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EDITORIAL

Test Occasions.

There are occasions in politics when he who is not against the crooks is for them.

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The Democratic Plight in Illinois and Ohio.

With a notorious franchise grabber and his gang

of political crooks in control of the Democratic machinery of Illinois, and a coterie of political crooks in control of the Democratic machinery of Ohio, the democratic Democrats of those States have a hard two years' work before them.

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A Tale of Two Conventions.

The Democratic convention for Illinois was a tumultuous gathering, long drawn out, and disorderly to the last degree. Genuine democracy and honest politics were fighting for life against franchise grabbers and politicians-for-revenue-only. But the Republican convention for Illinois was as quiet and quick and orderly as a capital execution. The spoils having been divided in advance between the "goods" and the "bads," nothing remained for the convention to do but ratify the compromise.

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Necessity for Direct Primaries.

The experience of the people of Illinois of both parties with the fake primary law for which they are indebted to the subtle Gov. Deneen, has demonstrated the necessity for a substitution for the Deneen primary law of a direct primary law. What is needed is a law that will enable the voters of the parties to dethrone the bosses; and a direct primary law would do that. But bossism is legalized by the Deneen primary law.

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Bryan and the Plutocrats.

When Bryan began to loom large in the political sky, the Belmonts of the East and their coadjutors of the West prepared to take advantage of his popularity and turn it to their own despicable uses. Bryan was never in a more delicate position. The conspicuous appearance of this gold-laced rabble, apparently as his friends and sponsors, sent a chill like a breeze from an iceberg through the marrow of the democratic Democracy of the whole country. But all this has been changed by Bryan's pointed notice to these parasites, through his repudiation of their henchman Sullivan of Illinois, that he will lead no carnival for such as they. It was the best thing to do. Yet it was an act of supreme courage which only a man who would rather be right than be President could rise to. The climax of it all was capped when Bryan cabled to the Democrats of Illinois on the eve of their convention that he wanted no endorsement for the

Presidency from a convention that would load down his campaign with men of the Sullivanic type.

* *

Roosevelt's Campaign Document.

On labor questions, Mr. Roosevelt's Macedonian cry to the voters speaks volumes for his self-restraint, he being an honorary member of a trade union; on the tariff question it reads like a tract of the Protective Tariff League revised by Mr. Bunsby.

* *

The Radical Democracy.

Radical literature is finding its way into strange places when the Bankers' Magazine makes way for a professor of economics to assert that great fortunes are a menace to American institutions and radically to explain why it is. This is what the Bankers' Magazine has done, however, for F. Spencer Baldwin of the Boston University. As a rule, professors of economics are apt to scatter in their minds; but Prof. Baldwin appears to have kept his mind centered upon the true issue and to have grasped it by the throat. He is not enamored of the present puerile notions of hitting big fortunes with a feather. He sees that the logical path lies in the direction of preventing the accumulation of these fortunes otherwise than by rendering proportionate service to society, and that this necessitates the abolition of special privileges in all the resources which enable individuals and corporations to exploit the public. Prof. Baldwin may be saying more than he realizes when he says that. For if all legal privileges which enable individuals and corporations to exploit the public were abolished, we should see the abolition of some things that this Boston professor may not have taken into the account. But he is expressing sound doctrine, whether he realizes its full import or not.

* *

The Source of Power of the Trust.

The Iron Age, greatest among all the monopolistic trade papers, makes a notable confession when in its issue of the 9th, writing on steel trust corporations, it says that "the common thinking which makes blast furnaces and steel works the chief representatives of values needs to be reversed." Greater than all other advantages "on which the prospectuses laid stress," according to the Age, "is the asset of mineral wealth." This is the view The Public has long been urging. Not upon their machinery do great trusts rest, nor in that does their power lie; machinery can be reproduced too

easily, if labor has ready access to raw material. The real basis and power of a great trust is in the land it monopolizes—mineral deposits for steel trusts, terminal locations for railroad trusts, and so on down to a sugar trust, a salt trust, a lumber trust, or a building trust.

* *

An Astute Observer.

Mayor McClellan, who has charged himself with the duty of guarding corporation interests in the traction systems of New York, has investigated the municipalized systems of Germany and found them no good. But he does not explain why European cities persist in following the bad example of those that have municipalized this function. Possibly it is because they have not yet learned how good and how pleasant a thing it is for cities to be Belmonted as New York has been. Mayor McClellan should have told the Germans about it.

* *

A Successful Government Telegraph.

The Alaska telegraph and cable lines, owned by the United States government and operated by the United States signal corps, are reported to have made \$26,117.95 in the month of July last in commercial service. They are operated primarily for military and other governmental purposes. It is only incidentally that they are utilized for commercial purposes. Yet in that one month they have earned a quarter as much as the most optimistic predicted their possible earnings for a whole year, when they were installed. Would private operation of this public business have resulted as favorably to the public?

* *

Farmers and Taxation.

After many years of experience with the fiscal theory of trying to tax everything in sight, and as much of value that isn't in sight as can be got at, the tax commission of California has tentatively decided to recommend an improvement upon this mediaeval method of obtaining public revenues. Finding that personal property cannot be fairly taxed, it proposes to abolish such taxation; and as another step forward it recommends separating State from local taxation, and leaving all localities free to select their own taxable subjects. One most interesting fact which this commission has discovered is that the farmers in California have been paying the equivalent of an income tax of ten per cent., whereas manufacturers have been paying only about two per cent. of their incomes. This

is a valuable commentary on the general property tax. Farmers seem very anxious to retain this tax; but when they awake to realities, they will not be so anxious, we suspect, to tax either personal property or landed improvements. They will thereafter be more disposed, probably, to advocate exemptions of improvements and personal property, and to put all taxes on land by a value measurement. Taking the farmers of the whole United States, it is probable that while they pay considerably more than one-half of all the taxes that are paid, probably not less than 60 or 70 per cent. of all taxes, yet they own less than ten per cent. of all the land values of the country. But because the area of land which they own is so much larger than the area owned by other interests, these poor dupes imagine that a tax on land values would bear most heavily upon them. It would be interesting to hear them, or any of the persons who dupe them in this way, explain how a tax that would fall exclusively upon the value of a kind of property of which they own only one-tenth, could be prejudicial to their interests as compared with present taxes which fall upon them to the extent of six or seven-tenths.

* * *

THE MAIL ORDER BUSINESS.*

About ten years ago the retail trade, as well in America as in Europe, was greatly disturbed over the introduction of a new departure in retail business, the department store. The small retailer, finding that his old time methods were not capable of competing with the labor-saving organization of the department store, considered himself entitled to protection against the new system, and demanded in many cases that legislation should step in, and new taxes be imposed, in order to check the growth of institutions which were, in fact, nothing but the outcome of a well-developed industrial and mercantile capability.

Such efforts, however, were futile. The department store proved to be a step in business progress, and had come to stay. To-day the agitation against the department store is not heard of any more; the fact, not only of its right to exist, but also of its important services, is realized.

At the present time, however, the small retailer as well as the department stores both meet with a new competitor, the mail order house. The same agitation which once turned against the depart-

ment stores is now applied to this line of business, and the very same arguments are used. It seems as if the prevailing idea is that every established trade or profession possesses a monopoly in its particular line, and that every proposition to perform a certain kind of work in a cheaper, simpler, or better way must always be met with opposition, in order to secure the continuation of the existing monopoly of a certain class in a certain field of industrial activity.

*

The active phase of the agitation against the mail order houses was entered upon more than two years ago at a conference held at St. Louis by the hardware retailers and jobbers. The retailers, having found that their methods of buying and selling could not secure to them the trade which the mail order houses absorbed, instead of admitting the inferiority of their methods, declared war upon the mail order business. They adopted a committee report which, although well worded and carefully and sympathetically expressing the conditions of their trade, practically said nothing less than that the hardware dealers consider that they have a monopoly on the hardware trade. It belongs to them, and they are at liberty to carry it on by means of any methods convenient. In fact, the report expresses the sentiment that the present methods are practically perfect, and that no one should be permitted to buy or sell hardware by any other methods; and lastly, if anyone attempts to sell hardware in any other manner than by the route of manufacturer-jobber-dealer-consumer, he is to be considered as an enemy to the whole hardware trade, and manufacturers who supply such concerns are to be boycotted by jobbers and dealers alike.

At first it may seem that this resolution is somewhat presumptuous. However, the hardware dealers adopted it purely for self-protection, and however great may be the failure of the dealers to perceive the principles of economic laws, their report contains nothing which is not advanced continually by every defender of monopoly in any conceivable form. It will prove futile for the dealers to try to fight the natural development of the methods of commercial life. But they are no more to blame for trying to fight this development than are protectionists for trying to fight free trade. In both cases it is a one-sided view of things which leads to a one-sided conclusion.

A great impetus has recently been offered to the combination of the war upon mail order business by the reported incorporation of a large Chicago mail order house under the laws of New York

*When referring to mail order business in this article only mercantile houses of business integrity and established reputation are considered. All "get-rich-quick" schemes which have often in the press been termed mail order business, are left entirely out of consideration.

State. The capitalization is greater than anything as yet heard of in purely mercantile business, and the amount of the trade of this house is surprising, and indicates plainly the superiority of methods employed. While in the past the mail order business was carried on mainly in the West, originally only for supplying places and territories with only a very inferior retail trade, it is now appearing in the East, and it is safe to predict that its success here will equal that gained in the West.

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That the influences which have inaugurated the agitation against the mail order business have not neglected to bring pressure upon persons in high political office is evident, and in at least one instance we have heard reported antagonism to mail order business by one of our most prominent public men. Governor Folk is reported to have said in a public address that the town which was good enough for a person to live in, and to earn a living in, was also good enough for him to buy and trade in. It is doubtful whether Mr. Folk actually meant exactly what he said. However, if he did, while we have the highest respect for all that he has achieved for good and pure government, we must differ with him on this particular point of commercial economics. For while his statement as reported above seems very reasonable, it will be found upon the slightest analysis of its real meaning to be an impossible proposition for a modern community. It does not conform to the fundamental conceptions of the laws of trading, and it is essentially monopolistic in its character.

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Having established beyond doubt that there does exist an antagonistic feeling toward mail order houses, this antagonism having found expression through so many different channels, we will now see to what extent, if any, this antagonism is justified, or whether it is solely on the ground that the mail order business constitutes an undesirable but powerful competitor. We will also examine the causes for the existence of a mail order business, and if our examination carries us to the conclusion that this exponent of modern commercial life is a step toward progress, and a factor in the interests of the general public, then we will endeavor to find what could be done to further the progress of facilitating distribution in this way.

The success of a mail order house depends upon a simple economic law. The methods employed must be such as to permit the reduction of the cost of handling goods in order to offer them to the consumer at a smaller price than that asked for

the same class of goods by retail dealers. The cost of manufacture is the same in both cases. The goods differ in price solely on account of reduced selling expenses, effected by the simple system of the mail order house which either itself is the manufacturer, or which buys directly from the manufacturer in such quantities as to permit the most favorable prices. It is unreasonable to demand that goods, which can be sold cheaper by distributing them as directly from the manufacturing establishment to the consumer as possible, should be handled in a more expensive way only in order to make the final consumer pay for the living of a number of people not necessary in the distribution. In fact, such a proposition seems so absurd that it would not be worth mentioning, if it were not for the fact that our economic system has impressed upon us that what we want is to create the greatest possible amount of *work*, not the greatest possible amount of *products* of work. If the men who are now finding their services to a great extent superfluous in the distribution of goods, were free to turn their activity to production of more goods instead of asking for a monopoly of handling those manufactured by others, then the increased production would mean cheaper prices (price being compared with the amount of labor expended in securing the goods), and the greater economy which could be exercised as well in manufacturing as in distribution would be welcome to all. But when these same men know that the channels of useful activity are limited, although they may not perceive the cause for this, it is natural that they should use all their influence to resist the progress which would force them out of employment. Thus we realize that, while any means for cheapening production and distribution are desirable in themselves, the effect upon the conditions of the larger class of people, as long as we permit economic maladjustment to exist, is not one of the greatest common good. The same fight that organized labor has always fought against improved machinery is now reappearing in the fight by the retail traders against improved facilities for the exchange of products. But in the same degree as the antagonisms of labor toward machinery have been unjustifiable, so the antagonism of dealers on a small scale toward the more economical mail order house is unjustifiable. The attention of the small dealers as well as of men working for wages in the manufacture of goods should not be directed so much upon wanting *work*, as upon wanting an adequate distribution of the *products* of their work. If this could be forcibly put before them and acted upon, then objection to

producing and distributing goods with the least expenditure would not meet with opposition.

The justification for the antagonism is thus solely one of ignorance of true economic principles. While such ignorance makes the opposition to progress explainable, and partly excusable, it still cannot stand for any length of time in the way of true development, and the existence of the more economical way of distributing goods is in no danger from the agitation from such opposition.

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If we now turn our attention to the causes for the development of the mail order house, they are more apparent, even to the superficial observer. In the first place the cheapness of the goods effected by the manner of buying and selling, is the greatest factor. In the second place we must count upon the reduction of expense for advertising. The mail order houses as a rule advertise very little in regular papers and periodicals, but their main advertising strength is in their catalogs. By means of the catalog a fuller description of the goods can be afforded than by regular newspaper advertising, and a possibility of reaching the customer with convincing arguments is afforded the mail order house in a greater degree than it is to the small retailer. The third great factor in building up the mail order business has been the necessity in such a business to treat customers fairly and honestly. The mail order house has to sell at its own risk, if it wants to sell at all. No one would wish to buy on a mail order basis, if he were not at liberty to return the goods if not satisfactory. In this particular perhaps the mail order house has been a great factor in securing business integrity and honest representation of goods for sale. In fact, the mail order business has universally earned a reputation for honesty, and it has become a well established fact that a customer is more sure of getting honest value for his money when buying goods he has not seen, than when buying goods he is at liberty to examine, but is not an expert in passing judgment upon.

Besides these main causes for the success and development of this new line of business, there are a number of minor ones. The large mail order house can afford to keep a greater variety of goods in stock, and thus to suit its customers' requirements better. They usually sell only on a cash basis, thus securing to their customers the benefit of not having to pay the "bad debts" of others. In short, the mail order house is, if viewed from an impartial point of standing, the most perfect factor in the distribution of manufactured goods as yet devised, and, whatever the opposition, as

long as the public is served satisfactorily the mail order business is not only bound to succeed, but fills a place in modern business life which no retailing business, however perfected in its local management, could replace.

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The further progress of the mail order business would be greatly facilitated by the establishment of a parcel post in connection with our postal department. The opposition to this has hitherto been carried on by the express companies, but it is reasonably expected that in the future the small retailers and the department stores will be willing to join in the opposition. However, such an opposition is simply an expression of the same spirit of monopoly referred to above. The customers who patronize the largest mail order houses usually pay their own transportation charges, and while the establishment of a parcel post would be a great impetus to mail order business, it would confer special privileges upon no one, inasmuch as the advantages could be shared by the public in general, and still more because the mail order business is a purely competitive business. The establishment of a parcel post would *establish* no new monopoly, but would *destroy* a very powerful and extorting one, the express monopoly.

It has been argued that the parcel post with a uniform rate all over the country is inequitable. It is true that it is. But the uniform rate exists in all postal matters, and it has never been argued that, for instance, a publisher in New York should pay any higher rate for his bulky magazines when sent to San Francisco than when sent to Albany. If, however, a more equitable system is demanded in regard to the parcel post, it is not impossible to divide the country up into zones, a provision novel to postal business, but still not inconceivable, if it should be deemed best in order to secure a satisfactory adjustment.

The rural free delivery system, for instance, is as inequitable in itself as is the parcel post with a uniform rate. But we never hear any serious objections to the former system. The postal department is not organized on the principle of exacting the precise price for every individual service. To attempt to do that would involve such an expenditure of labor as to increase the expense which it takes to handle all the mail at uniform rates. And it is purely a case void of logic to assert the inequitable features of a parcel post with uniform rates, but at the same time not attack our existing uniform rates for second, third and fourth class matters. The mercantile mail order business has an equal right to consideration with the publishing

business. If a line is drawn between them, it must be drawn on well defined grounds, and logical reasons must be offered.

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Lastly, let us consider the more sentimental objection to mail order business—the objection that one should be a true patriot to one's locality, and spend one's money at home. Supposing a person buys a suit of clothes from a local dealer. Does he actually spend his money "at home"? Perhaps the wool came from Australia, the goods were spun and woven in an English mill, part of the price constituted customs duties paid into the United States treasury, a New York tailoring firm made the cloth into clothes, the lining was cotton from Mississippi, spun and woven in a New England cotton mill, and perhaps some silk for the buttonholes came from France. The buttons were of German manufacture, and the goods were finally handled by a wholesale house in Chicago, which sold it to the local dealer in a small town in Missouri. Now, *how much of the \$20* paid for the suit is actually expended in the local town (well, of course, the local dealer knows)? And what injustice to his town's industrial development does the man do if he buys the same suit for a few dollars less from a mail order house in Chicago? Would not the man have the few dollars saved by such a transaction to spend on something which perhaps was actually manufactured in his own town? At any rate, what more good would the money he saves do in the pockets of the local dealer than in the pockets of the man who had himself earned them in the same town, and continued to live and work there?

If the mail order business does fail to live up to its past and present standards it will disappear by itself. But as long as it is honestly conducted, as long as it is a labor-saving device in modern business life, and as long as the local dealers do not try to perfect their methods, so long the mail order business is a purely logical outcome of existing conditions, and the monopolistic spirit which denounces this business, because of the keen competition it affords, is entitled to no consideration.

ERIC OBERG.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

AUSTRALIA.

Corowa, N. S. W., July 20.—In the Federal parliament the first business taken up was the "Australian Industries preservation bill," usually called the "Anti-trust bill," which was thrown out last session (vol viii, p. 781). This time the Labor party supported it; and it has been passed by the House

and sent to the Senate. As it may be amended I shall not go into details at present; but as it stands now it is the worst example of paternalism and government by regulation yet passed.

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You will have heard of the very sudden death of Mr. Richard Seddon, premier of New Zealand. He had been on a short visit to Australia, and died at sea the day after leaving Sydney on the return voyage. Though without definite political principles he was democratic in most respects. Much of the legislation passed by the governments of which he was head was beneficial, and New Zealand suffers a great loss by his death.

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Rabbits have increased so rapidly in the eastern States of Australia that they have become a terrible pest. The New South Wales minister for lands stated recently that the government lands in the western division, which are let on lease, had decreased in value £8,000,000 owing to the rabbit plague, and rents had to be lowered in proportion. Private landowners are put to great and continual expense to keep down the number of rabbits. On the other hand, a large trade has grown up in the rabbit carcasses and skins which are largely exported. But of course it is far more profitable for the country as a whole to grow sheep and cattle than to export rabbits.

Some time ago a committee was formed in New South Wales, funds raised by subscription principally among the large landowners, and negotiations entered into with the Pasteur Institute, Paris, with the object of trying to destroy rabbits by disease. An agreement was made after some time, and now Dr. Danysz has arrived to make experiments. The New South Wales government set apart Broughton Island off Newcastle, N. S. W., for this purpose, and all experiments are to be carried on under government supervision. Dr. Danysz proposes to use a microbic disease called a "pasteurella," somewhat akin to chicken cholera. He declares it will not affect any animal but the rabbit. The scheme has aroused a great deal of opposition on the grounds that the disease may affect human beings and domestic animals, and that the rabbit trade will be destroyed.

ERNEST BRAY.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

Week ending Wednesday, August 22.

Earthquakes in South America.

Earthquakes which rival if they do not surpass in destructiveness San Francisco's "tremblor" of last April (pp. 56, 78) have nearly wiped out Valparaiso,

the seaport of the South American State of Chile, and have inflicted great damage at Santiago, the capital, and at a number of smaller cities. Word was received in the United States under date of the 16th from Buenos Ayres that on account of a terrible earthquake in the Andes communication with Chile had been cut off. Later came the news that at eight o'clock on Thursday evening, Aug. 16th, the district of Chile in which Valparaiso and Santiago are situated had been shaken by a most violent earthquake. At once whole rows of houses in Valparaiso collapsed, and, as in San Francisco, within fifteen minutes fires appeared in different parts of the city. The shocks continued all during the night and afterwards, and by Aug. 20th 381 shocks had been recorded as having been felt since the first, which was the most terrific. Water gave out, and winds swept the fires, once believed to be extinguished, to renewed destruction. Apparently not more than 20 per cent. of the buildings of the city have escaped. The loss of life is estimated at from 3,000 to 5,000. Among the dead is Senora Montt, the wife of Admiral Montt, the President-elect. Valparaiso has been a city of about 125,000 population, and the press reports speak of 100,000 persons being encamped in much misery in the squares of the city and on the heights above. Food is lacking and cold rains have added to the suffering. In Santiago many buildings were thrown down, and fire followed. The dead there are reported as 55, and the property loss as \$6,000,000. Many small towns suffered relatively more than Santiago. Eleven in Chile and three in Argentina are believed to be practically demolished. One of the Chilean towns—Quillota, 30 miles from Valparaiso, with 10,000 inhabitants—after suffering greatly from the first shocks, was reported on the 21st, as a result of a later shock, to have wholly sunk from sight, with all its inhabitants save about a hundred. The Island of Juan Fernandez, often called "Robinson Crusoe's island," which lay about four hundred miles west of Valparaiso in the Pacific, and belonged to Chile, has wholly disappeared. In the early part of the 18th century a Scotch castaway lived on this island for four years, and his adventures formed the basis of Defoe's immortal story. In the early part of the last century it was used by the Chilean government as a convict settlement, out of more recent years it has been but sparsely inhabited.

An earthquake shock was reported from Quito, the capital of Ecuador, on the 21st, and shocks were reported from the Island of Martinique, in the West Indies, on the 14th and 20th.

Mr. Root in South America.

At a state banquet given to him at Buenos Ayres on the 14th (p. 464), Elihu Root, Secretary of State of the United States, delivered another of the series of speeches which are making so much impression in South America. In this speech Mr. Root said to the people of Argentina:

We rejoice in your prosperity. We are proud of your achievements. We feel that you are justifying our faith in free government and self-government, that you are maintaining our great thesis, which demands the posses-

sion, the enjoyment and the control of the earth to the people who inhabit it.

Here as elsewhere Mr. Root's utterances have been received with the most profound gratification. The Brazilian government has recognized the import of the speeches Mr. Root delivered at Rio (p. 417) by changing the name of the building in which the sessions of the Pan-American Conference have been held, from "Pavillion St. Louis" to the "Monroe Palace."

In view of the terrible calamity which has befallen Chile, Mr. Root will limit his proposed visit there to a call for the expression of sympathy.

The Pan-American and the Drago Doctrine.

The Pan-American Conference's committee on the Drago doctrine, which declares against the use of armed force for the collection of public debts (p. 395), recommends that the individual countries composing the Conference ask the Hague tribunal to pass upon the merits of the proposition, not only with regard to the forcible collection of public debts, but of all pecuniary claims.

Threatened Revolution in Cuba.

A revolt against President Palma's government (p. 130) which does not seem to be based on any political issue, was reported from Cuba under date of the 19th, when seven Liberal leaders were arrested on the charge of conspiring to assassinate the President and overthrow his administration. Disorder and outlawry had been growing in the western provinces where bands of so-called rebels have been gathering. Their grievances are said to be that the government has been most unjust in the matter of elections and appointments, and has not carried out its promises of public improvements. Troops have been sent to the disturbed districts.

Threatened Revolution in Santo Domingo.

Santo Domingo, which comprises the eastern half of the large island southeast of Cuba, is disturbed by revolutionary bands presumed to be acting in the interests of the former President Jimenez. The press dispatches make no connection between the outbreak and the return to the United States on a vacation of Col. George C. Colton, who is in charge of the collection and impounding of the Santo Domingo customs, under American jurisdiction. It may be remembered, however, that Santo Domingo's last revolutionary event, which involved no bloodshed, occurred last December (vol. viii, p. 630) when Col. Colton took charge of the customs. In regard to the customs, Col. Colton reports that "despite the fact that the Dominican customs produced greater revenues last year than ever before, averaging more than \$200,000 per month, the comparative collections thus far this year are about one-third more."

Terrorism in Russia.

Deprived of self-government through the dispersal of its first national assembly (p. 393), the baffled mass of Russian life seems to be gradually working

self into a fury too blind to know fear. The statistics of the week ending the 18th showed that fifty-eight officials were murdered and forty-three were wounded in Russia proper; that fifty bomb depots were discovered; that six safes were rifled of money and that sixty-three persons were robbed. These official figures do not take into account the pillaging in the country. The center of the movement has seemed to be in Poland, and on the 18th three bombs were thrown at the Governor-general of Warsaw, wounding him seriously. Official Russia is reported to be panic-stricken, no official's life being deemed safe. The police are included in this panic, and not without reason, for reports of the 16th from St. Petersburg stated that on that day scores of policemen, soldiers and petty officials had been shot down; and that at Aelotsk, at a preconcerted signal, every policeman in the streets was killed or wounded. More remarkable still is the account of a rout of the Cossacks by organized peasants, armed only with their agricultural instruments. Says a press report of Aug. 17th:

A detachment of thirty Cossacks had been dispatched from the town of Penza to a neighboring village to arrest agitators. The villagers sounded the tocsin on the church bell, whereupon a crowd of 500 peasants, armed with scythes and other rustic weapons, gathered and advanced to the rescue of the prisoners. Undaunted by the Cossacks' whips and sabers, the peasants charged and forced the Cossacks to take refuge behind a stone wall. A volley from the carbines of the Cossacks failed to check the peasants, and finally the soldiers were obliged to flee. The peasants are reported to have fought more like wild animals than human beings.

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Ten of the Kronstadt mutineers, whose trial began on the 14th (p. 462), were condemned to death. The larger number were sentenced to terms of imprisonment at hard labor.

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The credit of \$7,500,000 voted by the Douma for mine relief (p. 370), has been exhausted. The government is expected to have recourse to an internal loan of \$27,500,000 to provide further means to prevent starvation and for seed for a new crop in the mine district. The St. Petersburg newspapers are said to report that Americans are negotiating for the purchase of the Nerchinsk gold mines, which "are supposed to contain quartz worth \$2,000,000,000," and which have been the source of a great scandal, implicating several of the grand dukes. The court "crowd" is believed to be anxious to dispose of them; it is said that the Americans are wary of purchasing a concession which might later be repudiated by a people's parliament.

+ +

Advanced Civilization in the Far East.

Reports of how the Japanese met and conquered their famine of last fall, have reached this country. They seem to have acted with a broad grasp of general measures combined with an attention to detail at the West has probably never equalled in similar emergencies. The famine extended over a densely populated area 200 miles long and 75 miles wide. Early in the famine the people took to eating the roots and leaves of trees and shrubs, acorns and

straw. The government met this condition, since starvation will not wait, by sending chemists to ascertain the food values of these emergency rations, and to explain them to the people in lectures, in which they pointed out the suitable roots and leaves, and directed them in the preparation of food from acorns. The poisonous plants were described and food values demonstrated. In a few weeks contributions of food and money began to arrive, which the government distributed with care that the people should not be pauperized. In every village headquarters were established and food was given to last three days, but in no instance did it exceed in amount 2½ cents a day for each person. No money was given. Supervision was sufficiently minute to make certain that every man, woman and child was looked after. But most notable were the arrangements for the future. In distributing funds the government required the tilling of all lands. Says the Chicago Record-Herald, from which we have condensed the foregoing:

Laborers were put into fields which had been barren for two years, and they were cultivated and made ready for a rice crop. There was no confiscation. The government was looking to the prosperity of its people, and after tilling the ground and putting in the crop turned it over to the owner and said: "here is your farm ready to produce. See to it that you make every effort to keep the ground tilled, and pay back in five years the cost of what the government has done."

Naturally, in such readjustments the "land question," as it is called in England, the "agrarian question" as it is called in Russia, came to the fore. It is reported that the government found many rice fields poorly laid out, and these it replotted with a regulation that each field was to be about one-fourth of an acre. And "if when surveyed it was found that a farmer did not have the required area, enough land was taken from his neighbors, and the local officials established the price to be paid for it." And the report states further that "this regulation is being enforced gradually throughout the Empire."

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The Filipino Independence Party.

On the first of July the Independence Party of the Philippines was formally inaugurated at Manila, at the Restaurant Luzon, by representative committees from the different provinces. The essential features of the party's platform, according to the Manila Renacimiento, as translated in the Springfield Republican, are:

To obtain the immediate independence of the Philippine Islands, so that they can constitute themselves as a sovereign, free and independent nation, protected, through the intervention of the United States of America, by an international treaty, which shall establish and guarantee forever the neutrality of the islands.

The party binds itself to work ad interim "for the establishment of two legislative chambers, to be elected by vote; for the complete separation of the branches of government; for provincial and municipal autonomy; for the realization of Roosevelt's principle, that the present government should be converted into a government of Filipinos, assisted by Americans; for the reorganization of the civil service on a more just basis."

President Roosevelt's Campaign Letter.

In view of the approaching Congressional campaign, President Roosevelt has written a campaign letter to Congressman James E. Watson of Indiana, which was given out by Mr. Roosevelt for publication on the 20th. It is a long document, evidently prepared with care as a campaign key note, and the subjects covered are numerous; it is in substance, however, a letter of approval of the course of conduct of the present Congress.

* *

Democratic Politics in Illinois.

The Democratic convention for Illinois (p. 464) met at Peoria on the 21st in great confusion. It was understood that a contest over the continued control of the party machinery of the State by Roger C. Sullivan, the head of the gas franchise interests in Chicago, would be brought to a test, Mr. Bryan having confirmed his previous declaration regarding Mr. Sullivan (p. 419) by cabling a request that the convention either repudiate Sullivan or refrain from endorsing himself for the Presidency.

* *

Mr. Sullivan's candidate for temporary chairman, Judge Carroll C. Boggs, was elected without opposition, Congressman Rainey having withdrawn as a candidate upon receiving assurances that a resolution asking Mr. Sullivan to resign as national committee man would be given a fair hearing and a roll call. Candidates, with Nicholas L. Piotrowski of Chicago for State treasurer at the head of the list, were nominated perfunctorily before recess. Among the candidates were Caroline Grote for superintendent of public instruction, the first nomination by either party of a woman for that office.

* *

After recess the chairman of the committee on resolutions, ex-Congressman Kern, reported the platform. On national matters it condemns the tariff for fostering trusts and extorting money from American workingmen, denounces the Republicans in Congress for surrendering to the railroads and the trusts, opposes the ship subsidy, favors postal savings banks, nationalization of telephones and telegraphs, and endorses Wm. J. Bryan for president. It also demands a direct primary law, an eight-hour work day, a rigid child labor law and strict factory and mine inspection.

* *

After presenting the platform Mr. Kern announced that the committee had rejected the resolution calling for Mr. Sullivan's resignation from the national committee, but had agreed to its presentation as a minority report. This presentation was made by Judge O. P. Thompson, though with great difficulty, for the Sullivan delegates and attendants drowned his voice with disorderly noises until at last Mr. Sullivan requested quiet and the noises subsided. Congressman Rainey also spoke for the resolution. Mr. Sullivan spoke against it. Mr. Kern moved to table the resolution, and Samuel Alschuler supported his motion on the ground that this was "not the time and place for this thing to be considered." When the Cook County vote was announced, 500 for tabling and

35 opposed, Western Starr and Charles H. Mitchell, delegates from Cook, challenged the vote and demanded a roll call of the county, whereupon they were assailed by a mob and violently thrust from the floor. The result as announced from the chair, a roll call of delegates having been denied and only a roll call of counties taken, was 1,038 for tabling the resolution, 570 opposed, and 51 not voting. The platform was then adopted and the convention adjourned.

* *

Republican Politics in Illinois.

While the Democratic convention of Illinois was in boisterous session at Peoria, the Republican convention (p. 458) was peaceably at work at Springfield. It remained in session only four hours, and every vote was unanimous. President Roosevelt was commended in the platform, which, on the tariff question, declared:

We do not hold that any particular schedule of tariff duties must be of endless duration, but, on the contrary, when changing business and industrial conditions shall be benefited by a modification of any existing tariff schedule the Republican party holds itself ready to make such needed changes. The necessity for such change, however, must not arise from any special interest, but must arise from a fair and candid consideration of all the business and industrial interests of the whole country.

The remainder of the platform is simply commendatory of Republican policies and officials. The convention nominated John F. Smulski of Chicago to head the ticket as candidate for State treasurer.

* *

Socialist Politics in Illinois.

The convention of the Socialist party for Illinois was held at Chicago on the 21st. Its nominee for State treasurer is W. E. McDermott and for superintendent of public instruction, May Wood Simons.

* *

Democratic Politics in Ohio.

In Ohio the Democratic convention met at Columbus on the 21st. Press dispatches tell of the defeat of Mayor Johnson by Harvey L. Garber, an old-fashioned machine politician, for control of the State committee. But Johnson was not a candidate for chairman, and Garber's election seems to have been expected. The only basis for referring to it as a defeat of Johnson rests upon Johnson's public notice of a few days before that he would not allow political crooks to manage the Democratic party of the State without a protest. He appears to have made a protest, but with full knowledge that Garber controlled a large majority of the delegates, secured through State patronage under the late Governor Pattison. Garber was consequently elected chairman of the State committee. Mayor Johnson had made a clean sweep of the Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) primaries and Mayor Dempsey had done the same (p. 467) at the Hamilton County (Cincinnati) primaries, both in a contest against corporations and machine politicians.

* *

Conventions in Other States.

The Democratic convention for Nebraska (p. 466) in session at Lincoln on the 15th, described Bryan

as "the first citizen of the world," whose political birth had occurred in Nebraska and who is now the accepted leader of the Democracy of the nation. It nominated Ashton C. Shallenberger for governor, and on the 16th a fusion was made with the People's party, W. H. Thompson, the fusion candidate for governor four years ago, being endorsed for the United States Senate.

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At the Democratic convention for Texas on the 15th Wm. J. Bryan was endorsed for President and Senator Bailey for re-election as United States Senator; and on the 16th the convention nominated Thomas M. Campbell for governor.

+

The Republican Convention for Texas nominated Carey A. Grey for governor on the 15th.

+ +

Municipal Conditions in Kansas City, Kansas.

The reports that Kansas City, Kansas, is on the verge of bankruptcy in consequence of rigid enforcement of the prohibition law (p. 443), are confirmed, notwithstanding that the facts have been denied in general terms by local papers and public men. As in other frontier cities in Kansas the prohibition law had not been enforced for a quarter of a century, and by means of police court fines, forfeited bail deposits, etc., its violation has been made a source of municipal revenue. Kansas City's revenues from this source have averaged \$265.00 a day. Mayor Rose did not interfere with this policy, he having been elected on another issue, the checking of the aggressions of public utilities corporations; but when he began to proceed seriously against these corporations, he was selected by the State authorities for prosecution under the prohibition law (p. 348), and now, in consequence of that prosecution, the law is rigidly enforced in his city. It has not materially stopped the consumption of liquor there, for a "bucket brigade" is busily carrying beer across the border from Missouri; but it has reduced the municipal income by \$265 a day, which raises the daily deficit from about \$35 to about \$300. This deficit cannot be reduced for two reasons: first because the tax rate limit on property has been reached, and under the law no higher rate can be imposed; secondly, because property valuations have been cut down so that even the highest statutory rate falls to meet the city's necessities. These valuations had been raised \$13,000,000 by Mayor Rose's appointee as assessor, of which \$5,000,000 was on packing house property; but the county commission reduced that increase. It is regarded as significant that their reduction affected the packing house owners much more favorably in proportion than small home owners.

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One effect of Mayor Rose's contest with the corporations of Kansas City has been his nomination for Congress by the Democratic convention of the Second Kansas district, by a vote of 51 to 50. But as a small representation in the convention was bitterly opposed to his nomination on account of his fight against the corporations and his resistance to

their flank movement on the prohibition question, he handed the nomination back to the convention. Judge Mandford Schoonover, who was then nominated, has declined.

NEWS NOTES

—Henry George, Jr., is to leave New York on Sept. 8th for an extended trip to Japan.

—Baseball is becoming popular in England. Five leagues have been formed in London alone for next season's play.

—The 24th annual convention of the National Association of Newsdealers, Booksellers and Stationers began at Chicago on the 20th.

—A reproduction of the Battle of Antietam of our Civil War, was the feature of the British army manouvers of this summer on Salisbury Plain.

—Thirty-four Filipinos who are students at fourteen American colleges, including four young women, held a first annual reunion at Gross Point park, near Chicago, on the 18th.

—Berlin has a woman bicycle patrol to give first aid to injured animals. The dispatch which tells of her work reports that on one day of last week she treated nineteen horses and two dogs.

—William Randolph Hearst spoke at the Chautauqua at Petersburg, Ill., on the 17th, delivering a long address in which he advocated political action for "honest men and honest measures irrespective of party."

—By a decision of the Supreme Court of New York on the 15th the Consolidated Gas Company has been ordered to supply gas to consumers at 80 cents a thousand as required by the law recently enacted in that State.

—The evening opening of the Chicago public baths has proved that the popular belief in regard to the "hoboes'" dislike for water is unfounded. The bathhouses have been literally besieged by men who are declared to be of the tramp class.

—At the Republican Congressional convention at Danville, Ill., on the 16th, Joseph G. Cannon, Speaker of the House of Representatives, was nominated for Congress for the eighteenth time. He was also recommended for the Presidential nomination.

—The Attorney General of the United States gave an official opinion on the 17th to the effect that under the immigration laws railroad workmen are "unskilled laborers," and therefore that workmen from Mexico cannot be brought into Texas for railroad construction.

—George Fowlds, the distinguished prohibition and single tax leader of New Zealand, who has long been a member of the New Zealand parliament, has been appointed Minister of Education and Minister of Public Health in the cabinet of the new prime minister (pp. 252, 446), Sir Joseph Ward.

—District Attorney Jerome of New York City announced his willingness on the 19th to become the Democratic candidate for governor (p. 442) if the convention nominates him "without any understanding, expressed or implied, other than that if elected" he

will obey his oath of office as he understands it "in letter and spirit."

—William J. Bryan's daughter, Mrs. Ruth Bryan Leavitt, has written a play entitled "Mrs. S. Holmes, Detective," which is to be presented at Keith & Proctor's Union Square Theater, New York, by Maud Turner Gordon and company. Mr. Bryan has promised his daughter that one of the first things he will do after reaching New York will be to see the play.

—The traction disturbances in Brooklyn, N. Y. (p. 467), have ceased for the present, the officers of the company having been arrested for inciting riot. Pending the decision of the highest court, passengers are paying double fare and receiving non-transferable tickets from the company promising repayment if Judge Gaynor's decision against double fare is sustained.

—A building for the use of the promised Persian National Assembly (p. 463) has evidently been in preparation, for a dispatch from Teheran dated the 19th, states that such a building was opened on that day "with solemn ceremony." The clergy who had been in exile for their part in demanding reforms, had returned, and were being entertained for three days by the Shah.

—The finds of rich pearls in the Wabash River, in Illinois, have become so numerous that thousands of mussel diggers from all parts of the United States are making encampments on its banks, first in one place and then in another. Buyers for London and Paris houses are stationed along the river, buying the pearls from the finders. Pearls valued at from \$500 to \$1,000 have been found frequently this summer.

—William J. Bryan, Mrs. Bryan, and their daughter Grace sailed from Gibraltar for New York on the 20th on board the Princess Irene. Mr. Bryan is due to speak at New York on the 30th at Madison Square Garden, at New Haven and Bridgeport on the 31st, at Jersey City on the 1st, at Chicago on the 4th at the Jefferson Club banquet, at Lincoln on the 5th, at St. Louis on the 11th, at Louisville on the 12th and at Cincinnati on the 13th.

—Mr. Zaimis, a former prime minister of Greece, has been appointed High Commissioner of Crete. Crete, which lies in the Mediterranean, southeast of Greece, is an autonomous state under a High Commissioner of the four Powers, Great Britain, Russia, France and Italy, and is subject to the suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey, without tribute. Mr. Zaimis succeeds Prince George of Greece, who had been twice appointed, serving since 1898.

—The Rev. Dr. C. H. Phillips, bishop of the Colored Methodist Episcopal churches in Tennessee, North Carolina, Texas, and portions of New Mexico and Arizona, recognized as one of the leading educators of the South, and a close friend of Booker T. Washington, was ejected on the 20th, with his wife, from a Pullman sleeping car en route from Nashville to Chicago, because Irving McGrew, a farmer, living near Pulaski, Tenn., objected to their presence.

—A most instructive witness in favor of land value taxation appeared before the special committee of the British Parliament on the Scottish land values taxation bill (pp. 60, 367), at its last meeting prior to the recess till October, in the person of Mr. Peter

Burt. Mr. Burt, an engineer, has been a member of the Glasgow City Council for ten years. The printed outline of his evidence, prepared in advance, is a fine presentation of the taxing policy in question from the point of view of a business man and on the basis of civic expediency.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (see p. 374) for the month ending July 31, 1906, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for July, were as follows (M. standing for merchandize, G. for gold and S. for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M.	\$111,550,440	\$107,621,490	\$3,928,950 exp.
G.	1,303,248	9,838,296	8,535,048 imp.
S.	4,360,628	3,270,927	1,089,701 exp.
	\$117,214,316	\$120,730,713	\$3,516,397 imp.

—The "Courtlandt Street Liberty League," an organization of children demanding "equal rights for old and young," formally petitioned Mayor Johnson of Cleveland on the 28th to abrogate a police order, made at the request of residents of Courtlandt street, forbidding the children to play on the street. The spokesman for the delegation was a boy of 12. After hearing both sides, Mayor Johnson abrogated the police order. He decided that children, when there are no playgrounds around for their benefit, may play in the public streets of the city as they please, so long as they don't throw stones or act lawlessly.

—The second annual convention of the Niagara (Negro) Movement (vol. viii, pp. 257, 265), which closed at Harper's Ferry on the 19th, issued an address in which it characterized the attitude of the American white man toward the American Negro as one of "fear to let black men even try to rise lest they become the equals of the white." Its specific demands are for the right to vote, equality in public accommodations, non-interference with legitimate voluntary association of whites and blacks, equal enforcement of the laws, and the right to full education. The Republican party is condemned for obtaining Negro votes under false pretenses.

—The wild pigeon which was believed to have become practically extinct, is being seen again in different parts of the United States, and the older inhabitants are calling to mind their enormous abundance in the West but a generation ago, and in the East two generations ago. The immensity of the flocks, says the Chicago Inter Ocean, "will doubtless be almost beyond the belief of the younger generation. Wilson in his 'American Ornithology' describes a migration that passed over his head in Kentucky in 1808 which he calculated contained more than two billion and a quarter pigeons. Audubon tells of flights so tremendous that they darkened the sky and streamed across it like mighty rivers. These conditions obtained as late as the early '70s."

* * *

"Your honor," said the arrested chauffeur, "I tried to warn the man, but the horn would not work."

"Then why did you not slacken speed rather than run him down?"

A light seemed to dawn upon the prisoner.

"Gee!" he said, "that's one on 'he. I never thought of that."—Philadelphia Ledger.

PRESS OPINIONS

WHAT SECRETARY ROOT IS EXPOUNDING IN SOUTH AMERICA.

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (Ind.), Aug. 16.—This is not the imperialistic doctrine; it is that good old American doctrine that the United States, through its moral example in developing successfully its own experiment in democratic self-government, could do far more to advance the world's civilization than it could by possessing and ruling distant and alien dependencies, largely by despotic methods. Mr. Root should inculcate that idea at home as well as at Montevideo; he should apply it to our relations with the Philippines as well as to Europe's relations with such Latin-American states as Uruguay and Venezuela.

* *

THE SCHOOL VOTE OF THE CHICAGO WOMEN.

The Woman's Journal (Boston), Aug. 4, 1906.—The fact that in Chicago the Board of Education is appointed by the mayor, not elected by the people, is one reason for the small school vote of Chicago women, which is often quoted by the enemies of equal rights. The women merely have the privilege of voting once in several years for a trustee of the State University. The men of Chicago, on referendum, have voted in favor of making the school board elective; and whenever that change goes into effect, the women will have a vote on the matter, under the general school suffrage law of Illinois.

* *

CURE FOR THE TENEMENT HOUSE EVIL.

New York World (Dem.), July 3.—Between the tenement-houses and the fresh air, the clean sky, the sunshine and the surface of the earth on Staten Island, Queens County and the Bronx, and upper Manhattan Island also, there are only two barriers: one the imperfect and costly present methods of transportation and the other the high prices at which such accessible land is held. The market gardens of near-by Long Island are selling for thousands of dollars an acre. There trucking crops were never better or more valuable than this year, when an auspicious season of sunshine, showers and suitable temperature has made the earth fruitful to the tiller of the soil. Yet a still more valuable crop is the boys and girls of New York, the children of the tenements risking their lives on the crowded streets or the perilous roofs. Much less than half of the area of Greater New York is actually lived on. There is room in or near the city for a separate house for every family, with its yard, its plot of flowers, its vegetable garden. Every obstacle in the way of this could be removed should men act solely for the common good, and should the interest of all mankind be first considered to the disregard of the profitable selfishness of the minority.

* *

A COMICAL CONCEPTION.

New York Evening Post (Ind.), July 28.—For American history "as she is wrote," commend us to the English newspapers. The London Standard, commenting on the retirement from the editorship of the Nation of Mr. Wendell Phillips Garrison, describes him as the son of William Lloyd Garrison, "the organizer of the underground slave route to liberty in Canada"! That no one may be in doubt as to what kind of subway this was, the Standard elucidates: "The Underground Road to Liberty," or, as it was generally styled, the 'Underground Railway,' was a generic title implying the many various methods adopted to assist the escape of runaway slaves from the Southern to the Northern States and to Canada. The

method most generally used was to cross the borders by means of subterranean tunnels, the mouths of which were carefully concealed in the thick local brushwood"! Under the Great Lakes, we presume, and the Niagara and St. Lawrence. Indeed, now we come to think of it, wasn't the Thames tunnel modeled after one of these underground routes? Our own subway lacks only the brushwood in the Bronx to answer the description. It is, of course, of no importance that the elder Garrison was the Abolitionist leader of all others who was too closely watched ever to have anything to do personally with escaping slaves and the Underground Railway.

* *

DOES THE FOREIGNER PAY THE TAX?

The Schoharie (N. Y.) Republican and County Democrat (Dem.), July 12.—As long ago as 1890 the attention of the American people was called to the injustice of the Republican tariff policy which permits trusts to sell goods cheaper to foreigners than to Americans. It has taken some time to educate the majority to the injurious effects of this inequitable policy, but the realization of the extent of the difference between export and home prices is permeating every community. Republican promises no longer satisfy an impatient people who are moving rapidly toward Democracy for relief from tariff exactions.

* *

The Kenosha (Wis.) Union (Dem.), July 20.—McKinley Republicans used to say that foreigners pay the tariff. Yes, they do. But they get the taxes all back again, as even Republicans now admit; and they get them back from Americans—not from American dealers, but from those Americans who use or eat the things taxed. We all know now that this is true. It is a self-evident truth, and no one but wily politicians who want to "pull the wool over the people's eyes" ever claimed anything to the contrary. Hence, the tariff tax is clearly and purely a tax on the people who use and eat more than some very rich people. It is a tax on consumer wholly, and falls upon poor people almost as heavily as it does upon the rich. On the other hand, tariff protects the "infant" industries until they become gigantic trusts and monopolies that still further fleece the people with outrageous monopoly prices and profits. So much for the tariff tax. The foreigners pay it, and then get it back from the American tollers along with profits and costs of trouble, risks and other expenses involved—not to mention the additional expenses of the government in maintaining custom houses and officers. But wherein does the tariff differ from other personal property taxes? Only in this: The foreigners pay the tariff and then transfer the burdens to American tollers; while other property and improvement taxes are paid by American owners and then transferred to American tollers. . . . It is the idle and not the tollers who should be taxed. It is the men who acquire fortunes from enjoying monopolies in natural resources, and not the men who use and develop natural resources, who should bear the burdens of taxation. It is monopoly, and not industry, that should be made to pay public expenses and government necessities. And the way to do this will some day no doubt be worked out.

* * *

"A flag of truce from the enemy, General."

The great commander frowned darkly.

"An offer to surrender?"

"No, General. They want a half hour's armistice."

"To bury their dead?"

"No, General. They say it would be simply an act of humanity to permit them a few moments in which to admire without being disturbed the Yankee soldier in his English-made new uniform."

—Cleveland Plain Dealer.

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

DITTIES ON DIVORCE.

John Lomax in *Life* for July 19, 1906, Reprinted Here by
Especial Permission of the Editors of *Life*.

Divorces are on the increase—yes, yes!
And so are free thought and free speech and free press,
Free suffrage, free governments, free education,
Libraries and hospitals, State sanitation,
Free playgrounds and parks and clean streets and free
schools,

Free piers and free bath-houses, free swimming pools,
Clean jails, clean asylums for blind and insane;
Great organized charities, rich and humane,
To guard and to shelter the lowliest beast—
Yes, such things as these have immensely increased.

We shield the poor Naboth from Nabob, his neighbor;
We rescue young children from factory labor;
We save them from parents who starve them and beat
them;

We even save horses from those who maltreat them.
Why should we, then, leave without refuge the wives
Whose husbands make pitiful wreck of their lives?
Is wedlock the one institution so holy
To touch it or mend it the law is too lowly?

Why rescue some children from sweatshop and mine,
And calmly the fate of yet others consign
To dens of iniquity which are not homes,
But human menageries, wild hippodromes?
Old Calvin said, "Unbaptized infants be d—d!
On children's-sized gridirons they shall be slammed."
So churchmen to-day would damn babes to that hell
Where undivorced, misallied parents must dwell.

They calmly observe the drug-flends and dram-demons
Regaling their young with delirium tremens.
The wife that's deserted may starve, but must wait;
The husband deserted must turn celibate;
No such coalitions shall suffer disbandment,
However they fracture the Seventh Commandment.
It matters not what cause shall prove their unfitness;
It matters not what scenes the children may witness—
Go on with the revel of intrigues and quarrels,
So long as divorce does not sully our morals.
Through pleasures and fallacies though they may roam,
However they grumble, there's no place like home!

Oh, you who are blest with good husbands or wives,
You chiefly should feel for the less lucky lives!
You more than all others should lighten their load
Who, blindly or hastily, chose the wrong road.
You owe them your sympathy, effort and aid
To right the enormous mistake they have made;
To shake off their shame and to gain a new chance
To get back to happiness, health and romance.
If justice and mercy the churchman begrudges,
Let misery find them, at least, in the judges.
Let not a Samaritan help be denied,
Though Levites pass by on the opposite side.

* * *

EMANCIPATION.

This is a chestnut—but it has the burr on it.
Perhaps you are not used to eating them that way.
When the trolley cars first appeared down South,
the Nigger said: "Dey's great people, dese Yanks;

first dey comes down here and frees de Nigger; den
dey comes down here and frees de Muel."

A lean old Mule was grazing by the roadside, and
he opened his mouth and said: "They didn't free
the mule; they only put him out of a job."

The Nigger scratched his head.

"Boss, dat's de same way wif me," he said.—"The
Game of Life," by Bolton Hall.

* * *

THE MONEY MARKET IN OLD PERU.

Prescott in his "Conquest of Peru," Book III,
Chapter VIII, relates that Pizarro on taking posses-
sion of the city of Cuzco, found immense quantities
of pure gold and silver: great bars of silver, vases,
statues and temple ornaments of gold.

"This whole mass of treasure was brought into a
common heap . . . and after some of the finer
specimens had been deducted for the crown, the
remainder was delivered to the Indian goldsmiths to
be melted down into ingots of a uniform standard."

Of these pieces of gold and silver each soldier re-
ceived his share, "a sum, combined with that obtained
at Caxamalca, which might have satisfied the crav-
ings of the most avaricious. The sudden influx of
so much wealth and that, too, in so transferable a
form, among a party of reckless adventurers little
accustomed to the possession of money, had its
natural effect. . . . It supplied them with the
means of gaming. . . .

"One in the cavalry is mentioned, named Leguilzano,
who had received as his share of the booty the
image of the Sun, which, raised on a plate of burn-
ished gold, spread over the wall in a recess of the
great temple. . . This rich prize the spendthrift lost
in a single night; whence it came to be a proverb in
Spain, 'Juega el Sol antes que amanezca,' 'He plays
away the Sun before Sunrise.'

"The effect of such a surfeit of the precious metals
was instantly felt on prices. The most ordinary
articles were only to be had for exorbitant sums.
A quire of paper was sold for ten pesos de oro; a
bottle of wine for sixty; a sword for forty or fifty;
a cloak for a hundred—sometimes more. . . .
Every article rose in value, as gold and silver, the
representatives of all, declined. Gold and silver, in
short, seemed to be the only things in Cuzco that
were not wealth."

* * *

THE RETURN OF MORALITY TO HISTORY.

An Editorial in the *Manchester Guardian* of June 5, 1906

The learned are notoriously the conservative; an
idea has to conquer the marketplace before it can
raise its head in the University. The revival of
democracy and the decline of Imperialism are facts
already robust enough to make a breach in the
Chinese Wall of scholarship. "History," said the
late Professor Seeley, teaching rather more than he
knew, "is past politics," and history ought, accord-
ingly, to be one of the least impenetrable of the forts
of conservatism.

Some months ago we thought we had discovered
more than a trace of rebellion against decrepit tradi-
tion in Professor Oman's inaugural address at Ox-

ford; in an article in "Die Nation," by Professor Richard Meyer, the revolt is open and exultant. Professor Meyer's text is the return of morality to history. The great feat of mid-nineteenth century "scientific" obscurantism was the invention of what was called the historical method. The name was befittingly confused, for it denoted no new method of investigating history. There has always been and can always be only one such method—the comparison of authorities and the collecting and sifting of facts—and from Herodotus to Gibbon historians before the new revelation had of necessity employed it. The "historical method" was not a mode of investigating the past, but of interpreting the present and the future. The past was made the test of everything in politics, in morals, and in economics. Morality was put out of court by demonstrating that it was a slow development from the unmoral; a political theory which for graphic purposes was clothed in a pseudo-historical garb was smashed by showing that its essentially irrelevant history was bad. Everyone remembers, for instance, Sir Henry Maine's delusion that Rousseau's democratic doctrine that government rests upon consent was irretrievably shattered when the signing and sealing of the Social Contract was proved to be a fiction. In its ripest form this particular philosophy discovered an inevitable tendency in history. Past, present, and future were bound together by an adamant chain, of which the study of the past supplied the earlier links and the whole scheme of sequence.

It is fairly easy to understand the prolonged popularity of this form of fatalism. Everybody likes certainty, and it seemed to offer an irrefutable solution of most of the vexed questions of existence. It was fortunate, too, in that science appeared to offer it the firmest of bases. The doctrine of evolution in the hands of its more reckless exponents made the earlier the tyrant of the later, the lower of the higher, in all spheres of thought and action. Perhaps not the least important of practical arguments, gathering facts is so much easier than hammering out principles. The vice of the doctrine is that it takes no account of human will and human aspiration in the form most important to us—that is, as directing the action of the living. The one advantage it had to offer in return for this radical defect proved quite illusory; its boasted certainty was an idle dream. In reality the past has no meaning except such meaning as the historian reads into it; it is his ideals and his prepossessions which give past events such order as they present. The "inevitable tendency" in history is the shadow his own mind casts after and before; the living measures the dead not the dead the living.

This may be seen pretty clearly by considering the varying interpretations of the past which those who accepted the historical method managed to evolve. The "inevitable tendency," according to Hegel, was towards the military despotism of the un-reformed Prussian State; according to Maine, towards unrestrained competitive individualism; according to Karl Marx, towards Socialism. At bottom this doctrine of the dominant past and of the negligibility of human will is thoroughly conservative and anti-democratic. It was certain to totter as soon as the conservative reaction of the last half

of the nineteenth century was past, and it is characteristic that it should to-day find favor in England chiefly with such theoretical exponents of Chamberlainism and Protection as the historical economists Professor Ashley and Mr. Hewins and Dr. Cunningham.

Professor Meyer is happy to report that in Germany, which is the fatherland of the historical method, morality has returned to history. The ideal, i. e., the future as seen in prophetic vision, is once more the measure of the past, not the past of the ideal.

THE CONFESSIONS OF A MONOPOLIST

By FREDERIC C. HOWE, Ph.D.

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SYNOPSIS OF PRECEDING CHAPTERS.

In previous chapters the hero has related early experiences which tended to make him a monopolist, establishing it as a business principle with him to always tie a monopoly to any competitive business in which he engaged. He studies law, but finds the practice of it repugnant to his moral sense. He enters politics as a necessary step in the development of a land boom, a street railway and a gas company, in which he becomes successively interested. He learns first the value of a franchise, and second the value of control of political machinery as a business asset. He begins by "working" a City Council. Then by craftily appealing to the "business" element and to good citizenship, with the aid of a Sunday-closing crusade, he nearly controls a Mayoralty campaign.

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CHAPTER V.*

We Dethrone the Mayor and Obtain a Franchise

The day after the election we called a hurried meeting of the directors. The Republican Committee made charges of repeating and colonization on the part of the Democrats, but never proved it. We examined the Council as elected. It numbered twenty-seven members. Had the Mayor been with us, the franchise would have been a simple matter. We would then have had to secure but fourteen votes to have a majority. But with him against us, we had to get two-thirds of the Council to pass the ordinance over his veto. To be safe, we needed eighteen men. We scrutinized the list of aldermen. There were Murphy, O'Brien, Callaghan, O'Donnell and Smith from the lower Democratic wards. These men had been selected by McGann and could probably be relied upon. Murphy, O'Brien and O'Donnell were hold-overs from the old Council, and Terence had always been able to keep them in line by providing places for their friends and relatives on our lines.

I sent for Terence and told him to see these

*Portions of this chapter and the two preceding chapters appeared in *The World's Work* for April, 1905, under the title of "The Confessions of a Commercial Senator." They are included in the present publication by kind permission of the editors of *The World's Work*.

fellows, as well as any other aldermen whom he knew, and give jobs to as many of their friends as were needed. On the Republican side there were Thompson, McKay, Green, Jenkins and Lloyd, that I thought we could bank on. I knew them all, and had picked them to run because they were loyal party men. During the campaign I had supplied them with funds and had made their success a personal matter with me. In this way we made ourselves solid at very little cost. We then arranged for a caucus of the Republican members of the Council. They were in the majority and would organize the Council and elect the President and Clerk. They sent for me to talk over the situation. I made a short speech and suggested that it was up to them to defend the city; that a demagogue had been elected Mayor, a Socialist who advocated municipal ownership. "Moreover," I said, "it is incumbent upon you to prevent the building up of a Democratic machine. This man Ballantyne has dragged the street railway question into politics, where it ought not to be; for it is a business proposition, and should be solved on a business basis." With this they seemed to agree. We decided on the Council nominees and chose Thompson for President. His brother was a painter and had a contract with us for the painting of our cars. We knew he was all right, for he had been in the Council for two terms, and I had some evidence against him that if necessary I would not permit him to forget. Through Thompson we made up the committees on railways and lighting and streets. We were particularly interested in these. The other committees were parcelled out among the fellows who had to be reconciled. This put us in a strategic position in all legislation affecting our interests, for it was difficult to pass any legislation that a committee saw fit to hold up. The ordinance went to the committees before consideration by the Council, and a two-thirds vote was required by the rules to force a report from the committees. We now felt secure so far as any adverse legislation was concerned. But further than the five Democrats and five Republicans we could not get. Nine more were needed to make us secure. There were fifteen Republican members in the Council, and it was possible that if we made our ordinance a party measure we could line them all up through the caucus. But we appreciated that this was a bad thing for the party. It would give Ballantyne the opportunity that he wanted. He would make it a party issue, and that might endanger everything at the next election.

The situation was very disturbing. Up to that time I had never paid any money for votes or legislation. We had been able to secure what we wanted through the control of the parties, through friendship, through contracts, or the simple desire on the part of many aldermen to be good fellows and do what McGann or Buckley wanted. But our directors were not all so squeamish. Somehow or other, the franchises must be got. They were about to expire, and if they were not renewed the stock would not be worth ten cents on the dollar. Much of it was up at the banks as collateral, and that gave the bankers an interest as well as our stockholders. Moreover, we had a plan on foot to combine the gas and street railway franchises, and sell them to an

Eastern syndicate. But this could only be done if the franchises were satisfactory.

The feeling on the part of the directors was that the business could not be run without the use of money. They said they were being held up and bled by a lot of fellows who did not know the difference between a thousand dollars and a million, and that the entire agitation was a "hold up" game anyhow. My objections were overruled by the Board, and \$50,000 was voted as "legal expenses." Personally I was in a bad position also. A lot of my friends had put money into the stock. I had told them it was a good buy at the ruling price. Then there were a lot of widows and orphans whose only funds were invested in this way, and I felt that this trust had to be protected by some means.

We studied the make-up of the Council. On the Democratic side a number were friends of Ballantyne. They were workmen who had gone in on his platform. The Republicans were of a somewhat better sort, being clerks, insurance men, small storekeepers and a couple of lawyers. One of them was a blacksmith, and Buckley, our Superintendent, gave him some work to do. He followed that up with larger business, and made it a point not to complain about the prices charged. Another was in the insurance business. He was given our employers' liability and fire insurance. Another was a personal friend of Buckley, and he endorsed his note for \$200 to take care of a mortgage on his house. Prior to this time Buckley and McGann had been getting acquainted with all the councilmen. They learned their habits, their friends and financial conditions. Buckley thought he had fifteen men "fixed," although he did not tell me how. On the organization of the Council, the slate went through without opposition. The President and Clerk endorsed by the caucus were elected, and the committees were announced as we had arranged. But just before adjournment, to our surprise and consternation, Lawrence, a young Republican lawyer just elected to the Council, moved that a special committee of five, named in the resolution, be created to consider the street railway problem, and that all railway legislation should be referred to it. He made a speech in its favor, saying that this was the one matter that was commanding most attention. We were not prepared for this angle. The President left the chair to oppose it, but the other Republicans looked upon it as a sort of caucus measure that they were not on to, and carried it through by a majority vote of one.

Lawrence had been nominated in one of the residence districts without opposition, and had been overwhelmingly elected. He was but recently from college and had been practising a few years. He was a likeable fellow, but impetuous, and had no experience in politics. In the campaign he had paid but little attention to the regular committee, but had made a house to house canvass for the nomination. We had not given much concern about him as he was well connected and his father was a large merchant. We had fancied that he could be counted on in the Council.

I saw that he would have to be handled gingerly. I sent one of the city contractors to him with some business. He told Lawrence that he wanted him to

represent him in some lit. . . and had come to him because he was not too busy and could give attention to his needs. He brought the conversation around to the Council, and asked him why he had introduced the resolution for a special committee.

"That was a slap at the regular committee, you know, and has roused all the boys against you. Of course," he said, "that's all right, but do not destroy any possibility of good work in the Council by ignoring the other fellows. It's best to work with the organization," he said, "and not get into a row at the start off."

Lawrence seemed surprised at this, and said: "Why, I had no intention of slamming anybody. The resolution was perfectly natural. I wanted to learn something about the street railway question, and when Thompson appointed the regular committee I concluded that he had done so without giving the matter much thought, and that a special committee like this would be hailed with joy by the members of the regular committee, as it would let them off from a lot of work. As a matter of fact, I had not given the matter any thought until I got into the Council chamber." He said he would see Thompson and explain to him that he had not intended to hurt anybody's feelings.

I felt relieved when I heard this. Lawrence had just stumbled into the thing. But I concluded that we had better reach him in some way, for I knew that he was honest. So I sent a number of prominent men over to see him and talk the situation over. I thought if I could arouse his party loyalty that I would get him in this way. I had these men talk about the danger from Ballantyne's building up a machine from the saloons and the gambling houses. They brought in the franchise question incidentally, as if they were citizens interested in his conduct and gratified that a man of his type should have been willing to enter the Council. They said it was a splendid thing that the young men were going into politics in this way; they would be the salvation of the American cities.

Further than this, I worked out a plan by which when the franchise came up we would have some men go to Lawrence with amendments that we would be willing to accept, but which were not in the original ordinance, and have him make his fight on these. I thought we could give him a chance to make his play and then get his vote in the round up. It was our plan to introduce an ordinance that was bad, and, then, under pressure, accept certain harmless amendments that were offered by men like Lawrence, who were sincere in their ideas. I also got some of the business men and one of our small banks to turn their business over to him, in order that they might consult with him with more influence if necessary. But even with Lawrence it looked as though we were shy some votes if a fight were made. There was another Republican, a well-to-do merchant, who lived on Commonwealth Avenue, who had been endorsed by all the reform organizations. He had risen by sheer enterprise, and now that his children were entering society, he had become ambitious for them. His name had been proposed at the Country Club, and some protest had gone up against his admission. I tried to arrange to overcome this. I saw the committee, with whom

I was intimate, and gave a little dinner party to Fulton, and invited the committee and their wives. Fulton was manifestly much flattered. The wives of some of our directors called upon his wife, and one of his daughters was invited to the coming-out affairs of several debutantes. I never ventured to speak of the franchise question to Fulton at all; but I never lost an opportunity to discuss politics, and the necessity of keeping the city Republican because of the Presidential campaign of the next year and the dangers of a change in tariff to all business interests. Moreover, Fulton was a strong church worker, and the fear and suspicion that Ballantyne was in some sort of an alliance with the saloon-keepers never left his mind.

But even with Fulton we were short. One of the councilmen was an insurance man of good standing. I wrote to our banking correspondents in New York, explaining the situation, and said that Robbins was in the Council, and represented one of the insurance companies. I intimated that he was in danger of injuring the company's business by his attitude on the street railway question. The banker to whom I wrote was interested in the proposed purchase of our properties, and I knew that he would go to one of the officers of the insurance company and see if some pressure could not be brought to bear on Robbins from the home office. In this I was more successful than I had expected. One of the officers of the company stopped off to see me within a few days, and invited me and a couple of other directors to lunch with him and Robbins. He told Robbins that we had common friends and interests in New York, and that it would be valuable to him to be acquainted with us. What he said to Robbins I never knew, save that we never had any difficulty about his vote.

In a few weeks the ordinance was ready for introduction. It had been carefully drafted by our attorneys, who had placed a number of restrictions upon us which had not been in the old ordinance. These required us to keep the tracks which we tore up in repair; to use girder-grooved rails when ordered to do so by the Council; to place vestibules on the cars, and to properly heat them; to run as many cars as traffic should demand, and to make any extensions in the future which the Council should require. These were all things we would have done anyhow, but they made a good showing on paper. Moreover, so long as we controlled the Council we did not fear that these provisions would be insisted on if we did not wish it. In general, the ordinance provided for a fifty years' grant, with a straight five-cent fare, and no transfers. We debated for a long time as to who should introduce it. We sounded Lawrence, but soon found that he was too independent. We did not want a Democrat, and it would give the ordinance a bad name at the start if it were brought in through one of the suspected Republicans. We finally decided on Fulton. He was not much of a speaker, but was honest and bore a good reputation. He finally consented to do it. Upon its introduction Lawrence moved its reference to his special committee. Thompson ruled this out of order, and appeal the ordinance was referred to the regular Committee on Streets and Railways. We then had an open meeting called by the Committee for

following week, for discussion; and at this meeting we expected the Mayor and the opposition company to show their hand. On the day set an immense crowd appeared of citizens, councilmen and representatives of a competing company that had another line in the city. But by arrangement a quorum of the Committee did not appear. Another adjournment was made, but a quorum was not secured. This was kept up for a couple of weeks, and the number of persons attending constantly diminished. Finally a meeting was held and the ordinance taken up for discussion. The Citizens' Company appeared by their counsel, and said they desired to offer a counter proposition. They were prepared to accept a twenty-five year franchise, to take over all our plant and equipment, to pay its value as determined by arbitrators, to give six tickets for a quarter, and universal transfers. They offered some other concessions. The Committee took their proposition under advisement. I knew the Company was acting in good faith, and could do as they agreed. Moreover, they were backed by one of the large trust companies of the city, and could not be bluffed. We called a directors' meeting to consider the situation, and concluded the only safe thing to do was to get them out of the way. They had about thirty miles of road, which was a valuable property. Their stock was selling at \$125.00 a share, and we determined to see if we could not get control. We found it was held by the President, who said he would sell out his holdings for \$1,000,000. After some negotiations with my friends, we purchased his stock and arranged to issue stock in our company in exchange. The public did not know of the transfer, and it seemed to us we were now out of our worst difficulty. The competing company withdrew its offer, as it had not been acted on, and suggested that they had found that it would not be possible for them to carry out their proposal. The stock of our company went up ten points in the market that day. But other troubles were gathering. Thompson, the President of the Council, called upon me. He said he could not keep the boys in line; that even the members of the Committee were inclined to hold the ordinance up. "The boys think it is up to you to do something," he said. I told him we had introduced a fair ordinance, and that I thought we were doing everything we were called to do. He beat around the bush and finally said:

"It ain't no use to try and play with me, Mr. Palmer; you know what I mean. The boys think there ought to be something in this for them. They say this franchise is worth a hundred or two hundred thousand to you, and they think they ought to get well paid for the job."

I hated this sort of thing, and I told him I could not do anything for him.

There was a lawyer in the city by the name of Robinson, whom we had used on several occasions in our dealings with the city. He knew all the boys and kept in touch with them. I called him in and explained the situation. I told him I did not want to have anything to do with hoodling, but wanted to employ him as our attorney on this particular matter. I offered him a retainer of \$500, and told him that he would be paid \$25,000 more when the franchise was signed by the Mayor, or otherwise became a law. I told him what Thompson had said, and advised him to see him.

In a couple of weeks the ordinance was reported back for a second hearing. It was substantially as we had drawn it. By that time we knew we could rely on fifteen votes, possibly more. Some of the amendments that we had agreed to accept were in the hands of Robbins and Fulton. One of them required us to pay into the city treasury one per cent. of our gross receipts after five years, and two per cent. after ten years. Robbins offered another amendment requiring us to pay a license tax of \$10 a car for the use of the Park Fund. After some debate these were finally accepted by the Council.

Finally Lawrence rose to his feet. We were very nervous about his attitude, as we had not been able to get anything out of him. He offered amendment after amendment. They were based on the proposition of the Citizens' Company. One cut the length of our franchise down to twenty-five years. Another compelled us to sell six tickets for a quarter, and eight for a quarter morning and evening when the men were going and coming from their work. Another provided for universal transfers. These were things we would not accept. Lawrence spoke simply about them. He recited conditions in other cities. He spoke of places where cheap fares prevailed, said that we had no right to bind two generations by our franchises, that in twenty years' time our property had become worth \$15,000,000 as measured by the stock and bonds in the market, and that the road was not worth more than one-third this sum according to the statement of the President of the Citizens' Company. He wound up by saying that at the rate the city was growing the property would be worth \$50,000,000 before the franchise expired.

Thompson left the chair against these amendments. He flung out some reflections upon Lawrence's sincerity; said he seemed to think he was better than his party, and that he was playing to the gallery.

This turned out to be a bad move, for Lawrence jumped to his feet thoroughly aroused. He said:

"Mr. President, I have been in this body less than two months. During that time more things have been going on than I ever dreamed possible. By some means or other the committees of this Council were made up by prearrangement of the street railways. Their officers and employees have been about the Clerk's office for the last two months. There are lots of things in law that cannot be proved directly, but there is circumstantial evidence enough to show that the Council has been bought. Else how is it that a dozen men in the City Council who wouldn't know a franchise from a haystack, vote like wooden Indians on this subject; how does it happen that men who are earning but a few dollars a day have given up their jobs and are loafing about the City Hall and saloons all the time? The whole thing is rotten," he said, and he would not vote for any franchise that seemed to have been gotten in this way.

This was bad. We feared it would influence Robbins and Fulton, and one or two other honest Republicans. But the amendments were lost by two votes.

The next week the ordinance came on for its third reading. We kept constant watch of our men and some of them were very uneasy. There had been some ward agitation. Lawrence's speech was quoted. Two men who were in small retail businesses said

that their neighbors were boycotting them. Thompson said that some of the men complained that they could not stand it much longer. It was all right so far as they were concerned, but when their children came home from school and said that other children pointed their fingers at them and said their father was a boodler, it was too much for them to stand. Robbins and Fulton said they were sick of their jobs. Their attitude was hurting them in their business. We saw that it was necessary to act promptly if the ordinance was to go through. During the week we put the pressure on Lawrence. His clients and other prominent men went to him and told him he was lining up with a bad crowd; that he was supporting the Mayor and encouraging him in his demagoguery; that Ballantyne was a Socialist, and that Lawrence had gone back on his party and was too independent, that he ought to stand by the other members.

But we were not able to budge him. When the ordinance came up Lawrence led the fight. He said he was not in favor of doing anything that would injure or destroy property, but that the city was a partner in this enterprise. It owned the streets and should get full return for their use. Another company had offered better terms, but he was now informed that they had been bought out by this company.

"Of course, I cannot prove it," he said, "but I know and everybody knows that this Council has been bought and sold like a drove of cattle, and that they, the trustees of the people, are giving away something that does not belong to them."

For himself, he had gone into politics because the city was his home and he had felt that the evils in the city were due to ignorance. But he had learned in a few months' time that it was not ignorance so much as corruption; that it didn't make so much difference to the railways which party they used—they were non-partisan when it came to buying votes, as he believed they had.

"This ordinance is an outrage," he continued. "You are binding the city for fifty years. Before it expires you will all be dead. It is worth ten millions of dollars, and you are jamming it through with only a few weeks' consideration. Let's postpone action, lay the matter on the table and give the public a chance to be heard. Why not submit it to a vote of the people, if this is such a good thing? During the past week men have been to me saying that I was not a Republican; that I had been elected by the aid of that party, and now I was trying to wreck it. But who is it that has questioned my Republicanism? It's the men who are back of this franchise, men whose patriotism does not hesitate to buy this Council, and even the members of this Council themselves who have been driven into the caucus. Are these the men to cry anarchy and socialism when they are undermining the government? Are they to complain because I support the Mayor when they are trafficking with Democrats as well as Republicans? As for the Mayor, I care not whether he is a Democrat or Republican. In this case he is right, and I will do everything I can to defeat this wicked ordinance."

The roll call was demanded as soon as he sat down. There was intense excitement. I had gone to the Council Chamber, and I followed the roll call, vote by vote. When Fulton's name was reached and

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is a weekly review which prints in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value. It is also an editorial paper. Though it abstains from mingling editorial opinions with its news accounts, it has opinions of a pronounced character, based upon the principles of radical democracy, which, in the columns reserved for editorial comment, it expresses fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without hope of discreditable reward. Yet it makes no pretensions to infallibility, either in opinions or in statements of fact; it simply aspires to a deserved reputation for intelligence and honesty in both. Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department of original and selected matter, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest.

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he voted "Aye," I breathed easier. Then came Robbins, the insurance man. Finally Whitman, of whom we were not certain. They all voted "Aye," and with their support we had eighteen votes. The ordinance was carried.

The following morning Ballantyne issued a call for a public meeting to be held in Music Hall to protest against the ordinance. He called upon the people to protest to their Councilmen and induce them to reconsider their vote. The week was one of uncertainty to us. There were rumors of defection. We took five weak-kneed Councilmen out of the city to keep them free from influence. Ballantyne and Lawrence were holding nightly meetings throughout the city. The Music Hall meeting was jammed. Speeches of an incendiary sort were made by Ballantyne and the President of the Central Labor Union. Lawrence also spoke in a more temperate way. One speaker suggested carrying halters to the Council Chamber. There were charges of bribery, and the city was in a ferment.

The Mayor's veto message came in the following meeting night. In order that the administration might not pack the Council Chamber with their friends, we had ordered our employees to go to the Council early and fill the galleries. The Mayor's veto message was received in silence. It was then moved that the Mayor's veto be not sustained. In suspense we awaited the vote. One after another the Councilmen stood pat. Robinson had evidently done his work well. So had Buckley and McGann. They were in the Council Chamber in constant consultation with the members. I most feared Fulton, Robbins and Whitman, but when they voted "Aye," and Thompson declared the franchise passed, my nerves relaxed and I was more relieved than I had been for months.

During the contest we had carried on a systematic attack on Ballantyne. Terence McGann with his following started out to discredit him. The Council had refused to confirm his appointments. They had tried to run him out of the Jackson Club because he appointed a number of Republicans in the fire department. We were able to influence the daily papers, who would not publish his statements and ignored everything he had done. His achievements went unheralded. We also worked up sentiment against him among the other people, said he was not enforcing the law and was levying blackmail on the saloons. In this way we were able to split his party in two. He was left almost alone. In public functions he was ignored, and from this time until the end of his term of office the Council overruled his wishes, refused to make appropriations, and would not confirm the reforms which he intended to inaugurate. However, he was renominated on the expiration of his term. But by this time we had organized sufficient opposition in his own party, so that with a united opposition on a good man for Mayor we defeated him for re-election.

I have always felt sorry for Ballantyne. He was a promising young man, and had he accepted our assistance he would have had a splendid career; but he injured his business by entering politics, as is so often the case. He had a chance for a great career; but, of course, when he came to practice again he was a marked man. What business he previously

Announcements

MEETINGS, LECTURES, DEBATES, ETC.

New York.—The Manhattan Single Tax Club holds open air meetings on Tuesdays and Fridays weekly during the summer at 8 o'clock p. m., at 125th Street and 7th Avenue.

Philadelphia, Pa.—The Henry George Club of Philadelphia holds open air meetings on Wednesdays, Fridays and Sundays, at 8 p. m., at the North Plaza of the City Hall.

Boston, Mass.—The Boston Single Tax Society holds open air meetings Sunday afternoons from 2 to 4 o'clock, near the corner of Beacon and Charles streets, Boston Common.

Newark, N. J.—A special Labor Day service will be held in St. Stephen's P. E. church, Clinton and Elizabeth Avenues, on Sunday evening, September 2, beginning at 7:45 p. m. The preacher will be the Rev. A. L. Byron-Curtiss of Rome, N. Y., who has long been a friend of organized labor.

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An address before the Elkhart Society of the New Church.
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The Public Publishing Co., First National Bank Building, Chicago

had had left him, and those who had opportunities to throw his way were prejudiced against him. He struggled along for a few years under a burden. His family was socially neglected and finally he left the city, and I never have heard what became of him.

As for the franchise itself, our stock immediately went up thirty points. We increased our capital and took in the old Citizens' Company, thus increasing our lines and earnings. But the contest had been a costly one. The people had become aroused on the question as never before. It became apparent that we could not trust ourselves with open and direct primaries, as they were likely to result in the nomination of men upon whom we could not rely. We had to retain the convention system of nomination, as well as control the Republican party, and, if possible, both parties. Moreover, the growing hostility of the city made it apparent that we must protect ourselves in the State. It was necessary to extend our influence to the legislature, for there was constant danger that our taxes would be increased, the fares reduced, or striking legislation of some sort worked through the Council, that would imperil our interests.

(To be continued.)

BOOKS

BRYAN'S COMPARISON OF THE UNITED STATES WITH CHINA.

Letters to a Chinese Official. Being a Western View of Eastern Civilization. By William Jennings Bryan. Published by McClure, Phillips & Co., New York. For sale by The Public Publishing Co., Chicago. Price, 50 cents (postage, 6 cents).

It is fortunate that Mr. Bryan mistook Lowes Dickinson's clever satire on Occidental civilization, published in England as "Letters from John Chinaman" and reproduced in the United States as "Letters from a Chinese Official," for a veritable Eastern view of Western life. The mistake was made by many others, so delicate was Dickinson's literary touch, among the victims being *The Public* (vol. vii, pp. 414, 607); but in Bryan it aroused an impulse which has given us one of the most interesting and judicial of racial comparisons. It is doubtful if even his pen could have produced so fine an essay had he been conscious of replying to an English satire upon instead of a Chinese indictment of our civilization.

A man of less judicial mind than Mr. Bryan might have made more cutting thrusts at the Chinese in replying to the mythical Chinese official; for Lowes Dickinson, intending not to describe Chinese civilization with accuracy but to satirize that of his own race, naturally exaggerated the virtues and minimized the vices of China, as any satirist would have done with the nation or race, actual or mythical, which he had adopted for the contrasts he needed. Mr. Bryan takes some advantage of this,—unconsciously of course, for he supposed he was replying to a patriotic Chinese official,—when he writes, "You hold up the best that you can find in your country (or even better than you can find), and comparing it with the worst that you can find in Christian

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Letters from a Chinese Official

Being an Eastern View of Western Civilization

By

DR. G. LOWES DICKINSON

16mo, boards, 100 pages, 50 cents (postage 6 cents)

This little book was published anonymously, and almost immediately attracted widespread attention throughout England and America, being generally considered the strongest criticism ever written of Occidental civilization from the view-point of the Oriental. The author so effectually put himself mentally in the place of the Oriental, that the book was widely accepted for what it purported to be, a statement by an educated Chinaman, but it is now acknowledged to be the work of Dr. G. Lowes Dickinson, of England, a distinguished classical scholar, author of "A Modern Symposium," "The Greek View of Life," and "Religion: a criticism and a forecast."

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countries, you boast in a holler-than-thou spirit, of superiority." But the feeling, strong as it must have been, that he was dealing with an unfair critic has not tempted Mr. Bryan into any unfairness in reply.

Good use is made by him of the satirist's statement that the Chinese "do not care to amass wealth." They "show as much avarice as can be found among any other people," he writes, and thereby brings out the really vital fact that Chinamen are simply men like other men, with whom the root of all evil is that love of money which in its essence is love of dominion and in its effect is power. But Mr. Bryan does not effectively answer Mr. Dickinson's contention that increase of wealth is not necessarily good in itself, but that "everything depends upon the way in which the wealth is distributed and on its effect on the moral character of the nation." While all that he says in this connection of the civilizing possibilities of labor-saving machinery is true, he does not show that labor-saving machinery has improved the condition of workers who have only their work to offer in exchange for necessaries. This quotation which he makes from the card on the model of the first sewing machine in the patent office illustrates the point:

"Mine are sinews superhuman,
Ribs of brass and nerves of steel;
I'm the Iron Needle Woman,
Born to toll but not to feel."

Does not the experience of half a century with the "Iron Needle Woman" find the sewing woman of to-day as badly off as the sewing woman in Hood's "Song of the Shirt"?

This, however, is the only point at which Mr. Bryan seems to us to be open to the same criticism that he makes of the "Chinese official," unless it may be when he says "there is no child so poor that it may not enter school, supported by public taxation, and continue its studies until it has completed a course that includes not only the rudiments of instruction but the sciences, the languages and technical knowledge." Should Lowes Dickinson again play in the role of a "Chinese official," he might answer Mr. Bryan here that while all the advantages the latter names are indeed nominally open to American children, yet that it can hardly be said that our civilization holds those advantages open in fact, when 90 per cent. of the public school children of cities have to abandon school and go to work to earn a niggardly living, before they are qualified to enter high school.

In the moral sphere of his subject, and the economic in its broader generalizations, Mr. Bryan's monograph is illuminating and inspiring. In his analysis of trade, for instance, as in his analysis of the general principles of other labor-saving devices, he is splendid in expression and straight as a marksman's arrow in his aim. That is true also of this definition he offers of civilization: "The harmonious development of the human race, physically, mentally and morally—not the development of all along one line or the development of a few along all lines, but the full and well rounded development of all in body, mind and heart." Lowes Dickinson would have accomplished a worthy life's work if he had never done anything more than to inspire a man of Bryan's far reaching influence to publish that definition of a

William J. Bryan has written an important new book, which is now ready for delivery.

Letters to a Chinese Official

Being a Western View of Eastern Civilization

By

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

16mo, boards, 100 pages, 50 cents
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The story of the writing of this book has a peculiar interest of its own. While Mr. Bryan was in China there was brought to his attention a famous but anonymous volume which had attracted great attention both in England and America—"Letters from a Chinese Official"—in which the ideals and state of civilization of the Western World were criticized from an Oriental point of view and in comparison with Chinese standards.

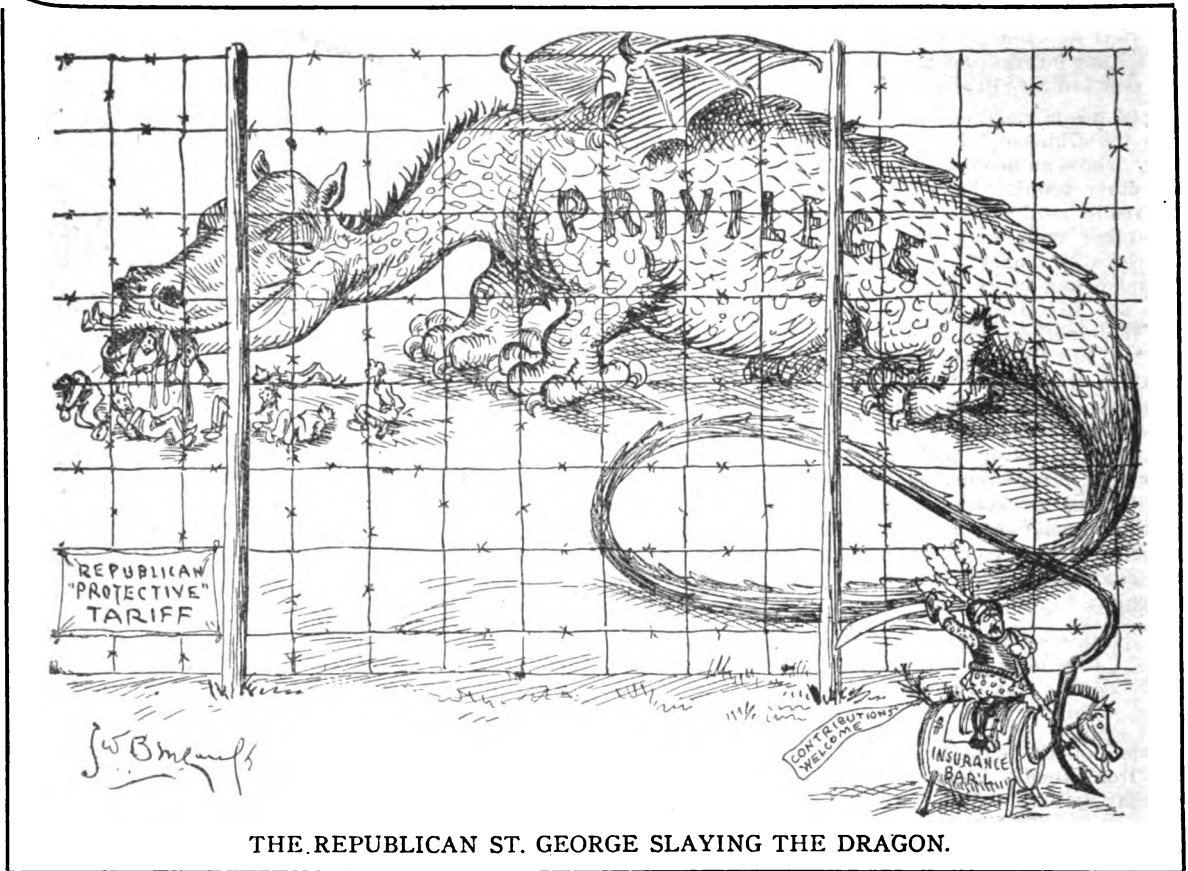
Mr. Bryan read it, and because he felt that the case against his own race was overstated, and too glowing a picture was painted of the condition of affairs in the Celestial Empire, he sat down in an interval on ship-board and wrote a reply, sending it to this country from Suez, Egypt.

Mr. Bryan's book is more than a mere reply to another book. It is a glowing confession of faith in the ideals and purposes of our race, and more particularly those of the American people. It is a statement of the grounds of his own patriotism, and is permeated with a spirit of wise and serene optimism.

After his book was sent to this country, Mr. Bryan learned that "Letters From a Chinese Official" was the work, not of a Chinaman, but of a distinguished Englishman, Dr. G. Lowes Dickinson, from material furnished by a Chinaman. Mr. Bryan refers to this fact in the preface to his book.

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THE REPUBLICAN ST. GEORGE SLAYING THE DRAGON.

really glorious civilization,—one worth working for, dying for, living for.

One part of this monograph is peculiarly valuable. We allude to the comparison of the Golden Rule with the Confucian formula: "What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others." These two precepts, often confused as identical, are rightly treated by Mr. Bryan as widely apart. "The man who obeys Confucius," he writes, "will do no harm, and that is something . . . but the man who does good is vastly superior to the merely harmless man." It is perhaps needless to say that in elaborating this profoundly spiritual thought Mr. Bryan is both eloquent and convincing.

The same thought finds picturesque expression in this defense which he makes of the man or the country with a mission: "There is an old saying, 'Beware of the man with a mission.' And why beware? Because the man with a mission is in earnest; he has a purpose and he accomplishes it. He may in his zeal be led into error—he may even do injustice, but he acts. The man without a mission—well, if he has no mission at all, he is not a man. Without a mission man is simply an animal, content to eat and drink and die. . . . I do not know that I can better describe the having of a mission than to compare it with life as we see it in the fields. The grain of corn is planted in the earth; the rain moistens the ground about it; the rays of the sun, warming the soil as they pass through it, touch

the heart of this grain of corn and seem to say: 'Awake! Awake! Bestir yourself! The people are hungry and you must feed them.' The spark of life within it responds and, swelling with its great purpose, it bursts its walls. It sends its roots down into the ground, even though the ground may be at first unyielding; it sends its tiny shoots up toward the light, even though it must push aside the clods to do so. The air may sometimes be too cool to be pleasant, the wind may be too rude to be enjoyable, and the sun that bade it rise may become too warm to be comfortable, but amid all these trials and vicissitudes it grows until, in the autumn, the stalk turns its withered face to the orb of day and holds out the full-grown ears of corn as if to say, 'Here is the food for which you asked; my work is done; now let me sleep.' Man, like the seed, may for a time seem dead, but amid the cares and crying needs of the world, he must feel not only that there is work to be done but that there is work which he above all others must perform; and just in proportion as he responds to the call and expends himself in making some contribution to the world, he justifies his presence in it."

By such high ideals is Mr. Bryan's little book inspired. Were our Republic true to them, there would be no call for satirists like Dickinson; but to the satirist we may be grateful since he has drawn forth so eloquent a plea for their recognition.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Thirty-Eighth Annual Insurance Report of the Insurance Superintendent of the State of Illinois. Part 1. —Fire, Marine and Inland Insurance.
 —Local Government in Counties, Towns and Villages. By John A. Fairlie, Ph. D., University of Michigan. The American State Series. Published by The Century Co., New York.
 —Durban: Fifty Years' Municipal History. Compiled for the Durban Corporation in Celebration of the Jubilee of the Borough. By W. P. M. Henderson. Illustrated. Published by Robinson & Co., Ltd., Durban.

PERIODICALS

H. P. Burbage's article in the Railroad Trainmen's Magazine for August pictures present factory labor conditions in the South, showing their likeness to past and their contrast to present conditions in New England.—A. L.

Arrangements are reported to have been completed for the publication of a weekly paper as a supplement to Everybody's Magazine. The weekly, it is stated, is to be issued simultaneously in separate cities. Charles M. Lincoln, city editor of the Herald, has resigned that position to become the editor of the new publication.

Everybody in Chicago, and most women everywhere, will be interested in Wm. Hard's sketch in The American for September, of "Chicago's Five Maiden Aunts." It is an attractive enough title, but not quite respectful and not at all accurate, for the women alluded to are Jane Addams, Margaret A. Haley, Dr. Cornelia de Bey, Julia A. Lathrop and Mary McDowell. Chicago could better afford to lose any five men than any one of these women. They are among the best citizens of Chicago, and when the history of their work is fully disclosed it will be evident that they are in truth leading citizens as well as best citizens. And so Mr. Hard's bright article makes them out to be.

In The World Today for August William Hard quotes with great force from a Chicago lawyer who, without being a doctrinaire socialist, without indeed having read the principal literature of socialism, was forced into socialism by sheer pressure of circumstances which he in his profession had observed. The article is in interesting interviewing style of the better class. As the editor explains, Mr. Hard's sketch pictures the attitude of hard-headed men who are too busy to read Karl Marx, but have become socialists through the pressure of the tendencies of modern social life in which they have become involved or which they have observed. While not calculated to give much enlightenment on the subject of socialism, nor to create a very high regard for the analytical powers of the lawyer who speaks through Mr. Hard, this interview is nevertheless a most interesting mental photograph.

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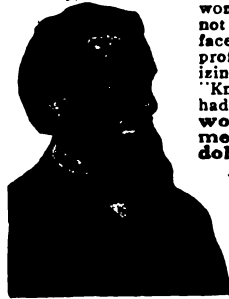
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