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EDITORIAL

A Loyal Russian Soldier.

For expressing himself contemptuously of the Czar, a civilian in Warsaw was recently shot off-hand by a soldier, and for this criminal loyalty the soldier has been duly rewarded. The Czar pardoned him his crime, and his commanding general gave him two months' vacation and five dollars to enjoy it on. Civilians are cheap in Russia, and so it would seem are soldiers.

The Agile Jerome.

The alacrity with which District Attorney Jerome of New York springs to the prosecution of a man alleged to have padded the petition that made Hearst a candidate for mayor last Fall, is in interesting contrast with the alacrity with which he sprang to the rescue of the insurance culprits when the grand jury began to move against them.

Christianity and Society.

Dr. Morgan of the Fifth Avenue Church of New York City, is reported to have said from the pulpit of that church, on an occasion last Summer, that "every Christian is a social reformer," and "if he is not, he is an infidel." We are not advised of the exact meaning intended by this utterance; but if it means what it seems to, it is profoundly true. The man whose Christianity consists in idolatrously observing church customs and forms, and to whom evil institutions of social life—the legalized and respectable and pious and profitable as well as the criminal and repulsive sort—are not objects of attack and eradication, that man is not a Christian. With reference to Christianity, he is what Dr. Morgan described him—an infidel.

Democracy from an Unexpected Source.

Not much in the way of democracy is to be expected from the Chicago Chronicle. It is a pronounced organ of plutocracy. Yet the democratic impulse in the minds of its editors occasionally dissipates the clouds of class prejudice which envelope the regular editorial policy. In a recent issue, for instance, it took occasion to say the best words that have lately been said in any newspaper on the subject of Negro suffrage. It put his right to the ballot on the basis of his need for the ballot. It is too easily assumed that the ballot is a mere permit conferred by superiors upon inferiors as a reward of merit. But the truth is that the ballot is a defensive weapon to which every one has a natural right in as full a sense as he has the right of self-defense.

Southern Representation in Congress.

It was high time for someone to speak for the people of the South, when Representative Moon of Tennessee did so last week in Congress. He appealed to his associates from the South to stand

for the Southern people instead of the rings that control the railways of the South. It is not generally known, but it is none the less a fact which Mr. Moon deserves credit for emphasizing, that much of what is called Southern opinion, and much of what is called Southern representation, are nothing but railroad opinion and railroad representation. This is true not only of the Southern delegations in Congress, but also of the Southern delegations in Democratic conventions, and of the newspapers of the Southern States. With a few honorable exceptions they are all mere creatures of railroad rings.

* *

An Educational Corporation.

A charter of incorporation has passed the lower house of Congress, the object of which appears to be to prevent any effective action at any time by the National Educational Association in the interest of those public school teachers whose salaries are kept down by tax-dodgers. This association is supported by teachers and has a large accumulation of funds which are used for no purpose and might operate as a temptation to the teachers in the body to set on foot some such investigations as those of the teachers of Chicago, which resulted in exposing the tax-dodging of some of the great corporations. Apparently to prevent such a possibility, this Congressional charter has been sought. It is so drawn that in hardly any important particular could the Association alter its courses without an act of Congress; and the funds would be so securely tied up that they could not be touched to the extent of a penny, without the consent of a board of trustees, which would be chosen by a board of directors consisting of one elective member for each State and a lot of ex-officials whom the act of incorporation proposes to legislate into the board. Even a unanimous vote of all the active members of the Association except the trustees, could not apply a dollar of its funds to the protection of public education from corporation tax-dodging and the school book trust, until a long fight, extending over years, had finally completely changed the personnel of the board of trustees. Besides this, none of the income of the fund could be used for any such purpose without another act of Congress, though every member desired it. It ought not to require a very expert riddle guesser to point to the influences that originated that charter. The Senate will do well to defeat it; and if it should pass that body, the active members of the Association will show their good sense and good citizenship by rejecting it.

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The Protected Watch Trust.

Congressman Rainey, of Illinois, has brought to the attention of Congress the exposure by ex-

Congressman Baker (vol. viii., p. 753) of a glaring instance of how protection protects American trusts by robbing American consumers. We allude to the watch trust, which sells watches abroad so much cheaper than at home that a certain American dealer systematically buys his American watches in London. As he has to pay no duty, the goods being of American manufacture, he brings them back to this country and profitably undersells all his competitors, who buy their stock directly from the American manufacturers. Mr. Rainey scored heavily against the trust defenders in the House when he quoted the trust against itself. It seems that the American importer of American watches from London had bought in London 2,000 of a certain grade made in Elgin, Ill. When the London agents of the Elgin concern found out that the watches were to be brought back to the United States they refused delivery, and when the buyer sued them they defended on the ground, as stated in their plea in the British court, that the buyer had induced them to agree to sell by representing to them that "*all the said watches were required for exportation to France only and not to the United States of America*"!

* *

A Judicial Equation.

When the Supreme Court of the United States decided, in favor of the city of Chicago, against the 99-year claim of the traction companies (vol. viii., p. 837), it did so on the wholesome ground that government grants must be construed strictly against the grantee. In that case the traction companies asked for an interpretation of intent, such as would be applied with reference to a contract between individuals. Had this been done, the 99-year claim would have been sustained; for there was no ground for doubting that the legislature intended to make a 99-year grant. That is what they were bribed to do, and that is what they intended doing. But they failed to do it in explicit terms. And because they failed to do it in explicit terms, the Supreme Court decided that in law they had not done it at all. In other words, the court applied in this case the old and sound rule that a grant from government will not be sustained unless its terms are explicit. But now the same court sustains, in the case of the city of Cleveland, a government grant of traction franchises which is not in explicit terms. The difference appears to be that, whereas in the Chicago case there was only one grant in terms in-explicit, there were in the Cleveland case four grants in terms in-explicit. The court seems to have argued that these four grants taken together, in-explicit though they are in terms, amount to evidence of an intention, which the court thereupon reads into them. So we have this judicial equation, namely, that four government grants in

terms inexplicit are legally equal to one government grant in terms explicit.

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A curious fact regarding that decision is the attitude of the newspapers whose friends expect to profit by it. Legally it probably postpones for two years the right of the city of Cleveland to squeeze the water out of Cleveland traction stock; but these papers are loudly proclaiming that the decision is a "blow for Tom Johnson." Why a blow for him? The blow, if blow it is, is for those people of Cleveland who have to pay the nickels that turn traction water into financial wine.

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The Illinois Primary Laws.

When public opinion in Illinois demanded a direct primary law so insistently that the professional politicians were compelled to give heed to the demand, they constructed the most farcical imitation of such a law imaginable. The problem before them was how to retain for party machinery the old power over nominations, and yet seem to give that power to the rank and file of the party. Unfortunately, Gov. Deneen fell in with this idea of handling the matter. There was no apparent necessity or excuse for his doing so. The circumstances of his election were such that he could have carried through a measure establishing a genuine direct primary system. But he was wedded to the machine method of party government, and to the necessities of this he yielded. When he spoke at the City Club on the subject of direct primaries, following Gov. LaFollette, the contrast between the two men in their attitude toward the subject was extremely significant. Gov. LaFollette was manifestly arguing for a reform he wanted and was determined to get if possible. Gov. Deneen was as manifestly arguing for an imitation of a reform he did not want. No one who heard Gov. Deneen on that occasion was surprised at the absurd primary law to which his administration afterward gave its sanction. This law did indeed allow the voters to do all the voting, but it ingeniously empowered delegates to do most of the nominating. Among other ridiculous results of the law, was the necessity for nominating Congressional candidates in April to be voted for in November! But in their efforts to make the law abortive politically, its sponsors made it abortive legally. The Supreme Court of the State has now nullified it as unconstitutional. A new law is therefore necessary. In calling the legislature in special session to pass a new law, Gov. Deneen advises that body that it is its duty to give the power, not only of electing but of selecting their candidates, to the voters themselves. This is good advice, if it is candid. It remains now to be seen whether the Governor will use his influence to

bring about such a law as he here suggests, or will again join in making one which, like the other, will be exasperatingly complex in order to avoid what the voters demand.

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Fraud at the Chicago Election.

The technical loss of the operation ordinance at the Chicago elections (pp. 1, 6), and the close majorities on all the traction questions, together with the discrepancy between the small majority for the questions that carried and the larger one for the question that technically failed, are explained by the discovery of frauds both in the voting and in the count. Over a thousand fraudulent votes were detected at the official count, and evidence of a much larger volume of fraud is reported. It was not for amusement that traction money was sown broadcast at this election, as more than one criminal election official knows.

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Mayor Dunne's New Traction Counsel.

The appointment by Mayor Dunne of Walter L. Fisher to succeed Clarence S. Darrow as special traction counsel for Chicago, Mr. Darrow having heretofore withdrawn, cannot but commend itself to all persons who, desiring to establish municipal ownership and operation of the traction system, and holding this purpose above collateral considerations, know Mr. Fisher's opinions on the subject and appreciate his capabilities. The recent referendum vote places the city in position to secure all that the Mueller law assumes to offer; and no lawyer is better equipped, while few if any are in every way so well equipped, as Mr. Fisher to make the most of this situation in the interest of the movement for public ownership and operation. The fact that Mayor Dunne has made this selection without reference to partisan affiliations, but in the conviction that the intent of his own election will be thereby most effectively served, is another guarantee of his fidelity to the cause he represents. That he will be criticized for it is inevitable. But if the enemies of that cause expect any of its genuine friends to join them in a chorus of criticism, it is reasonably to be inferred that they will be disappointed.

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Labor in Politics.

The indications in connection with the organization of the Chicago Protective Alliance are unusually propitious for an effective movement of labor interests in politics. The number of labor organizations represented at the first convention was large, the attendance was representative, the platform is on the whole a sound one and sanely radical, and the tactics are the most encouraging yet displayed by any labor movement in American

politics. Among the demands of the platform are direct nominations, the initiative and referendum, the recall, public ownership of public utilities, local option as to subjects of taxation, trial by jury in labor injunction cases, and a city charter giving complete local control of local affairs. The essential political principle declared is the individual liberty of each person to pursue natural enjoyments so long as he does not interfere with the equal rights or liberties of others. It is fashionable to be contemptuous of labor movements; but the classes that hold such movements in contempt have yet to lay before the public a fairer and more American platform of political principle and purpose than this. Regarding political tactics, the new organization plans not to play at politics by getting off to one side of the currents of common thought with a cozy third party. Neither does it plan to go into the old parties with its votes, leaving to the party politicians the manipulation of the parties, the formulation of the platforms and the acquisition of the political power. It plans to use its voting strength at the primaries of the old parties, to name their delegates, their candidates and their policies, and to dictate their platforms. If its plans are promoted as successfully as they have been launched, a new order in American politics is not far away.

* * *

The Colorado Conspiracy.

In connection with the kidnapping under legal forms, by a private detective, of three citizens of Colorado (vol. viii, p. 833), upon charges of having conspired to murder an ex-governor of Idaho, certain considerations should not be ignored, for corporation tools are endeavoring to build up a public sentiment hostile to the prisoners. We allude to the case of the officers of the miners' union who are now awaiting trial in Idaho upon the basis of alleged confessions of the self-confessed murderer. The accused are labor leaders; their prosecutors, the employers of the private detective who has constructed the case, are an inner circle of the Standard Oil crowd. The labor leaders in question were at the head of the recent strike in Colorado (vol. vii, p. 372), which grew out of the corrupt refusal of a legislature subsidized by the employing interests to obey an eight-hour-day amendment to the State constitution, and in connection with which the executive authority of Colorado was used against the strikers and others in a manner fundamentally lawless. The murder in question, that of ex-Gov. Steunenberg of Idaho, occurred long after his influence and personality had ceased to be of the slightest concern to any labor leader or organization. Now, under these circumstances, what are the probabilities as to who are the real conspirators to whom Steunenberg's murder should be attributed?

Motive is a primary consideration in determining guilt in criminal cases. But these labor leaders had no reasonable motive for murdering Steunenberg. On the other hand, the conspirators in the mine-owners' crowd had an obvious motive for his murder if thereby they might bring about the condemnation and execution of these labor leaders, and forestall criminal prosecutions of themselves upon an overturn in Colorado politics. Again, murderous tools do not hire themselves out for murderous exploits to persons powerless to protect them. The labor leaders could offer no immunity, even though willing to pay for the crime. But the other side were rich enough to pay far more liberally, and powerful enough to afford the murderer protection. According to the alleged confessions, the accused labor leaders were idiotic in their selection of a murderous tool, idiotic in their modes of payment for murder, without motive for the murder in question, and manifestly impotent to protect the murderer. Not so with the inner circle of the mine-owners' union, which comes into close relations with the Standard Oil crowd. They had a powerful motive, they could pay without stint, their tool could trust to their power for immunity, and the circumstances are precisely what they might be expected to have had the murderous conspiracy originated with them. This is a trail which should not be overlooked by the Idaho authorities if they are hunting the real murderers. If, however, they are engaged in helping the latter to consummate a conspiracy, they are following the correct course by diverting attention from all these significant probabilities.

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Cheap Gas.

In New York the people now have an 80-cent gas service. But in Chicago, thanks to the "good" men in the City Council (vol. viii, p. 796), they have a nominal rate of 85 cents, an actual rate of 95 cents unless payment is made with telephonic speed, and an actual rate of indefinite dimensions. What the "good" aldermen who "stood in" with the gas ring boasted of as a reduction, has proved in fact, so consumers report, to have been an increase. "Good" aldermen are what public service corporations regard, and not lightly nor always mistakenly, as "good things."

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OBSOLESCENCE OF THE "GOO GOO."

Most of us have read about the Tweed regime in New York, and some of us remember it. It marked the culmination of the corrupt and corrupting spoils system in municipal politics, as Grant's administration marked it in national politics.

Grant's administration was so offensively corrupt that the spoils system fell into national disre-

pute and the merit system of civil service got a foothold. A very absurd and inefficient system this is, in its angular schoolmastery details, but it is better than the one which it has in some measure displaced. Concurrently with that mild improvement in national affairs, the revival of municipal corruption soon after Tweed's spectacular downfall, inspired the so-called "good government" movement in municipalities. This had a purpose essentially similar to that of the movement for civil service reform. As the latter aimed to secure good men in public employment by appointment, so the former aimed to secure good men in public office by election.

In derision these similar and allied movements were in their earlier years nicknamed "Goo-goo," and their enthusiastic supporters were called "Goo-gos." The term was obviously suggested by the initial sounds of "good government," words which were perpetually on the tongues of the enthusiasts; but it alluded also to the unsophistication of most of those enthusiasts, implying that they were inarticulate infants in public life.

With lapse of time there are indications that this derisive term has in reality a serious though hitherto unobserved significance. It is suggestive less of the infantile state of the individuals to whom it was derisively applied, than to the infantile state of the good government movement, considered impersonally and simply as a movement.

The movement itself was childish. Not childish in the sense of frivolity, but in the sense of immaturity. If indulgence in metaphor be permitted, it was the beginning of the incarnation of a genuine spirit of good government which has ever since been advancing, as the individual man advances, from a period of infancy through youth to the maturity of its inherent powers. Like the individual infant, being unsophisticated and being inarticulate it reached out for the moon

it said "goo-goo!" a government infant is throwing off its clothes. No longer is it influenced in any degree merely by a childish yearning to effects. It is coming rapidly to a mature appreciation of the importance, and even to some understanding of the nature, of causes. To drop the personality metaphor, the good government movement has now advanced so far that its best leadership realizes that the putting of good men in office is hopeless in itself and would be ineffective for good government, so long as good men out of office are allowed to own public franchises as private property and to exercise public functions for business profit. The "goo goo" in American politics is obsolescent.

True, there are survivals of the "goo goo" spirit. The most notable examples are Theodore Roosevelt and William Travers Jerome. Mr. Roosevelt is a goo-goo "doer." As some one has said of him, "he is so busy 'doing things' that he has no time

to think." Mr. Jerome represents more distinctly the idea of "good men in office," being himself a shining example. Latterly he has added to the idea of putting good men in office the function of keeping good criminals out of jail. In addition to these notable examples, there are a large number of well-meaning survivals of the "goo-goo" era of civic development, who childishly reach out for the moon because it looks nice and they want it, and who utter "goo goo!" and again "goo goo!" because in every civic sense they are still inarticulate. In their childish way they think that with good men in office good government will come, and that public functions must be left to business greed until that millennial era.

But all this counts for little in comparison with the intellectual advances toward civic maturity which the good government movement itself is making in spite of its obsolescent elements. Its most active leaders and most thoughtful supporters have been forced by actual experience to the conclusion that bad men in office is an effect rather than a cause of bad government; they have been forced to the conclusion that the masses of the people are better to be trusted than any class, however assertive of its own superiority that class may be; they have been forced to the conclusion therefore that what the cause of good government needs most is more intense democracy, with easier methods of expressing popular opinion and putting it into law, and not harder ones; and they are beginning to appreciate the wholesome theory that that government is best which not only leaves all private functions to private enterprise, but exercises all public functions as a public responsibility.

Whether the prolonged infancy of the good government movement has disqualified even its best leaders for vigorously articulate politics of the higher order, remains to be seen. But their opportunities are before them, and the test of maturity is ability to recognize opportunity though disguised, and power to cope with its attendant difficulties.

NEWS NARRATIVE

To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

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

Week ending Thursday, April 12.

Eruption of Vesuvius.

Seldom since the great catastrophe when Pompeii was buried in volcanic ashes, has the eruption of Mount Vesuvius been so terrible as at this moment.

The lava, which began to flow on the 2nd, has increased in volume. The column of fire leaping from the mouth of the volcano is reported as rising to the height of a thousand feet, and the main stream of lava to be 200 feet wide and moving at the rate of 20 feet a minute. Bascôtrecase, a town of 10,000, on the southern slope, was buried in lava on the 7th, and Naples itself is threatened. Several towns have been abandoned. At one time Pompeii was in the path of an enormous stream of lava, but the course of this stream has been diverted. Sarno is almost destroyed. It is reported that the killed number 2,000; but owing to modern means of communication and transportation, the loss of life has probably been slight in comparison with previous eruptions of like magnitude.

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The British School Question.

The question of separating the public schools of Great Britain from the established church is now formally before Parliament. It was raised on the 9th by the introduction in the House of Commons by Mr. Birrell, president of the board of education, of a Ministerial bill on the subject. This bill is one of the results of the recent Liberal victory at the polls, the Liberal party being pledged to a repeal of the Conservative legislation of 1902 (vol. viii., p. 104), which made provision for supporting schools of the established church out of public taxation, and thus aroused to revolt all shades of non-conformists. Mr. Birrell's bill is described by the dispatches as a compromise measure which stipulates that only schools provided by local education authorities shall be recognized after January 1, 1908 as public elementary schools, and not a penny of public money shall be spent on any other schools. By its provisions religious education could be given in schools at present conducted by the churches (which are taken over by the educational authorities) two evenings weekly by consent of the local authorities, but not by the regular staff. The attendance of pupils would not be compulsory, and no part of the expense would be borne by the taxes. The bill provides for a further annual grant of \$5,000,000 from the Imperial exchequer for educational purposes, and proposes the establishment of a national educational council for Wales.

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Hungarian Politics.

Through a compromise between the Emperor of Austria as King of Hungary and the coalition party in the Hungarian parliament (vol. viii., p. 781), an adjustment of political complications has been arrived at. The compromise was effected on the 9th. It was due chiefly, according to the dispatches, to the efforts of the coalition, who feared the advent of a period of absolutism if the elections were not held before April 9 as prescribed by the constitution. The Fejervary cabinet welcomed their overtures and the elections will be held within the proper time and parliamentary government be re-established. The Crown will get the recruits wanted for the army, funds for military service will be voted, the customs tariff and commercial treaties will be ratified by the Hungarian parliament, and the commercial union with Austria is assured until 1917. Alexander Wekerle has been intrusted with the formation of a

new ministry. The new parliament to be immediately elected will be asked to pass a bill adopting universal suffrage; it will then be dissolved to allow the election of a parliament under the universal suffrage system.

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Russian Elections.

Elections for the first national parliament of Russia (p. 9) are reported to be running stronger than ever for the Constitutional Democrats. Out of 155 members elected on or before the 10th, the Constitutional Democrats are conceded 112. Only 4 of the remainder are known to be reactionists. The election of several Constitutional Democrats has been nullified by the Imperial government on the ground that they are under indictment in connection with publications which have been prohibited under a restoration of some of the most stringent features of the old censorship.

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American Presidential Politics.

From New York a movement for influencing the Democratic party against so-called "socialism" is reported in connection with a proposed nationalization of the Democratic Club. As the New York Times of the 9th describes the movement—

Plans for "nationalizing" the Democratic Club have developed so far that the club probably will be renamed the National Democratic Club by the 1st of May, with an address scattered broadcast to Democrats in all States and sections urging them to join the club and work to establish the party on a safe and sane basis to fight radicalism and socialism.

In this connection the Sun as well as the Times, both reactionary in their Democracy, report a large number of the present membership of the club as favoring Bryan for the Presidential candidate on the ground that he is now a conservative and has given up the 16 to 1 idea altogether. Commenting upon all this, the Evening Post, also reactionary in what it calls "governance," presented the subject on the 9th in servatives aided in New York by radicals and con-

As a sign that the earnest in its desire to beocratic Club of this city is in dominate the party throughout "nationalized"—that is, to ment is made this morning that action—the announce- friendly eye upon Bryan. This has been look with a some days. Intimates of certain politico-n...he air for nates in this city have been whispering it arou... mag- those great men have about made up their minds... descendingly to "take Bryan." He is expected to drop his 16 to 1 nonsense, and then the course will be open to him to become the "Idol" of the New York Democracy. These gentlemen seem to have forgotten, however, that Bryan's latest platform is government ownership of railroads. Will he abandon that also to win their approval? Will he, in a word, be as anxious to "take" them as they are to take him? Those are questions which must be left to the future. What is perfectly plain in the present is that Mr. Bryan, while giving many evidences of growth and broadening in statesmanship, is essentially a radical. If he is again nominated for the Presidency, and especially if he is elected to that office, it will be because he is the choice of the workingmen and farmers and planters of the West and South, and not because he is patronized by rich Democrats in New York.

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New Primary Law for Illinois.

By a decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois on

the 5th, the direct primary law of this State (vol. viii., pp. 91, 609, 805), was nullified as unconstitutional. The litigation in which the question arose had been instituted by the Socialist party, which was deprived by the law of its primary-voting rights under the law which this law assumed to repeal. In its opinion the court declares:

The right to choose candidates for public offices whose names will be placed upon the official ballot is as valuable as the right to vote for them after they are chosen, and is of precisely the same nature. . . . It is manifest that if there is anything in this law which is legislative in its nature and proper subject for the exercise of legislative power, it is the question whether a majority or plurality shall be necessary to an election. A law which would provide for an election to public office and make no provision in that respect, except where the constitution has already made provision, would be incomplete as a law. The constitution provides for the election of various officers and that a plurality shall elect, but where the constitution does not apply, it is a legislative question, and it would be a delegation of legislative power to provide that any other authority should decide that question. This act provides that the county central committee of each political party should determine whether the county officers should be nominated at the primary election by the voters, or by delegates chosen at such election, and also whether candidates should be nominated by a majority or plurality vote. If the committee decides that a majority should be necessary, that is to be the law; but if they decide that a plurality elect, the candidate is to be chosen by a plurality vote. The provision amounts to a delegation of legislative authority to county central committees to determine what the substantial features of the law should be, and it is therefore void.

After considering several more technical defects, the court proceeds:

Other provisions of the act require a cash payment from persons desiring to become candidates for certain offices. . . . These payments bear no relation to the services rendered in filing the papers or the expenses of the election. They are purely arbitrary exactions of money to be paid into the public treasuries as a monetary consideration for being permitted to be a candidate. The payments are not intended as compensation for services rendered in filing the papers, but the provisions make the ability and inclination of a person to pay money a test of his qualification and of the right of the voters to choose him for public office. Every eligible person has a right to be a candidate for public office without being subject to arbitrary or unreasonable burdens. The voters have a right to choose any eligible person, and he owes a duty to the public to qualify and serve. Reasonable regulations, such as a petition from a proper percentage of voters which would show that they want the privilege of voting for him, or other reasonable conditions or restrictions may be imposed. If there were not such conditions the ballot might be so large as to be impracticable, but there can be no discrimination between candidates based upon the ground that one has money to pay for the privilege of being a candidate and chooses to pay and another has not the means or is unwilling to buy the privilege.

On the point of special legislation, the court says:

The act is divided into two broad divisions, one of which is to be enforced only in Cook County, and the other applies only to the rest of the state outside of Cook County. . . . It is perfectly clear that there is no special difference between a county that has a population of 125,000 or over and those of less population which calls for or could justify the different provisions of the act. This act differs from acts in which counties have been classified according to population, but which rest on substantial differences in situation and needs on account of population. No reason is or can be suggested for excluding the nominations of candidates for judges of the Circuit Court in the other counties and including the judges of Circuit and Superior courts in Cook County. . . . We are also of the opinion that it violates the provision of the constitution that elections should be free and equal, in permitting voters in the State at large outside of

Cook County to vote at primary elections by stating their party affiliations, while a voter in Cook County is denied that right if he has voted at the primary election of another party within two years, and also in providing a different basis on which a party in Cook County may avail itself of the privileges of the act from requirements of other parts of the state.

The decision in favor of the Socialist party is definitely as follows:

The time fixed by the committee or party for holding a primary has passed while the case has been under consideration and an election to which it might have been applied has been held, but voters do not lose any right that can be secured to them in the future, by failure or refusal of the defendants to act. Neither will any right be lost by the expiration of the time named in any previous act for holding the primary on account of the failure of any committee or authority to call or give notice of any primary under such previous act. We will, therefore, fix upon Saturday, April 21, 1906, in accordance with the prayer of the petition, for holding a primary of the party represented by the relator for nominations for any election to which it may properly apply. The writ of mandamus is therefore awarded in accordance with the prayer of the petition.

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Gov. Deneen immediately called a special session of the legislature for the purpose, principally, of enacting a primary law; and upon its meeting on the 10th he submitted a message on the subject, in which he said:

The duty of the legislature is plain. The solemn pledges given to the people in a matter touching the fundamental condition of republican government should be redeemed. This will not have been done until there has been placed upon the statute books a law which, while complying with constitutional requirements, will secure the substantial relief sought. The people have demanded the substance instead of the semblance of participation in the nomination of candidates. Their demand can be answered only by the enactment of laws which will restore to the people control of the entrances to public life. It is your duty to see that this is accomplished, so that the voters shall have the power not merely of electing but of selecting their candidates. The problem before you, therefore, is how to achieve a government of the people and for the people through agents and agencies selected by the people. Believing that there is an overwhelming sentiment of the voters in favor of this reform, I confidently expect the General Assembly in this extraordinary session speedily to enact a measure in conformity to their wishes.

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Labor Organizations in Congressional Politics.

Pursuing the policy indicated by their formal address to the President and Congress (vol. viii., p. 872), the American Federation of Labor has sent to all its affiliated unions a copy of the address, along with a circular letter addressed to "all trades unionists in America" and in which the Federation declares:

We will stand by our friends and administer a stinging rebuke to men or parties who are either indifferent, negligent or hostile, and wherever opportunity affords to secure the election of intelligent, honest, earnest trade unionists, with clear, unblemished, paid up union cards in their possession. That as our efforts are centered against all forms of industrial slavery and economic wrong, we must also direct our utmost energies to remove all forms of political servitude and party slavery, to the end that the working people may act as a unit at the polls of every election. That the American Federation of Labor most firmly and unequivocally favors the independent use of the ballot by the trade unionists and working men, united regardless of party, that we may elect men from our own ranks to make new laws and administer them along the lines laid down in the legislative demands of the American Federation of Labor, and at the same time secure an impartial judiciary that will not govern us by arbitrary injunction of the courts, nor act as the pliant tools of corporate wealth.

Labor Organizations in Local Politics.

In response to the call (vol. viii., p. 872) for a convention to formulate plans for controlling party primaries in Chicago in the interest of the labor vote, 300 delegates assembled at Brand's Hall on the 8th. They represented 52 labor unions and 8 civic societies identified with the labor movement. Arthur McCracken was elected chairman and a permanent organization was formed under the name of "The Chicago Progressive Alliance." The apparent importance of this convention in its bearing upon the labor movement in local politics throughout the United States, warrants the reproduction in full of its platform, in which its spirit and purpose are stated:

Realizing that we are at the mercy of an industrial despotism more absolute and cruel than the Russian autocracy, more far-reaching in its effects upon the people's weal, and more dangerous to the happiness, peace and perpetuation of the Republic than the condition of affairs which led to the Civil War; realizing that our wage-earning millions are regarded as soulless machines, enslaved by debauching the very governmental machinery instituted to protect the people and safeguard their right; realizing that these piratical operations are made possible only by the alliance with and control of party machines, which by nominating the tools of these pirates become parties with them in crime; realizing, further, that the prey of the pirates is the wealth-producing toilers from whose labors must come not alone the support of the toilers and their families, but also the hoards of wealth of which they are despoiled, and which form the over-abundance of the idle rich and corporate power with which we are familiar, and, realizing with Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, that "there is but one thing left us now—that is, to make labor's power felt in the elections"—we present the following platform to the voters of Chicago and pledge our candidates to its support:

1. Liberty to the individual to pursue natural enjoyments which do not interfere with the equal rights or liberties of others. And we denounce all interference with these rights and liberties of the people as unjust, tyrannical and opposed to the genius of American institutions.
2. That the people may fully and rationally enjoy their suffrage, we favor an enactment requiring the suspension of business on primary and election days.
3. The nomination of all candidates for elective offices by direct vote of the people at primaries to be held for that purpose.
4. Uncontrolled representative government being debauched and corrupted by those who buy privilege, we favor the adoption of the initiative and referendum, whereby the people may initiate the legislation they desire, which is refused them by their servants, and may veto legislation which their servants attempt to thrust upon them.
5. We favor that most rational and necessary change in the method of dealing with public servants, that of the power of recalling the faithless ones. No business house that was compelled to retain those employees who were faithless to it could long survive, nor can city, State or nation survive that is compelled to retain those servants that betray it.
6. The only issue before the people in the matter of the public utilities is whether the money paid by the people for service shall, as at present, go into the pockets of resident and foreign stockholders, who use our money to pollute the stream of legislation and to corrupt political parties and public servants, and whose insatiate demands for dividends prevent the people getting service and employes obtaining proper wages or working conditions, or whether the operation of them shall inure to the benefit of the people who use the utilities, in better wages and better working conditions for employes and improved service and reduced charges for patrons, that can be obtained through municipal and government ownership and operation; we therefore favor the government ownership of railroads and telegraphs and the municipal ownership of street railways, telephones, lighting and water systems.
7. Taxation, once a matter of exact computation and

paid in proportion to protection afforded by government, has latterly become a political asset and a thing of bargain and sale. The privilege that purchases legislation also purchases exemption from taxation. That the inequalities in taxation may be remedied and that the enactment of matters affecting taxation may be brought within the purview of the people to be affected by it, we favor local option in taxation, and, pending the obtaining of it, we favor an apportionment of police, fire and other protection by wards in proportion to the amount of taxes paid by each ward.

8. Feeling that the abuse of the writ of injunction by certain corporation stalking horses, who have by various devices obtained place on the bench in Federal and State courts, requires a limitation to be placed upon it, we favor such legislation as will require a trial by jury of alleged acts of contempt of court committed out of the presence of the court.

9. Recognizing the fact that Chicago, the metropolis of the Mississippi Valley, the peerless city of the western hemisphere, has outgrown the limitations placed upon her by the aged cities and villages act, and that legislators assembled from all over our State, some of whom are ignorant of our needs, others of whom are not in harmony with our aspirations, still others of whom are mere hirelings, who, for a consideration, would sell us in to further bondage, are not competent to deal with Chicago's needs and desires, leads us to pledge our earnest and utmost endeavors to obtaining for our city a charter that will give to the people of Chicago complete control of their own affairs.

* * *

Similar action, though not in the same form, has been taken by organized labor in Sangamon County, Illinois. At Springfield on the 8th, the Federation of Labor of that city began a campaign to secure the nomination and election of workmen and friends of organized labor, to the lower house of the Illinois legislature, and to that end it has indorsed two members of trade unions, one a Republican and the other a Democrat. It also voted to oppose any candidate for office who would not declare for municipal ownership. This Federation represents 20,000 trade unionists, at least 4,000 of whom are miners. The secretary of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, James F. Morris, is reported as announcing that its membership intends to—

Support representatives of labor and the friends of labor, no matter what ticket they may be upon. It is time for labor to go into politics. I have reports from all parts of the state that the labor people are going to make an earnest campaign to place the right kind of men in the legislature and all other legislative bodies.

* * *

The Traction Question in Chicago.

The official canvass of the Chicago vote on the three traction questions (p. 6) voted upon at the recent municipal election was completed on the 6th and formally announced on the 9th. It is as follows:

For municipal ownership.....	110,225
Against municipal ownership....	106,559
Affirmative majority	3,666
For municipal operation	121,916
Against municipal operation	110,323
Affirmative majority	11,593
Majority required by law	17,428
Lost by.....	5,835
Against granting franchises	111,955
For granting franchises	108,087
Majority against	3,868

In this canvass over 1,000 votes were added to the affirmative vote on operation as originally reported.

One of the first official acts of Mayor Dunne after the announcement of the above result was the employment, as special traction counsel in place of Clarence S. Darrow, resigned (vol. viii., p. 511), of Walter L. Fisher. Mr. Fisher was until recently the president of the Municipal Voters' League. He has been prominent for several years in the movement in Chicago for municipal good government, and both professionally as a lawyer, and in connection with civic organizations, has participated from the beginning in the traction agitation. At the municipal election a year ago he supported Mr. Harlan against Judge Dunne for the mayoralty. It was his opposition to the franchise grant proposed last Winter by the transportation committee of the City Council (vol. viii., p. 673) that caused its defeat and opened the way for the submission to the people of the municipal ownership ordinance (vol. viii., p. 707). Upon accepting the position of traction counsel on the 10th, Mr. Fisher said:

After a long conference with the Mayor I am convinced a plan for the treatment of the traction question can be worked out in entire harmony with his views and upon which people of all shades of disinterested opinion can and should unite. It is obvious that any plan must recognize that the people have voted definitely in favor of the \$75,000,000 ordinance, and that, if valid, it has become a law. The first thing therefore is to provide for an adequate test of the validity of this ordinance and for the interpretation of the Mueller law. While these matters are pending in the courts definite arrangements should be made, and made as promptly as possible, for the reconstruction of the entire street railway system and the consequent immediate improvement of the intolerable service with which the city has been afflicted. These arrangements must be upon terms which will protect the public interests, including the right of the city, upon fair terms, to put into effect that policy which the people prefer as to the ownership and operation of their public utilities. If the existing companies are willing to recognize the situation which they themselves have created and which has now been defined by the Supreme Court of the United States, Mayor Dunne has indicated his willingness to deal with them upon a basis which fully protects all their legitimate interests. The essential principle upon which he insists is that the city shall have the right at any time, upon fair terms and reasonable notice, to take over the street railways when it has determined its legal and financial ability to do so. If such terms cannot be made with the present companies, then arrangements must be made at once with a construction company or along the lines of the so-called "contract plan" for taking possession of the streets as rapidly as possible and installing in that way a modern system, with the best equipment and the best possible service. Before going publicly into any further details as to the Mayor's position, I wish to confer with leading members of the City Council on both sides of the municipal ownership controversy, and especially with the members of the new committee on local transportation. I have no intimation as to the probable membership of this committee. I have spoken to no member of the non-partisan organization committee as to the composition of any of the committees of the City Council or as to any individual member of any committee. I have entire confidence the next Council will be organized upon the basis of honesty and efficiency, and that a constructive policy on the traction question will meet the approval of a majority of its members.

The City Council was organized on the 18th on a non-partisan basis in the distribution of committeemen. The judiciary committee and the local transportation committee, the important ones at this juncture, are under the chairmanship, respectively, of Aldermen Dever and Werno, both of whom have been strong supporters of Mayor Dunne's policy.

At the opening of the new Council on the 18th Mayor Dunne submitted a long message dealing minutely with city affairs. On the traction question he said:

The people of Chicago having plainly manifested their desire for municipal ownership of street railroads with the least possible delay, I have diligently sought, since my inauguration as Mayor, for the best information and advice to this end and already have presented two plans to your honorable body. I again ask your co-operation in executing the duty with which we have been jointly charged by the people in this connection. . . . Every important trunk line in the network of street railways and many branch lines now stand at Chicago's hand to be taken under municipal control. Pay for the tangible property and a few unexpired term grants and the city can take over this system and settle this traction problem for all time. The people have demanded that this be done, and it is your duty, as public officials, to execute the public will. As the first step toward this end there should be a test of the street railway certificates. To this end I ask your co-operation. From time to time I may request such action as may enable a prompt test of the so-called Mueller law under which these certificates issue. . . . While the test in the courts is under way I may ask that your honorable body take steps toward putting into operation the "contract plan," which I outlined in my message of July 5, 1905, or some similar plan, for the taking over of the street car lines. I commend this plan because of its manifest superiority as a means of accomplishing the object with which we are charged—namely, the earliest possible installation of good service and the establishment of municipal ownership of the entire street railway system of Chicago by construction, purchase or condemnation. Because of the condition of our traction lines, reduced to the lowest level of bad service under the system of private ownership which has prevailed, every element of delay in rehabilitation should be avoided as far as possible with due regard for the street railway policy which the people have demanded and the enabling terms of the Mueller law.

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The Cleveland Traction Question.

A decision of the United States Supreme Court, rendered on the 9th, will probably delay Mayor Johnson's plans for forcing the traction companies to adopt the 3-cent fare. Franchises had been granted, pursuant to Mayor Johnson's policy, to a rival company agreeing to operate for 3-cent fares, and over these there had been much litigation, among the lawsuits being one in the Federal Court prohibiting the operation by the new company of a line on Woodland avenue (vol. vii., p. 553; vol. viii., p. 806), where the old companies claimed exclusive rights until 1914. The original franchise of the old companies for this street had expired in 1904, but the companies claimed an extension by implication. In this contention they are now partly supported by the Supreme Court, which decides that the implied extensions do not expire prior to February, 1908. In delivering the opinion of the court, Justice McKenna said:

There can be no other reasonable meaning of what the city did or of the language it used. It recognized a main line not in one ordinance, but in many ordinances. The purpose was to join the initial grant and its extensions together, and continue thus combined until 1908. There could have been no mistake in the language used or misunderstanding of it. We might suppose a mistake in one ordinance, but we cannot suppose a mistake in four ordinances. The matters dealt with were important, and it is a reasonable presumption that no provision concerning them escaped attention or was misunderstood. It is not a question of power to pass the ordinances, but of the intention of the city in passing them, and the latter we have sufficiently considered. It is only necessary to add

that we do not find uncertainty in them and cannot, therefore, yield to the conclusion deduced from its supposed existence. The situation was plain and the City Council met it with a definite and reasonable plan. It must not be overlooked that if the city gave rights it secured benefits, and that the rights could not be exercised without large expenditures of money or be of any value unless assured of stability. The appellee urges it expended \$700,000 on the change to electrical power, and the allegation is hardly made doubtful by the answer. We cannot believe that the expenditure of that sum was unworthy of consideration by the city, or that the city intended to exact it as an obligation that could be imposed on the company or regarded it as anything but a benefit to the city, to be recompensed and secured by the ordinance which passed.

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Public Utilities in Denver.

At the approaching municipal election in Denver, to be held on the 15th of May, four franchise questions are to be voted on under the initiative and referendum provisions of the Denver charter. Heretofore the City Council has granted all franchises, and the people have received nothing for them; but the constitution now provides that franchises may be granted only by vote of the people. As a result the four applications for franchises to be submitted at the coming election are accompanied with offers to the city treasury of payments aggregating over \$4,000,000. The present traction company offers \$60,000 a year for a 20-year franchise, or \$1,200,000 in all. A rival company is asking a franchise to build a competing line, and offers 5 per cent. of its gross receipts for the first ten years, 8 per cent. for the next five years, and 10 per cent. for the last five years, and guarantees that the annual payments shall never be less than \$75,000, or a total of not less than \$1,500,000. In addition it proposes to sell six tickets for 25 cents and to give the city the right to purchase the plant at the tenth, fifteenth and twentieth year at the actual cost plus 10 per cent. bonus. The gas and electric company has also applied for a franchise for 20 years, offering a franchise payment of \$50,000 a year, or \$1,000,000 in all, and a reduction in the price of gas from \$1.35 to \$1.10, besides other gradual reductions for both gas and electric current. A suburban electric line makes the fourth of these applicants for a franchise, and proposes paying 10 per cent. on gross receipts within the city limits.

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The Municipal Ownership League, of which John A. Rush is president, has been carrying on a vigorous campaign and has forced these offers. A few months ago the corporations boasted they would never pay a cent. In addition, the League, under the charter power, has drafted an ordinance fixing maximum rates for gas, electric light and water and also providing for sale of half-fare street car tickets on the cars. This ordinance has been initiated by petition of 25 per cent. of the voters and will be submitted at the election. Gas is fixed at 90 cents, electric light at 8 cents per kilowatt hour, and water rates are based upon the average rate charged in Chicago, St. Louis and Cincinnati. Under the city charter, framed under the authority of the constitutional amendment known as the "Rush bill," wide latitude is given in the matter of the initiative and referendum. A 5 per cent. petition compels submission at any general election of any charter amendment, measure, or call for a charter convention, and a pe-

tion of 10 per cent. compels a special election in these matters. A 25 per cent. petition for any ordinance compels the Council to pass it exactly as petitioned for or submit it to vote of the people, and a like petition compels a reference to the vote of the people of any ordinance passed by the Council. The fullest power is given the city to acquire and operate all public utilities, and a charter amendment will be voted on at the same election directing the taking over of the street arc lighting plant under an option in the franchise giving that right.

NEWS NOTES

—The Moroccan conference (p. 9) completed the proposed treaty on the 7th and adjourned sine die.

—The international postal congress met at Rome on the 7th, when it was opened by the King and Queen of Italy.

—By decree on the 6th the Supreme Court of Kansas ousted Mayor Rose, of Kansas City, from the office he had resigned on the 3d (p. 7).

—By a vote of 29 to 7 the Rhode Island senate on the 6th passed a bill extending to women in that State the right to vote for Presidential electors.

—The public opinion referendum bill pending in the Massachusetts legislature, passed the lower house on the 5th by an almost unanimous vote.

—On the 5th the 25th anniversary of Tuskegee, Ala., was celebrated at that place. Among the speakers were Andrew Carnegie and William Lloyd Garrison.

—The governor of Tver, Russia, was assassinated with a bomb on the 7th while passing through the principal street of the town in the middle of the afternoon.

—Pixley Ka Isaka Seme, a Zulu of pure blood, won first place in oratory in the Columbia University contest on the 5th with an oration on "The Regeneration of Africa."

—Maxim Gorky, the Russian novelist and revolutionist, arrived in New York on board the Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse on the 10th. He was welcomed at the pier by over 1,000 American admirers.

—Leonard W. Hoch, formerly mayor of Adrian, Michigan, where he was also postmaster under Cleveland's administration—an active single tax man at that time and afterwards prominent in business in the East—committed suicide at Kansas City on the 7th.

—John Alexander Dowie arrived in Chicago from Mexico on the 10th and established his headquarters at the Auditorium Annex. Negotiations for an amicable settlement of the Zion quarrel (p. 10) are reported to have been successful, Dr. Dowie having announced himself a man of peace.

—At the Hotel Victoria, New York, the Manhattan Single Tax Club will give its twentieth annual celebration of Jefferson's birthday on the 13th. The speakers are Prof. Giddings of Columbia University, Sheriff Flaherty and J. P. Kohler of Brooklyn, State Treasurer Berry of Pennsylvania and Henry George, Jr.

—The Supreme Court of Kansas decided on the 7th that the Kansas City Live Stock Exchange is an unlawful trust and that all dealings made through it are illegal because it has a by-law forbidding its

members to buy or sell live stock for others without charging a fixed commission.

—The National Council of Women was in session at Toledo on the 5th. When a resolution against the appropriation by Congress of money for the support of sectarian schools was presented by Mrs. I. C. Manchester on behalf of the National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty, it was suppressed by a resolution forbidding any report inimical to any creed or political belief.

—The monthly statement of the United States treasury department (see p. 857) for March, 1906, shows the following for the nine months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1906:

Gold reserve fund	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash	159,859,322.46
Total	\$309,859,322.46
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1905.....	292,490,322.87

Increase

—The monthly treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government (see p. 841) for March, 1906, shows the following for the nine months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1906:

Receipts:	
Tariff	\$227,738,673.50
Internal revenue	187,049,488.07
Miscellaneous	31,686,582.46
	\$446,474,742.03
Expenses:	
Civil and Misc.....	\$94,041,786.79
War	74,060,134.40
Navy	87,706,698.55
Indians	9,824,190.67
Pensions	107,408,082.67
Public works	49,027,222.65
Interest	18,443,822.36
	\$440,511,938.09
Surplus	\$5,962,803.94

PRESS OPINIONS

THE TRUTH ABOUT DEPEW.

Life (Ind.), April 5.—He is to-day at least as good a man in character as he has been during the past eighteen years. His reputation, of course, has suffered, but it is not he that has changed. What has changed has been the standard by which he and his like have been used to be measured.

A MAN WITH THE MUCK RAKE ?

Nebraska Independent (Dem.), April 5.—The public is patiently waiting for President Roosevelt to order his campaign committee to return to the life insurance companies the money that was stolen from them by their officers and donated to his campaign committee in 1904. It is time something was done about this matter. So foul a scandal cannot be overlooked or ignored.

THE KERNEL OF THE UTILITIES QUESTION.

Wausau (Wisc.) Herald (Dem.), April 6.—Some day the voters will awake to the fact that municipal ownership of public utilities means more than the mere saving of dollars and cents to the city. They will realize that the elimination of private corporations from political activity is of far greater importance than the money saving accomplished by municipal ownership.

THE CLEVELAND TRACTION QUESTION.

Cleveland Press (Ind.), April 6.—The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce has gone on record in favor of a settlement of the street railway situation on the basis of giving the Cleveland Electric Railway Company a 25-year extension of its franchises . . . worth millions upon millions of dollars, in return for which the company is to reduce fares 8 per cent and be relieved of all car licenses and bridge taxes. "The Press" has no

comment to make on this proposition at this time. Comment seems to be unnecessary, as there is no possibility of any Council or Mayor being elected in this city who would dare to make such a contract.

RESPECTABLE CRIME.

The (Hartford, Conn.) Evening Post (Ind.), March 29.—If taking money from the treasury of an insurance company and donating it to a political campaign committee is not a crime, what is it? . . . What right has the official, because he happens to be a Socialist, and therefore believes that the country and consequently the company would be benefited by the election of the Socialist national ticket, to give the money paid in by Republicans, Democrats and Independents to the Socialist national committee? By the same course of reasoning the official who happens to be a Universalist in religion, might think that the country and consequently the insurance company, would be benefited by the supremacy of the Universalist church, and that he had a right to donate to the Universalist committee the money paid into the insurance company by Catholic, Presbyterian, Baptist, Episcopalian and Unitarian. The insurance company is organized to insure people and not to save the nation.

RICH AND POOR IN THE LAW.

Wall Street Journal (fin.), March 26.—Mr. Perkins ought not to be made to suffer because he is rich, a partner of Mr. Morgan and a director of powerful corporations. Nor should he be excused because he is a leader in the financial world. What would Mr. Jerome do if Mr. Perkins, instead of having been vice-president of the New York Life Insurance Company, had been vice-president of "The Carpenter's Benevolent Association, No. 3?" Would Mr. Jerome be solicitous about proof of intent before bringing an indictment, and become angry at a judge and sarcastic at an ex-judge and bitter in denunciation of newspapers, because they held a different opinion from his on the subject if Mr. Perkins had not been what he is? . . . There is a dangerous feeling among many that there is one law for the rich man and another for the poor, and that the case of a poor man would not have aroused the solicitude as to proof of intent, which District Attorney Jerome displays in regard to the case of Geo. W. Perkins.

THE RIGHT TO THE BALLOT.

Chicago Chronicle (Rep.), April 9.—The distinguished white men who delivered addresses last week at the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Tuskegee Institute said some wise things and gave the Negroes plenty of good though trite advice along with some that was not altogether judicious. . . . They all told the young Negroes whom they were addressing that they must first become educated and educated chiefly up to economic independence—that they must make themselves indispensable as workers in the fields and shops and become good, humble, toiling citizens, suppressing higher aspirations, before they would become fairly entitled to the ballot. And they gave scant encouragement to look for anything political beyond the ballot, though they assured the Negroes that they were in the country to stay. . . . This teaching . . . calmly assumes that the ballot is something to be given only to those who know how and are disposed to use it wisely for the benefit of less enlightened and moral people and is not given to everybody because he needs it himself. The fact is that every man want and need the ballot for their protection against wrong and oppression. The right to a voice in choosing those who make and administer the laws—which is what is meant by the "ballot" in this discussion—was demanded before this Republic existed, first by a select and powerful class for its own better protection, then by a larger and less select class for the same purpose, and so on to universal manhood suffrage. As a means of defense it was needed as much—nay, more—by the lowest and most oppressed class as by the highest which had been divested of political rights. This is historically true irrespective of our own political experience. It was in recognition of this truth that the right to vote was guaranteed by the

fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to our national constitution. The right to vote was given to the Negro not because he was educated or wise, for he was neither, but because he needed it for his protection against those who denied him civil rights and the protection of the laws and sought to reduce him to a slavery more cruel and barbarous than that which the thirteenth amendment sought to abolish forever.

BRYAN.

Omaha World-Herald (Dem.), April 9.—The spectacle of the Eastern Democracy turning, with the olive branch of conciliation, to William J. Bryan, after long years of opposition ranging from slyly covert to bitterly demonstrative, is occasioning a great deal of interesting comment. The consensus of opinion seems to be that the "conservative" Democracy in accepting Bryan will do so not because he himself has become less radical, but because the conservatives are becoming radical themselves, along with the rest of the country. . . . The Bryan of to-day is the Bryan of 1896, grown wiser and stronger with years and experience, but with not one jot or tittle of his democracy changed or abated.

Millwaukee Daily News (Dem.), April 10.—There is little likelihood of Mr. Bryan insisting upon a reaffirmation of the 16 to 1 plank of the Chicago platform. He realizes well enough that the silver issue has been eliminated by the increased production of gold, which is giving to the country more metallic money than when free coinage of silver was demanded in 1896. But if the Democratic leaders of the East expect that Mr. Bryan will recede from his attitude toward private monopoly, they will find themselves disappointed in their estimate of the man. There is no more sincere, consistent and determined opponent of plutocracy than William J. Bryan. He would utterly wipe out private monopoly in every form. To the socialist he is a reactionary. To the monopolist he is the most dangerous radical in public life.

Elizabeth (N. J.) Evening Times (Dem.), April 4.—Strange, remarkably so, is the kindly tone of the references made by numerous conservative papers to William Jennings Bryan. Fearful lest Hearst may be the Democratic nominee, these papers are almost urging it upon the members of the opposition party to name for President the twice-defeated candidate, of whom they are now speaking as a "conservative among conservatives." The fact of the matter is that Bryan has never been radical in the sense of being at all a dangerous man, as it was charged against him in 1896 and again in 1900. But Bryan was so considered because he was proving himself a political student of a broader spirit and greater foresight than the editors of the newspapers which are now so much taken up with his "conservative" views. Mr. Bryan has not changed; if anything, he is to-day a little more radical than he has ever been. But the newspapers throughout the country have undergone a wonderful transformation. Their change of base has come about unbeknown to themselves. The spirit of political freedom and reform, call it radicalism or whatever else you wish, is in the air, and "conservatism," the conservatism of a decade ago, has no longer many friends in newspaperdom or anywhere else, except in the citadels of privilege, where it will be found until doomsday.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP IN CHICAGO.

Chicago Chronicle (Rep.), April 12.—Mayor Dunne's appointment of Walter L. Fisher, late of the Municipal Voters' League, as "special traction counsel" is a political reward and probably a political trade.

Chicago Inter-Ocean (Rep.), April 12.—As the man who drew the Mueller bill jokers, after consultation with E. R. Bliss of the City Railway Company, Walter L. Fisher will be observed with interest in his role of traction adviser to the Mayor.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), April 12.—The uplifting period of Mr. Fisher's career is happily over. It remains to be seen whether he will be so successful as special traction counsel as he has been as reformer. In his new place he will have to stand or fall on his merits as a lawyer. He will have no organization behind him to help him along.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), April 11.—A very little reflection should convince anyone that the only logical organization of the new Council is one that will bring the

legislative and executive branches of the city government into harmony. This is advisable, even from the standpoint of those who claim that Mayor Dunne cannot succeed in his municipal ownership policy.

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), April 12.—The Mayor and the public are both to be congratulated on the appointment of Walter L. Fisher to the office of special traction counsel. . . . The splendid services he has performed in connection with the Municipal Voters' League will at once occur to every one, but it is merely typical of his ceaseless activity in the public interest. From this the motive that he had in accepting the Mayor's offer is clear. He was impelled by the desire to devote himself absolutely to the solution of the important municipal reform to which he has already given much attention. The people may and will feel assured of the perfect sincerity of his purpose, and they should know at the same time that he has the keenness of perception and the force of character to make his work tell.

Chicago American (Dem.), April 6.—Because the people of Chicago did not declare by a 60 per cent vote for the operation of street cars by the city the traction press has inaugurated an elaborate post-election campaign of lying. This, they claim, means that the people of Chicago want no more of municipal ownership. All the tricky election workers were against municipal ownership. A million dollars was thrown into the campaign in the last forty-eight hours. Some newspapers sold out to the traction crowd for so much money down, while others went with them in the hope of being able to get money out of it later. Against this combination the unorganized people won. Not \$500 was spent for municipal ownership. But, as the vote resulted, here is what the people won: First, the right to buy, equip and own a street car system. Second, the Council was forbidden to grant a franchise to any private corporation. What the average man in Chicago wants is better transportation. That is what the traction companies have failed to give. The city is now in a position to compel better transportation. The city can condemn the lines, take them over, rehabilitate them, buy cars—lots of cars—and then lease the lines to operating companies.

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), April 6.—The Record-Herald has pointed out that good street railway service can be secured in this city if the Mayor will adhere to the plan he approved before the elections and if he and the street railway companies can agree upon the details of such a plan. Meanwhile divers anti-municipal ownership enthusiasts who profess to desire a settlement are making the way harder by their shallow comment on the election and the needless irritation they are giving to a majority of the voters on the referendum proposition. . . . It is shown by a study of the votes in the wards that the influence of powerful political organization was used against municipal ownership, and that the Mayor was knifed in his party by the retainers of gray wolves. For that reason it is the more likely that the vote for the certificates was based on conviction. It represents a reliable force that is thoroughly devoted to municipal ownership and that carried the day in spite of the disadvantageous way in which the proposition was brought up. Under the circumstances it is evident that the cause of good service will not be furthered by exulting over the death of municipal ownership. If we are to accomplish anything whatever toward securing a satisfactory working plan with the companies or with a third corporation the friends of municipal ownership must take part in the settlement. It is the height of folly to arouse in them a feeling of irreconcilable hostility.

After the Trust had wrung tribute from the public during many years, the head man of it became alarmed for his soul and asked the Church what he should do to be saved.

"Give me money with which to convert the heathen and teach them to live like Christians," said the Church.

"With all my heart," said the man, perceiving at once that, if the heathen were to live like Christians, his Trust would be able to wring tribute from them also.—Life.

IN CONGRESS

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

Washington, April 2-7, 1906.

Senate.

Consideration of the railroad rate bill was continued on the 2d (p. 4679), and, without any business of general interest on the 3d and 4th, was resumed on the 5th (p. 4864) and 6th (p. 4930), when the Senate adjourned to the 9th.

House.

On the 2d the House by two-thirds vote took up and after debate passed the charter of the National Educational Association of the United States (pp. 4725-4731). It made the same disposition on the 3d of the bill for the enlargement of the powers of the Public Health and Marine Hospital (pp. 4774-4794), and began on the 4th the consideration of the Post Office appropriation bill (p. 4834). This bill was under consideration on the 5th, 6th (p. 4938) and 7th (p. 4995).

Record Notes.

Text of address of the American Federation of Labor to the President and Congress (p. 4901). Argument of Attorney-General Moody in beef trust case at Chicago (p. 4879). Opinion of Judge Humphrey in same case (p. 4893).

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE UNHEEDED CRY.

For The Public.

How solemnly down the cathedral aisles
Go these bowed worshippers. The sermon tells
That sweet is loving charity, whose smiles
Gladden the heart—and then the organ swells.

How beautiful the service, the High Mass,
The cross and altar—all the austere pride
Of painting, and richly stained glass.
But what of this unheeded cry outside,

"Help or I perish"? Now the singers rise,
The organ peals its last, the prayer is said,
The lights are out—but in the shadow lies
One whom they heard not, near the threshold,
dead!

Then I bethink me could this thoughtless throng
Peer through fat-lidded eyes of purse and pelf,
And learn the truth that it must learn ere long,
And know this dead One that is Christ Himself!

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

SOME MODERN INSTANCES.

For The Public.

Somebody has remarked that it was the "free silver" that defeated Bryan. Recent developments, however, seem to indicate that it was "honest money"—that did it—the honest money of thousands of policy-holders, many of whom did not even know that their money defeated the man their votes were cast for.

"No wonder," said the self-made philosopher, "that the life of the Republican party has been so well

guarded, considering that so many great insurance companies are interested in its longevity."

Somebody was asked which of the miseries in life that he had met had troubled him most. "Those," he said, "that never came."

The dictionaries of legal terms must be revised. We need a few more terms. The lawyers seem to agree that certain insurance officials have not acted honestly—they have taken money that was not theirs. Still, they have not committed larceny. Could not some of our esteemed lawyers devise a new expression for the crime committed?

He is a foolish politician who would tax people so that they know how much they paid; but he would be a wise statesman.

"Lawyers," remarked the self-made philosopher, "I take to be a necessary evil. Some of them, indeed, are like necessity itself; they know no law."

"Let us not quarrel," said the highwayman to his victim. "Let us both work together in harmony. Believe me, it is a great comfort to you to have met a wise man like me, that can show you the right road in this desolate country." And the highwayman wondered why his victim was so ungrateful.

"Well," said the Republican newspaper reporter, "now that times are so prosperous and the working-men satisfied, I will interview one of them, and add to the records of prosperity."

And the workingman said: "My prosperity consists in working thirteen hours a day now, except Saturday, business being so prosperous. If I don't, I lose my job, and somewhere else will be the same story. So you see, when times are prosperous, I have to work too much to get time to enjoy life; and when times are hard, and I am out of a job, I have to worry too much to enjoy life. In fact, it is hard to decide which is the time I ought to be thankful for avoiding."

But the prosperity reporter did not publish his interview.

ERIK OBERG.

THE ART OF ARTS.

"I saw an instrument once which the doctor who invented it said was a Dusmorphostiapalmklast. What does that mean, Doctor Bicyclades?"

"In so far as it can be said to mean anything, Socrates, its composition shows that it means a tool for breaking something already ill-formed. The man was a fool who gave it that name."

"But I heard you discussing with Pennidoktor, O Bicyclades, the 'Inhibition by local lesion of the Sternutatory Act.' What does that mean, in plain Greek?"

"O Socrates, it means that pressure on certain spots stops sneezing."

"Why not say that, Bicyclades?"
"To say truth, Socrates, there are some things that every one has to have a little practical knowledge of—law, political economy and medicine. Therefore we, who live off these things, have to use a jargon lest the laity should understand how little we really know."

"But every one must know a little of carpentering,

O Bicyclades; for instance, how to drive a nail; yet the carpenter does not need to call his compass a kuklographonate in order to be employed. He doesn't even call himself a Professor of Lumber Surgery."

"No, for it requires more skill and longer training to be a doctor than to be a carpenter; therefore we give the doctor due honor by a title."

"Are all doctors, then, skilled and well trained, Bicyclades?"

"In truth, no; many of them know very little. Indeed, to be a watchmaker takes more skill than most doctors have."

"But does the watchmaker call himself a Horological Doctor, or a Professor of Tickbrontonomy?"

"No, Socrates, for the watchmaker, like the carpenter, depends for his success upon his skill, of which anyone can judge. Whereas no one can judge the skill of the physician."

"But if his patients get well, does it not show that the physician is skillful, Bicyclades?"

"By Hercules, no; for nature usually makes persons well, anyhow, in most cases—if we let them alone; and of course the patients of even the greatest physicians will die when they get diseases sufficiently severe."

"Then the man who called his tool a Dismorphostapalimklast was not a fool, Bicyclades; was he not rather a swindler?"

"No, Socrates, he was only a fakir, for he supplied what people wanted."

"What is it to fake, Bicyclades?"

"It is to sell to the simple at a wondrous price that which is simple in itself."

"Is not Medicine, then, the greatest of fakes?"

"It appears to be so, unless we except Theology—and Philosophy, Socrates."—Bolton Hall.

* * *

THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

One object of government is to build men. Men are built by responsibility. Rob a man of the right to do wrong, and you take away his chance to grow. Communities no more than men can be kept in leading strings without a loss of strength. Put the referendum in the city charter and let the citizens vote down good measures if they do not know any better. Let them swim. Let them work blunders. Let them learn by experience. Let them have a direct voice in their government. That will increase responsibility. That will stimulate the discussion of questions referred to the people. That will in time raise the level of intelligence, awaken public spirit, develop civic virtue and make better men.

In Los Angeles, Cal., when a city ordinance is passed, or a franchise granted, or a bridge voted for, in short, when any unpopular measure is passed, the citizens can, by a petition of five per cent. of the voters, compel the authorities to refer the measure to them at the next regular election. This is self-government. This is the veto power in the hands of the voters. It is the principle of the old New England town meeting applied to our more complex conditions.

The initiative and referendum would prevent changes to which the people have not been educated. The Socialists in Oregon failed to get the necessary eight per cent. of the voters to sign petitions to submit their proposals to a referendum. Professor John R. Commons, of the University of Wisconsin, while favoring the initiative and referendum, insists that it will be a disappointment to reformers. Under this provision changes must wait for a change in public opinion. But by assuring this, the interests not only of the conservatives are served, but also of the reformers; for if a reform cannot come until the people are ready for it, when it does come it will stay.

It is sometimes urged against the initiative and referendum that the people will take little interest in the referendum vote, and that questions would therefore be determined by a comparative few. This has not been the case where the referendum has been tried. But even if it were so, it is an argument for this proposal and not against it. We frequently hear the complaint that our suffrage is debased by our ignorant vote. This is a plan of eliminating the ignorant vote, not by complex machinery and arbitrary regulations, but naturally and automatically. This plan puts a premium upon intelligence. In the Chicago referendums the vote was lightest in the slum and river wards.

Government of the people by the rascals for the rich—that is Lincoln Steffens' statement of the case. In the large cities this is the exact situation. The rascally politicians make the laws, and they make them in the interests, not of the people whom they are supposed to represent, but in the interests of the corporations.

With the initiative and referendum we may realize the hope of a government of the people, by the people, for the people.

HERBERT S. BIGELOW.

* * *

THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE LIBERAL PARTY.

From "What Is the Liberal Policy?" by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Prime Minister of Great Britain, in *The World To-day*, for March, 1906.

It may accurately be said that there is practically but one great impediment in the way of a sweeping improvement which would elevate the physical and moral welfare of the people. This is the interest, and the overdue regard to the interest, of the landowner, and the political and social influence that he and his class can exercise. Let the value of land be assessed independently of the buildings upon it, and upon such valuation let contributions be made to those public services which create the value.

What is our rating system? It is a tax upon industry and labor, upon enterprise, upon improvement; it is a tax which is the direct cause of much of the suffering and overcrowding in the towns. Overcrowding is not a symptom only, but a cause of poverty, because it demoralizes its victims and forces them to find relief in excesses. By throwing the taxes on site values, communities which have created these values will be set free, free in the sense that they can expand, free to direct their own destinies.

Foremost among our domestic duties is the succor of the masses who are in poverty. If it can be shown that poverty, whether it be material poverty or poverty of physique and of energy, is associated with economic conditions which, though supported by the laws of the country, are nevertheless contrary to economic laws and considerations and to public policy, the State can intervene without fear of doing harm. Is there any lack of such conditions among us? I fear not. The country is still largely governed by castes, and it has to compete with nations which have shaken off feudal ways and privileges which we continue to tolerate.

It can not be too often repeated and enforced that the way to go to work to organize the home market is not the crude and unequal and exploded method of setting up tariffs. It is to raise the standard of living, abolishing those centers of stagnant misery which are a disgrace to our name, and when once the home market is so organized the demand for

labor will be larger and more sustained, and more capable of insuring itself against fluctuation.

The wisest course is to attack these bad conditions boldly and fearlessly, to abolish them, or, if we can not do that, to modify them; deal rigorously with vested interests and monopolies which cause public injury or stand in the way of improvement; enlarge the powers of local authorities, readjust our taxing system, and so alter our land laws as to increase the supply of houses and of available land in town and country alike; equalize burdens local as well as imperial; give—as far as laws and customs can give it—give a chance to every man.

Give every man a chance; those are the lines of progress and development. It is along those lines that lies the path of prosperity, happiness and strength. There lies the true wisdom, and not false, sham wisdom; true patriotism, and not tinsel patriotism; true imperialism, and not treacherous imperialism.

THE CLOSED SHOP.

Fred J. Miller of East Orange, N. J., in the *New York Evening Post*.

The statements put forward by and on behalf of the anthracite coal-mine operators—which are the anthracite coal roads and which again compose the anthracite coal monopoly—to the effect that they stand unalterably opposed to the closed-shop idea sound very well but will not bear examination. Whether they oppose or favor the closed-shop idea depends entirely upon whose closed shop it is. Undoubtedly they oppose the miners' closed shop, but how about the closed shop they themselves maintain? It is a matter of common knowledge, and no longer denied, that the coal roads own and control over 90 per cent of the anthracite coal lands and mines; that they allow only so much coal to be produced in any given period of time as they think will best serve their purpose of getting out of coal consumers the last penny possible to be extracted from them; that the State of Pennsylvania helps them to maintain this monopoly by assessing their unused coal lands at a nominal valuation as "unproductive farm lands"; that at meetings held periodically in New York the representatives of this trust get together and decide how much anthracite coal shall be mined and brought to market during the period under consideration and what proportion of the total each road shall be allowed to bring in; that here in the Oranges—and I suppose the same conditions prevail elsewhere—there is a retail coal dealers' association, and that unless a retailer belongs to this association he will not be able to buy anthracite coal ("it has all been contracted for by the association"), and finally that if one who proposes to engage in the business applies for membership in this association he is informed that "the membership is filled, there are no vacancies." If this is not the closed shop then what is it?

The retail coal dealer in this section is no more at liberty to exercise his own judgment as to what he will do or what he will not do in the conduct of his own business than is the individual union printer free to decide what he will or will not do with respect to wages, hours of labor, etc. The terms upon which he sells coal are dictated to him by the association to which he belongs, and that association is dominated and controlled by the anthracite Trust. In view of these facts of common knowledge, is it true that the "mine operators" are opposed to the closed shop? Is it not clear that whether they are opposed or in favor depends entirely upon which closed shop you talk about, theirs or the miners'?

I do not say that the operators ought to cease opposing the closed-shop idea, for I believe that idea is fundamentally wrong, but I do most emphatically believe that those who support the coal operators in their contention against the closed shop of the miners ought never to cease calling attention to the fact that the operators themselves maintain a closed shop which is at least equally wrong in principle and far more to be feared, not only on account of its effect upon our pocketbooks and upon the manner of life of our poorer people, but also because of its effect upon our legislatures and our public life generally. Closed shops are wrong because they are monopolies; but those who oppose them must, to be consistent and to escape the charge of being insincere, oppose all other monopolies, including that of the coal mines and the coal-carrying roads.

REAL-ESTATE REFORM IN EUROPE

From The Review of Reviews for March, 1905.

Socialism and capitalism will be reconciled only when land monopoly has been abolished. This is the opinion of Mr. Johan Hanson, a Swedish economist. Writing in the *Social Tidskrift* (Stockholm), Mr. Hanson reviews the land-ownership situation in both Europe and America.

As early as the middle of the eighteenth century, this writer reminds us, there were those who foresaw the evil results of private ownership of land. It was not until 1880, however, that an American, Henry George, first brought the problem of land-ownership forcibly to public notice. Mr. George's ideas have, in general, been accepted by real estate reformers. The practical application is the only point at which the views diverge.

After discussing the single tax theory as held in the United States, and complimenting Mayor "Tom" Johnson, of Cleveland, as the American Tolstoy, the Swedish economist turns to Canada. He says:

In Manitoba, farming land has been rented successfully on a system based on the principles of Henry George, which should dispel any doubts as to their advantages. The Single Tax Association of Toronto, where enormous rents prevailed, has also won a victory. Their programme, higher taxes on the value of property and less on the buildings, conquered at the last elections, in spite of the opposition of the authorities. In Australia and New Zealand the movement for real estate reform is making great strides of progress, because laboring men are less prejudiced by the socialists than in Europe. The single-tax associations are better organized than those in America.

Mr. Hanson asserts that British real estate taxation is the "most abnormal in the world."

In spite of reforms during the last decade, practical results are yet to be expected, though probably near at hand. There are two reform associations,—the Land Nationalization Society and the League for the Taxation of Land Values. Under the leadership of Dr. A. R. Wallace, the former organization contends for the appropriation of private land by degrees, its organ being *Land and Labor*, of London. The latter organization advocates the Henry George system. The organ for single tax is the *Land Values*, of London and Glasgow.

In Germany, real estate reformers have organized the *Bund der Deutschen Bodenreformer*.

For thirty years German writers have contended for the same principles as are advocated to-day. In 1872, the physician, Dr. Th. Stamm, issued a work in which almost the same views as those of Henry George were held forth. The present association was founded in 1888, and for some time advocated the principles of Henry George with a radical platform. Yet single tax, as well as the nationalization principle, met with insurmountable obstacles in Germany, and the above association was therefore reorganized in 1898. The platform, briefly summarized, states that land shall be controlled so that the

abuses of private exploitation are excluded, and that the increase of the value of property to the private individual shall be for the benefit of the community, the latter to be obtained by special taxation. In Prussia these reforms have already passed legislation, and the endeavor of the Bund is therefore directed to the application of the reform. It is the well-known writer, Adolf Damaschke, the editor of the organ, *Deutsche Volksstimme*, who deserves much praise for his energetic leadership and the speedy development of the German organization. It now includes two hundred thousand members, among whom are a great number of prominent politicians and men of science. Since last year a scientific monthly, the *Jahrbuch für Bodenreform* (Jena), has added to the significance of the reform in Germany, where private exploitation in real estate, particularly around the larger cities, is almost impossible.

In Denmark the reformers are organized in the Danish Henry George Association. The question is vigorously discussed in word and writing, and the new Liberal government seems to be in favor of the movement. In Sweden there are signs that the real estate question will soon become a public issue. The large domains of the country need legal protection. An organization is also under formation the purpose of which will be to open up the land and its riches to the people and control private exploitation.

* * *

THE TRUE DEMOCRACY.

An Extract from a Sermon by the Rev. C. Lemont Hay,
Pastor of First Methodist Episcopal Church
of Maywood, Ill.

The term "democracy" is used in a double sense, (1) in an applied and arbitrary sense as the name of a great political party, and (2) in the original and proper sense as describing the kingship of the people.

In political philosophy there is a doctrine known as "the divine right of kings." It was probably of very ancient origin, and became systematically formulated and advocated by the Stuarts in England. It has come to mean the God-given right of an individual or of a family to rule over others, and to maintain the position and title against all comers. This is one of the fundamental ideas of hereditary monarchy, and was in practical effect long before formulated and taught.

Opposed to this is the idea of democracy, or the kingship of the people, and of government only by consent of the governed, and then in the interest of the governed. In their practical workings out the two theories are as wide apart as the poles, and the true nature of the difference may be seen in the difference between Russia and the United States.

Now you err grievously if you think you have secured democracy when you have established republican government. You mistake if you think we have a democracy in the United States. You mistake if you think we would have democracy with the establishment of the Democratic party in power. The political situation in the United States is this, that the old doctrine of the divine right of kings has been resurrected and rehabilitated, and is become now the doctrine of the divine right of a ruling class, of one party or class to rule the rest of the commonwealth. Each party thinks it possesses that right, and the party in power feels that God has vindicated that right.

Now the history of political life is this: For power and influence to concentrate in the hands of the few; for that power to become corrupt to the point of intolerability; for "demos" to arise, enthrone himself and secure his rights; for "demos" gradually to become enslaved again by the same elements that he dethroned; for the same corrupt situation again to recur, and for the same process of cleansing

again to be gone through with; and this series of events may be repeated indefinitely through history.

I will venture a political prophesy concerning the United States: There will always be two great political parties in this country, one representing the moneyed interests or the minority, and the other representing the common people, or the majority. That does not mean that the interest of the majority always prevails, for often a majority of voters enthrones that individual or that party that works for the interest of the few. In the present situation, as popularly regarded, the Republican party stands as the representative of the financial interests of the country, and the Democratic party, and more latterly the Socialist party, poses as the champion of the common people. (And you will notice that the Republican party during the later history of the country has been almost continuously in power.) And I prophesy further that, if the Democratic party or the Socialist party should come to power for any long continued period, the conditions would ultimately be reversed, and the party out of power would become the exponent of the masses and the party in power the representative of the "interests." For mark you this, that so colossal have become the corporate and financial interests of this country that they will not remain long connected with a party out of power, but will affiliate themselves with the party in power, and, having done so, will seize the reins of government, and will shape its policies to suit their own ends. And the moral of it all would be this: Let every voter constantly examine current political policies and tendencies; let him always vote to enthrone "demos"; and let him be prepared to change his party jacket as often as the interests of "demos," or the people, may demand.

* * *

WHY THE LADY STOOD UP.

"Young man," said a gray-haired and tired-looking old lady who was standing up on a crowded street car to a gentleman who was seated, "would you mind getting up and giving me your seat? I have been hard at work all day, and am so weary it seems as if I could not stand up another minute."

"Madam," the gentleman replied, "I would have offered you my seat long ago; but the last time I saw you, you said that you would rather stand up on a street car than to sit down, no matter how weary you might be."

"I do not recollect," said the lady, with manifest rising indignation, "ever saying that I liked to stand up on a street car."

"It is strange you do not remember it," replied the gentleman. "It was a week ago this evening, at the rooms of the Young Men's Christian Association; a debate between a member of that association and a member of the Economic Educational League. Three judges had been previously selected; one by the Y. M. C. A., one by the E. E. L., and these two selected a third. As you are a woman of prominence in literary circles, and of presumably good judgment, these two judges selected you as the third."

"You remember the arguments adduced by the representative of the Economic Educational League. He began by referring to the capitalistic means of conveyance by which most of those present had come there—the street cars; to the fact that the Capital Traction Company had, at the beginning of 1906, distributed among its stockholders a dividend of six per cent.—\$720,000; that this immense amount went to persons who had done nothing whatever to earn it."

"They had successfully managed the enterprise

during the preceding year, had they not?" inquired the lady.

"The officers—president, vice-president, general superintendent, secretary, treasurer, and two or three others—managed the enterprise; but for their work they were paid large salaries—aside from what was distributed to them as their share of dividends.

"This money paid to stockholders, for doing nothing, might better have been paid to workers, for doing something. To begin with, one hundred thousand dollars of this amount ought to be expended in paying higher wages to conductors, motormen and other employes; at the same time reducing their hours of labor. This of course would necessitate the employment of more men; but there are plenty of men in the city, out of work and willing to work at good wages for eight hours a day. There would remain more than \$600,000 with which to buy and equip additional cars, and pay additional conductors and motormen, and defray incidental expenses connected with a more complete and efficient service. This, however, is a digression; my text, for the present, is you.

"These hundred or more additional cars would afford additional seating facilities for the public, so that (except on inauguration day, or some other exceptional occasion), every body could have a seat.

"At the close of the discussion, you will remember, you voted for a continuance of the existing plan, and in opposition to having cars and seats enough so that you could have a chance to sit down. So, in being compelled to stand up and hang onto a strap, I cannot see that you have any ground of complaint against me, for you are getting exactly what you voted for."

"Will you please push the electric button for me," said the lady; "I get off at the next corner. I will think over what you have said."

"I am not certain about that," said the gentleman. "I have only repeated what the advocate of municipal ownership said at the Y. M. C. A. debate, and you evidently did not think of it then, for you proceeded forthwith to vote against him. For a dozen years past I have seen your name in the newspapers as having read at different clubs essays on such subjects as, 'The Renaissance,' 'The Mound-builders,' 'Mary, Queen of Scots,' 'Life and Times of Savonarola,' and other matters that call for the use of the history and cyclopaedia, and not of your own reason. Your mind has been trained to delve among the dusty records of the dead and buried past; not to grapple with the practical problems of the living present. I have not much faith in an old brain acquiring new habits of thought. However, if you are compelled for a few years more to ride standing up and hanging to a strap (when you can find one unoccupied), you may possibly see the propriety and justice, the next time opportunity offers, of voting for a system that will give you a chance to sit down without asking somebody else to get up."

(Of course the foregoing conversation never actually took place; but circumstances occurred under which it might have taken place, if the gentleman of the dialogue had not been prevented by courtesy toward the lady from telling her the truth. In any event, it may serve to show some woman who has to stand up on the cars that her indignation should be directed, not to the man who retains his seat, but to the company that purposely supplies the line with as few cars as possible, in order to reduce expenses as much as possible, so as to have as large dividends as possible to distribute annually among non-working stockholders.)

J. L. M'CREERY.

Washington, D. C.

KINGS AND VIKINGS.

Ernest Crosby, in *Ariel* for April, 1906.

King-stock is booming. It is two hundred and fifty years since England beheaded her king and established the Commonwealth, and to-day among Englishmen kingship is more popular than ever. In the middle of the nineteenth century every dream of reform in Europe took the shape of a republic, but it is noticeable now that the more sober revolutionists in Russia prefer to continue to make use of the monarchy, and Norway has actually gone out of her way to set up a new dynasty. The Norwegians are among the most democratic people in the world, and they abolished titles of nobility long ago, and yet they have chosen a king. Where were Bjornson, the stout defender of the people, and Ibsen, the strong individualist, and Nansen, who had been spoken of as a possible President? Sixty years ago, according to Emerson, "God said, 'I am tired of kings!'" Was Emerson mistaken, or has "Vox populi" ceased to be "Vox Dei"? And the new king at Christiania is no Norwegian, nor even a Dane, though his father is king of Denmark. They are Germans without a drop of Scandinavian blood in their veins, and these proud children of the Vikings had to import from abroad some one fit to rule them, and to admit the bankruptcy of their own race! Surely that was disgraceful. And the worst of it is that it is all our fault!

Yes, it is our fault—no one else's. To us more than to any people was committed the democratic dream—the trust of realizing the beauties of liberty and equality and fraternity—of banishing from our territory all privilege and poverty, and of conducting an honest experiment in the practice of brotherhood. We accepted the task, and with a rich and boundless continent open to us, it seemed certain of success. Franklin and Jefferson never wearied of pointing out the vast advantages of the inhabitants of our country. No one remained long in the position of an employe, for the world was before him, and he could set up for himself anywhere. If worst came to worst, there was the forest, and the virgin soil, and the raw material of a log cabin to be had for the asking, and employers, who realized this, paid high wages accordingly, and hence, while few became rich, the many had plenty, and this is an ideal condition of things from the economic point of view.

And so it always is where the natural gifts of nature are not monopolized. A friend of mine told me how it was recently in Alaska. At a certain mining camp on the coast men could earn an average of sixteen dollars a day by digging for gold, and hence the waiters in the hotel and other similar workers had to be paid that sum per day, or else they would throw up their jobs and go to digging. At last all the gold land was staked out and there was none left for the newcomers, and at once wages went down, till they reached five dollars a day, at which figure a man almost starved, prices were so high. At this juncture one of the waiters who had been a lawyer bethought himself that no individual had a legal right to stake out land between high and low water mark, and this strip included some of the richest deposits. His contention was sustained by the court, and immediately wages jumped up to sixteen dollars again, so that the waiters might be persuaded to continue to serve instead of digging on the shore. Such is the automatic effect of free access to the gifts of nature, the proper heritage of man.

Is our country really fully occupied, so that there is nothing left for the people who are disinherited? We know this is not so. You can lose yourselves in the backwoods within the limits of Greater New

York. There is room in the United States for ten times our present population, and perhaps a hundred times. It has all been staked out, that is all. It is "owned," not in the sense of being used by its owners, but of having other people shut out from it. To "own" ought to mean to "make use of," but we have made it mean to "exclude." All the good sites are fenced in, waiting for a rise. The community by its industry is rapidly multiplying the values of situation in our cities, along the shores of our seaports, on the highways of all kinds that connect our centers of population—and private individuals are pocketing the "unearned increment"—which is not really "unearned," for it is earned by the community itself.

This "staking-off" process has been in existence so long that we can hardly imagine any other. But let us suppose that the question presents itself in some other planet, where our terrestrial prejudices do not obtain—in Mars, for instance, where Mr. Tesla hoped not long ago to establish a branch of his telephone system. Let us ask the good Martians a simple question. "Hello, hello! Is that Mars? Do nine-tenths of your inhabitants pay rent to the other tenth for the privilege of remaining on the surface of the planet when they couldn't get off if they tried?" Perhaps they would ring us off and refuse to waste their time in answering fool questions.

Our democracy has proved a disappointment with its extremes of wealth and poverty, of power and impotency, of comfort and misery, of palace and slum, because, while it insisted upon political equality of opportunity, it forgot all about economic equality of opportunity. A free ballot is a good thing, but a free billet, a free job, is better, and in an unmonopolized world jobs would be free. It is the artificial scarcity of monopoly that has reproduced in America all the problems which beset Europe. If we had carried our democracy into the industrial world, there would not have been a king left on his throne in Europe to-day. Mrs. Carlyle, way back in the thirties, wrote that kings were a sorry sight at that advanced day, and they were. Ten years later crowns were swaying and toppling and falling in every direction, and if we had been true to our trust, they would have come off for good. But the alternative for monarchy is democracy, and America, the great example of democracy, was showing signs of failure. At first Negro slavery belied our pretensions to equal rights, and when we had settled that, after years of turbulence and war, signs were not wanting of new inequalities, not unlike those of the old world. If it is a mere question between billionnaires and marquises, we can hardly blame people for not thinking a change worth while. Haakon the Seventh can be handled more easily than Rockefeller the First, for the former has granted a constitution to his people, which the latter never has. I am sorry that Bjornson is not President of Norway, and I regret the accession of Haakon VII., but we can hardly blame the Norwegians, for it is all our own fault.

✽ ✽ ✽

A BALLADE OF EASTER TIME.

For The Public.

I who with married woes have long forborne.
Do now rebel against my loving wife
Who holds my pipe and all my views in scorn.
Does she "obey" me?—No, not on your life!
I am the one who dances to her life,
She is the one who leads me by the nose;
She fills our closets all with her own clothes,
And me she treats like any tame white rat.
What is this debt a man forever owes?—
Why must a woman have an Easter hat?

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My own since late last summer has been worn
 And is as rusty as an urchin's knife,
 But I don't care my person to adorn,
 I'd rather for my darling wife to strive.
 She is the queen of our domestic hive
 And not for me are dress and gaudy shows.
 I could be master, if I only chose,
 But there's no use to wrangle over that.
 But I've a right to wonder, I suppose,
 Why must a woman have an Easter hat?

What is the sense that on an Easter morn
 The very air with new hats should be rife?
 My dearest's last year's hat—it is not torn!
 Still I am not a man to stir up strife.
 I am as mild as any man alive,
 But I must say it's strange how money goes
 On just a dab of lace—a velvet rose.
 And we like sparrows in a five-room flat!
 And so this problem great and greater grows—
 Why must a woman have an Easter hat?

Envoi.

Wife, you don't have to have new Easter hose.
 Of course you do not things like these disclose.
 But tell me now—Have you an answer pat
 To this, which neither man nor devil knows—
 Why must a woman have an Easter hat?
 C. E. S. WOOD.

"I see they've been holding an election in Eng-
 land"
 "Oh, and was King Edward re-elected?"—Cleve-
 land Leader.

"Georgie, what are you and little Albert quarrelling
 about? My goodness! Can't you let him have one
 of those blocks? Why do you insist on having them
 all?"

"Well, blame it, ma, we're playing that I'm Rock-
 erfeller."—Chicago Record-Herald.

I wish I was an oriole
 Sitting on top of a telegraph pole,
 Of all the cherries I'd have my pick,
 And I'd never study arithmetic.
 —E. S. W. (Ten Years Old), in Unity.

"What I say is true. Besides, 'seeing is believing,'
 you know."

"Oh, not always."

"No?"

"No. I see you, for instance."—Philadelphia Press.

"Patching and darning, as usual, are you?" said
 the caller.

"Yes," answered Mrs. Lapsing. "I tell Samuel
 I save him a good deal of money by being so men-
 dacious."—Chicago Tribune.

inc. can be no bride without a groom. It seems
 but that a mere groom can be so important,
 strable.—Put the case is mathematically demon-

Methods of identification
 a little group of newspaper men
 quarters, when Detective Theodor discussed by
 along. Wood listened to the talk a minute head-
 turned his back to the party. Putting up his
 collar, he asked suddenly: "What kind of a colla-
 and necktie am I wearing?" Half of those present

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decided on a turn-down collar, and the other half said "high collar," but both answers were made in a way that indicated them to be simply guesses. A half-dozen guesses were made at the necktie, each crediting it with being a different shade. Wood turned and exhibited a turn-down collar and dark red tie. "That gives you a little insight into a question of identity," he remarked. "You all looked at me as I came along, but no one observed my collar and tie closely enough to be able to describe them accurately a minute later. Yet it's on such little things that a man's life may depend in a murder case."—Philadelphia Record.

BOOKS

THE ONE GRIEVOUS INHERITANCE.

War and Labor. By Michael Anitchkow. Published by Longman's Green & Co., New York. For sale by The Public Publishing Co. Price \$2.00; by mail, \$2.20.

On the whole this book is a valuable contribution to contemporary economic literature. Whatever exceptions may be taken to some of its propositions or conclusions, all of it will be found interesting and very much of it instructive.

The first chapter is a sort of commentary on war and analysis of battle, which dispels some illusions concerning victories and defeats. Other chapters consider causes of war, lessons of recent battles, arbitration, etc. At the outset, the author dissents from the opinion that "war will kill war." "The erroneous theory," he says, "which affirms that war is capable of killing war without any conscious efforts of mankind toward its extermination, belongs to deductions based upon the idea that the best will be developed from the worst. This kind of theory is filled with weak, demoralizing and injurious fatalism."

As to any real results to be derived from arbitration or universal tribunals, if any such results come at all, they will appear, he claims "as the consequence and not the cause of suppression of war," and as to the "In time of peace prepare for war" plea, he lays emphasis on the fact that increased armaments do not decrease immediately after a war, but increase. He argues that an armed peace is no improvement on war, but that when "total peace comes into existence, when war between nations is as unlikely as civil war in free and thriving sovereignties, then these relations will be strengthened by calling for international justice." The possibility of civil war he regards as becoming less and less in European countries, so firmly are legality habits rooted in the minds of the people and the institutions of leading nations. The only obstacle in the way of salvation is the "one grievous inheritance of former times—war."

It will interest admirers of Henry George, to know the author of "War and Labor" regards "Protection or Free-Trade" as George's greatest work, and is in general agreement with the latter's views on protection and so called free trade. Of this book he says that it is free from "all the defects of 'Progress and Poverty.'" Evidently, however, our author is not familiar with "Progress and Poverty." He tells us that George himself said he derived his ideas from the Physiocrats. I am unable to find that the author of "Progress and Poverty" anywhere admits this. On the contrary, he has said that he was of ignorant of the teachings of the Physiocrats. George, he wrote "Progress and Poverty" Mr. Anitchkow to grasp the

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WALTER S. ALLEN, Secretary of the Special Street Railway Commission of 1897.

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Philadelphia: Its Municipal Progress. Woodruff, Esq., Philadelphia.

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position is particularly evidenced in the chapters in which the question of railways is discussed.

In discussing the railway system of the United States, he makes this rather equivocal statement: "The government did not spend a single dollar on this immense network of railways; in certain cases the government allotted, free of charges, strips of land adjoining the railway." Could Mr. Anitchkow realize that these allotments aggregated in area more than all the land embraced in all New England, the Middle States and the Virginias and Carolinas, he would hardly designate these as "strips." He advocates government ownership, but would have private initiative along with government construction with the transfer of private to public ownership in terms varying from 35 to 60 years. Meantime, he contends for what he terms "rents of communications" which, presumably, in our phraseology corresponds to a tax on franchises. In support of this contention he correctly states that "all causes leading to the increase of land-rent, increase communication-rent;" and here again he mistakes George, for he declares that "the famous land tax of Henry George would in no way fill the exchequer." Yet in the next paragraph, he says: "Let us insert before the word 'rent' the word 'communication' or 'railway' and all the arguments of Leroy-Beaulieu and other economists against the opinions of George fall to the ground."

In the chapter on "Increase of Population and Free Transmigration," the author finds himself in complete accord with George, whom he credits with pointing out the "logical insolvency of Malthus and all his followers." In this chapter Mr. Anitchkow reverses the calculations of Malthus and proves himself as good, if not a better "figurer" than the famous clergyman. Referring to the decrease in births, notably in France, he gives an interesting calculation showing in the year 5,000, less than a hundred and fifty million inhabitants on the globe, and he pictures the future, "not in the form of a gigantic struggle for the existence of milliards of people, but in the sad lot of the last man, who, gathering together his vanishing forces, sets the Symbol of Redemption over his grave, which no one will be left to close over him."

JOSIAH EDSON.

✻ ✻ ✻
ELEMENTARY CIVICS.

City Government for Young People. A study of the American city adapted for school use and for home reading for children. By Charles Dwight Willard, secretary of the Municipal League, Los Angeles, Cal. Published by the Macmillans, London and New York.

Observing that a large proportion of the people of the United States live in or near cities, Mr. Willard has wisely adopted the city as the social or political unit for the study of government. Instead of plunging students into the unfamiliar mazes of state and national institutions and laws, he starts them with the city, with which so large a proportion come in direct personal contact and "the improvement of which is important to us, not only as towns-people, but also as Americans." Here is the opportunity, he suggests, "to study government in action, as a reality and not merely as a matter of book-learning."

The book is genuinely democratic in spirit, as may be supposed when it is found to yield abundant quotations such as this: "In a republican form of government, where the citizens manage things for themselves, any improvement that is to be real and lasting must begin with the people."

One verbal slip in economics is of sufficient im-

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In order to serve their real purpose the railroads must become in fact what they are in theory—highways to be controlled by the Government as thoroughly and effectively as the common road, the turnpike and the ferry, the post-office and the custom-house.—*Larrabee.*

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portance to be noted for correction. It is of course a mistake to suppose that "with machinery came co-operation." What the author doubtless means, is that with machinery came not co-operation—for that is as old as human association—but more intense co-operation. The difference is of degree and not of kind. He has probably said more than he means also in the assertion that "when a man is rich enough in food to have enough to eat, there is an end of that"—meaning an end of his demand for food. But with food, as with other things, from satisfaction as to quantity springs desire for quality; and the demand for quantity and quality together is practically as limitless as the demand for clothing and shelter.

While slips of that kind may implant in young minds misconceptions that might distort their thought in important respects, the criticism is after all not of great moment with reference to an author who but barely alludes to economics; and in other respects his book, both in conception and execution, is excellent, not only for its declared purpose as a high school text book, but also as a guide to grown-ups. It is especially needed as a pioneer work at a time when our burning governmental questions are coming to be so emphatically municipal in practical application.

* * *

A BOOK OF ESSAYS.

In Peril of Change. Essays written in Time of Tranquillity. By C. L. G. Masterman, M. A., fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. Published by B. W. Huebsch, 150 Nassau street, New York.

This collection of essays by the literary editor of the London Daily News presents a graphic picture of present civilization, in its social, political and literary aspects. The atmosphere is radical, but the coloring delicate.

One of the most impressive essays of the collection for American readers is a contrast—the Chicago of to-day with the place and period of the Franciscan revival. Its spirit, may be inferred from the concluding words: "For long after Chicago and Birmingham and all the products of a complacent and mechanical age have become the habitation of bats and owls, men's hearts will still turn with longing towards the little brown cities of Italy, for love of those lives whose fragrance clings to their crumbling walls and appeals across the silence of so many dead centuries."

The burden of all the essays is our changing civilization and our blindness to it all, our blindness to the fact that we "are confronting not a series of special discontents, but a whole dying order."

BOOKS RECEIVED

A Practical Programme for Working Men. Published by Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd., London, and Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Price, \$1.00. To be reviewed.

The Referendum in America. By Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, Ph. D., Some time Fellow in Political Science in the University of Pennsylvania. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. To be reviewed.

The Railroad Question. A Historical and Practical Treatise on Railroads and Remedies for Their Abuses. By William Larrabee, LL.D., late Governor of Iowa. Eleventh Edition. Published by F. J. Schulte & Co., Chicago. Price \$1.00. Sold by The Public Publishing Co. To be reviewed.

The At-One-Ment of Christian Science and Single Tax. A Feeble Attempt to Unite Two Mighty Subjects. By Julia Goldizer. Second edition. Published by Julia Goldizer, 26 E. 45th street, Bayonne, N. J.—In noticing re-

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cerpt of this book (vol. viii., p. 721) we noted that the author, a Christian Scientist, acknowledged that she transgressed a Christian Science rule by publishing a book of this kind. Our inference appears not to have been warranted. The author's position is that there is nothing in Christian Science requirements forbidding the publishing by a Christian Scientist of such a book. We regret the unintentional misrepresentation.

PAMPHLETS

A pamphlet by Wm. B. Greene on "Mutual Banking," issued by Benj. R. Tucker (New York), elaborates the proposition, to quote from the editor's preface, "that, considered as a whole, interest payment as it exists in modern times, is not what it is professed to be, the price paid for the use of borrowed capital, but the premium paid for the insurance of credit." The author advocates, says the editor, "a paper currency secured by real property."

✽

One of the latest indications of a revival of systematic pamphleteering is the Laurens pamphlets (New York) of which the first three of the First Series are before us. No. 1 is "The Concentration of Wealth," No. 2 "The Trust Situation," and No. 3 "The Public Highways." All are written and signed by Henry Laurens. Although in economic analysis they are not as definite as could be desired, they are vigorous and pleasing in literary style, discriminating in morals and persuasive in argument.

✽

Dedicating his pamphlet on "Negro Suffrage in the South" to "all lovers of a 'square deal,'" Mr. D. Augustus Straker, a Negro lawyer of Detroit, argues the cause of his race in a manner that must be listened to by white men who would be regarded as fair minded. The argument is historical and legal, and the spirit manly. One question is put which the white men of the South can hardly answer with complete satisfaction to themselves. "Is he a success in politics?" the writer asks, alluding to the Negro, and adds: "Let his instructors answer. His vote was that of a pupil. He was wholly ignorant in this respect and had to be instructed. His instructors and those who sullenly refused to instruct him are equally responsible for his failures. But if he himself is to answer, he challenges comparison in his shortcomings as well as his advancement in public functions, with any other political class or race in the same interval and under like conditions."

PERIODICALS

That provincialism, brutality and coarsenes are not necessary adjuncts of radical journalism is the first thought which Tom Watson's magazine for April suggests.

The Free Trade Broadside for April (Boston), an inviting 8-page paper published by the American Free Trade League, under the editorial direction of William Lloyd Garrison, is especially interesting for its account of New England's revolt against protec-

An unconsciously superficial article is that of Mr. C. A. G. Bridge in the Nineteenth Century, entitled a "Great Moral Upheaval in America." Mr. Bridge

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writes as one who speaks from intimate knowledge; and yet to American readers—at any rate to thoughtful American readers—his article is obviously superficial. Mr. Bridge writes from distant information. What moral upheaval there may be in America is the incipient manifestation of a genuine and radical discontent, which must go much farther before any real advance is secure. The mere talk of good government and the platitudes of President Roosevelt count for little.—J. H. D.

In the April Arena (Trenton and Boston) John Z. White presents in new and interesting as well as convincing form the fundamental argument for the single tax method of dealing with land tenures and public revenues. His theme is the necessity in human affairs for an equilibrium of the ideal and the practical. The single tax is ideal, he explains, because it would secure to each the wealth his labor produces, and it is practical because our forms of government lend themselves to its easy adoption. The article is one of the strongest in single tax literature. In the same issue of the Arena there is an excellent editorial sketch of a crusade against Mayor Johnson by an association of local clergymen who, as the Arena says, instead of welcoming Johnson's "earnest proposition to work for conditions that would radically make for free government and true morality by securing justice and fostering equality of opportunities and of rights, did precisely what the corporation chiefs would have desired them to do." This article is supplemented with interviews on the subject by the Rev. Harris R. Cooley, Fred-eric C. Howe and Edward W. Bemis.

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