

# The Public

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## EDITORIAL

### The San Francisco Disaster.

Such appalling disasters as that at San Francisco make men realize the essential truth in the great poet's vision. A terrible calamity thrills the best that is in human nature. It may not be that the humane effects make the whole world kin, as Shakespeare phrased it; we should prefer to think of them as proving the whole world kin rather than making it so. But the poetic phrase is expressive enough. The touches of human nature which these calamities bring forth do much to awaken that sense of human brotherhood without which human life would be wholly brutal and civilization impossible. The demonstrations may be

crude, they may be hysterical, they may be ephemeral; but even among the selfish and the thoughtless whose fraternal nerves are ordinarily paralyzed, they excite the fraternal sense.

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A great modern city is suddenly impoverished, and in a vivid realization of their natural equality as men, its inhabitants forget for the moment all distinctions of class, race and wealth. Less pronounced is this fraternal phenomenon beyond the borders of the stricken place; yet its vibrations spread, though with diminishing intensity, outward to the whole world. Everywhere touching those springs of human kindness which release the flood gates of accumulated wealth, these waves of sympathy roll back with golden burdens, destined to bring relief to all, and to many for a time a degree of comfort which without the disaster could hardly have been hoped for. It is, indeed, a spectacle, this deluge of warm-hearted charity of which the stricken and momentarily helpless people of San Francisco are the objects—a spectacle calculated to revive confidence in human nature wherever that confidence has died down.

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### Kindness and Justice.

The lesson of kindness which the charitable response to San Francisco's crying need is teaching, should be taken to heart by us all. None among us, perhaps, is over-sensitive to the suffering of the unfortunate, even when their misfortunes are as spectacular and heart-rending and unique as those of the people of San Francisco. But let us all be careful to learn the lesson aright. Charity that responds only on spectacular occasions, when opportunity is afforded for ostentation, doubtless relieves its recipients as much as that which springs from a sense of human responsibility; but its good effects soon pass away, and to giver and community alike it turns to a curse in the end. Even if the element of ostentation does not enter in, or our charitable giving be a habit instead of an occasional response on spectacular occasions, we cannot reflect upon our generosity in giving, without tainting the gift, degrading the recipient and damning ourselves.

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Some are finding it difficult to harmonize their ideas of a beneficent Providence with calamities like that at San Francisco, and among the explanations may be found an assurance that they are

to teach the lesson of human kindness. This may be their lesson. But if kindness means only charity in the modern sense of giving, if it does not connote the idea of justice, then the lesson is a dear one at so heavy a cost of suffering. For charity is exalted; it engenders pride, and lust of wealth and power. The largess of charity is handed down from the fortunate who escape calamity to the unfortunate who suffer from it. This is its best and exceptional form. In its perennial form it is handed down from recipients of injustice to victims of injustice, not only stimulating pride and engendering the lust of property, but commanding an adoration which tends to perpetuate the injustices that make it a necessity at one extreme of society and a diversion at the other.

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But justice is democratic. Before this, all stand on an equality. The giver is not exalted above nor the receiver thrust below. It is the ideal link of human brotherhood. If, then, the outbreak of kindness which is excited by great calamities be the kindness that leads on to justice—justice in public as well as private relations, justice with reference to industrial institutions as well as personal conduct,—the beneficence of these calamities, however terrible they may be, is explained.

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### Shooting to Kill.

One of the tragic incidents of the San Francisco calamity was Gen. Funston's order to his soldiers to shoot "looters" at sight and to "shoot to kill." Considering the circumstances that prevailed we do not condemn the order nor denounce its execution; though, as might have been expected from such an order, others than "looters" were shot at sight and shot dead.

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The city being in a state of physical and social chaos, the first necessity was restoration of order, even at the cost of human life, and the next a general distribution of food and shelter, even at the cost of confiscation from rightful owners. Whatever may have been necessary to accomplish these ends, was, under the circumstances, excusable. And if tragic mistakes were made in its execution, they must be considered as unavoidable, and therefore as also excusable, in view of the abnormal and desperate circumstances.

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Yet it must be conceded to Gen. Funston's critics that death is not a fitting penalty for petty pilfering even in chaotic circumstances and though the pilferer be caught in the act. And when

the dangers of malice or error involved in the execution of such an order are considered, the question is a fair one, whether it was indeed necessary to accomplishing the object of restoring general order and distributing food and shelter. In answering this question, the general excitement and hysteria, possibly affecting Gen. Funston and his soldiers as well as the panic-stricken people, must be considered in extenuation. But what shall be said in extenuation of Secretary Taft, Gen. Funston's superior and the President's military representative? On the authority of "Raymond" of the Chicago Tribune, an administration paper, it may be said that Secretary Taft ordered Gen. Funston to take complete command of the city and to put martial law into effect. No matter what the local emergency may have been, this was a lawless assumption of power involving a greater danger to the people of the whole country than the dangers of temporary disorder from looters could have been to the good people of San Francisco. If the President and the Secretary of War may with impunity lawlessly order Federal troops to act unlawfully to the extent of shooting whom they please at sight, for the purpose of restoring order in a temporarily disordered city, a precedent will have been made for some "man on horseback" some of these days to appeal for absolute control of the army long enough to make him master of the nation. It is in some such way as this that reactionary revolutions have been accomplished in the past, and a contested Presidential election might easily afford the opportunity for this precedent to blossom and flower into a military despotism.

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The record of "shooting to kill" in San Francisco by the Federal soldiers, and under Secretary Taft's authority, is not a pleasant one to contemplate. Some of the victims were doubtless "looters," but others were not. They were either mistaken for "looters" or were shot accidentally or wantonly. It may have been to display sanguinary authority, it may have been to gratify malice. Some of the victims were women, one of whom was shot for building a fire in her house—a dangerous thing but hardly a capital crime. In one instance a soldier threatened to kill a baker if he continued to refuse to sell his bread for 10 cents a loaf instead of \$1.00, and of that "Raymond" writes, apparently on Secretary Taft's authority:

If he is punished for it, it will only be after the Secretary of War and the President are impeached, because he was only obeying the spirit if not the letter of their instructions to Gen. Funston.

Further in pursuance of this "spirit" of depart-

mental instructions one baker and his wife and little boy are reported to have been killed by soldiers. Another victim of the spirit of those instructions, though the responsibility for this has not been fixed, was a millionaire; and in his case there seems to be a disposition on the part of the general press to think that shooting to kill went some degrees too far.

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It would be useless, probably, to ask of Congress any other action than Secretary Taft expects, as "Raymond" reports him. "Raymond" wrote (*Chicago Tribune*, April 22, first column of first page):

Secretary Taft expressed the belief that Congress would have to give him absolution for the violence he has done the Constitution in the last few days. He ordered Gen. Funston to take complete command of the city, to put martial law into effect, and to enforce sanitary regulations without regard to the wishes of the people. The War Department has been morally responsible for the unhesitating way in which the troops have shot down looters and the people who refused to understand that great situations must be controlled without regard to law.

It may be that Congress ought to exonerate the law-breaking Secretary. Doubtless situations do arise at times which "must be controlled without regard to law," and Secretary Taft may have been confronted with one of them. But lawlessness of this kind is not to be lightly treated. It is not something to boast of and flatter oneself about. It is something to reflect upon with great seriousness, to speak of with great modesty, and to deplore with such emphasis as to make it clear that the necessity was accepted as a bitter alternative and not as a welcome opportunity. Congress will take the safer course if in exonerating Secretary Taft it first makes certain that this was a proper occasion for military lawlessness, and then records an admonition which will leave no room for Mr. Taft or his successors to assume that any situation they please to regard as great may be met "without regard to law."

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### The San Francisco Loss.

In considering the losses through earthquake and fire at San Francisco it must be borne in mind that two general kinds of property are involved. While the buildings and other improvements are nearly all destroyed and the market value of such as survive is greatly diminished, the site of the city remains and its value, merely as a site, will soon be greater than ever. This is not an idle theory. It is a fact to which the history of all great calamities to cities, from the Chicago fire to the Galveston flood, emphatically testifies. That being

so, the general effect of the loss upon classes of property owners is obvious. The owners of improvements totally destroyed will lose all their property, as owners of that class, except as insurance protects them; and to that extent the insurance companies which bear the loss must be considered as property owners in the class in question. Owners of improvements only partially destroyed will lose in greater or less degree according to the value of their rescued property. But the other class of property owners will lose nothing. Though some of them may lose as individuals, the class as a whole will gain. This is the class that owns the site of San Francisco.

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Possibly some confusion of thought may arise here, due to the fact that to some extent both these classes are composed of the same persons. That is, some site-owners were also improvement owners, and on the whole many of these have suffered a loss. But this makes no difference. To the extent that any of these owned improvements they are in the losing class; to the extent that they own sites they are in the gaining class. The question is one of interests rather than individuals. It may therefore be summed up in the statement that the earthquake and fire in San Francisco will have financially a prejudicial effect upon the improvement-owning interest and a beneficial effect upon the site-owning interest. One might suppose that with such an object lesson in plain view, the radically different character of these two property classes or interests would be obvious.

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The difference is important in connection with the bestowal of public sympathy upon those who have suffered financial loss. To the extent that losers owned improvements, they are objects of sympathy. But as owners of sites they are on the whole better off financially than ever. A finer city is to go up on the site of old San Francisco. There is a demand for men to go there and do the work, and a demand for other men the world over to stay at home and make tools and materials for this work. Even the tariff tax is to be taken off steel, so that the foreigner may help. And what is the effect of all this on San Francisco's sites? Evidently to make their value greater. To be sure, some of this extra value will have to be expended in clearing away debris, rebuilding streets and sewer mains, and reconstructing public buildings; but when that work is done the sites as a whole will rise still further in value. Nor will the site-owning interests have to pay it all. Unless the taxpaying people of San Francisco wake up,

as no city has yet, a large proportion of the cost of public improvements will be shifted from the site-owning interests which profit by the calamity, to the house-owning interests which lose by it. Here, then, is a fair question: Why should the cost of restoring and maintaining the public service of San Francisco be to any extent provided for out of taxes upon private improvement-interests, which earthquakes and fires destroy, when the sites exist without original construction, remain without reconstruction, and are enhanced in value by the very catastrophe which makes the tax for public reimprovement necessary.

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#### Senator La Follette.

The Republican senators in Congress made a display of themselves when they left the chamber ostentatiously as La Follette began to speak on the railroad question. His rebuke was an unlooked for sting that few were too callous to feel. "You may go out," he said; "I am addressing the country and they will hear me. And these seats that you vacate voluntarily now may be permanently vacated before the people are done with you." Incidentally in this speech Mr. La Follette alluded to the "muck-rake" fortifications which Mr. Roosevelt has erected for respectable corruptionists and behind which they are taking refuge. No newspaper or magazine, he insisted, could destroy public confidence in Congress unjustly; if confidence is destroyed it will be Congress and not a "jaundiced journalism" that does it. Those are true words, the significance of which it might be wise for Mr. Roosevelt to reflect upon.

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#### Secretary Taft.

In his address in the citizenship course at Yale, delivered on the 23d, Secretary Taft incidentally fired a shot at rich young socialists. To this the rich young socialists themselves may be accorded the monopoly of replying, a task that ought not to be very difficult since Mr. Taft's alternative for them is to leave socialism and go into the public service as rich young aristocrats. But Mr. Taft, while sneering at the rich young socialists, took occasion to observe that "the right of property has played quite as important a part in the development of the world as the right of personal liberty." Were we inclined to be as captious as the New York Nation has been known to be when arguing with labor leaders, we might remind Mr. Taft that as property has no rights, he ought to have said the right "to" property instead of the right "of" property; but disputes over prepositions

are hardly worth while so long as meanings are not too obscure. We have Mr. Taft's statement, then, that the right to property has been as important in the world's development as the right to personal liberty. But what does Mr. Taft mean by property? Does he mean, as does his black beast, the socialist, anything that is in fact reduced to ownership? Or does he mean only those things that are owned rightfully. If the latter, his implication that the right to property and the right to liberty are correlative is good doctrine. But if he means the former, his doctrine is as foolish, not to say vicious, as the doctrines against which he warns the young men of Yale. The right to property has in that sense included property in slaves; and would Mr. Taft wish to imply that the right to own slaves has played quite as important a part in the development of the world as the right to enjoy liberty?

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#### Influencing Congress.

If members of Congress find themselves suddenly flooded with letters from business men protesting against proposed legislation restraining abuses of injunctions by partisan Federal judges in labor cases, they should know that these letters are instigated by C. W. Post, the head of an employers' union of considerable magnitude both in numbers and greed. In urging business men to write to congressmen thus, Mr. Post calls the proposed legislation "a measure of anarchy" which threatens "the safety of every man and of every dollar of property," and "sincerely and earnestly" urges "all patriotic citizens" to "rise in this hour of need and write to their friends and see that these friends write to members of Congress protesting against the anti-injunction bills of anarchists." That is earnest enough, to be sure, and it may be sincere; but it reads more like an irresponsible screed of a mad man to mad men than a patriotic appeal of a good citizen to good citizens.

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#### The Parcels Post.

It is reported that Mr. Overstreet, the chairman of the committee on postoffices and post roads of the lower house of Congress, has refused to give a hearing on the question of the parcels post to the representatives of the Postal Progress League. Probably Mr. Overstreet has good reasons for doing this, but such as they may be he appears also to have good reasons for keeping them to himself. The truth is that the opposition to a parcels post cannot stand discussion. The reform would benefit everybody, and would hurt nobody but the ex-

press companies. In this country we already have a limited parcels post; its benefits are restricted to shipments to foreign countries. For instance, a 4-pound parcel of merchandize can be mailed from Chicago to New Zealand for 48 cents, whereas the postage on the same parcel mailed from Chicago to Milwaukee would be 64 cents. More than that, a merchandise parcel weighing 11 pounds can be mailed from Chicago to New Zealand for \$1.32, whereas such a parcel cannot be mailed from Chicago to Milwaukee at all. From any point in the United States to any other, packages of merchandize exceeding four pounds in weight must go by express or freight. Now, why should this accommodation be confined to transactions with foreign countries? If it is a good thing to furnish parcels post facilities for shipments abroad, why not furnish them for domestic shipments? The answer must be looked for where most answers to such questions are found, in the influence of some powerful financial interest like the express company adjuncts to the American railroad monopolies.

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#### Mr. Bryan in India.

Wherever his voice is heard, William J. Bryan makes the same impression of a great orator, a great democrat, and a sincere man. The account of his speech of March 28th at Bombay, India, which appears in *The Times of India*, is especially expressive in these respects. The gathering is described as wonderful for its size (which was 3,000), for its cosmopolitan character, and from the fact that although it consisted of divers races and creeds, Mr. Bryan held its undivided attention for an hour in an address on "The Prince of Peace," a subject with which "at least two-thirds of those present could have had but little if any sympathy." Whoever has heard Bryan at his best will recognize the truth of this Bombayan description of his style, that it "never loses its deeply impressive character, and one feels that the man is giving vent to feelings right from the heart."

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#### OPPONENTS OF DEMOCRACY.

If we take democracy to be a state of mind which puts first the equality of men in their common humanity, and regards as quite secondary the more or less superficial inequalities of education, rank, wealth, or official dignity, we can readily see that the privileged occupants of the upper side of the inequalities are by no means the mainstay and prop of the universal anti-democratic regime. The privileged occupants of

the upper side are, and have ever been, the few. They could not for a year maintain their ascendancy, could not for any year in the centuries have maintained their ascendancy, if they did not find, and had not through the centuries found their supporters in the rank and file of the people. What Chesterton says of the House of Lords is universally true. It is not the lords who keep the lords a-going, but the masses who worship the lords.

The fact is that many of the world's best democrats have been, by birth and wealth, subject to the classification of aristocrats. And on the contrary, multitudes of the proletariat have in all ages been earnest supporters of the aristocratic ideal.

It is so in modern America to-day. In fact, our much praised, so-called, middle classes are mostly imbued with the aristocratic mind. They worship family, rank, and wealth. They carry their worship of rank and position into all their interests and activities. This is the reason why they are so lauded as the mainstay of conservatism.

In America all our churches and schools are imbued with the aristocratic spirit. The very Methodist who talks about the Pope's Court is himself a veritable courtier to his own Presiding Elder, and he stands as much in awe of the Bishop as if he called him Your Grace or My Lord. And the schools, with their increasing paraphernalia of gowns and hoods, are doing all in their power to promote the aristocratic mind, by emphasizing petty distinctions.

Let no one imagine that the line between fundamental democracy and fundamental aristocracy can be found in any class lines. Whoever pays court to any external distinction is essentially aristocratic.

The democratic mind shows respect and politeness to every man, as being a man, and finds this enough. It inherently dislikes and opposes all ceremonies and functions that demand kowtowing. Those who relish this sort of thing, whether they be members of a church convocation, or of a college faculty, or of a labor union, are essentially undemocratic. It does not matter whether the mind be educated or uneducated, if it puts external distinction above the reality of the dignity of man as man, it is an aristocratic mind.

J. H. DILLARD.

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"No use trying to explain things to a woman; she can't understand scientific terms; now, here's—"

"Oh, yes, I can, Charles! Heredity is what a man blames his father and mother for, and environment is what he blames his wife and children for!"—Chicago Record-Herald.

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**EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE**


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**Australia.**

Corowa, New South Wales, Australia, March 20.—The New South Wales Political Labor League held its annual conference last month, when the following addition was made to the fighting platform:

That a graduated unimproved land value tax of one farthing in the £ be placed on estates over £5,000 unimproved value, increasing one farthing in the £ on each additional £5,000 up to £25,000 and one halfpenny in the £ on each additional £10,000. The net revenue from this source to be devoted to railway extension and reduction of freights. Provided that in event of any effective Federal land tax being imposed, this plank shall not be operative.

The amendment, moved by Mr. John Grant, and defeated by 46 votes to 18, was as follows:

That in order to provide closer settlement a uniform tax of 2d in the £ on the whole of the unimproved land value privately held should be imposed for State revenue purposes. The net revenue from this source to be devoted to railway extension and reduction of freights."

Had the amendment been carried it would have received the support of many people outside the Labor party, but it is not likely that a law in the terms of the plank adopted will be passed. Such a tax would be very unfair and to a great extent could be evaded. The Federal Labor party is advocating a Federal tax as given above to provide revenue for a Federal old age pension scheme. At present only New South Wales and Victoria pay old age pensions.

Federal elections for the House of Representatives and half the Senate (three Senators from each State), will be held towards the end of the year, unless the House should be previously dissolved. In Victoria the Labor party has twenty-three candidates for the three seats in the Senate. To reduce this number to three and so enable a solid vote to be given, it is proposed to hold an election among all the members of the party in Victoria under a system of preferential voting. This, I believe, will be the first primary election in Australia.

A commission consisting of six members of the Federal parliament, which was appointed last year to enquire into the tobacco industry (which is said to be controlled by a ring), has now issued majority and minority reports. The majority, all labor members, recommend the nationalization of the whole industry, on the grounds that better tobacco would then be supplied to the public and that there would be a gain to the revenue of £400,000 per annum. The minority report contradicts these assertions, and estimates the cost of acquiring the industry at £8,750,000. It would also be necessary to amend the Federal constitution.

From a recent decision of the Federal High Court it appears that Australia is liable to a postal censorship. The Post Master General, by virtue of a section in the post and telegraph act, ordered that no letters be delivered to a "medical" firm which advertises "tales of countless cures," on the ground that the business is fraudulent and immoral. An action was brought against him but the high court ruled that it could not interfere. The delivery of letters is held to be not a ministerial act which the postmaster general is bound by his position to per-

form; nor is the refusal a judicial act, as the party against whom the order is made is not heard. It is decided to be an executive act, and for such the postmaster general is responsible to Parliament alone. As it is very unlikely that Parliament would interfere unless a flagrant case of abuse occurred, the postmaster general appears to be possessed of a dangerous power.

ERNEST BRAY.

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**NEWS NARRATIVE**


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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.

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Week ending Wednesday, April 25.

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**The San Francisco Disaster.**

The earthquake at San Francisco and the fires that followed it (p. 56) have proved more disastrous than seemed probable even from the terrifying reports that first came over the wires.

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On the 19th the fires were still raging. They were believed to be under control on the afternoon of the 20th, but they broke out afresh in the evening and devastated a further great area. After four days of destruction, however, they were finally subdued on the 21st. A new outbreak near the ferry on the 23rd caused alarm, but did comparatively little damage; nor was any done by another earthquake shock which was felt near midnight on the 23rd. The devastated territory may be described as follows: Beginning at Market and Buchanan streets, and running thence southerly to 20th, thence easterly to Mission, thence irregularly north to Channel, thence irregularly east and northeast along the north of Channel and west of Townsend to the Fremont pier, thence north and northwest along the water front of San Francisco bay to Mason street, southerly along Mason to Bay, westerly along Bay to Taylor, southerly along Taylor to Chestnut, westerly along Chestnut to Hyde, southerly along Hyde to Lombard, westerly along Lombard to Larkin, southerly along Larkin to Greenwich, westerly along Greenwich to Van Ness, southerly along Van Ness to Clay, westerly along Clay to Franklin, southerly along Franklin to Sutter, easterly along Sutter to Van Ness, southerly along Van Ness to Golden Gate, westerly and irregularly along Golden Gate and McAllister to Octavia, southerly and irregularly along Octavia to Market at Haight, and southwesterly irregularly along Market to Buchanan.

©

It is impossible even to make a reasonable estimate of the loss of life. Whenever and wherever a body was found it was buried immediately, without formality, and by different groups of searchers, who

have failed to make prompt reports. Estimates of the number of deaths vary from 277 to 2,500. Of the survivors, thousands are camped in parks, where the sanitary arrangements are excellent, under the circumstances. The health of these refugees is reported as good, and their numbers are being thinned out by departures for towns offering to receive them.

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The local daily newspapers joined in issuing from Oakland on the 18th a small sheet under the title of the Call-Chronicle-Examiner. Since then they have issued independently, but still from Oakland. Of the fate of the San Francisco Star, the ablest weekly paper of the coast and known across the continent for its independent democracy, nothing has yet been learned.

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It is an interesting fact that the original of Millet's famous picture, "The Man With the Hoe," which inspired Markham's poem, has been saved, although the dwelling of Mr. Crocker, its owner, was destroyed.

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Under instructions from the War Department the city was early taken possession of by Federal troops, commanded by Gen. Funston, and treated as subject to martial law. Gen. Funston ordered the soldiers to shoot "looters" at sight and "shoot to kill." According to the Chicago Tribune dispatches of the 19th the troops "destroyed all the supplies of liquor in unburned saloons and groceries, commandeered all grocery and food stores, distributing food to the poor and checking outrageous famine prices." According to the same authority "the military are aided by 1,000 special police placed under their orders. Several innocent men were shot for vandals by soldiers. One man was killed for washing his hands in precious drinking water. A bank clerk, searching in the ruins of his bank, met the same fate." Associated Press dispatches of the 20th told of the swearing in of "1,000 special policemen, armed with rifles furnished by the Federal government," and of the arrival of companies of California militia from interior points. "Two Chinamen," continues this report, "were shot and killed on Market street for refusing to obey orders of the soldiery." Thirty-five "looters" of dead bodies were reported on the 21st, says the Chicago Tribune, as having been shot." On the 23rd one of the most prominent members of the relief committee, H. C. Tilden, a wealthy citizen of San Francisco and member of the Governor's staff, was shot by a patrol of six persons as he was driving a Red Cross automobile. The signal corps lieutenant, R. G. Seaman, who had been detailed on special duty with Mr. Tilden, reported that the man who did the shooting was in khaki uniform, but it is denied that this was a Federal soldier. On this general subject Mr. J. M. Reuch, a newspaper man is reported from Los Angeles as authority for the statement that "one woman was shot for building a fire in her home, after she had been ordered by a soldier to desist," and that, "on Mission street, near Sixteenth, a soldier shot a woman and her husband, who was a grocer, because they refused to sell food at regular prices." A number of men were shot by soldiers for criminal assaults in refugee camps. One man was

shot by a soldier for refusing to come out of his house, which he was about to enter, after the soldier had warned him it was to be dynamited. A special to the Chicago Record-Herald of the 23rd notes that "the large amount of killing done is felt to be unwarranted." This report further notes that "militia men were too free with their guns," an imputation, however, which the Governor denies, saying that "reports of indiscriminate shooting by the militia" are maliciously false. In the same Record-Herald special it is added that instances where the regulars and marines "exceeded authority are rare, although some trouble has been caused by drunkenness of regulars." One of the instances of shooting by troops is reported by Max Fast, a garment worker, whose story was wired by the Associated Press from Salt Lake City on the 24th. He said that there were three men on the roof of the burning Windsor Hotel, Fifth and Market streets, where it was impossible to get down, and that "rather than see them fall in with the roof and be roasted alive, the military officer directed his men to shoot the three, which was done in the presence of 5,000 people." Throughout the period of occupation by Federal troops, men were impressed for work by the troops. Mayor Schmitz has now prohibited this, at the same time declaring that the city is not and has not been under martial law.

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Arrangements were made on the 20th for the forwarding of mail matter from San Francisco free of postage. The first installment reached Chicago on the 24th. It consisted of letters to friends written on pieces of wood and cardboard, scraps of paper, pieces of white cloth, etc.

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Extensive and liberal measures for the relief of San Francisco sufferers have been undertaken by various cities, by the States, and by the Federal government. In consequence, ample provision for the support and care of the homeless is at hand.

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#### Reconstruction of San Francisco.

Before the fires had been wholly subdued Mayor Schmitz, in telegrams on the 20th, thanking President Roosevelt for Federal relief funds, announced that—

Property owners are determined to rebuild as soon as fire ceases. City will immediately proceed to provide capital for the purpose of reconstructing public buildings, schools, jails, the hospitals, sewers and salt and fresh water systems. The people hope that the Federal government will at once provide ample appropriations to rebuild all Federal buildings on a scale befitting the new San Francisco. We are determined to restore to the nation its chief port on the Pacific.

On the 22nd Mayor Schmitz made a call for architects to come to San Francisco for the purpose of rebuilding; and on the 24th a local movement began definitely for rebuilding on the plans of Daniel H. Burnham, of Chicago. These plans are described as the result of sixteen months of study by Mr. Burnham and a staff of assistants, and as embodying the best lessons of man's experience in both the art and science of city-making. The plans were accepted by Mayor Schmitz last September. They were the result of a desire on the part of the Association for the Improvement of San Francisco to have definite plans on which to work for future years in

any alterations or improvements that might be undertaken. It would have taken many years to have brought the city to anything like the condition outlined in the Burnham plans, if that could ever have been attained, but now the work of building in accordance with those plans is reported to have no problems beyond the straight undertaking of construction. Grades and other physical difficulties were not taken into consideration in the laying out of the old San Francisco streets, which ran at right angles, but the new streets will be built to combine as much as possible, from both the viewpoints of beauty and convenience, with the physical characteristics of the city's site. Consequently the new San Francisco will consist of chains of boulevards circling through the city at intervals like rings, while across these boulevards and the city will run diagonal streets from the center. The city will be logically laid out and the boulevards will separate the municipality into various sections. In the center, from which the diagonal streets shoot out to cut across the various encircling boulevards and run far into the adjacent country, will be grouped the chief commercial structures. This will constitute the civic center, or, rather, series of civic subcenters. In the civic center will be city hall, courts, government buildings, postoffice and other administrative buildings, as well as business structures. Beyond the first boulevard which will encircle the civic center will be a section of the city in which will be erected buildings connected with the educative, esthetic and literary life of the city, such as libraries, art museum, academy of music, municipal theater and concert hall. Between the other boulevards will lie the residential districts of the new San Francisco. Around the whole city will run a superb boulevard. Mr. Burnham proposes that the water supply be ultimately obtained from the Sierras, and he thinks that the reservoirs should be so designed as to add to the beauty. By placing the reservoirs at successive heights the water could fall from one level to another, thus presenting a series of waterfalls. Preparation for the actual construction of this new city of beauty are already under way, and the blowing up of ruins in the business section has begun.



#### Earthquakes Elsewhere.

San Francisco was not the only sufferer. Heavy loss was sustained at San Jose, where the business section was wrecked and several people were killed; at Santa Rosa, where, although the loss was considerably less than at first reported (p. 56) and few dwellings were injured, the public and business buildings were wrecked and probably 100 people killed; and at Berkeley, where, although the University buildings escaped serious damage, much damage to private structures was done. Sacramento, Santa Cruz and places as far north as Oregon and as far south as Los Angeles, also felt shocks of earthquake of an alarming and somewhat damaging character. Yet, curiously enough, on the little island of Alcatraz, in San Francisco bay, within a pistol shot of the demolished city, not a quiver was felt nor a brick disturbed. At Folsom, New Mexico, shocks were felt on the 20th, followed by a volume of smoke from the volcano of Mt. Capulin, which has not been active for fifty years. A slight shock was noticed in Cleveland, O., on the 21st.

From the other side of the Atlantic come reports on the 21st of earthquake shocks, thirteen in succession, in the province of Siena, Tuscany. On the same day it was reported from Moscow that the seismograph at the university there, had registered an earthquake shock on the afternoon of the 18th, the day of the San Francisco calamity. In Hungary also a shock was felt on the 21st.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—At the Indiana Socialist convention on the 23d Leroy B. Sweetland was nominated for secretary of state.

—Fairhope Colony has added 2,200 acres to its holdings, a gift from Joseph Fels of Philadelphia and London.

—A paper on direct primary laws will be read before the Jefferson Club, Chicago, on the 28th at 2 o'clock by Henry M. Ashton.

—The National Municipal League began its 12th annual meeting on the 24th at Atlantic City, N. J., the session to continue until the 27th.

—Prof. Pierre Curie, who in co-operation with his wife discovered radium, was run over by a wagon in Paris on the 19th and killed. His age was 43.

—Franklin Thomasson, the founder of the London Tribune, was elected to Parliament from Leicester on the 30th to take the seat resigned by Mr. Broadhurst.

—J. W. Hill, the single tax Democrat of Peoria, Ill., is named by the Peoria Star as the probable candidate of the Democratic party for Congress from the Peoria district.

—Two Filipino towns, Mariquina, in Rizal province, and Pasil, near Cebu, were destroyed by fire on the 20th. In the latter 200 and in the former 2,000 dwellings were burned, making thousands of the inhabitants homeless.

—Wm. J. Bryan and his family have arrived at Cairo. After a week in Egypt they go to the Holy Land for two or three weeks, and thence through Turkey, arriving in Russia soon after the date fixed for the opening of the Douma. They will return to the United States in September.

—At Springfield, on the 19th, the Prohibitionist convention of Illinois (p. 59) nominated W. P. Allen for State treasurer. The platform demands a direct primary law; the initiative, referendum and recall; abolition of railway passes; a 2-cent per mile railway fare; repeal of the anti-fusion law; and prohibition of the liquor traffic.

—A list of "Disarmists" is being enrolled by Thomas Raymond, an Englishman. The signers pledge themselves "not to take up arms at any man's or any body of men's bidding." Mr. Raymond has some forty adherents on his list in Great Britain and would like to add others from this country. Persons interested are invited by him to send their names to his address, No. 26 Shrubbery st., Kidderminster, England.

—The statistics of exports and imports for the United States (vol. viii, p. 858) for the nine months ending March 31, 1906, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor



for February, were as follows (M standing for merchandise, G for gold and S for silver):

Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
\$1,343,913,725	\$913,584,586	\$430,329,139 exp.
25,809,499	43,994,873	18,185,374 imp.
51,597,444	33,440,404	18,157,040 exp.
\$1,421,320,668	\$991,019,863	\$430,300,805 exp.

## PRESS OPINIONS

### WHAT SAN FRANCISCO ASKED FOR OTHERS.

The San Francisco Star (ind.-Dem.) April 14.—The awful desolation caused by the latest eruption of Mount Vesuvius has appalled the world. Those who have read Bulwer Lytton's graphic description of "The Last Days of Pompeii" will form some idea of the horrors of it all and their hearts will beat in sympathy for the dead and their purse strings be loosened to give what aid they can to the living, terror-crazed sufferers. There are three thousand dead and seventy-five thousand homeless. A Relief Committee has been organized in this city, which asks that contributions be sent to the Examiner. Give according to your means and give to-day.

### THE RISE OF AN ANGRY PASSION.

New York Nation (ind.) April 19.—We do not expect any terrible results from the President's happy-go-lucky remark about a subject to which, it is plain, he has given no serious thought. It will be a mortification to his friends, and a real public misfortune, that his mouthing has made Bryan appear a reactionary, Hearst a conservative, and has elevated Debs and Powderly to the level of Presidential statesmanship. But our laws, the Constitution, the inertia of our institutions, the common sense of the people, the ineradicable tendencies of human nature itself, may still be trusted as against either demagogues or improvisators.

### ASSAILING THE JUDICIARY.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), April 21.—The President professes to feel great alarm because the "interpretation of Judge Humphreys of the will of Congress as expressed in the legislation is such as to make that will absolutely abortive." This strikes the President as something entirely new. Just as if the courts had not been making the will of Congress abortive ever since the time of Marshall! It is no new thing for the will of Congress to be made null and void by judicial decree and yet Roosevelt has never perceived the fact before. The President has evidently determined to make the way hard for any other judge who might wish to rule after the manner of Judge Humphreys. "I can hardly believe," exclaims he, "that this ruling will be followed by other judges." Here is an attack upon the courts with a vengeance. Roosevelt out-Populists the most outbreaking Populist that ever denounced a United States judge. The worst of the whole matter is that the particular kind of attack made was utterly uncalled for as far as the President was concerned. It was entirely possible for the President to call attention to the desirability of additional legislation without holding Judge Humphreys up to popular execration because of his views on a point of law. Lesser people have privileges that the President cannot afford to claim. It is not exactly a good example for the chief executive to take the lead in attacking the courts. That they frequently are in error is quite certain. If all their errors, however, were confined simply to mistakes on points of law and the points were clearly stated and then adhered to the situation would not be so bad. If the law is wrong legislation will fix it. It is something new, however, to have the President of the United States denounce Federal judges because they happen to disagree with him.

### PROSPERITY.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), April 24.—It is interesting to learn through statistics what most of us have discovered more painfully and more convincingly by the testimony of our weekly bills—that the cost of living in

this country has gone up even above the high prices of a year ago. Indeed, not for twenty-two years has it been so high. The figures are offered by Dun's Commercial Agency—which has, of course, no reason to exaggerate the facts. Rather, indeed, it seeks to qualify them by the statement that this high cost of living indicates that American prosperity is on the crest of the wave. Prosperity for whom? Dun's report says that meats, butter, eggs and vegetables—all controlled by the beef trust, which is Armour—are higher than in twenty-two years. That is prosperity for Armour, but what about the consumers? Clothing, price controlled by the woolsens trust, is higher. Practically everything that the people use is mounting in price continually. But are wages mounting up, too?

### SIGNIFICANCE OF MUNICIPAL POLITICS.

Elizabeth (N. J.) Times (Dem.), April 21.—Involved in the municipal ownership issue is the transcendently important one of the abolition of privilege, a proposition which concerns the entire nation. The machines composed of party leaders and the privileged interests have not developed from the nation down through the States and thus to the municipalities. The movement has progressed in just the opposite direction. Local leaders have become State bosses and, then, in time, have come to wield a dangerous power through the House committees and the Senate as a whole. Since bossism has followed principally from the endeavor of the corporations to control municipal franchises, it is apparent that municipal ownership is more than a local issue. On the other hand, in the same manner in which machine politics had their beginning in the cities, so should the campaign for their elimination be begun at their source.

### A REVISED EASTERN VIEW OF BRYAN.

Coiller's (Ind.), April 21.—On Mr. Bryan's return, early in the Summer, he will find himself much stronger with the country than when he left. If the Democratic convention were held to-day Mr. Bryan could, in the opinion of the most experienced observers, have the nomination if he desired it; and, of course, his wishes would be determined by what he deemed the chances of success. His increased strength is due largely to the belief, caused or confirmed by the insurance investigation, that the election was bought away from him by Mark Hanna in 1896. His renewed popularity is the result in part also of the fact that most of the conspicuous leaders in the Democratic party are conventional and plutocratic, and that the leadership in popular measures just now is held by a Republican President, whose general spirit Mr. Bryan has been sufficiently wise to approve. It is a pity that Mr. Bryan's head is inferior to his heart. Such beliefs as free silver, State banks, State as opposed to government ownership of railroads, and the packing of the court with lawyers convinced of Mr. Bryan's doxies, make him as weak on the intellectual side as he is strong on the side of temperament, seriousness, sympathy with the masses, and good intentions.

## 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 9-21.

### Senate.

Consideration of the railroad rate bill being resumed on the 9th (p. 5051), was continued on the 10th (p. 5108). It gave way to further discussion of the five civilized tribes bill on the 11th (p. 5160), but was again resumed on the 12th (p. 5247). No business of general interest was done on the 13th and 14th and there was no session on the 15th. On the 16th consideration of the railroad rates bill was resumed (p. 5433). The principal business of general interest on the 17th was a discussion of the Tillman resolution directing an inquiry into political contributions by national banks (p. 5511). There was no business of general interest on the 18th, but on the 19th a joint resolution

relative to the San Francisco earthquake was passed (p. 5654-63), and consideration of the railroad rate bill was resumed (p. 5659). It was continued on the 20th (p. 5733) and 21st (p. 5784). On the latter day memorial addresses on the late Senator Orville H. Platt were made and adjournment was taken to the 23rd.

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#### House.

Nothing of general interest was done on the 9th, but on the 10th consideration of the postoffice appropriation bill was resumed (p. 5111) and continued on the 11th (p. 5178), 12th (p. 5273) and 13th (p. 5375), its passage taking place (p. 5389) on the latter day. The conference report on the five civilized tribes bill was agreed to on the 14th (p. 5406-07), and on the 15th memorial proceedings were held in honor of the late Benj. T. Marsh, a member from Illinois. The five civilized tribes bill was again before the House on the 16th (p. 5442) on which day the bill exempting from internal revenue taxation alcohol used in the arts was considered (p. 5449) and passed (p. 5465). The Federal quarantine bill was debated on the 17th (p. 5523) and passed (p. 5524). Upon the announcement on the 18th of the destruction of San Francisco by earthquake and fire (p. 5636) a joint resolution for relief was adopted (p. 5641). This resolution revised being before the House on the 19th (p. 5695) was again passed (p. 5696). The District of Columbia appropriation bill being taken up on the same day (p. 5669) its consideration was continued on the 20th and 21st (p. 5802), and on the 22nd memorial addresses on the late Representative Castor were delivered.

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#### Record Notes.

Speech of Senator Newlands on the railroad question (p. 5013). Speech of Representative Brantley on Federal quarantine (p. 5038). Speech of Senator Morgan on railroad rate bill (p. 5059). Speech of Representative Morrell on revenues and expenditures in the District of Columbia (p. 5098). Speech of Senator Elkins on railroad rate bill (p. 5041). Speech of Senator Tillman on five civilized tribes bill (p. 5160). Speech of Representative Sulzer in behalf of letter carriers (p. 5284). Speech of Senator Bailey on the railroad rate bill (p. 5303). Speech of Representative Sulzer on the preservation of Niagara Falls (p. 5395). Text of House bill exempting denatured alcohol from internal revenue taxation (p. 5449), and explanatory speech thereon of Representative Payne (p. 5449). Speech of Representative Young against the measure and in behalf of wood alcohol interests (p. 5451). Text of Federal quarantine bill (p. 5483). Speech of Senator Hepburn on railroad rate bill (p. 5493). Speech of Senator Tillman on political contributions of national banks (p. 5512). Speech of Representative Hill on the bill to exempt denatured alcohol from internal revenue taxation (p. 5606). Colloquy between Senators Tillman and Hopkins over action of Chicago banks in connection with the failure of the Chicago National Bank (p. 5659-5663). Speech of Representative Driscoll on the free alcohol bill (p. 5724). Text of bill for publicity as to election expenditures (p. 5740), and speech thereon of Representative Sulzer (p. 5740-41).

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## DO YOU KNOW HIM?

The foreman told me.  
 The foreman thinks.  
 The foreman wants to know.  
 The foreman is a fine man.  
 On an errand for the foreman.  
 The foreman wants.  
 What would the foreman say?  
 I'm afraid the foreman wouldn't like it.  
 Does the foreman know it?  
 Some one told the foreman.  
 The foreman thinks the world of me.  
 Named the kid after the foreman.  
 I go to the same church as the foreman.  
 When my wife was over to the foreman's house.  
 Better ask the foreman.  
 The foreman says the chairman is a crank.  
 The foreman says the union is going too far.  
 The foreman says the executive committee is ruining the union.  
 The foreman said I was a fool to vote as I did.  
 The foreman never goes to a meeting, and I think he is about right.  
 The foreman's family and mine are intimate.  
 The foreman thought that the story of mine a rich one.  
 The foreman can see in an instant all through a piece of work.—Reprint in The Labor Leader.

## WHO DOES THE EDITOR REPRESENT?

Certain editors, who pose as the friends of the people, do not hesitate to tell their intimate friends that they have as much moral right to take money and write for special interests as an attorney has to take a fee and serve these interests.

Which raises several questions:

Who does the editor represent? To whom does he owe fealty? To the readers of his paper or to the corporations who want to hire him? Who does he stand for, his constituents—the public—or the enemies of the public? The questions answer themselves.

The editor of a publication has taken a retainer as the special attorney of his subscribers. He is in their pay—and in their pay alone. To accept a fee from another source is to turn traitor to his clientage.

Moreover—the parallel of lawyer and editor does not hold in this: The lawyer is free to accept a fee from any comer. He betrays no interest. There is no string around him save that of good citizenship. The public has not paid him to represent it. The public has paid the editor. The editor has been retained by his fee—the subscription to his paper.

Besides—the lawyer says to everybody: "I represent so and so. I am paid to appear in his interests. Look out." But the editor who is bribed to serve other interests than those of his true clients carefully conceals his relations. He knows he is a traitor. The secrecy of the relations is what makes the man dangerous. Let it be known that the editor is in the pay of corporations and his power and influence cease at once.—Cincinnati Post.

## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

#### "BEHOLD, THIS DREAMER COMETH!"

For The Public.

They called thee dreamer, Joseph; yet they knelt  
 Before thy stool, and kneeling called thee blest.  
 Afterward, when the brother stood confest,  
 Crowned with superiority they felt.  
 And Thou, the Christ, that from the torturing tree  
 Looked down upon the sophistry of sin;  
 Thy dream is real, and all their boastings be  
 An idle tale that in the night hath been.  
 Still clamor calls self-sacrifice aggression,  
 And throttling avarice is defied.  
 O Truth! Shall, in thy name, the rank expression  
 Of falsehood, faith and equity deride?  
 How long must angels mourn mankind's obsession?  
 How many dreamers must be crucified?

GERTRUDE COLLES.

939 8th Avenue, New York.

## THE SMALL BOY'S EXPERIENCE WITH THE CAMERA OBSCURA.

A Genuine Composition on the Subject of "The Camera Obscura."

It is a small eight-sided building, about 25 or 30 feet high, and 15 or 18 feet broad.

In the center of the building is a large round disk, painted white, with a railing around it; a long iron pole projects from the ceiling directly over the disk.

The walls and ceiling are hung with black. When the doors are closed instantly you will see (on the disk) some view of Coney Island, the people are reduced to about twelve inches in height; as the handle is turned it shows you different views of the island.

You see the Iron Pier, the bathers bathing in the surf, the Merry-go-round, the Elephant, the Band Stand, the Tower, which is 300 feet high, and which, when in the top, you can see for 20 miles each way, the Manhattan Hotel, Elevated Road, and your mother.

You are shown in the Camera, "Around the World in 15 Minutes," which you are told is the finest thing on the Island, and asked if you ever saw it, and if you don't want to see it, as it is very instructive, and that he is sure you will be pleased, etc., etc.

It is nice to look at the picture of some crowded place, and see the men gesticulating like a deaf and dumb asylum, and to see a man walk to a machine to see how strong he was and act as if he would burst trying to knock off the ball at the top. And to see boys vainly trying from their hobby horses to stab a ring, and at persons laughing at their attempts.

By this time you have seen all of the Panorama, and are asked if you have enjoyed yourself; upon your responding in the affirmative, they are happy and allow you to depart in peace.

C. J. P.

## THE WEALTH THAT IS NOT WORTH WHILE.

John Burroughs, in the *Cosmopolitan*.

I look upon this craze for wealth that possesses nearly all classes in our time as one of the most lamentable spectacles the world has ever seen. The old prayer, "Give me neither poverty nor riches," is the only sane one. The grand mistake we make is in supposing that because a little money is a good thing, unlimited means is the sum of all good, or that our happiness will keep pace with the increase of our possessions. But such is not the case, because the number of things we can really make our own is limited. We cannot drink the ocean be we ever so thirsty. A cup of water from the spring is all we need. A friend of mine once said that if he outlived his wife he should put upon her tombstone, "Died of Things"—killed by the multitude of her possessions. The number of people who are thus killed is no doubt very great. When Thoreau found that the specimens and curiosities that had accumulated upon his mantlepiece needed dusting, he pitched them out of the window.

The massing of a great fortune is a perilous enterprise. The giving away of a great fortune is equally a perilous enterprise, not to the man who gives it—it ought to be salutary to him—but to his beneficiaries.

Very many of the great fortunes of our time have been accumulated by a process like that of turning all the streams into your private reservoir; they have caused a great many people somewhere to be short of water and have taken away the power of many busy, peaceful wheels. The ideal condition is an even distribution of wealth. When you try to give away your monstrous fortune, to open your dam, then danger begins, because you cannot return the waters to their natural channels. You must make new channels and you may do more harm than good. It never can go now where it would have gone. The wealth is in a measure redistributed, without enriching those from whom it originally came.

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## IN SHEEP'S CLOTHING.

All through his life a Certain Man had been told that the only way to be Happy and to achieve Success was to be there with the Goods.

Believing his parents and well-wishers, he devoted himself to a Strenuous Life. Far into the night he studied until he had mastered the intricacies of Finance. He became a linguist who could call forth order in Babel; the pages of history were to him an Open Book; from the Paleozoic age to the present time he had traced the freaks of nature; he knew that the Human Race proceeded from Monkeys. He was an Authority on Government, and his knowledge of art spelled with a big A was not to be Sneezed At. He wrote a beautiful hand, composed poetry, and took great pride in his Personal Appearance. Honesty was his strong suit. No one could point the finger of scorn at the Completed Product.

"The world is at your feet," said the Gang, as he started out to Butt into the Game.

Visions of a comfortable home, a wife, a large family, and a bank roll that would make the President of some Institution take his hat off to him, didn't seem Too High.

Alas for the fulfillment of human hopes. After ten years of faithful work the model found himself Hired as a Clerk at a small salary. When he asked for a raise he was told that the Market was overcrowded with Competent Men who would work for half what he got. His honesty and faithfulness were referred to in the highest terms, but they were no more than what was Expected.

"All right," said the Model, as he clenched his teeth. "I find that I am in the Wrong Pew. Fools have distanced me in the crowd because they have got a Boost. Others have got there by methods that I have Scorned. From now on I am a Deep-dyed Villain."

As a preliminary disguise to deceive the Public he joined a Church and took a great interest in the Sunday School.

No one was engaged in such Pious Works. The Heathens of the far east owed the formation of many Missionary Societies to his efforts. For the funds he became Treasurer. Old Women came to the Benevolent Wonder for advice as to how to leave their Property. Owing to his reputation as a Saint, smooth con men begged for his Assistance in working land and stock Deals on the Unsuspecting Public. He could procure more Insurance on a stock than any man in Town. The money flowed in a Steady Stream

into concerns that were privileged to use the Magic of his Name. Some of them Succeeded in spite of the fact that they started on the "get-rich-quick" basis. As the Wonder had no conscience, and a heart like the Material convicts break for Amusement, he never hesitated when it came to Taking the Widow's Mite or the Orphan's Heritage.

Before the Paragon realized where he was at, his name got in the Newspapers. While he was expecting a Penitentiary Sentence every minute, he found that the world insisted on looking up to him as a Saint, who could land the money Every Time.

In addition to his other Investments he purchased a Beautiful Wife, who became the Unconscious Partner in his criminal schemes.

When the Crash came he had wisely got from under and hired a lot of Legal Liars, who kept his reputation spotless as the Driven Snow.

Moral: If you want to become a Successful Thief, invest in a suit of Lamb's-Wool.

—The Socialist Spirit.



## THE UNDEMOCRATIC GOWN.

A Belated Correspondence.\*

March 17, 1902.

Mr. C. E. S. Wood,  
New York City.

Dear Sir:

Please accept thanks for your courteous letter of March 15th expressing your views upon the subject of judges' gowns. We are sorry that you do not approve of this uniform for judges. We think that some of your arguments might apply against any uniform, such as that of the army or the police.

Judges' gowns are essentially gowns of learning, the uniform of the educational army. Judges if decorated with degrees are doctors of the law, and others that are not doctors of law are at least learned in the law; and we presume that the general use at the present time of gowns by the universities and colleges of the country has had its influence in robbing the bench. There is much force, of course, in your position. We of the laity confess to feeling that the judges are something more than ordinary men, if not in their individual capacity, certainly in their official capacity when holding court, and in a practical way we believe that the wearing of robes of office marking them to their especial position may have in some cases a distinct moral effect upon the judges themselves.

Thanking you for your kind consideration in the matter, we are,

Yours very truly,  
\_\_\_\_\_ & \_\_\_\_\_



New York, March 15, 1902.

Gentlemen:

Your letter of January 24th has just reached me. I am no longer president of our Bar Association. As an individual member of the bar and as a citizen I am not in favor of special costumes for any purpose whatever. There is always a sense of fitness and decency about dress which a man will correspond to so far as his situation permits. But after all it is the man under the clothes, and not the clothes,

\*We publish the final letter first, as it presents the point of view to which the longer letter is a reply.

which ought to be considered; and I am not in favor of diverting the people's attention from the fact that judges are but citizens and but men, nor do I believe it wholesome, under the guise of lending dignity to the position, and symbolizing the majesty of the law, to impress the people with the idea that the judges are a class superior to the people themselves. If, as you say, the custom of the bench's wearing gowns is growing, I am sorry for it, but am not surprised, as it is the usual course of development from all simple origins toward classes and distinction.

I am also very sorry to learn that the members of the bar are much in favor of the higher courts' wearing gowns. If the higher courts wear gowns I see no reason why each court should not wear its own gown; in fact, if it is good at all, it should be good as a whole system, even down to the justices of peace.

My own belief is that the popularity of this matter lies in so small a thing as human vanity, both among judges and lawyers. It pleases the judges to think that they are marked by robes which enable them to share, in the eyes of the people, the sacredness and dignity of the church, or at least, that they are something better than other men. I do not believe in symbolisms at all, in our day and among our people.

It would not, in my opinion, aid matters the slightest to have the court opened by a crier bearing the fasces before him and swinging incense from a censer, nor do I think a black silk gown, even though made by your capable firm, would lend any dignity whatever, which was not already conveyed by the person of the judge and by our own institutions.

To my mind, a gown, no matter what its cut, material or fashion, is of the same essential character as the horse hair wigs of the English judges. To me it is all mummery, all meaningless, all undemocratic, unrepugnant; and I think we need to impress the people a great deal more with the idea that they are themselves the sources of power and authority, rather than befooled them with wardrobes and costumes, however holy, however well made, whether made by your firm or imported from the best gown makers of London.

If our court decides to adopt the judicial robe I fear I cannot aid you to their custom, as I know of some very excellent old ladies' black silk petticoats which may be had, I am satisfied, at a discount.

Yours very truly,  
C. E. S. WOOD.



## STATE AND MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP IN SWEDEN.

### I. TELEPHONE SYSTEMS.

For The Public.

There is no country in the world, except possibly the United States, that has got a telephone system as universally used as Sweden. There were at the end of the year 1900 not less than 84,000 apparatuses in actual use in the country, and there were 29,000 in use in the city of Stockholm alone. At the same time the number of apparatuses in New York (Manhattan) was 27,000, making the average number of apparatuses per 100 inhabitants in Stockholm

9.6, and in New York 1.5. Even to the superficial observer it is very obvious that the actual need of telephones in a city like New York, with its enormous amount of trade and business, far exceeds the need in a city many times smaller in size, and with less developed facilities for mercantile pursuits. The fact that the latter city has a system so much larger is at once a proof that there must be some cause of great interest. And there is.

Since 1883 the Swedish government has owned part of the telephone systems of the country. Having operated its system so long, to great satisfaction, and with reasonable gain, it is easily understood that it is no wanton experiment. There were originally a number of local companies operating in the various cities of the country, but from time to time the government has acquired these systems, the payment usually having been determined by the reproduction cost of the plants and wires. However, the government did not in any way interfere with the local companies in the way of coercion. But it has done so in some places by means of competition. The influence of the state-owned telephone was not widely apprehended until the opening of the government's telephone lines between the larger cities, in establishing long-distance telephone service. The first line of great importance for length was between Stockholm and Gothenburg, about 350 miles. This line was opened in 1889, and since that time the system has so increased that the length of the lines combined was 70,000 miles in the year 1900.

The total length of all telephone lines in the country was in the same year 100,000 miles, and the proportion of the extent of the government's system and the private corporations is thus easily seen.

The cause for this enormous extent of the service is the price charged for the accommodation. For the unlimited use of a telephone, the price is \$13.50 a year, in which case the subscriber has the right to speak to all subscribers within a radius of about forty miles. For long-distance communications there is an additional fee, 4 cents for 70 miles, 8 cents for 160 miles, 13 cents for 400 miles, 20 cents for 600 miles, and for distances beyond 600 miles 27 cents.

What is now the financial result of this cheap service?

The gross income for a certain period amounted to \$5,400,000, while the operation cost for the same period amounted to \$2,650,000, besides interests amounting to \$430,000, leaving a pure profit of \$2,320,000. This surplus has been expended mostly for increase of the system, and the service is so satisfactory that foreigners when visiting the country have expressed their surprise that so perfect a service can be rendered for so slight a cost.

Of course, there is still in existence in Stockholm a private company, having a very extensive business in the city and its surroundings; but the competition with the government has brought this company to reasonable terms and the service is equally excellent and cheap.

For comparison it may be mentioned that the price for a telephone in 1880 varied from \$43 to \$75; in 1883, when the government went into the business, the price went down to a uniform rate of \$35, and has since then gradually gone down to its present figure.

It is true that labor is cheaper in Sweden, but the difference is not great enough to account for the difference in price for the accommodation of a telephone in Sweden and in the United States. If the Swedish government, charging so comparatively low rates, still can bring down the operation expense to less than half the gross income, it is pretty sure that large American municipalities could with profit to both its own finances and its citizens' comfort go into the telephone business in earnest. The Greater New York is nearly as large in population as Sweden. Its demand and necessity for telephones are very much greater. Telephones have become a necessity of life in large business centers. Necessities of this kind, monopolies involving such a taxing power, should not be left in the hands of private interests any longer, when the experience of other nations so plainly points out the practicability of government ownership of telephones.

ERIK OBERG.

### RICHARD F. GEORGE.

How a Son of the Late Henry George Discovered His True Vocation.

From Success for January, 1906.

In the sculpture of Richard George, one is struck by the life quality. After a few moments of scrutiny the sense of the material is lost; the marble or bronze seems to have turned to living flesh, with lips parting to speak. I asked Mr. George what school had given him this vitalizing power. He replied that his only school had been the rough world, and that, fortunately or unfortunately, he had no academic training whatever.

Mr. George struggled with a diversity of pursuits before he reached his true vocation. After his school days in Brooklyn he was successively amanuensis to his father, the late Henry George; clerk in a law office; employe of a street railway; and business manager of his father's weekly newspaper. He married at twenty-three years of age, and at twenty-six moved with his little family to Johnstown, Pennsylvania, where he took a position as draughtsman in a steel-rail plant. Here, owing to his acquaintance with the heads of the concern, many of his associates regarded him with such jealousy and suspicion that after three years' work he resigned. He then purchased a half interest in a photographic gallery, and, incongruously enough, in a coal mine. These he lost in the panic of 1893.

"My needs were pressing," he told me, "and prospects of work were slender. Swallowing my pride, I went again to the steel company in search of work. I saw the president. He referred me to the foreman, who, on account of the dull season, turned me down. I finally applied to the general manager.

"I am very sorry, Mr. George," he said, "but we are dropping men instead of taking them on. I can offer you nothing but a job as laborer."

"The words stunned me. But my needs were too great to refuse. I informed the manager that I would think the matter over, and then went home and told my wife of my glittering prospects.

"There is nothing demeaning in physical labor," she said; "have not many of our great men been laborers?"

"Talk like that gives me courage for anything,"

I answered, and the next day I went to work. I was subjected to the gibes the green hand suffers, my self-esteem was constantly ruffled, my work was exhausting, and my future seemed dark. It was not a period of joy for me, and yet it taught me valuable lessons.

"Finally, a better opportunity came to me from a friend engaged in the manufacture of architectural terra cotta in Philadelphia. On the day I reported for duty as a draughtsman he conducted me through the plant. In the modeling room, as I stood watching the clay take form under deft fingers, I was fascinated, and ventured the suggestion that some time I might be allowed to try my hand there.

"Have you ever modeled?" my friend inquired. I answered that I had not, but that the possibilities it offered appealed to me. He had been a sculptor, and understood me. In his studio he put clay into my hands, and left me to copy a simple architectural design,—if I could. I became so absorbed in the work that two hours passed with no realization on my part of the flight of time. I was startled by a hand upon my shoulder.

"Why, my boy," exclaimed my friend, "you have a wonderful instinct for sculpture. I will place you immediately at modeling."

"This was my beginning. I finally opened a studio of my own in New York. I would say this to the young sculptor: Regard each piece of work you do as one of the vital things in your life. Put your best into it, and it will grow to be worthy, and you will grow with it. The secret of achievement in art is sympathy, and a conscience so exacting that it will not allow you to stop short of your highest capabilities."



## WOMAN'S RELATION TO CIVIC HOUSE-KEEPING.

A Portion of an Article by Jane Addams in the Chicago Record-Herald of April 1, 1906.

May we not say that city housekeeping has failed partly because women, the traditional housekeepers, have not been consulted as to its multiform activities? The men of the city have been carelessly indifferent to much of this civic housekeeping, as they have always been indifferent to the details of the household. They have totally disregarded a candidate's capacity to keep the streets clean, preferring to consider him in relation to the national tariff or to the necessity for increasing the national navy in a pure spirit of reversion to the traditional type of government which had to do only with enemies and outsiders.

It is difficult to see what military prowess has to do with the multiform duties which in a modern city includes the care of parks and libraries, superintendence of markets, sewers and bridges, the inspection of provisions and boilers, and the proper disposal of garbage. It has nothing to do with the building department which the city maintains that it may see to it that the basements are dry, that the bedrooms are large enough to afford the required cubic feet of air, that the plumbing is sanitary, that the gaspipes do not leak, that the tenement-house court is large enough to afford light and ventilation, that the stairways are fireproof. The ability to carry arms has

nothing to do with the health department maintained by the city which provides that children are vaccinated, that contagious diseases are isolated and placarded, that the spread of tuberculosis is curbed, that the water is free from typhoid infection. Certainly the military conception of society is remote from the functions of the school boards, whose concern it is that children are educated, that they are supplied with kindergartens and are given a decent place in which to play. The very multifariousness and complexity of a city government demands the help of minds accustomed to detail and variety of work, to a sense of obligation for the health and welfare of young children, and to a responsibility for the cleanliness and comfort of other people.

Because all these things have traditionally been in the hands of women, if they take no part in it now they are not only missing the education which the natural participation in civic life would bring to them, but they are losing what they have always had. From the beginning of tribal life they have been held responsible for the health of the community, a function which is now represented by the health department; from the days of the cave dwellers so far as the home was clean and wholesome it was due to their efforts, which are now represented by the bureau of tenement-house inspection; from the period of the primitive village the only public sweeping which was performed was what they undertook in their divers dooryards, that which is now represented by the bureau of street cleaning. Most of the departments in a modern city can be traced to woman's traditional activity, but in spite of this, so soon as these old affairs were turned over to the care of the city they slipped from woman's hands, apparently because they then became matters for collective action and implied the use of the franchise. Because the franchise had in the first instance been given to the man who could fight, because in the beginning he alone could vote who could carry a weapon, it was considered an improper thing for a woman to possess it.

Is it quite public-spirited for women to say, "We will take care of these affairs so long as they stay in our own houses, but if they go outside and concern so many people that they cannot be carried on without the mechanism of the vote we will drop them. It is true that these activities which women have always had are not at present being carried on very well by the men in most of the great American cities, but because we do not consider it 'lady-like' to vote we will let them alone?"

Because women consider the government men's affair and something which concerns itself with elections and alarms, they have become so confused in regard to their traditional business in life, the rearing of children, that they hear with complacency a statement made by the Nestor of sanitary reformers that one-half of the tiny lives which make up the city's death rate each year might be saved by a more thorough application of sanitary science. Because it implies the use of the suffrage they do not consider it woman's business to save these lives. Are we going to lose ourselves in the old circle of convention and add to that sum of wrongdoing which is continually committed in the world because we do not look at things as they really are? Old-fashioned ways which no longer apply to changed conditions are a snare in which the feet of women have always

become readily entangled. It is so easy to be stupid and to believe that things that used to exist still go on long after they are past; to commit irreparable blunders because we fail to correct our theories by our changing experience. So many of the stumbling blocks against which we fall are the opportunities to which we have not adjusted ourselves. We keep hold of a convention which no longer squares with our genuine insight into life and we are slow to follow a clew which might enable us to solace and improve the life about us because it shocks an obsolete ideal.

Why is it that women do not vote upon those matters which concern them so intimately? Why do they not follow these vital affairs and feel responsible for their proper administration even although they have become municipalized? What would the result have been could women have regarded the suffrage not as a right or a privilege but as a mere piece of governmental machinery, without which they could not perform their traditional functions under the changed conditions of city life? Could we view the whole situation as a matter of obligation and normal development it would be much simplified. We are at the beginning of a prolonged effort to incorporate a progressive developing city life, founded upon a response to the needs of all the people, into the requisite legal enactments and civic institutions. To be in any measure successful this effort will require all the intelligent powers of observation, all the sympathy, all the common sense which may be gained from the whole adult population.



## RAILROADS DISCRIMINATION.

### THE EVIL.

#### For The Public.

In spite of the old saying that "there is nothing new under the sun," the railroad problem of the last fifty years is something absolutely new in industrial and political society. In civilized communities, and some barbarous ones, too, the establishment and maintenance of highways has always been a function of government. Government exists to protect life and property; but the right to travel to any part of the land on equality with other citizens is an important adjunct to the right of life, and the right of the citizen to take property from place to place as readily as others may take their property, is a most important element of the right of property.

In Anglo Saxon and English history the roads were called the "King's highways". All subjects of the king had equal rights there. The Anglo Saxon system was transplanted in America, and the providing of channels of transportation was always a matter for the action of either local or general government, until the coming of the railway. The highways on land and water were for the most part established and maintained at the public charge, leaving all citizens free to use them without discrimination and without price. The only apparent exception to this rule, the so-called toll roads, was an exception in name rather than in fact, the gathering of toll from travelers being really another way of collecting the road tax.

The wagon roads, still necessary for local transportation, cannot compete with the railroad for any

considerable distance; and with the exception of a limited opportunity for water transportation, the internal commerce of the country is entirely dependent upon the railroads. The placing of the transportation facilities of the country in private hands, was contrary to Anglo Saxon traditions; but there were certain conditions tending to this result when the railroad came into use.

(1) The railroad displaced other means of transportation gradually at first, and the people did not realize the far-reaching consequences of the change.

(2) Previous transportation facilities consisted only of the way or road on which all might pass with privately owned vehicles; but with the railroad there must be a specially prepared track on which only one vehicle can pass; there must be specially designed cars and engines, which it was impossible to expect individual citizens to possess; the railroad must be operated with great care and system by a large number of employes. The situation was something new, requiring the government either to abandon one of its functions recognized from time immemorial or to launch out in a new and extensive enterprise. If it chose the latter course, government must at least build and maintain the roadbed, and possibly undertake the entire operation of the road.

(3) The people looked at first upon the railway as a business enterprise only, not seeing the important functions of government which it was likely to absorb.

Although the government was prevented by the very nature of this invention from pursuing its former policy of merely providing the road and allowing individuals to use it at their pleasure, yet the government undoubtedly might have undertaken the building and maintenance, or even the operation, of the railroad. The general government, however, was one of limited powers; many of the States were new and without financial ability and were unable to cope with the problem. There was, moreover, alongside of the recognized principle that highways should be free to all alike, this other dogma, that the government should leave industry to private hands. As a result of these conditions, the early railroads, excepting a few feeble and unsuccessful attempts at State building, were allowed to become private enterprises. The private proprietors have ever since opposed all suggestions of change to government ownership or operation, thus far with success, in spite of the most serious evils which are now seen to go with private control. Railway partisans are still fond of repeating the maxim of the "laissez faire" economists, that government should not interfere with business; and many still apply that doctrine to railroads because they do not see, what was universally recognized before the dust of the railroad train had filled the air, that the assuring of equal and fair transportation rights to all citizens is one of the most important functions of government. If we are to accept the doctrine that government should not interfere with business, we must accept the correlative principle that business must leave government free to do the governing. The danger now is that the railroads and their allied interests will themselves become the government.

From the standpoint of experience, what are the evils resulting from private control of railroads?

1. Competition, which is relied upon in ordinary industries to keep prices reasonable and insure equal opportunities to all, is found to be utterly incapable of regulating railroad rates and practices. Comparatively few points of shipment have more than one railroad, and competition is impossible for them. For those places which have more than one road, there may be competition for a time at least to certain other places; but the competition is of such a nature that it soon results in combination or consolidation, so that competition is destroyed. This is the uniform story told by the history of railroads. At the present time the important railroads of the United States are grouped into a few large systems under unified control, so that competition for the greater part of the country is out of the question; and even between these systems there are understandings and agreements which make competition of little use to the public. It is therefore not surprising that railway rates should be sufficient, often, to pay interest and dividends on a capital from two to four times the real investment. This means that the rates charged are unreasonable. With the exception of legislation in recent years, rates have been limited only by what the traffic would bear. The railroads have usually seen the necessity of taking only such tolls as would allow the traffic to continue; but this is no guaranty of reasonable rates. The existence of this condition makes necessary the interference of government to insure reasonable rates for the use of the means of transportation.

2. The railroads have charged one man more than his neighbor for the same or similar service. Under the old system in English and American history, this would be equivalent to saying that the public road is open to some and closed to others, or that some must pay for what is a common right. Such a condition would then have been considered insufferable. It makes necessary the interference of government to insure to all citizens equal rights to go or to send goods to any part of the land.

3. The railroads have not been impartial in the burdens imposed upon different cities and communities. They have built up the places which they chose to favor, and have torn down or retarded the growth of the places not favored. This situation also requires the interference of government, to insure fair treatment of each community in comparison with other communities.

These are the three principal evils. The results indicated are accomplished in hundreds of different ways, and by many different devices, the mere recital of which would be a long story. The evil of excessive charges for the right of traveling or shipping goods, is serious enough; it brings unjust gain to the carriers at the expense of the public. I say "the public," for I do not mean the merchants or middlemen who actually ship the goods over the railroads. The real shippers who pay the bills are the producers of the things transported, who are forced to take less for the products of their labor; or they are the consumers of the products transported, who are forced to pay the increase in price added to cover the excessive transportation charge. These two classes, producers and consumers of products, who together "pay the freight," include practically every person in the country. It is only those having railway stocks or bonds, or otherwise

interested in railroads, who are not losers by excessive rates. This is one way in which all of us are concerned in the regulation of railway rates.

But unjust and burdensome as are excessive rates when they are uniformly imposed upon all persons and communities alike, yet even worse is discrimination or partiality in the treatment of individuals and communities by the railroads. Business and industry can proceed, even under an excessive tax, if the tax is uniform; but when the tax becomes unequal and discriminatory, the inevitable result is that men are put out of business by their competitors who get lower rates; the result is that manufacturing and commerce become games which are played with loaded dice, that merit, thrift and industry do not win. Success comes to the cunning grafter who can steal from his fellows a part of their birthright of liberty by an unholy bargain with the railroad, this private industry which exercises important functions of government. In the noxious and poisonous atmosphere of industry thus created, the combination and the trust flourish and become, in their turn, the instrument of industrial oppression. When the founders of "Standard Oil" killed off their competitors by robbing them of their equal transportation rights, they committed an offense scarcely less heinous than the bribing of courts or the stuffing of ballot boxes; they were corrupting the very foundations of society and government. And we who see and know these evils and do not apply such remedy as may be in our power, are partners in the crime.

Discrimination between communities has given arbitrary advantages to one of two rival industrial centers, causing the value of property in the other to fall, business to dwindle and population to decline. This discrimination has built up large cities at the expense of smaller towns and villages, and has created many of the distressing problems which exist in the great cities.

The worst result of private control of transportation has not yet been mentioned; for, serious as the direct effects upon industry are, to my mind the indirect effect upon the character of the people is vastly worse. Before the advent of the railroad and the trusts bred and supported by the railroad, the American character possessed sturdy, fearless and independent qualities, which I fear have been lost or put in eclipse during recent decades. The lawless barons of old used to prey upon industry and commerce, but no baron of feudal times ever had a more effective grip upon industry than have the modern railroad barons. Transportation is the key of industry, and whoever controls this may levy tribute upon industry almost at will. Such arbitrary action may be unlawful, but the railway baron finds that of little consequence as a practical obstacle. It is a bold and venturesome shipper who will try conclusions with a railroad in a court of justice and stay in the fight to the end. Most of the transactions between the railroad and shippers involve comparatively small amounts of money, and the railroad can easily make it cost the shipper several times what the claim is worth, even if he succeeds at the end of the legal fight. Railway lawyers can lead the shipper a merry chase from one court to another and back again to the starting point. Not one shipper in a thousand who have real grievances, ever attempts to right the wrong in a court of justice. He



arrives at this conclusion when he considers the probable financial consequences. When he reflects on what the railroad can do to him by future discrimination if he is inclined to make trouble, the inexpediency of standing upon his rights is still more apparent. I have heard it said, and I believe it to be true, that there is no coward who is so great a coward as the shipper in his dealings with the railroad. His business prospects can be made or unmade by the railroad, and if he once incurs the baron's ill will, it is a sad day for him. The plight of the farmers, the gardeners and the fruit raisers is even worse than that of the shipper. The middleman may pull up his stakes and go to another locality; but the men who raise the products of the soil have a permanent investment in their land, and cannot move so readily. The possibility of marketing their products promptly and at a reasonable transportation rate depends upon the grace of the railroad. Without effective government regulation, the railroad can build up or pull down almost whomsoever it chooses in the world of industry. The losses resulting to the American character from this helpless condition of industry, the stifling of the old sturdy and independent qualities, have been terrible in their extent and far reaching in their consequences. Although I appreciate keenly the material advantages which have been brought to the world by the invention of the railroad, I do not hesitate to say that if the evils of which I am speaking cannot be effectively remedied, it would have been better that the railroad had never been invented. Character is worth more than quick transportation, and freedom is worth more than cheapness of travel. The old saying, "a crust of bread and liberty," may be paraphrased by saying, better the old stage coach with independence of character and freedom of action than the twentieth century limited with a servile spirit and the rule of an industrial dictator.

JESSE F. ORTON.

Grand Rapids, Mich.



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TRUTHFUL JAMES.



"Mickey, wot's a phill'nt'ropist?"

"Well, it's like this—if I wuz to swipe a quarter from ye when ye wasn't lookin', an' den offer to give ye a dime, if ye'd promise to buy a toot' brush wit it, I'd be one of them things."—Life.



Mayor Dunne of Chicago is not without witty moments between worries over traction matters and an incompetent police force. He recently visited a

strange barber shop, where the barber, failing to recognize him, was very talkative.

"Have you ever been here before?" he asked.

"Once," said the mayor.

"Strange I don't recall your face," said the barber.

"Not at all," replied the mayor. "It altered greatly as it healed."—Judge.



"Yes, I've just returned from a two months' visit in the East," the Portland young lady was saying, "and, oh, I had such a lovely time! Those Easterners are so different from us, though."

"What points did you visit?" inquired the newcomer in Oregon. "I do hope you saw dear old Boston."

"Boston!" the Portland girl ejaculated. "I should say not. I was in Montana."—Portland Oregonian.



It is unfortunately true that the people as a whole are not of great learning or great intelligence. But they have average intelligence and the instinct of self-preservation; and through all their blundering they will tend toward the right goal. What is done by all with the approval of all cannot be hurtful to many or, if so, will be soon corrected. But what is done by a few for the good of a few is sure to be hurtful to many and if the governing power rests with a few there can be no remedy.—C. E. S. Wood.

## BOOKS

### NEW ZEALAND.

**New Zealand Views.** By James S. de Benneville. Printed as manuscript. All rights reserved.

This is the title of a little book printed privately by Mr. James S. de Benneville. Statistical works as well as books of travel (not forgetting Mark Train's "Following the Equator") have enlightened us concerning this distant region; but each new traveler recording his impressions has either something new to tell or something old to say in a new fashion, so we open with interest this booklet.

The author is a man of education, traveled and cultured, with special knowledge in the field of chemistry. He is presumably studying New Zealand from the prospector's point of view, but is yet interested in all phases of its life and resources and gives a fair account of all—save its politics.

His travels begin in the North Island upon whose outermost borders lie various cities of greater or less importance—Auckland, Bedford and New Plymouth, jostling their native sister-towns with unpronounceable names: Onehunga and Whangarei and Pukenoana. The interior seems to be the haunt of geysers, hot springs, terrific winds and native Maoris, and one gains the impression that there is little to interest any but geologists and ethnologists. Wellington, the capital, lies at the southern extremity of the island, but is much hampered in its growth by the curvature of the harbor and the close proximity of the hills.

The southern island is undoubtedly more attractive; it has fewer natives and those few more

civilized and better educated, while the white population is chiefly Scotch and English. The interior of this island is largely occupied by lakes and the Southern Alps, full of beauty and interest to those able to make the difficult ascent. For roads are few and poor and ill-defined, while communication from coast to coast is impossible even for pack-horses, save in one narrow pass. Here also, as in the northern island, almost all cities lie along the coast, although between it and the mountains lie farms and the famous grazing grounds.

The cities are as a rule, comfortable, but like their English prototypes, quite lacking a cosmopolitan air. Means of communication are rather unsatisfactory, train service slow and travel by stage liable to great discomforts. Although this latter means of travel is much resorted to, no extra accommodation is provided for an extra number of passengers, and the entertainment at the "rest houses" is uncertain and variable. Road stations, that render travel in Switzerland and Norway so comfortable, are unknown here.

But although possible discomforts are mentioned as a forewarning to the intending traveler, it is only justice to say that there is no carping criticism; on the contrary, there is ready commendation for all commendable things.

Christ church on the Avon, the author finds the most charming of all the cities, while Lyttleton and Dunedin are greater commercial centers. It is interesting to learn that a world's fair is to open at Christ church in April, 1907, at which time the world will no doubt learn much concerning the industries of New Zealand, chief among which are coal and gold mining, the raising of sheep and the export of wool and mutton.

But our author finds all business slow and non-progressive, and his disappointment is almost amusing. Being an American and, we will assume, an interested investigator or an intending investor, his view of business conditions is very discouraging. He lacks the faculty of causality and so at times commends qualities and effects that are the direct result of conditions that he condemns and deplores. He interviewed a naturalized foreigner: "He was not encouraging. All immigration was discouraged. Unskilled labor was paid at the high rate of 8 shillings a day. Skilled labor was no better off than anywhere else. Taxes were high, and rents were high because the cost of labor made the erection of new buildings so costly that the development of new districts was only undertaken long after the demand had overflowed the supply. Money in pocket, the workman took 'a day off' until he needed more. No idea existed of rising out of the laboring class, of ambition to accumulate a little capital and start for himself. 'Take ye no thought of the morrow' seemed to be the motto of the laboring class in New Zealand—the ruling class in New Zealand."

And again: "New Zealand does not want immigration. She offers conditions to the small farmer—limitations as to the extent of his future."

"The control of the government by the trade guilds and the consequent limitation of immigration by socialistic legislation has fallen in with what seems to be an inherent sluggishness of the native workman. Lack of ambition and plenty of work for the limited labor market enables him to 'take a day

# Announcement

**MR. CLARENCE S. DARROW**

Will speak on Monday evening, April 30,

at Lecture Hall, 732 Fine Arts Building,  
203 Michigan Ave., Chicago,

under the auspices of the

**Woman's Auxiliary of the Henry George Lecture Association**

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The Single Taxers of Chicago and vicinity, and their friends, will dine at the **Washington Restaurant, N. W. Corner Wabash Avenue and Adams Street, Chicago**, on the first Friday evening of each month, at **6 p. m.** The dinner on **May 4th** will be table d'hôte. For further particulars communicate with the committee at 1202 Ashland Block, Chicago. (Telephone, Central 925)

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off pretty much at will. And the fact that he takes it, accounts for the parks full of substantial workmen on ordinary working days of the week"; and much more to the same effect based upon the bustling employer's point of view. The "day off" seems to give him especial concern.

After reading the book one feels a trifle uncertain. The pros and cons of New Zealand are tolerably evenly balanced, but one of the greatest disadvantages seems to be the climate. There is a superabundance of rain—raw, cold rain, even during their Summer months. It may possibly be a reminder to the British settler of his old familiar English drizzles, but one whose absence could easily be endured, we should think. But yet Mr. de Benneville contends that it is much more satisfactory climatically than is Australia with its hot Summers; that, in fact, the climate of New Zealand is a very healthful one—for those who survive.

MARY HEATH LEE.

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**THE ANTI-SLAVERY ERA.**

**The Abolitionists.** Together with personal memories of the struggle for human rights—1830-1864. By John F. Hume. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Mr. Hume, who was an editorial writer for the St. Louis Democrat, both before and during the Civil War, and in his old age retains the democratic ideals of his early manhood, has written an interesting story of the most interesting and vital period in American history. Not an autobiography, but a review of the Abolitionists and their movement at its height, including their relations with the Republican party, his book has the charm that belongs to well told autobiography. It is for the most part a story of personal experience and observation, in which the writer's personality, while always present, is never obtrusive.

The story might have been better told had the second chapter been the first and the first been turned into an explanatory preface. The first chapter was the nest egg, as it were, of the book. Mr. Hume had written it for a periodical article in reply to President Roosevelt's thrust at the Abolitionists in the biography of Benton; but changing his mind as to publication in that form, he added the reminiscent narrative which is the really interesting and valuable part of the book before us.

An Abolitionist from boyhood, and a member of an Abolition family, Mr. Hume has much to tell of the hardships which Abolitionists suffered and of the absurd antagonisms, not unmixed with cruelty, in which their pro-slavery neighbors indulged. He quotes statesmen as talking of Negroes as "on the same footing with other cattle," and distinguished divines as proving by chapter and verse to credulous congregations that Negroes were condemned to slavery by the Bible. "When I spoke of all men enjoying freedom under our flag," said one respected Ohio clergyman in a sermon on a day of national significance, "I did not, of course, include the Ethiopians whom Providence has brought to our shores for their own good as well as ours; they are slaves by divine decree." This was the common pious sentiment of the time. "Science" had not yet seized upon the thinking activities of the credulous, or Mr. Hume's con-

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temporaries would doubtless have been prepared to defend slavery not only as divine, but as a stage in the "slow and painful, but necessary, processes of evolution."

A peculiar fact to which Mr. Hume draws attention, is the infatuation of the Northern people for slavery. "They raised no cotton and they raised no Negroes, but many of them, and especially their political leaders, carried their adulation almost to idolatry." Negroes were treated worse in the North than in the South. Frederick Douglas for instance, though often severely punished while in bondage, "encountered rougher treatment in the North than in the South." And the shibboleth so familiar in our time as an argument against civil rights for Negroes, did duty then to perpetuate slavery. "Do you want your son or your daughter to marry a nigger?" was regarded, says Mr. Hume, "as a knock-out anti-Abolition argument."

There are but little more than 200 pages to this book, but it tells of the underground railroad, the fugitive slave law, the Lincoln-Douglas debates, the two elections of Lincoln, and the political steps leading on to emancipation, with great vividness and always with the charm of personal narration.

Mr. Hume does not idolize Lincoln, although he holds him in high respect and is thoughtfully considerate of the difficulties that surrounded him. To Lincoln's title as "Emancipator" he objects. If asked "to name the man to whom the colored people of this country who were slaves or were liable to become slaves, are under the greatest obligation for their freedom," he would "unhesitatingly say "Salmon P. Chase," and next to him, John Quincy Adams. He regards Mr. Lincoln as having been sentimentally opposed to slavery, but afraid of freedom. Lincoln wanted "ultimate extinction" of slavery, but with compensation to the masters, a policy which the Abolitionists rightly objected to. "They held that if the master had no right to the person of his bondman, he had no right to payment for him." It is a sound moral principle and an unanswerable argument as an argument, but the lust for money has as deaf an ear for logic as for morals.

In its use for an opening chapter, Mr. Hume's reply to President Roosevelt mars the book, and his contention that the Liberty party was the original Republican party can hardly be substantiated as matter of party parentage. That it helped make the conditions out of which the Republican party finally sprung, is true; but that is a different thing from Mr. Hume's contention. However, the author's moral perceptions are so keen, his judgments on the whole are so judicial, and his story of Abolitionism is so well told, that we should be grateful for a controversy with President Roosevelt, which has produced so good and so much needed a monograph. Not alone is it an interesting narrative of a bitter struggle that is over, but it is an impressive moral and political lesson with reference to the more complex struggles with which our country is now concerned.



### THE RAILROAD QUESTION.

American Railroad Rates. By Walter Chadwick Noyes, a judge of the Court of Common Pleas in Connecticut; president of the New London North-

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Here is England as Carlyle saw it, when he prophesied the working out of the same laws eternal, adamant, e, which had made the great revolutions in Europe.—*London Daily News.*

No novelist has ever written a more stirring romance than is contained in the memoirs related in this book, and no novelist has ever created heroes or heroines like unto those who lived, or rather existed, and fought in the "hungry forties."—*Co-Operative News, London.*

People's Edition. 8vo, paper,  
117 pages, 20 cents, postpaid.

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ern Railroad Company; author of "The Law of Intercorporate Relations." Published by Little, Brown, and Company, Boston.

Judge Noyes's book is a plea for the doctrine of "all the traffic will bear," as the rate-making principle for railroads.

This is doubtless the true principle. It applies to all rate-making, whether for transportation over railroads or for dry goods across counters. But competition regulates dry goods rates, so that as a rule they are not lower than their cost, nor higher than the value of the service they render; whereas railroad rates are in a large degree unaffected by competition. Recognizing this difference, the author enters into a minute discussion of rate regulation, and concludes by advising railroad officials to avoid defeating conservative measures, lest they thereby incite to radical action.

Had he followed his own thought faithfully from the beginning, Judge Noyes would have made a more useful book. For at the outset he recognizes the railroad as having dual functions—public and private. But he does not develop this thought. Yet these functions are clearly distinguishable. Maintenance of highway is one, operation on the highway is the other. They are easily separable, too; and if they were separated, the confusing labyrinth of arbitrary rate regulation to which Judge Noyes endeavors to give a semblance of order would be swept away as the rubbish it is. For the government would then maintain the highway, and free competition would fairly regulate rates under private competitive operation.



**EVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRACY.**

**The Changing Order.** A study of Democracy. By Oscar Lovell Triggs, Ph. D. Published by Charles H. Kerr and Company, Chicago. For sale by The Public Publishing Co., Chicago. Price, \$1.00, postpaid.

Dr. Triggs offers in this volume his idea concerning the process of the separation of a new order of civilization from the old. The democracy that appeals to him is not merely political democracy—in fact that appears to appeal to him hardly at all,—but the democratic idea in art, literature, education and industry. The leading principles of democracy with him are individualism and equality.

In dealing with the critical attitude, Dr. Triggs critically considers the scientific tendency that has made a fetish of objectivism. "The objection to induction," he writes, "is that in remaining objective, scientific criticism omits from its results fully one-half, often the whole, of the artistic effect, the subjective—that is, the response which the observer in his own creative capacity gives to the call of the artist." This remark has a broader application than to art. It is as true of all subjects where the human is a factor, as Dr. Triggs asserts it to be of democratic criticism in art, that both the objective and the subjective are within its scope. You cannot explore such subjects as art, morals, politics or religion by the inductive methods of the chemical laboratory.

Economically Dr. Trigg's volume is the work of an evolutionary communist. He sees in the trust regime an industrial order in process of development, which corresponds in all essential respects with polit-

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The book stands the test of the scholars. It proves the author conversant with the history of the church and intensely interested in the economic problems of the day. It is a little epitome of the Christian church from Jesus to the present time, where he finds "a commercialized church in the commercialized state."—*Unity, Chicago.*

Dr. Crapsey strikes a higher note. His complaint is concerned about the alliance of Christianity with the very institutions against which its founder rebelled, and the substance of his cry is, Back to Jesus! "The Kingdom of God, which Jesus lived and died to establish, was to be all that the Roman empire was not—a kingdom of peace instead of war, a kingdom of righteousness instead of injustice, of mercy instead of cruelty." But the churches of to-day, do they stand for peace, for justice, for mercy? Do they not stand rather essentially for those conditions for which the Roman empire stood. "We are at the beginning," says Dr. Crapsey—"we are at the beginning, not at the end, of the Christian era."—*The Public.*

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## BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Heart of the Railroad Problem. By Frank Parsons, Ph. D. Published by Little, Brown & Co., Boston. To be reviewed.

—War Inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ. By David Low Dodge. With an Introduction by Edwin D. Mead. Published by Ginn & Co., Boston. To be reviewed.

—Double Trouble; or, Every Hero His Own Villain. By Herbert Quick, author of "Aladdin & Co." and "In the Fairyland of America." With illustrations by Orson Lowell. Published by The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis. To be reviewed.

## PAMPHLETS

In "The Growing Complexities of Legislation" Don Ensminger Mowry, of the University of Wisconsin (Madison), shows that American governments are neither democratic nor representative. His remedy for the resulting evils would require annual legislative sessions, election of legislators for two years, a

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legislative bureau in the state department, and the election of governor for four years. These reforms would doubtless improve the efficiency of legislatures, but legislative efficiency is not necessarily inconsistent with the evils of machine rule, and those evils these reforms would hardly remove. They might intensify them.

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Zola's "Modern Marriage" (translated and published by Ben'j. R. Tucker, New York), a dramatic essay in which figure four types of marriage—the aristocratic, the plutocratic, the small business and the working man—is probably as false to the truth in general regarding marriage, even in France, as selected instances usually are to the truth in general with reference to any subject. If this monograph has any lesson at all of value it is this: that leisure at one extreme, poverty at the other, money-grabbing clinging to the former, money-grubbing rising from the latter, are conditions which alike are debasing even to so natural and exalted an institution as marriage.

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## PERIODICALS

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The time will come when the editorials now appearing from month to month in the Westminster Review will be recognized as the words of prophecy in the social and economic history of England. The number for April contains a most remarkable exposition of the weakness of orthodox socialism, and sets forth in the clearest way the true direction, by the abolition of privilege, in which lies the path of effective democracy.—J. H. D.

Tucker's "Liberty" (New York) calls especial attention, in the April number, to the open letter of Vladimir Korolenko, author of "The Blind Musician," written to the Russian state councilor, Tilonoff, which is republished in full in the same number. It indeed presents a terrible picture of absolutism in Russia. Mr. Tucker's experience with the United States post-office, of which he gives another instance editorially, is instructive. Imagine the exclusion of a package from the mails by a postmaster until he can get a ruling from Washington, because it bore a label containing this "dangerous" legend: "Considering what a nuisance the government is, the man who says we cannot get rid of it must be called a confirmed pessimist!"

Everybody's for May devotes a special article to Panama, the result of an investigation by Lindsay Denison, a representative of the magazine, made with the aid of a letter from President Roosevelt ordering government officers and employes to tell Mr. Denison the whole truth. Mr. Lawson's promised remedy for frenzied finance has been further postponed for reasons he states in a characteristic article on "some after-claps of frenzied finance." But the most important and startling article of this number is Upton Sinclair's reply to J. Ogden Armour, in which Mr. Sinclair expressly confirms the packing house exposures in his book, "The Jungle," and puts Mr. Armour on the defensive by making circumstantial charges of putting condemned meat on the food market. Mr. Upton supplements this accusation with a charge of using hush money.

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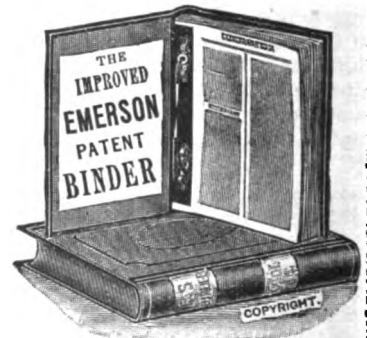
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