appears that such a step is necessary. Immediately after my refusal to call for the troops I was assailed in the most virulent manner by some of the newspapers of this city, notably the Post. The editor of that paper, I am informed, is Mr. McCormick, the foreman of the grand jury, who calls the report of the grand jury "his." He is also, I am informed, a son-in-law of one of the members of the firm of Sprague, Warner & Co., which firm is a member of the Employers' Association. As to the personnel of the rest of the grand jury I am at present uninformed, but if this jury has been selected as grand juries are usually selected in this county it is composed of men who are either heavy employers of labor themselves or inter-

ested in or affiliated with corporations and firms who are heavy employers of labor. Persons who are themselves concerned in labor controversies cannot, in the nature of things, view the acts and doings of public officials in cases like this with disinterestedness and impartiality. During the whole of this strike I have availed myself of the legal knowledge I have acquired at the bar and on the bench, and have decided and acted upon all questions arising during the controversy as though I were still sitting on the bench, giving to each side what was its legal rights—no more and no less. My action in this regard I submit to the candid and impartial consideration of my fellow citizens. As the Executive of this city I will continue to deal with the questions involved in this strike according to the law of the land and the dictates of my own conscience, having at heart the interests of the whole people, without being swerved from my course by the clamor from either side.

On the day of the bringing in of the indictments and presentment mentioned above, new possibilities of ending the strike culminated in a meeting of joint committees. The prospect for a settlement was so promising that Mayor Dunne cancelled his engagement, made two months ago, to join Mayor Johnson in Cleveland at a picnic for the discussion of municipal ownership; but nothing has yet come of these pacific negotiations. The nearest apparent approach to peace was made on the 6th by the appointment by the teamsters' joint council of a committee with full power to settle the strike. But no progress has been made. On the contrary the probable settlement of the strike has again been thwarted. A conference between the committees of the employers and the teamsters' union was held on the 7th. According to the Record-Herald of the 8th—

a significant feature of the conference was the presence of President Shea, who was responsible for blocking peace negotiations several days ago, after he had been left out of a meeting between a committee of employers and teamsters. Shea would have been excluded from the meeting yesterday if the employers had agreed to the demand of the union officials that Levy Mayer also should keep away. This demand was refused promptly, and Shea then was called in. He made a vigorous fight against altering the propositions of the teamsters to suit the demands of the employers. The significance of this episode

lies in the fact that Shea has all along managed the strike for the teamsters and Mayer (the lawyer of the Employers' union) has managed it for the employers.

#### The Parcels Post Movement.

An outcome of the Chicago strike is the development among labor unionists of an agitation for a parcels post (p. 131), as a union weapon for striking at the express companies, which refuse to allow the organization of their employees and have prevented a settlement of the strike. The matter came before the Chicago Federation of Labor on the 4th, and the discussion resulted in the adoption of two resolutions. One authorized a letter to President Roosevelt asking him to include in his call for a special session of Congress the duty of considering an act for the establishment of a parcels post; the other authorized a letter to all central bodies of the United States calling for the cooperation of all labor unions in this demand upon the President.

#### The Philadelphia Gas Question.

For the present at least the controversy in Philadelphia over the gas question (p. 137) is at an end. On the 1st both branches of the city councils agreed upon a resolution recalling from the Mayor the objectionable ordinance. The resolution was adopted without a dissenting vote.

### NEWS NOTES

—President Castro was formally re-elected as President of Venezuela on the 7th.

—The fifth annual convention of the Women's International Union Label league met at Hull House, Chicago, on the 6th.

—The injunction against the transfer of the Elgin (Ill.) electric lighting system to a private corporation was dissolved on the 1st.

—Frederick William, the crown prince of Germany, and Duchess Cecilia of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, were married at Berlin on the 6th.

—C. W. Post, of Battle Creek, was chosen at Chicago on the 2d to succeed D. M. Parry as president of the National Citizens' Industrial association.

—The machinery of the Lewis and Clarke exposition at Portland, Ore., was set in motion on the 1st from Washington by President Roosevelt. Vice President

Fairbanks was present at the exposition in person.

—The monthly statement of the United States treasury department (see p. 104) for May 31, 1905, shows the following for 11 months of the fiscal year ending Jun 30, 1905:

Gold reserve fund.....	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash.....	131,141,377.99
Total.....	\$281,141,377.99
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1904.....	319,027,403.05
Decrease.....	\$ 37,886,025.06

### PRESS OPINIONS

#### SOCIALISM AND MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

(Columbus, O.) Press Post (Dem.), June 4. —In their convention, a few days ago, the Socialists declared that municipal ownership was not a part of their propaganda. Both the single taxers and the Populists, so-called individualists, are heartily in favor of municipal ownership, while at the same time, bitterly opposed to socialism. It is probably true that the average Socialist, wherever he can without affecting his party organization, will prefer public to private ownership of what are known as natural monopolies. But he will not do so as a member of the Socialist party militant, not because he does not believe the community should own these natural monopolies, but because he thinks that in the evolution of civilization all industries, including land, will some day be recognized as natural monopolies, and, therefore, seasonably subject to collective ownership, control and operation. Their objection to singling out any branch of industry lies in their belief that such projects do not substantially benefit the workingman, but rather benefit the capitalist in other branches of industry. For instance, a low street car fare in any city increases the value of land by making it a more desirable place in which to live, and thus increasing an elastic demand for a relatively constant supply. On the other hand, intelligent advocates of municipal ownership, whatever their fine-spun theories to economics in general, feel that it is at least a step in the right direction, and one that must be taken before we can be politically emancipated. The single taxers see clearly that while the municipal ownership question is a part of the land question, it is, by no means, the land question itself. The fact remains that the people everywhere favor municipal ownership, and, if we are living in a democracy, as supposed, that is a sufficient reason for adopting municipal ownership as fast as possible. A civilization cannot move faster than the intelligence of its membership; but a few special privileged men ought not to be allowed to scorn and stifle that intelligence.

#### LABOR UNIONS AND POLITICS.

The United Mine Workers of America (Labor), May 25.—It is very easy. All that the trades unionists and grangers have to do is to join hands and select men who will give publicly an unqualified 'Yes' or 'No' to their demands and elect them. It is within their power to utterly change the situation and restore to themselves the power they have lost by their indifference and political bias. With the questioning of candidates for the referendum the people will become of right the masters, not the men whom they elect, and the creator will be greater than the creature.

#### OUR NATIVE GRAFTERS.

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (Ind.), June 2 (weekly ed.).—No one can point to the Philadelphia cesspool and say that the for-

sign-born voter did it. In all her corruption Philadelphia has a population more purely native than any other city of the first rank in the United States. It is literally the one great American city, in the sense that the old Know-nothing party delighted to hold.

## MISCELLANY

### UNDER THE WHEEL."

From "For To-Day," poems by Frances M. Milne, published by The James H. Barry Co., 423 Montgomery street, San Francisco.

The wheel of Fate hath a measureless round—

A measureless round, and it turneth slow;

And few on the topmost curve are found  
Who care for the lives crushed out below.

But silent and sure it circuit keeps;

And still the shadows beneath it steal;

For, sooner or later, all it sweeps

Under the Wheel.

There are some in the mire of want who fell,

As the great wheel slackened their straining hold;

Yet kept their souls, as, the legends tell,  
The spotless martyrs kept theirs of old.

And some in the furnace of greed are lost,  
(Nor ever the angel beside them feel.)

And outer the darkness where some are tossed

Under the Wheel.

The laughter is silenced on childhood's lips.

And hollowed the cheek of beauty's bloom;

Still on, remorseless, the great orb slips—  
A Juggernaut car of implacable doom!

Sweet age is robbed of its saintly peace;  
(Oh, saddest woe that the heart can feel!)

To pain and struggle is no surcease,  
Under the Wheel.

It has warped high purpose of noble youth  
To a base endeavor for place and gold;

It has slain the weak who sought for truth,  
With a craven terror that none hath told.

Hope's heart grew faint, and faith's eye  
grew dim.

And love felt the chill of death congeal;  
Hath God forgotten? they cried to Him—

Under the Wheel.

Oh, terrible wheel! must thou still go  
round,

While suns and while stars their orbits  
keep?

Hast thou place, like theirs, in the fathom-  
less bound

Of Nature's mystery dread and deep?  
Nay! Man's injustice, not God's decree,

Marked thy fell pathway; the skies re-  
veal

A day that cometh, when none shall be  
Under the Wheel.

### THE MAN WITH THE MUCK-RAKE.

From the Second Part of "The Pilgrim's Progress," by John Bunyan, 1628-1688.

After these things had been somewhat digested by Christiana and her company, the Interpreter takes them apart again, and has them first into a

Room where was a Man that could look no way but downwards, with a Muck-rake in his hand. There stood, also, one over his head with a Celestial Crown in his hand, and proffered him that Crown for his Muck-rake; but the man did neither look up, nor regard, but raked to himself the straws and sticks and the dust of the floor.

Then said Christiana: "I persuade myself that I know somewhat the meaning of this; for this is a figure of a Man of this World, is it not, good Sir?"

"Thou hast said the right," said he, "and his Muck-rake doth shew his carnal mind. And whereas thou seest him rather give heed to rake up straws and sticks and the dust of the floor, than to what he says that calls to him from above with the Celestial Crown in his hand, it is to shew that Heaven is but as a fable to some, and that things here are counted the only things substantial. Now, whereas it was also shewed thee that the man could look no way but downwards, it is to let thee know that earthly things, when they are with power upon men's minds, quite carry their hearts away from God."

Then said Christiana: "O, deliver me from this Muck-rake."

"That prayer," said the Interpreter, "has lain by till 'tis almost rusty. 'Give me not Riches,' is scarcely the prayer of one of ten thousand. Straws and sticks and dust with most are the great things now looked after."

### LOVE'S HOLY TIE.

Editorial in the Omaha World-Herald of January 8, 1905.

The "riddle solvers" are filling the newspapers with suggestions as to the best method of disposing of the "marriage problem," by which they mean, in truth, the divorce evil. One would think that the holy institution upon which the world's homes are built and through which the world's peace is made possible had come to be regarded as an experiment and admitted to be, as a general rule, an experiment that has failed. But the failure is not with the institution itself. It is with the individual and, comparatively speaking, is only with a few individuals. So admirable is the institution that it has stood the test of time and survived the faults and the follies of most of the men and the women who have taken advantage of it.

Various "remedies" have been suggested and one man who is so foolish as to imagine that he even thinks he thinks,

suggests that marriages be contracted for a five or ten-year period, with the right to renew if both parties agree. It is unnecessary to dwell upon any proposition in which it is assumed that the marriage tie is not the holiest of all earthly bonds. Some one ought, however, to register a protest—in the name of the married lovers living and the married lovers dead—against the effort to make it appear that the institution should be judged in the records of the divorce courts rather than in the archives of civilization. When a uniform divorce law is adopted by all the States, the divorce evil will be reduced to the minimum. But even with the undoubtedly large number of divorce suits, marriage is by no means a failure. In the language of a great statesman, it has "done more toward the peace, happiness, settlement and civilization of the world than any other part of the whole scheme of divine wisdom."

### PUBLIC BRIGANDAGE.

Leading editorial in The Churchman of May 20, 1905.

The Church Congress deserves commendation for its frank, free and Christian discussion of the vital questions of the time. But we must qualify our commendation by regret that the topic of "The Church and Public Brigandage" was not handled with greater directness. The two writers, the Bishop Coadjutor of Pennsylvania and Dr. E. R. L. Gould, of New York, seemed to limit the field to municipal corruption only, and Bishop Mackay-Smith, while speaking freely about protection and trusts, appeared to assume or presume that our national and State administrations are much purer than the municipal. This assumption we believe to be quite false, at least so far as State administrations are concerned. In every State, municipal administration is divided between the municipality and the State—a division of control which in its present form in itself tends to promote corruption—and it is the State government, not the local government, which ultimately controls the situation. In those States where corruption is most rife or notorious, like Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Delaware, Missouri, New York and Illinois, that corruption has had its seat primarily in the State, not the city governments. It is the State governments through which the most notorious acts of public brigandage have been perpetrated.

Similarly, we believe that facts show that the attribution of the increase, if

such increase there be, of public corruption to the changed nature of foreign immigration is incorrect. In Connecticut, it is clearly the home population, the native American element, which is the seat of the corruption; and the same may be said of various other States. In a certain well-known fight of the people against the brigandage of a great public utility corporation in the city of New York a few years ago, when the leaders of both political parties had finally agreed to accede to the wishes of the people, they pointed out that the real difficulty of the situation would be the control of the country members. The party machines could hold the city legislators in line, but the up-State legislators, the native, Simon-pure Americans, could and would be bought, they said, by agents of the corporation.

Attributing our failure to solve satisfactorily the municipal problem to a too great extension of universal suffrage, the Bishop Coadjutor of Pennsylvania advocated as a bulwark against corruption, property and educational qualifications in civic suffrage. Experience seems to show that a property qualification would be in this regard absolutely of no value, if not an actual aid to corruption. One is reminded of the municipal campaign of 1901 in the city of New York, and the wholesome home truths which Judge Jerome told the "respectable citizens," the property classes in that campaign.

At the very time when the Church Congress was in session in Brooklyn, that city was stirred with regard to the action of certain of its legislators at Albany in voting, along with a few New York members and a large number of country legislators, against reduction in the price of gas to the city consumer. (Singularly, not a single speaker at the Congress mentioned this striking instance of public brigandage). These men voted against such a reduction in the price of gas, because a great corporation desired to secure inordinate profits on watered stock. And precisely here is the root of public brigandage—the commercialism and the commercial dishonesty of our business men, often men of the highest "respectability." The directors of gas companies, oil companies, and a host of other organizations and industrial associations, do not hesitate to corrupt politics for the purpose of private gain. The standard of business morality is low, and that standard has been introduced into political life. The development of corporations has also tended

to lower still further this standard, in so far as the corporate relation diminishes the sense of personal responsibility, and persuades respectable directors to wink at the fraud and corruption practised by their companies, if they do not actually further it, on the ground of their obligation to the stockholders and to their own pockets. In the case of the highly respectable directors of the Western Union, for example, it was necessary to publish their names, connecting them individually with the assistance given by their company to gambling, in order to induce them to act toward putting a stop to the partnership of their company with vice.

The Church is in many places arousing the conscience of the people to the evil of these conditions. Such men as Bishop McVickar, in Rhode Island; Bishop Mackay-Smith, in Pennsylvania, and Bishop Potter, in New York, have done, and are doing, invaluable service as leaders in the movements for reform. Bishop Mackay-Smith seemed to think that the Church is doing its full duty in this matter. To us it seems that the Church—to use the word in its broadest sense—cannot be said to be as yet fully awake to the facts of the situation. Recently, when Dr. Newman Smythe, of Connecticut, sought to arouse the conscience of the people of that State to the character and extent of the political corruption which it was proposed to reward by a seat in the United States Senate, he was left to fight his fight almost alone, neither Church nor press lending him efficient aid. Nothing substantial can be accomplished in conditions such as prevail in Connecticut, for example, until the Church in the country districts as well as in the city takes up and emphasizes the meaning and the religious obligation of public honesty. It is the Church of Christ which can and must, by fearless and plain speaking on simple and primary Christian truths, applied to public and business life, effect the reform in public morals. The country regions need the reform at least as much as the city, and the country clergy have in some respects a better opportunity to work for this reform than have their brethren of the city.

It is not the foreign immigrants nor the poor and landless city voters who are at the bottom of this public brigandage, but the native-born, property-holding Americans, precisely that class which constitutes the clientele of the churches.

#### EXPLANATION OF THE ATTACKS UPON THE TEACHERS' FEDERATION OF CHICAGO.

Part of an editorial in "The Elementary School Teacher" for March, 1906.

The present controversy in Chicago between the Board of Education and a portion of the teaching force, represented largely by the Teachers' Federation, marks an interesting epoch in the evolution of the common-school system. While the discussion just now is confined to this city, the questions involved are of more than local interest. There are certain definite principles at stake which must be clearly defined everywhere before the schools can be safely considered the cradle of a true democracy.

The immediate cause of the irritation at this time is the attempt being made by the Board to secure some charter provisions and certain legislation bearing upon finance, the position of the superintendent, the election or appointment of members of the Board, the promotion of teachers, and perhaps other matters of less importance. Aside from the right or wrong of the propositions themselves, the most interesting aspect of the situation is in the singular fact that a large body of teachers dares to take a decided stand against such legislation proposed by the Board as they, the teachers, consider inimical to their best interests. The spectacle is unique in our educational history. The Board of Education, superintendents, principals, and all others clothed with authority have had things their own way so long that it is not surprising that they should be amazed, and at last enraged, at the cool presumption of the teachers. On the other hand, the teachers have been for so long a time non-resistant, and inert as a public influence, it is but little wonder that they show some signs of recklessness with their new-found strength.

The fact is being developed with great clearness that the much-boasted freedom of the teacher has been but little more than an empty phrase. The more one reflects upon it, the less well can he understand why it ever should have been applied to a teacher at all, so completely has the whole educational situation been dominated by officials whose real and natural functions are administrative only. It is but very recently that the teacher's tether has reached beyond the space around her desk. The course of study has been manufactured by those who have had the least intimacy with the children, and she has been definitely told how to apply it in her schoolroom,

page by page. Every move of the ordinary teacher in the past has been timed and chalkmarked. Salaries have been fixed, raised, or lowered, and teachers have been appointed, transferred, or dropped, with precious little regard for the individual. And when there has not been actual injustice, the knowledge that it could be, and the fear that it might be done have combined to paralyze initiative and to destroy effort. This all rested upon the eternally old theory that there is one part of the race that has a monopoly of all the sense and all the conscience, to which the officials of administration belong, and another portion of the race that has neither sense nor conscience, to which the teachers belong. And so one class, as though by divine right, assumed to dominate the other.

To be sure, matters have been slowly improving. Courses of study are changing for the better, it is true, but, generally, only so far as the teachers themselves have been permitted to participate in making them. The best things in the schools to-day are those that have come from earnest, thoughtful and trained teachers in actual daily contact with the children. It is unfortunate that so many of the teachers have been and still are so poorly educated and so badly trained: That is why progress is so slow.

The history of the past decade is interesting. Not long ago the rank and file of the profession were utterly unorganized. Not only were their positions insecure, their salaries were constantly subjected to such influences of a political character that it made life a much heavier burden than the Lord originally intended it should be. There seemed to be a great shortage of funds in a city that has always been bombastic on the subject of prosperity and wealth. The men at the helm—superintendents and Board of Education—confessed themselves powerless to find a remedy, and the integrity of the school system was endangered in this city as never before.

Then there arose from the ranks an individual\* who, at first almost lone-handed, sought to stem the tide—a woman who, in the face of ridicule, scorn and denunciation, set for herself and the common teachers no less a task than that of forcing those "respectable" thieves, the tax-dodgers, to turn into the public treasury the

\*Margaret A. Haley, of the Teachers' Federation, whose health has broken down in this work.

money that was justly due. This movement has no precedent and no parallel in our educational history. Attacking the skulking tax-dodger along the entire line of his defense, from the curb-stone to the Supreme Court, a decisive victory was won which brought many thousands of dollars into the school fund which the Board of Education otherwise could never have secured.

This triumph of the common school-teacher on behalf of himself and the schools possessed for him tremendous import. It marked the opening of an absolutely new era. It was the first time in their history when the teachers had appeared as a positive civic force. For the first time they had left the academic shades and won a combat in the open arena of practical life.

The moral result of this victory was much farther-reaching than the financial. It did that thing which is most dangerous to those who try to hold in leash or who seek to dominate a human being—it made the teachers think. Having once thought, and acted too, with so much effectiveness on the question of tax-dodging, it must not be supposed for an instant that they will ever again regard matters pertaining to the welfare of the schools with the same indifference that prevailed before the present steps toward organization were taken. A broader intelligence will gradually supplant the old proverbial narrowness, and courage will take the place of cowardice.

The move which is now the cause of a violent discussion is the alliance of the Teachers' Federation with labor organizations, with a view to affecting legislation. This step is so new, so startling, so unprofessional in the light of anything ever done before, so generally unteacher-like in its boldness, that many people at once conclude it must be wrong, and the great majority, perhaps, have genuine doubts as to its final wisdom. Objection to the union of the two organizations is made on the ground that the labor unions represent but one part of the people, while the teachers represent all of them; that when the teachers join forces with labor, they break faith with those parents who represent capital, and thus the tendency is to widen the breach which they should try to heal.

There is some truth, as to fact, in these statements, but they do not correctly represent the principle involved. The teachers believe that certain

measures proposed by the Board of Education and the superintendents are out of harmony with the spirit of democracy in education; that they represent a tendency toward bureaucracy which is not the best for a system of schools that includes all the people who stand for democracy. It places the teachers in a false light, therefore, to say they no longer represent the whole people; for, by this alliance they merely adopt what seems to them to be the most effective method of conserving the interests of the whole. Even labor-unionism does not ultimately stand as one part of the people against another, but for the highest form of adjustment between the two parts—labor and capital. It can be said, therefore, that in the best sense the labor unions themselves represent the true interests of the whole people. The same may be said also of capital, so far as it honestly stands for an equitable adjustment between these two great functions of society. The public at large will finally adopt those measures which seem to embody the greatest wisdom without special regard to their origin.

It is to be suspected, however, that the trustees are not less aggravated by the violation of a supposed principle than by the fact that the teachers have presumed to oppose the Board's ideas as to what is best for the schools. This is the real innovation, and it will take everybody some time to get accustomed to such unusual interference. The teachers have been adjured to keep their profession pure by forswearing politics, and they observed the injunction until the politicians brought the schools to the verge of financial ruin. Then the teachers rebelled and gave the evil-doers and the weaklings an object-lesson in accordance with correct pedagogical principles, and there is not an atom of reason why this lesson should not be followed by others of like kind. There is no reason why the common teachers should not be an influential factor in settling all questions that pertain to the schools. The schools are made for the children, and the thoughtful teacher in daily touch with their lives ought to be a valuable witness in their behalf. The course of study, and all that pertains to instruction, should be developed among all of the teachers; these are not matters for either the superintendents or boards of education alone. It is also true, therefore, that their interests are involved in methods of administration. They are entirely within their rights when they,

as a part of the public, consider questions relating to the appointment or election of the superintendent and Board of Education; when they lay out plans for self-improvement; when they seek to establish methods by which merit may be recognized and rewarded by either financial or professional advancement, or both. It is inevitable, too, that these interests should run over into civic affairs relating to the levying and collection of taxes, the establishment of salaries, tenure of office, and the granting of pensions. All right-minded people may be convinced easily of the fairness, the wisdom, and even the necessity of the teachers taking an influential stand on these questions.

#### CLEVELAND AND CHICAGO.

Speech of Louis F. Post at Cleveland, June 3, 1905, at the Democratic picnic at which James Dalrymple, of Glasgow, and Clarence S. Darrow and Adrian C. Anson, of Chicago, also spoke. Being introduced by Mayor Johnson, Mr. Post said:

I am always glad to come to Cleveland. Two of the happiest years of my life were spent in this city. Perhaps my satisfaction at having lived here is due in some part to the fact that I came nearer to getting into jail in Cleveland than anywhere else in the United States.

It is greatly to be regretted that Mayor Dunne could not have been with you today. But it was altogether impossible. At the last moment he was obliged to turn back because a committee meeting with the expectation of settling the strike had been suddenly called for this afternoon. It would not have been wise for him to leave at such a time. And let me tell you, my friends, that this strike was intended to embarrass Mayor Dunne. It was an instigated strike. The employers' organization expected to go upon a week's picnic, something like this picnic here to-day and put down trades unionism in Chicago. And then a great outcry was immediately made about rioting, so that people from outside thought Chicago an unsafe city to come into. In fact it has not been unsafe. But the effect of the outcry of the employers, thank God, has been to keep business away, and they have been losing money by thousands of dollars a day. How it will end no one knows, but no matter which side wins nominally, both sides will lose. One thing about this strike is the fact that Mayor Dunne has managed it better than any large strike has ever been managed before by the authorities. He has been impartial. He has protected the public, regardless of the interests of either side.

Now, we are here to discuss the question of municipal ownership. What Mr. Dalrymple has just said gives me a new light. I have often wondered why Great Britain is so far ahead of us in this movement, and something that Mr. Dalrymple has said gives me the answer. He tells us they have no politics in connection with traction service in British cities. That suggests one trouble in this country. Our cities are corrupted with politics in connection with our traction service, and it is the traction corporations that corrupt them. Let us get rid of the traction corporations and we shall be rid of most of our municipal corruption. That is what we are trying to do in Chicago.

And we realize there, as your Mayor has realized here, that this cannot be done by paying any attention to the protests of those who don't want municipal ownership. Mayor Dunne won the election for municipal ownership by fighting these influences, and he will get municipal ownership by continuing to fight them. Nearly all the newspapers were against him then and they are against him now. All the traction politicians were against him then, and they are against him now. He beat them then, and he will beat them now.

In that campaign we had two kinds of people against us. There were the individualists whose individualism has run to seed, and a very bad kind of seed, too. These are the kind of men who want government to keep the peace, even if it has to break it to keep it, and don't want government to do anything else.

The other kind of opposition came from that class of business men who want to keep the field open for financial investments in public franchises. They are what we call the successful business men. Do you know, I never hear of successful business men these days without being reminded of the rules that a politician once gave me for success in politics. He said to me that if I wanted to succeed in politics I must do three things. In the first place, I must keep my family in respectable surroundings; in the second place I must be true to my ring; and "in the third place," said he, and I quote him exactly, for this is a true story, "you must keep out of the penitentiary, and after that you can do anything you damn please." Now I guess those used to be pretty good rules for success in politics; but don't you know, it seems to me that the modern business man has copied them from old-time politicians? It was this kind of business men that opposed Mayor Dunne's election.

But he turned a Republican plurality

of 110,000 last fall into a Democratic plurality of 25,000 this spring. He did it by setting up a standard and being true to that, no matter who opposed. He refused to yield to corporations, to politicians to newspapers. They say he was elected by the Socialists. Well, you can judge for yourselves. The Socialists put up a ticket against him, and they polled for that ticket 23,000 votes. Those votes all counted against Dunne, not for him. To call his victory a Socialist victory is stretching language. But what they mean, I suppose, is that he stood for socialist principles. That isn't true, either. What he stood for was the principle that government should do public business and stop interfering with private business.

There are three ways of looking at this question of public and private business. The socialist looks at it in one way, the plutocrat in another, and men like Mayor Dunne in a third. The socialist believes that all business, private as well as public, should be done by public government; the plutocrat believes that all business, public as well as private, should be done by private enterprise; but the truth is that private business should be done by private enterprise and public business by public government.

The test of public and private business is easily applied. Whenever you have to get a franchise from government in order to do your business, you are getting a privilege to do public business. I don't mean that this is so when government first prohibits the doing of a business and then licenses it. Government might forbid your doing private business without a license, and, of course, it wouldn't be public business merely for that reason. But when a business is such inherently that it cannot be done without a government franchise or license, then it is a public business. Now our position is that the government itself should do that kind of business and not farm it out to private corporations. Let the government do public business, and let private concerns do private business. That is Mayor Dunne's position on this subject. That is the principle upon which he stands in his fight for municipal ownership of traction facilities.

We approach this experiment with a great deal of satisfaction, for we are not without experience in municipal ownership and operation. We have an electric lighting system for public purposes. Some of our public lights come from this. But we haven't enough, and so we have to rent some of our public lighting from the private company. This enables us to make a comparison, and what do we find? The cost for public operation is less than three cents per

unit of candle power, while the cost for rentals is more than five cents—a difference of two cents in favor of public operation for every unit of candle power. And that isn't all. Not only do we save money right along, but we have built up a plant with three million dollars or more, as private companies would capitalize it. If we had rented all our lights, we would have paid nearly double for the service and instead of having a three million plant we should have nothing to show but a bundle of old receipts.

We have another successful experiment in municipal ownership and operation in our water system. May be you wouldn't think me a good witness when I have to confess that I don't drink the water. But I guess that is because I formed the habit of not drinking lake water when I lived in Cleveland. Anyhow, they tell me that Chicago lake water has been good since the opening of the drainage canal; and even if it wasn't, the fault wouldn't be with the water system, it would rest upon those who were responsible for fouling the source of supply. Our water system is a successful experiment of long duration in municipal ownership. It was established in 1854. It serves a territory 190 square miles in extent. It supplies average houses for \$10 a year, and reduces that for prompt payment. It is far better in every respect and cheaper than any private system you can mention. And yet it turned over into the public treasury last year \$1,800,000 on a gross collection of only \$4,000,000.

Compare that with our traction service. They have cost for the plants, about the same—something like \$38,000,000 for the water system and \$35,000,000 for the traction system. The plants are worth about the same now—about \$25,000,000 each without including some valuable land which the water system has acquired. Now observe, while the water system supplies water at low rates, it turned \$1,800,000 into the treasury last year; but the traction system, charging high rates, turned comparatively nothing into the public treasury, but turned between \$4,000,000 and \$5,000,000 into the pockets of its "widows and orphans."

They say that politicians would steal the income if we had municipal ownership and operation. Well, if they did, will you tell me how much worse off the public would be, in the light of that comparison. If politicians stole the whole \$1,800,000 that the water system earned last year, the public wouldn't be any worse off than they would be if corporations had taken it for widows and orphans before it got into the public treas-

ury. They would be better off, for they would have got their water cheaper.

Mayor Dunne's work in connection with the municipal ownership of our traction system will be described by Mr. Darrow, who more directly represents him, but as his junior representative on this occasion, I shall say a word on that subject. The work is progressing. Already some ten miles of traction line are available for municipal ownership, and within two years' time there will be enough to make a large system, extending north and south about 20 miles and westward from the center of the city in various directions about ten miles. This is entirely aside from the other system which is in controversy in the courts.

In establishing municipal ownership Mayor Dunne will be opposed in all manner of ways, but he will succeed. We are going to have municipal ownership in spite of all the opposition that met Mayor Dunne in the campaign, and in spite of the same opposition that confronts him now. As he stood in the campaign, so he stands now, and so he will continue to stand.

But we all realize that municipal ownership and operation of traction facilities is not the end of our work. Our task is continuous. The only people with whom we have personal relations whose work is done are Egyptian mummies. Some of our dead-and-alive contemporaries are of the mummy order; it is true their work is done. But the work of living men is never done. The heart of the municipal ownership movement is its democracy, and it cannot stop until democracy triumphs.

In this movement Mayor Dunne is steadfast. He stands with your own mayor for municipal ownership and operation of the public service, and he will be true to this policy in the future as he has been in the past. He stands for the principle of public ownership and operation of public functions and private ownership and operation of private business. If this appeals to you Mayor Dunne should have the credit. I have heard him say the same thing, and so it is his speech, not mine.

"I never gamble," said the good man, "and speculation is gambling."

"Of course," returned the man who was not so good; and then he added, casually: "What did you do with that property out on the West side?"

"Oh, I've got it yet," was the reply. "It looked like a good investment when I bought it, and I am hopeful that it will yet be worth enough to give me a good profit; just now it shows a loss."

The man who was not so good looked thoughtful.

"It's a mighty lucky thing for your conscience," he said at last, "that it was land, and not wheat you bought."  
—Chicago Evening Post.

Briggs: It's too bad about Winkle and the girl he is engaged to. Neither of them is good enough for the other.

Griggs: What makes you think that?  
"Well, I've been talking the matter over with both families."—Life.

Farmington—Ah! there's that old poem about husking bees. I always did like that.

Dumley—Husking bees? What do you mean?

Farmington—Why, were you never in the country during the season of husking bees?

Dumley—No. How in the world do you husk a bee?—Philadelphia Press.

## BOOKS

### PEOPLE OF THE WHIRLPOOL.

In Prof. Dill's history of Roman society, from Nero to Marcus Aurelius, he makes the following remark: "The truth is that society in every age presents the most startling moral contrasts, and no single comprehensive description of its moral condition can ever be true. This has been too often forgotten by those who have passed judgment on the moral state of Roman society, both in the first age of the Empire and in the last. That there was stupendous corruption and abnormal depravity under princes like Caligula, Nero and Domitian, we hardly need the testimony of the satirists to induce us to believe. That there were large classes among whom virtuous instinct and all the sober strength and gravity of the old Roman character, were still vigorous and untainted, is equally attested and equally certain. . . . There were homes in which boys and girls were reared in a refined and severe simplicity, which even improved upon the tradition of the golden age of Rome. . . . Many a brief stone record remains which shows that, even in the world of slaves and freedmen, there were always in the darkest days crowds of humble people, with honest, homely ideals, and virtuous family affection, proud of their industries, and sustaining one another by help and kindness."

This thought comes to one after reading *People of the Whirlpool* (Macmillan)—a novel of modern life in and about Manhattan. The author's name is not given, though it must be an open secret to many. She appears here

simply as the author of the Garden of a Commuter's Wife, a book which found many healthy-minded, sympathetic readers. The anonymity fits well the gentle tone that pervades the books. You feel yourself in presences that live preferably apart from notoriety and publicity. You believe that there are still people of simple refinement, not ashamed of modest living, who actually prefer not to appear in society columns on Sunday.

The author's style is also fitting. She does not hurry. There is a delightful, old-fashioned, plenty-of-time air that is very refreshing, if the reader will only surrender to it, and forget the rush of the whirlpool that seems to be drawing into its eddies all ranks of social life. She has, moreover, along with this air of quiet, a store of humor and wisdom, which can be gathered only in peaceful walks where people live and do not whirl.

The gist of the book is the contrast between the simple life of moderate means, filled with natural interests, joys and affections, and the fast life of new riches, filled with artificial excitements. There is only enough of the latter in the book to set off the contrast, and the reader must not expect excitement. There are two love affairs, each of them too readily suspected from the first to cause surprise, but each appropriate and charming in the process.

On the whole the book is valuable and to be welcomed in these days when we are tempted to fear that society is given over to loudness. It helps us to realize the truth of Prof. Dill's remark that "society in every age presents the most startling moral contrasts." In our age of Sunday papers the loud side of course sounds all the louder, but we may believe, and this book helps us to believe, that even as in Nero's time, there are "homes in which boys and girls are reared in a refined and severe simplicity."

J. H. DILLARD.

#### THE TRUST QUESTION.

Just as John Moody's "Truth About the Trust," is the best reference book on that subject, so, as we are inclined to believe, is Edward J. Nolan's "Combinations, Trusts and Monopolies" the best text book. With Nolan's work for general study as to historical development and legal and economic privilege, and Moody's for specific information with reference to particular trusts and details regarding them, the student, writer, speaker, or business man will find himself completely equipped.

Mr. Nolan is a member of the Chicago bar, who, in spite of the pressure of a law practice made especially difficult by the affliction of blindness, set himself the task of probing the trust question to the bottom. Nothing

could have been at once more simple and more effective than his method. Just as the most wonderful machines are found to be "simply a skillful adjustment of wheels and levers, the working of any one of which would attract no interest whatever," so he found it to be with the economic conditions. "If we see only the complex exterior presented by a social movement," he observes, in his opening chapter, "and attempt to judge it by the results it has achieved, it will frequently be found to present difficulties so grave as to seem to baffle human understanding; but if we inquire what means have been employed to attain these ends, it will be found that this great social machine is nothing more than the development of simple relations with which we have long been familiar, and the recognition of them will enable us much more easily to master the intricate relations arising from their combined operation." If there are any defects in Mr. Nolan's work, they may be traced to some neglect to follow this clew end through the tangled skein of the trust problem.

But the work has on the whole been exceedingly well done. The presentation of the competitive system, of the coming and development of organization, of the powers and effects of monopolies, and of the intervention of legislation and the courts, are in the main excellent, whether considered by the economist, the historian or the lawyer.

The chief defect of the book we should say is a failure to perceive with sufficient clearness the part which legal monopoly plays in vitalizing the harmful elements of business combination. The author attributes more harmful power to mere combination than economic principle indicates as possible, or the facts of experience have proved to exist. A closer study of Mr. Moody, who says that men forming corporations or making combination agreements "may take advantage of monopoly in one way or another, but they do not create it," might have led Mr. Nolan to avoid the only serious ground for criticism that he offers.

To one thing in Mr. Nolan's book we call especial attention, because, though a new suggestion in this connection, it is perfectly sound, as it seems to us, and must sooner or later be adopted. We allude to the amazing indifference of the courts to the transfer by legislatures to corporations of duties and obligations which the people have intrusted them with as public agents. What, for instance, could be more absurd than the idea that the State, charged with maintaining popular sovereignty, may turn this trust over irrevocably to private corporations for long terms or forever,

as when, for instance, a street car franchise is given to a private corporation as private property for 99 or 999 years? Of this Mr. Nolan writes: "It seems probable, therefore, that the principle of ultra vires will before long come to be applied to the government itself, as well as to its minor subdivisions and to private corporations, and that the granting of franchises will not be construed to bring the matter within the doctrine of the Dartmouth College case, except in cases in which the parties are clearly capable of contracting upon the subject in question."

Mr. Nolan's remedies for the evil of trusts are not radical, and are not intended to be. He avoids suggesting radical remedies, not as objectionable in themselves, but because the evil is pressing and remedies are immediately needed, wherefore the best remedies the people are yet willing to apply must be adopted. It is evident, however, that he sees the radical nature of the disease, and would not be averse to remedies that attack its underlying causes. His allusions to land monopoly are significant, and his discussion of the relation of the protective tariff to trusts is masterful.

Mr. Moody's book, after a brief introductory chapter on the nature of the trust, goes elaborately into the details of particular trusts, beginning with Amalgamated Copper. The scheme of the work includes the history and statistical facts regarding all the greater industrial trusts, all the lesser industrial trusts, the greater franchise trusts, and the greater railroad groups. It concludes with a general review, such as a business man as distinguished from a theorist would write. The core about which this discussion winds will be found at page 494 where its nature is explained in these words "While all successful trusts are not monopolies, all successful and permanent ones which are capitalized on anything but a free competitive basis, do at least embrace elements of monopoly, and necessarily must, or they could not exist."

Among the interesting and useful features of Mr. Moody's book is "The Rockefeller-Morgan 'Family Tree,'" a chart showing the concentration, alliance and interdependence of the great financial and industrial interests of the United States. Numerous other charts appear in the work, among them being a map showing the properties controlled by the steel trust.

As we have already indicated, Moody's book and Nolan's together make a complete working library on the subject of trusts, one for a text book and the other for reference. If Nolan's is defective, it is only in respects in which Moody's is a corrective: if Moody's deals chiefly with details and proceeds from the point of view of the practical business man, Nolan's

covers the subject generally and theoretically. ["Combinations, Trusts and Monopolies; a discussion of the origin, development and treatment of the modern industrial combination." By Edward J. Nolan, LL. B., New York: Broadway Publishing company. "The Truth About the Trusts; a description and analysis of the American Trust Movement." By John Moody, editor Moody's Manual of Corporation Securities. New York and Chicago: Moody Publishing company.]

L. F. P.

**BOOKS RECEIVED.**

—"The Walking Delegate." By Leroy Scott. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. To be reviewed.

—"The Child Vivien" and other tales. By Charlotte J. Cipriani. Chicago, New York, London: Rand, McNally & Co. To be reviewed.

—"Trusts versus The Public Welfare." By H. C. Richie. New York city: R. F. Fenno & Company, 9 and 11 East Sixteenth street. To be reviewed.

—"The Evolution of Man." By Wilhelm Boelsche. Translated by Ernest Unterman, Ph. D. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company. Price 50 cents. To be reviewed.

—"The Life of Henry George." By his son, Henry George, Jr. Twenty-fifth anniversary edition, with medallion portrait of Henry George, by his son, Richard F. George. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company. To be reviewed.

—"The National Administration of the United States of America." By John A. Fairlie, Ph. D., assistant professor of administrative law, University of Michigan. New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. To be reviewed.

—"The Street Railways of Chicago." Report of the Civic Federation of Chicago. Edited by Mlio Roy Maitble, Ph. D. New York: Reform Club, 2 East Thirty-fifth street. This is a timely reprint of one of the most valuable documents the Chicago traction controversy has elicited. It is a legal and financial history of the street car companies of Chicago down to 1901, prepared under the editorial direction of Dr. Maitble, whose name is a guarantee of accuracy.

—"Progress and Poverty; An Inquiry into the Cause of Industrial Depressions and of Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth. The Remedy." By Henry George, author of "The Science of Political Economy," "Protection or Free Trade," "Social Problems," "A Perplexed Philosopher," "The Condition of Labor," "The Land Question," "Property in Land," etc. Twenty-fifth anniversary edition, with medallion portrait of Henry George, by his son, Richard F. George. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company. To be reviewed.

**PAMPHLETS**

The Free Trade League has done a valuable service in republishing (Boston: The Free Trader, Bulletin No. 10) Prof. F. W. Taussig's address as president of the American Economic Association on "The Present Position of the Doctrine of Free Trade." Taussig is one of the few economic professors who have not lost their way in the labyrinthine windings of modern economic theory and become scholastic weaklings. However one may disagree with his economic opinions, it is impossible not to recognize his intellectual uprightness, straightforwardness and strength. Such a mind could hardly conceal contempt for the opportunist type of economist who "assumes the large-minded and judicial" but is in truth only un-

able or unwilling "to follow the threads of intricate reasoning," and lazily "admits some merit in this position as well as in its opposite, opines that such a view must indeed be considered but must not be pressed too far, and such further double-faced expressions, which end in leaving the reader quite in the dark as to the author's conclusions as to the heart of the matter in hand." Prof. Taussig's free trade address is an example of his directness and strength as an economic student. His exposition of the wages problem in its relation to international free trade is admirable; and what he says of the "dumping" of excessively cheap goods explains public feeling on the subject without sacrificing economic principle. Indeed the whole paper is suggestive of an able lawyer driving home sound principles before a bench of judicial mollusks and a jury saturated with fallacies. He holds throughout to what he himself describes as "that mode of general reasoning from comparatively simple premises which still remains the most valuable tool at the disposal of the economist." Prof. Taussig's paper does seem at times to depart from this chart and to drift toward unprincipled expediency; but in only one particular does it seem to us to indicate a distinct failure on the part of its author to follow his own penetrating and vigorous method of economic inquiry. This is when he admits—as he reluctantly does—that international free trade does not produce international peace. That admission is really attributable, as is the fact admitted, not to any defect in the concept of full rounded free trade, but to the inadequacy of its application. Even if international free trade may stimulate a formidable navy, as with England, that is because international free trade is only one phase of free trade. To produce fully the natural benefits of international free trade in any country, there must be domestic free trade there; and this means that opportunities for production and exchange at home shall be unhampered. The fact that free trade is a principle which extends not only to nations but to all individuals within nations, is not weighed by Prof. Taussig as he weighs other considerations. Perhaps it would have been inappropriate in a paper devoted exclusively to the question of free trade in its international bearings and aspects alone.—L. F. P.

**PERIODICALS**

The Cornhill Magazine has an interesting article on "Reprints and Their Readers," which seems to prove that old favorites still find a welcome. "Jane Eyre," "Our Village" and "Cranford" are still selling in many editions. Of the last named the writer says that "in the Temple classics 30,000 copies have been sold since 1896, and it is still one of the most

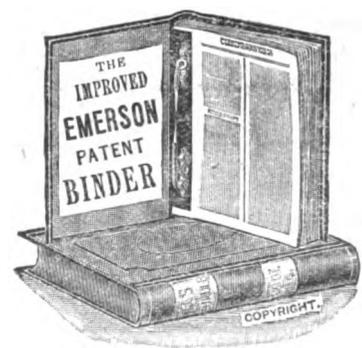
assured volumes in any series of reprints." The Temple Shakespeare is said to have a sale of 250,000 volumes annually, of which 100,000 come to America.—J. H. D.

Are we proud or not that certain foreigners have spoken of the "Washington Court" and said that it is no more democratic now than any court in Europe? The British government has increased the salary of the ambassador on the ground that "the cost of living in Washington has so increased within the last few years as to make these additions necessary," on which the Springfield Republican well remarks that the expression should have been "standard of living" rather than cost. It is the lavish standard that is the main cause of the cost—and the standard mounts apace. Why not call Pastor Wagner to a Washington church?—J. H. D.

One of the strongest short stories, and at the same time one of the subtlest satires, that has been written in many a day, is reprinted in the Living Age of May 6 from the Independent Review. It is entitled Luang Sawat, B. A. It is possible that one may read the story without seeing the satire, but it is there. The man from Siam comes to England for education, and goes to Oxford. He tells his tutor he wants to learn to be good and just, and not to learn cricket or French history. After many gradual declines he accepts a curriculum, becomes English and returns to Siam. But his last state is worse than the first—and he has become so well educated that he doesn't know this.—J. H. D.

Probably nine-tenths of readers of dialect stories would prefer the story without the dialect. If the dialect is true there is of course a good reason for it; but if it is not true, why should an author attempt it? Clearly a writer should have lived long with the dialect before he uses it. This is surely not the case with many writers in the magazines. There is a short

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[English, Scotch, Irish, and German Americans begin to think their rights of citizenship in the United States are shaky if this despotism is sustained.]

story in the June Century by Gouverneur Morris which makes an attempt at Negro and Southern talk so absurdly inaccurate that Southern readers will enjoy it for the funny exhibition the author makes of his own ignorance. Nearly all of the Negro talk in Puck and Judge shows a similar lack of acquaintance with the real darcy.—J. H. D.

"As soon," said the critic and essayist, John Forster, "as grammar is printed in any language, it begins to go. The Greeks had no grammar when their best works were written, and the decline of style began with the appearance of one." The above remark is quoted by Prof. Lounsbury in an article in the June Harper with the comment, "extravagantly stated as it is, there is in it a certain element of truth." There is indeed in it a large element of truth. No one ever learnt to write from grammars and rhetorics. The little Greek boys had a much better way. They studied Homer, or better still, they learnt Homer by heart.—J. H. D.

Prof. E. A. Ross in the Independent of May 25 contributes an interesting article on the "Near Future of American Society." "Free land," says the writer, "one of the twin mammas of democracy, is well-nigh dried up. But, though the physical West passes,

there is a spiritual West we shall never lose." Will Prof. Ross kindly tell us how he knows that what he calls the spiritual West will abide, after that which nourished it has dried up? In another part of the article he himself writes: "Free land gone, we shall soon see an end of the West, that buoyant society of the rising sap where opportunity is equal, ownership general, manhood at a premium, birth and station at a discount." This is an illustration. There is nothing more surprising among writers on sociology than the acknowledgments they make of the virtues of free land coupled with their apathy and consolation at its loss.—J. H. D.

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