

# The Public

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## EDITORIAL

### Reputation.

It is better to have a good reputation with yourself than with your neighbors. You can sneak

away from your neighbors and do things on the sly, but you can't sneak away from yourself.

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### A True Distinction.

When the new governor of Rhode Island, James Henry Higgins, a young man of thirty, says that he believes in public ownership of natural monopolies but not of business in which natural competition can regulate prices, he indicates unusual intelligence regarding industrial affairs. Probably he did not realize the profound meaning of the distinction he described; but it is profound, and let us hope that he appreciates its significance.

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### Labor and the Militia.

The American Federation of Labor has made a wise choice in voting against advising workingmen to stay out of the militia. Mr. Gompers put the issue in a nutshell when he warned the convention that "it is a choice now between a large standing army and the militia." In its present form the militia is, indeed, too much like a standing army; yet it retains most of the characteristics of a citizen soldiery, and the more exclusively it is recruited from the army of wage-workers the more emphatic will those characteristics become. If we are to have military organizations at all on a large scale, the citizen soldier type is the type to cultivate.

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### Living Expenses Among the "Lower Orders."

At the fourth annual convention of the anti-labor-union union, known as the Citizens' Industrial Association, which is to meet at Chicago on the 3d and 4th, a representative of the British Free Labor Society is to be in evidence. This society, notwithstanding its high sounding name, evidently does not stand for free labor at all. At the best it would make labor "free" of trade union coercion but not of business coercion—free of coercion for high wages but not free of coercion for low wages. The representative's name is announced as William Collison. Mr. Collison complains bitterly of the extravagance of British municipal councils. And he gives figures which enable us to judge his standards of extravagance. The cost in 1884 of maintaining 999,400 paupers, he says, was \$30,000,000. This is nearly 60 cents a week per pauper. But the extravagant radical councils have raised the expense to \$65,000,000 for

769,029 paupers, which is as much as 85 cents per week per pauper. Mr. Collison's idea of extravagant living for the "lower orders" certainly qualifies him as a delegate to the Citizens' Industrial Association.

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#### "Giving Work."

A rich and thoughtless though doubtless well-meaning young woman of New York justifies the lavish expenditures of her class with the query: "What would the work girls do if they had no rich people to work for?" To this old and tattered justification of plutocracy, Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes makes the comprehensive and conclusive reply that "if the poor classes of girls had no rich to work for, God willing, they would work for themselves." And she explains that "instead of making things for idlers they would make things for workers who would return the courtesy by making things for them." We might add that God is willing; He has put nothing in the way of freedom to work nor of freedom to trade. The exploiters of human sweat and blood do that.

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#### The Coming Crisis.

President Schurman of Cornell University sounds an alarm which would have ranked him with the pessimists half a dozen years ago. He sees that social conditions which pile up great wealth for the few and keep the masses at work piling it higher and higher while remaining in poverty themselves, cannot continue, and he begs the wealthy few to divide. But they won't divide. It is not wealth they want, but the power over their fellow men that wealth gives. Were they to divide, they would lose this power. Nor should we wish them to divide. Not division of loot, but justice in distribution as production proceeds, is what thoughtful and honest men demand.

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#### The Negro Vote in Chicago.

To catch the Negro vote of Chicago the Republicans nominated a Negro (p. 771) for a judgeship. They expected that he would be defeated by scratching, for while they looked for the success of their ticket, they did not anticipate a third party movement that would give their ticket a large plurality. But the third party movement came, and it left the local Democratic machine so far in the rear that in spite of Republican scratching, Mr. Barnett came in on the winning side. For some reason the Republicans regarded this as an undesirable political result, and their earnest prayer that he might fail in the official count has

been answered. His reported plurality of some 600 or 700 has been officially altered to a plurality of some 300 for a Democratic candidate. The Republican machine regards this outcome as a fine piece of good luck.

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#### Discharge of the Negro Troops.

Major Penrose of the 25th regiment, U. S. A., a Negro regiment, is a brave man, if the papers report him correctly. When he disbanded the last soldiers of the battalion which President Roosevelt dismissed because its members didn't blab (pp. 746, 751), he said: "Here goes the last of the best disciplined, best behaved, and best regulated battalion in the United States army." And to that remarkable characterization of the misused troops he added: "There was but little evidence to convict these brave men; no court in the world would consider the charges seriously." If this is true, President Roosevelt has made himself guilty of another spectacular injustice and folly.

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#### Senator Tillman's Race Antipathy.

Those of us who know and appreciate the genuine democracy of Senator Tillman within the limits of his own race, cannot but regret most deeply his abhorrent views of human rights beyond those limits and his cruelty of thought and speech toward a race so pathetically circumstanced as the Negro. But the attempts to suppress his speech in Chicago were ill-advised. Freedom of speech is absolutely essential to personal liberty, and most necessary is it to weaker races and classes. Mayor Dunne's refusal to preside, however, and thereby to lend the support of his official position to a lecture attacking the Negroes of Chicago, was well advised and under the circumstances courageous. Had the lecture been aimed at Irish, or Pole, or Jew, or Scandinavian, no courage would have been required. They have a great voting power which is easily influenced by appeals to national and race prejudices. To preside at a meeting attacking any of these nationalities, would spell political ruin for any public man. But the Negroes of Chicago are Republicans almost to a voter. They cannot be influenced to vote any other than the Republican ticket. Nothing political was to be gained, therefore, by a Democratic mayor through respecting their feelings, and much was to be lost. Mayor Dunne's act was courageous as well as right.

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#### Private Postal Service.

The proposition to buy the postal service from

the Federal government and operate it for corporation profit, can hardly be regarded as anything else than a practical joke. To the extent that the postal system operates badly, the explanation lies not in the fact that the government owns and operates it, but that private corporations own and operate the government. Any attempt to cure the defects of the postal system by giving it over to the corporations wholly, would be an extreme application of the homeopathic principle of "like cures like." While the poison of the snake may cure the bite, the antidote should be diminished and not augmented in potency. Eliminate corrupt railroad interests from the postal service, and there will be little left to complain of.

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### Preachers and Crime.

As the municipal election in Chicago approaches, with public utilities' plunder again at stake, a certain class of preachers are reviving the anti-saloon outcry against Mayor Dunne. His reelection, and that alone, will save the situation to the city and prevent the reactionary policies which the Plunderbund is "framing up." Hence the revival, just now, of this pulpit crusade. To these preachers the saloon is never a menace in Chicago, however "wide open" the town, except under a city administration which can neither be bribed nor wheedled into fattening the treasuries of the Plunderbund, and then it is the all in all of clerical agitation.

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But not every Chicago clergyman is making of himself an obedient servant of the Plunderbund. Not all of them point to Mayor Dunne's refusal to close saloons in violation of the law. Not all of them ignore the fact that he does enforce the law against saloons where there is a law to enforce. Not all of them attribute crime to him after failing to attribute it to his predecessors who have put on the lid or taken it off according to political exigencies instead of legal requirements. Not all of them have turned themselves into ecclesiastical touters for the Plunderbund. One of them at any rate has traced crime to our vigilante methods of dealing with crime. We allude to the Rev. Willard B. Thorpe, who points to the policy of Judge Lindsay of Denver as an example of the true Christian way of checking the advance of crime. Judge Lindsay treats offenders as fellow men, or fellow boys, and eradicates crime by the Christian law of love. But pulpit vigilantes, who are so prompt at all political crises in coming to the aid of the Plunderbund,—they cling to the ante-

anti-Christian barbarism of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.

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### Mrs. Sage's Opportunity.

Mrs. Sage having decided to utilize the fortune her husband left her, in helping people who need help but don't ask for it, the Johnstown Democrat makes a sensible suggestion. "If Mrs. Sage is seriously desirous," it says, "of conferring a permanent benefit upon her fellows it is evident that she must arrange to open to them a permanent opportunity. The chance dollar that she might give to a starving man is simply an opportunity to get a meal. The only place in which Mrs. Sage can place her millions, knowing that they will remain put, is to bury them in the soil. Cities will pass away, charitable institutions will rise and fall, but the soil lasts until the end of things. Eighty million dollars invested in land that was in turn dedicated to the use of men and not entailed as the possession of a landlord would be a holding that would ease and sweeten the lives of thousands for centuries. Mrs. Sage with her millions could obtain possession of an immense tract of land. She could decree that henceforth forever the returns for the use of that tract should be consumed, not in European tours for a favored few, but in building roads, maintaining schools, founding libraries and in promoting the welfare of the people who dwelt upon the tract. If Mrs. Sage were to do that she would be founding a real charity. She would be helping men to help themselves." And, it might be added, she would be helping people who not only need help and don't ask for it, but people who would earn the help they would get.

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### The Resurrection of the Body.

"When I say of Jesus," explains the Rev. Mr. Crapsey, who has just been expelled from the clerical office in the Episcopal Church (p. 802), "that he ascended into heaven, I do not mean and cannot mean that with his physical body of flesh, blood and bones he floated into space and for two thousand years has been existing somewhere in the sky in that very physical body of flesh, blood and bones." Neither does Mr. Crapsey believe in Jesus as "a son of man born without a human father." Of course one may accord to persons who do believe in this way, the full measure of credit for good intentions and ecclesiastical intelligence; but the man who explains and accepts the deeper and sweeter doctrines which these traditional beliefs typify, must seem to most of us as having his face more directly toward the rising sun of rational

spirituality than the setting sun of materialistic superstition.

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## THE WHITE MAN AND THE NEGRO AT THE SOUTH.

Those of us who insist that the Negro shall be accounted a man as other men when questions of human rights are at issue, are usually met with two broad statements. We are told, first, that only the Southern white man understands the Negro, and second, that Northern white men adopt the hostile Southern view as soon as they come into intimate contact with the Negro masses at the South. Both mental attitudes confront us in two letters upon which we purpose commenting.

### I.

One of these letters has to do with the tendency of Northern white men who, upon going South, adopt the Southern view of the Negro question. It comes from a correspondent who in a passage of the Atlantic last Summer participated in a desultory discussion in the smoking room of the ship, in the course of which the Negro question came up. One of the passengers, a Northern man as our correspondent believes, took the lead "in damning up and down from every point of view the Negro of the South." The letter continues:

He laid especial weight on the inherent shiftlessness of the black man, whom you can't beg or beat into work. As conversations go, this led to discussions on the South and then to investments in Southern land. "Why," he said, "I don't see why more people don't put money down there;" and then, lowering his voice as though letting us into the secret, "you know I've got 320 acres down there and I have thirteen Negro families on it. Why, I pull out over \$3,000 a year clear."

This man revealed the commercial Northern mind.

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Northern white men do not change their opinions with reference to human rights when they go South. What they do change is their modes of expressing those opinions.

The average Northern white man of the "classes" knows no such thing as human rights. The only rights he knows or cares for are what he calls "rights of property."

And he draws no distinction between natural rights and artificial privileges in this connection. Whether the subject of proprietorship be a house, a building-site, a horse, a human being, or a public function, it is all the same to him. The proprietorship must be protected at all hazards and

regardless of whose natural rights of property or person it invades.

According to this view of human relationships the "lower classes," who are disinherited by law to make his opportunity and plundered by law for his enrichment, are an inferior order—wards to be brought up "in the way they should go" if they are docile, or beasts of prey to be wiped off the face of the earth if they are rebellious.

But he draws no distinctions of race or color. Unaccustomed to "upper" and "lower" orders distinguishable by race characteristics and color marks, he thinks of the Negro simply as of the "lower orders." He is even sympathetic with the Negro when white men of the "lower orders" abuse him.

From his point of view the Negro should have the same chance in life as any other person of the lower orders. The "door of opportunity" to compete with white bidders for work should be kept open for him; but the door of opportunity should with judicial impartiality be slammed in the face of white and black alike, if by allowing it to remain open any of the plundering privileges of the "classes" would be jeopardized.

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When such a man comes in contact with the Negro masses of the South, he seems to alter his opinion regarding the Negro. But there is in reality no essential alteration of opinion. He merely phrases his plutocratic opinion in terms of race prejudice.

Finding in the South that the lower orders consist for the most part of Negroes, he damns them as heartily as at the North he would like to damn the poor regardless of race. If he found himself in a community where the lower orders were mostly Chinese, or Japanese, or Irish, or Scandinavian, or Hun, or Jew, he would turn his batteries upon those races.

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In the North he has less freedom of speech regarding the abolition of the ballot for the "lower orders" than at the South regarding the Negro's ballot. While at the North he may be urgent for strict naturalization laws to lessen the voting power of the "lower orders," and may urge freely enough in the privacy of "his set" the disfranchisement of the "lower orders" who already vote, he dares not unreservedly demand disfranchisement. It would not be good form. All this is different at the South, where the lower orders are mostly Negroes. Disfranchisement of Negroes being popular among the whites of the South, the

Northern man of plutocratic instincts may freely join in the hue and cry.

But Southerners are mistaken in supposing that he is therefore a convert to their view. He has not turned from "nigger lover" to "nigger hater." Men who really believe in human equality before the law are not so easily diverted from their ideals. All he has done is to translate his long cherished plutocratic opinions into the language of race hatred.

## II.

Our second letter is in one respect more agreeable than the first. In the first, the sordid mind it reports leers out between the lines. But the second speaks the thought of a mind which at bottom means well to all the world, the Negro included. The writer feels much more keenly, however, the wrongs he suffers from the Negro, than he realizes the wrongs he tolerates against the Negro.

We give his letter in full (except as it is merely personal), not alone for the purpose of commenting upon it, but also, and more important still, because it breathes better than anything that we have seen in print the spirit of the average well-meaning Southern white man on the Negro question:

The writer now resides, and has all his life lived on the farm on which he was born 55 years ago in Rutherford County, Tennessee. My father owned slaves until they were freed. He was kind to them and they loved him. I had my "black mammy" like many other Southern boys, and we were affectionately attached to each other as long as she lived. My most congenial playmates were our Negro boys of my age and older.

After these Negroes were freed, my father gave them homes on his farm as tenants; and later, after I took charge of the farm, most of the Negroes continued to cultivate the land for me by my directions. We all prospered reasonably well and our work went on smoothly until the younger generation of Negroes came on in place of the older.

These old ex-slaves are now almost extinct. A few more years will mark the time away as far as they are concerned. Whenever you see one of these old Negroes they are honorable as a rule, and are held in respect and esteem by all good white people. But how different is this younger generation of Negroes. A large majority of them are without principle, are white folk haters, and for the slightest imaginary provocation, where less than fifty cents might be involved, will burn you out of house and home.

I claim to know the nature of the Negroes, their faults and their virtues, having been reared almost in their cabins, and having never had any other labor on my farm than Negroes, and otherwise having had much dealings with them. I deal honestly with them, and would be as far from cheat-

ing or defrauding them as I would be from cheating my own son.

Some years ago in giving an old Negro family the preference of working my land to another Negro of the younger generation, the latter took offense, said he had as good a right to home with me as the old family Negro who had nursed me in my infancy. My barn, full of corn and hay, was burned in a few days. I did not see the incendiary in the act, but all evidence pointed to this Negro. Later my house was burned over my head and that of my four motherless little children at 2 o'clock in the night. I had befriended this old family Negro by furnishing him a little money to prosecute a little suit against one of his own race. By doing so, I incurred the ill-will of this Negro. He, to be revenged, fired my house.

I have two young Negro men living on my farm now; one of them has not told me the truth this whole year. He is anxious to live with me another year on the same terms that he works now. I would like to dispose of him and get a more reliable man. This one, when I buy shoes for him, gambles them off his own feet, and then comes to me to buy others for him, claiming he accidentally burned them up in the fire. If I do not allow this Negro a home with me next year, he is liable to do me some private injury.

Now no doubt you think this is an overdrawn picture. If you think so you do not know the Negro of to-day that we farmers have to deal with. But what is a thousand times worse, our wives and daughters, if they leave home on a visit or on business do it at the peril of being assaulted by some Negro. Do you believe that assertion? We keep a gun loaded in my home for no other purpose than for wife to protect herself with in case of an assault in my absence, though I may be gone from home for an hour only. You can't take up a daily paper, such as the Nashville Banner, which is a most conservative paper, without reading of an assault by some Negro brute on a white woman or white child.

Put yourself in a Southern man's place. Have you a wife? Have you daughters? The thought never occurred to you of the possibility of a Negro assaulting one of your own. In that case would your counsel let the law take its own course? You say Yes; but I say No, you would not; you would leave the brute in the hands of your friends to settle. I am not an advocate of mob law. But I love the womanhood and virtue of our women more than I love my own life. If you lived here, and had to deal with the Negro as we of the South do, you would not write editorials or publish from other papers articles which, if the ignorant Negroes were to read, or hear about, would incite them to further deeds of crime.

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This letter is pathetic. It is pathetic because it describes a sad situation, and doubly pathetic because in doing so it discloses a disordered mental and moral vision. The writer attributes to a race the crimes of individuals. He attributes to race characteristics crimes and vices that are com-

mon to mankind. He assumes peculiar knowledge of a class of men as men, when he has no knowledge of them except as docile slaves or rebellious sons of freedmen—and this wholly from his own point of view and not at all from theirs.

Our correspondent claims "to know the nature of the Negroes, their faults and their virtues, having been reared almost in their cabins and having never had any other labor" on his farm. This experience may indeed enable him to know the Negro as a slave, as a tenant, as a dependent. But it does not enable him to know the Negro as a man. No one can know his own race, much less another race, unless he measures it upon the level. If he looks up at it or down at it, he does not know it. Equality is an absolute condition of knowing men. Nobles do not know their peasantry, the employing class at the North do not know the laboring class; yet for the most part all are of the same race.

That our letter writer does not know the Negro distinctively as Negro, is evident from the rest of his letter. He thinks it a peculiarity of the Negro race that while the ex-slaves are docile the younger generation are white-folk haters and vindictive. Yet this is a characteristic of all races that have passed through enslavement or other social wrongs, especially if the younger generation are made to feel the degradation of their outraged ancestors.

Our letter writer himself exhibits the very spirit he condemns, when he defends the mobbing of unconvicted Negroes accused of crime. For the sins of the criminally guilty of a race, he is vindictive against the actually or possibly innocent of the same race.

He thinks it a peculiarity of the Negro to lie. But where is the evidence that lying is a Negro vice? Shall we condemn the whole race as liars because one Negro has not told the truth for a whole year? What an absurdity even if it were a million Negroes with a million lies.

Lying is not peculiar to any race. It is simply the refuge of the weak of all races. Those who fear the vengeance of the master—whether the timid child, the cowed slave, or the hired man fearful of losing his job—these, and not Negroes as Negroes, are the classes that characteristically resort to lies.

We are told, moreover, that it is a peculiarity of the Negro to burn houses in revenge for real or fancied wrongs. But in the early days of this country the white man denounced the Indian because Indians burned houses in revenge for white aggression. In England during the corn law agitation, landlords denounced the farm laborer be-

cause farm laborers vindictively burned corn ricks. If Negroes burn white men's houses, whether in revenge for personal grievances or in recollection of the great grievance of slavery, it proves not that Negroes are different from other races in their elemental passions, but that they are like them. History is full of examples.

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If the new generation of Negroes are vindictive, if they hate the whites as a race, shall the blame rest altogether upon the Negro, and the white be wholly excused? What man dare say this, and yet profess to be fair?

The white race of our country enslaved the Negro and held him in slavery for two centuries or more. We need not in this connection discuss the responsibility—whether it rests upon the North or the South, or both. If the Negro's nature is human nature, he doesn't allow for these fine distinctions any more than white men do. It is enough for him to know that black slavery was a fact, and that it was made a fact by the white race. If all Negroes look so much alike to white men, would it be strange if most white men look alike to Negroes?

What would the white race do if conditions were reversed? Our letter writer should know that it would do precisely what he denounces the Negro race for doing. As it came to a realization of its wrongs the white race would hate the Negro race and be vindictive. Indeed, it hates the Negro race now and is vindictive, notwithstanding that the great wrong has been done by the white race to the Negro race instead of being done by the Negro race to the white race.

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And what is the lesson of it all?

In consequence of an historical wrong of the past and of continuing wrongs in the present, from "black codes" to peonage, the new generation of Negroes, as would be the case with the new generation of any other race of freedmen just coming into a realization of its long outraged rights, is cultivating a bitter hatred of the white race.

What then is the thing to be done?

Is it to inflict more wrongs upon the Negro, thereby demonstrating to the Negro race that its hatred of the white race as a race of conscienceless brutes is justified?

Or is it to treat the Negro race as a race of men whose rights and responsibilities are the same as those of other men?

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

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Six days ending Tuesday, Nov. 27, 1906

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### Demands of Organized Labor.

The American Federation of Labor in session at Minneapolis (p. 799) on the 23rd adopted the following platform for political action:

1. Free schools and compulsory education.
  2. Unrelenting protest against the issuance and abuse of injunction process in labor disputes.
  3. A workday of not more than eight hours in the twenty-four-hour day.
  4. A strict recognition of not over eight hours per day on all Federal, State or municipal work and at not less than the prevailing rate per diem wage of the class of employment in the vicinity where the work is performed.
  5. Release from employment one day in seven.
  6. The abolition of the contract system on public work.
  7. The municipal ownership of public utilities.
  8. The abolition of the sweatshop system.
  9. Sanitary inspection of workshop, factory and home.
  10. Liability of employers for injury to body or loss of life.
  11. The nationalization of telegraph and telephone.
  12. The passage of anti-child-labor laws in States where they do not exist, and rigid defense of them where they have been enacted into law.
  13. Woman suffrage co-equal with man suffrage.
  14. Suitable and plentiful playgrounds for children in all cities.
  15. Continued public agitation for public bathhouses in all cities.
  16. Qualifications in all permits to build in all cities and towns that there shall be bathroom and bathroom attachments in all houses or compartments used for habitation.
  17. We favor a system of finance whereby money shall be issued exclusively by the government with such regulations and restrictions as will protect it from manipulation by the banking interests for their own private gain.
- Resolutions against joining the militia were defeated, as was an "old-age pension" resolution.

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### Trans-Mississippi Congress.

At the meeting of the Trans-Mississippi Congress (p. 802) at Kansas City on the 22nd, William J. Bryan, an ex-president of the congress, presented two resolutions, one on monopolies and the other on international peace. They were as follows:

Resolved, That this congress is unalterably opposed to private monopolies, and, believing them indefensible and intolerable, favors the enforcement of existing laws and the enactment of such new laws as may be necessary to protect industry from the menace offered by the trusts.

Resolved, That this congress heartily indorses the resolution unanimously adopted by the Interparliamentary Union at its London session last July, in favor of the

submission of all international questions to an international court or commission for investigation before any declaration of war or commencement of hostilities.

Mr. Bryan made a strong plea for both resolutions. But on the following day, the committee on resolutions ignored them in its report, which advocated ship subsidies. Mr. L. C. Irvine, of St. Louis, thereupon spoke emphatically regarding the action of the committee, intimating that it had been influenced by political considerations. The chairman, John P. Irish, replied explaining that the resolutions had been ignored by the committee because Mr. Bryan had advocated government ownership of railroads in his New York speech. He thought an endorsement of such resolutions from Mr. Bryan would therefore be an indirect endorsement of government ownership of railroads. Upon a vote of the congress the committee's report was adopted, and so were the Bryan resolutions.

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### Indian Questions.

The band of dissatisfied Utes who wandered up into Wyoming early in the Autumn, and were reported a few weeks ago as temporarily pacified and on their way to Fort Meade in South Dakota under military escort (p. 751), have had a conference outside of Fort Meade with General A. W. Greely, head of the Northern Division of the U. S. Army. The Indians are reported as being very friendly and displaying the best possible spirit toward the government, but upon one point they insist—they will not go back to Utah. They claim that they cannot make a living on the lands allotted to them and that they did not get a "square deal" at the time of the allotment. The band upon its arrival was 426 strong, and almost 200 of these were men who were armed.

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The Senate Indian investigation committee has been sitting in many towns in the Indian Territory, inquiring into the advisability of removing the restrictions on the sale of Indian lands, and the leasing of coal lands. At McAlester on the 21st the Rev. J. W. Murrow, a missionary doing educational work among the Indians, strenuously opposed breaking down the restrictions; and when Senator H. M. Teller of Colorado suggested that some of the questions involved would be settled under Statehood, Mr. Murrow cried out: "God save the fullbloods when Statehood comes." This aroused the indignation of Senator C. D. Clark of Wyoming, who thought better of his race than to believe that they would be unjust to the Indians. At Tulsa on the 23rd Chitto Harjo, or Crazy Snake, of the Creeks, pleaded for a return to the conditions under the treaty of 1832, when the Indians held land in common, and roamed as nomads. "In 1492 when a man landed on American shores named Columbus, whom did he find here?" cried Harjo. "Did he find the white man? No. He found the Indian. What did he say to the Indian? He said: 'The land is all yours. I will protect you.'"

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### The President at Porto Rico.

President Roosevelt arrived at Ponce on the south coast of Porto Rico on the morning of the 21st. He was met by Governor Beekman Winthrop. After

greetings from officials and school children the presidential party, in eleven automobiles, crossed the Island by the military road to the capital, San Juan on the north coast, a distance of eighty miles, which was made in six and a half hours. San Juan furnished the greatest reception in its history. On the 22d the President went by train to Arecibo, also on the north shore, forty miles west of San Juan, and then returned by automobile to Ponce, embarking that evening on the Louisiana for Washington, where he arrived on the evening of the 26th. Everywhere in Porto Rico the President is reported as having been received with the greatest enthusiasm.

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#### In the British Parliament.

The education bill (p. 776) still occupies the center of the stage. It was reported on the 22nd that the amendments passed by the House of Lords had so incensed the Nonconformists (English Protestants who are not members of the State Church) that over a hundred Nonconformist members of Parliament had signed a memorial asking the government promptly to reject all the amendments of the Upper House. This would mean a deadlock and an inevitable struggle between the two Houses, which the moderates on both sides are anxious to avert. On the ground that it contained the spirit of home rule, the House of Lords on the 22nd, by a vote of 109 to 44, struck out the clause in the education bill empowering the establishment of a central education council for Wales. Discussion of the bill was closed in the Lords on the same evening, after having occupied fifteen days, or longer than any previous measure in that House. In its amended form the bill is wholly unacceptable to the government and the majority in the Commons, who contend that it has become frankly denominational, since it requires that unless religious instruction be given in them daily no schools will be recognized as public elementary schools. Strong efforts are being made to arrange some workable compromise. The Archbishop of Canterbury, who has been appealed to in the matter, admits that the bill in the shape in which it left the House of Lords, is unworkable.

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The government has under consideration a land tenure bill for the protection of agricultural tenants.

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#### Norway to Be Neutralized.

Dispatches from Berlin and St. Petersburg state that the new kingdom of Norway (p. 297) has sent a circular note to Germany, Great Britain, France and Russia, asking them to join in the neutralization of Norway. The neutralization would be in effect a guarantee against territorial aggression by any power, and would give Norway a status similar to that of Belgium and Switzerland. On account of its extended area, the possession of valuable deep water harbors on the Atlantic, and the agreement with Sweden against fortification in the neighborhood of the frontier, Norway is in a peculiarly exposed position, and the first efforts of Norse diplomacy have been directed toward eliminating the danger of being attacked, and securing facilities for the peaceful development of the country without

the crushing burden of a large army. Germany, France and Russia have already replied favorably to the request, and Great Britain is expected to join with them in the guarantee.

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#### Breaking up the Russian Communes.

The policy whereby the land-hungry Russian peasants were to be enabled to buy lands for themselves, inaugurated by the Czar's government last August (pp. 441, 511, 560, 634), has been supplemented by an imperial ukase promulgated on the 25th, under which the peasant may abandon his share of communal ownership of village land, and may become an individual freeholder. In communes where no redistribution has taken place for the last twenty-four years, a peasant may acquire as absolute individual property such portions of the communal land as happen at the present moment to be in his possession or under cultivation by him. In communes where there has been a redistribution within twenty-four years this privilege is limited, and is subject to pro rata calculation based on the number of members in the household. The ukase also permits the breaking up of whole communes by a two-thirds majority vote. The ukase is in the direct line of the Czar's whole agrarian policy, which aims at the separation of the peasant question from all other political agitation, and is a further effort to prove that the Czar can and will remedy the peasants' grievances without the aid of the Douma. The Liberal leader, Mr. Kovalevsky, has already protested against the government's dealing with the problem of land tenure without the co-operation of the Douma, and the Opposition press also charges that the government proposes to build up a party consisting of the wealthier peasant householders, who naturally will be quick to take advantage of an opportunity to acquire big lots of land at low prices. Mr. Kutler, formerly minister of agriculture, in an article in the *Rech*, asserts that under the ukase the wealthier peasants will acquire the larger pieces of land and gradually separating themselves from the poorer peasants, will form a valuable addition to the ranks of property holders. Such an outcome was forecasted with great precision at the inauguration of the policy, by no less a person than a cabinet minister (p. 441).

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## NEWS NOTES

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—The "new football rules" are declared to have worked out well on the whole, and to have produced a shorter record of serious casualties.

—Another portion of the crater of Mt. Vesuvius has collapsed, again producing clouds of ashes, cinders and smoke, resembling an eruption (p. 777).

—J. W. Bengough, whose cartoons have long been familiar to readers of *The Public*, is a candidate for alderman in the third ward of Toronto, with every prospect of election in January.

—Mayor Schmitz of San Francisco, who is under indictment for extortion (p. 801), arrived from Europe at New York on the 23rd. He declared his innocence and his desire for the fullest investigation, charging the action against him to political motives.



was made, and Mayor Schmitz took a train for San Francisco, passing through Chicago 24th.

French parliamentary commission to which one of the abolishment of the death penalty was referred (p. 732), has reported by two in favor of such abolishment.

Sh Sons' Association of Illinois was formed on the 22nd, with the promotion and of trade relations between the United States and the British dominions, as one of its purposes.

Muel Coleridge Taylor, the eminent Africanist and composer of the Hiawatha, gave two musical recitals in Chicago on the 3rd and 4th of December at the Theater, 2700 State street.

by with striking street car men at Hamrio, brought on a riot on the 24th, in which men used their clubs and soldiers their such effect that nearly 100 persons had died at the hospitals of the city.

News from Germany state that the number on strike in the schools of German reported by cable as being 1,000,000 (pp. ought to be put rather at 40,000. Later news say that in order to compel the sub- ject children, every tenth child will be re- ceived the care of its parents, and placed un- der absolute and complete control of the local

of Algernon S. Crapsey, under sentence from the ministry of the Protestant church on account of what the ecclesiastical adjudged to be heresy, has himself re- turned to the ministry of the church, announcing in his bishop that he is about to appeal from the authorities of the church to the effect, "to the great people, secure in their serene possession of the truth."

the huge South American state lying between Chile on the west, Argentina and Brazil on the south, and Brazil on the east and is to be gridironed by 1,000 miles of railroad in the future, by the Standard Oil capitalists, reports from New York. The necessary reports are said to have been ratified by the congress. The roads will be laid to reach the virgin forests of hardwoods, and rubber.

17th annual meeting of the Anti-Imperial League was held at the office of the secretary, 125 State street, Boston, November 24th, at 12 o'clock. Adjournment was made to Monday, November 27th, at the rooms of the 20th Century Club, Boston, where there is to be a luncheon followed by the meeting at which the Hon. Rufus W. Moorfield Storey and the Hon. Lucius R. Lusk, former governor of Rhode Island, are expected to address.

The new Michigan State Reward Road Act passed into effect July 1st, 1905, by which the State co-operates with townships in the improvement of the public roads, macadam roads are being extended to the sparsely settled regions of the State. It is reported as being so pleased with the

results of their first expenditures under the law that it is predicted that it will not be many years before all the main roads of the State will be good roads.

—New Guinea, the large island lying north of Australia and just south of the equator, is reported by the captain of a German steamship which arrived in Sydney, Australia, last week, to have suffered terribly from earthquake shocks followed by tidal waves at the time the steamship was making its way through the Bismarck archipelago which lies off the northeast coast of the island. The captain reports devastation from the tidal waves, great fissures in the mountain sides, and probable loss of life among the natives.

—John Alexander Dowie (p. 657), Wilbur Glenn Voliva, and the church of Zion, are prepared to assign all their interests in the industries of Zion over to the creditors of Zion City, according to announcement of the 27th. Henceforth the factories are to be administered by a board of seven directors, including three capitalists who are not followers of Dowie. The indebtedness of Zion is said to reach about \$6,000,000, distributed among Zionites throughout the world, the owners of the land on which Zion City was built, and holders of Zion paper. Dowie, broken and sick, is now penniless.

—E. G. Routzahn, secretary of the Bureau of Civic Co-operation, is making a tour of the United States and down into Mexico, conducting "Civic Institutes" and "Social Hygiene Conferences," the former being a one day program of talks and conferences treating broadly of civic improvement, with particular reference to civics in the schools, neighborhood improvement work, public recreation, home and school gardens, public school extension, and other topics; and the latter a one day series of meetings for the popular presentation of the essential facts regarding tuberculosis and its relations to varied social problems, with the consideration of practicable methods for local use.

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### CASE OF THE NEGRO SOLDIERS.

The Springfield Republican (ind.), November 15.—That a mistake has been made regarding the soldiers of the 25th Infantry may not be so apparent to the military authorities as to those who are observing the effect of their action upon the colored race of the country, whose indignation is widespread and not in the least concealed. If the government was unable to discover the identity of the soldiers who committed the offenses at Brownsville, it should have dismissed the case, evidently, rather than punish the innocent alike with the guilty; or if anyone was to be punished for the bad discipline of certain companies, why should not the blow have fallen upon the officers who are responsible for the behavior of their men?

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### AN ENGLISH COMMENT ON SINCLAIR'S "JUNGLE."

Westminster Review (London), October.—To those that have eyes to see it is clear that the economic tyranny exercised by the Beef Trust, like that of all other trusts, rests upon land monopoly. Those who own the earth own "the base of supplies" of the whole industrial army, and controlling the base of supplies, they have the industrial

forces of the world at their mercy. This is the root cause of industrial slavery, whether in field, factory, mine, or workshop, and unless and until land monopoly is broken down, it is impossible to make the workers economically independent. . . . Free the land and you free the people. There is no other way.

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#### THE AUTOMOBILE AN INCITER OF REVOLUTION.

The Standard (rel.), November 17.—We are convinced that the growth of class hatred has been greatly fostered by the reckless driving of automobiles. The workingman whose little child is killed by a rapidly-driven car, or who is compelled to jump for his life to escape the insane rush of some scion of a wealthy house, is henceforth the enemy of the rich. Perhaps he ought to discriminate, but he will not. It is the rich man—or, more likely, his son—who goes hurtling through the streets in machines regardless of the thousands who walk. If a revolution comes in America the automobile will be one of the prime causes.

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#### FRANCHISES AND BOODLE.

The Oregon Journal (Portland), November 10.—All the municipal history of America tends to show that private ownership of public utilities is inseparable from private ownership of public officers. There may be many exceptions, but this is the rule. Nobody understands this better than Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland, who is both an owner of a public utility and an officer, but who does not allow his private interests to swerve him from his duty to the public. He says he is not fighting for municipal ownership for itself, nor because people can thus get better service at less cost, which he asserts they can, but to break up the combination between private ownership and politics. Franchise values, he says, are great prizes hung up, and they corrupt politics, degrade citizenship and render good municipal government impossible.

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#### CREMATION WILL TAKE THE PLACE OF CEMETERIES.

Springfield Republican (ind.), November 1.—In the long run cremation will become the civilized method of disposing of the bodies of our dead. Considerations of the public health will be more and more applied. As bearing upon this element in the promotion of the reform a recent decision by the supreme court of Iowa is worth noting. When the town of Wayland in that State sought to establish a new cemetery, adjoining the old one north of the town and on top of a hill, from whence there was drainage into streams which furnished water for the people in Wayland and their stock, certain citizens brought suit to enjoin the opening of the new cemetery. The Wayland authorities regarded this move as a "preposterous" one, but Judge James B. Smythe took a modern view of the situation and issued the injunction prayed for. Then the town appealed, but the supreme court has affirmed the decision of Judge Smythe. This case should have value as an element in the popular enlightenment.

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#### THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST.

The London (Eng.) Tribune, November 2.—The tenacity of pseudo-scientific notions in the discussion of social affairs is really remarkable. There is no more careful archeologist than Professor Flinders Petrie. . . . Yet as soon as he deals with a question of general sociology like the study of migration, . . . we find him rounding off a very careful study of the facts of migration with crude bits of so-called Darwinian theory which all competent sociologists have long since left behind. Professor Petrie is still in the stage of believing that natural progress depends upon the rigid elimination of the

weak. This is a conception which arose from a misunderstanding of Darwin—a misunderstanding which that great man strove in vain to guard against by the chapter in which he dwelt on the importance of sympathy in the evolution of higher types. It amounts to the assertion that the whole progress of civilization, in so far as civilization has substituted peace and co-operation for war and destruction, is progress backwards. It arises from a confusion, which has been repeatedly pointed out, between those who are "fitted" to survive in any given struggle because they possess the weapons suited to that struggle, and those who are fitted to assist the higher development of the race. Fitness of the first kind may be due to cunning, brutality, vindictiveness, and every kind of anti-social quality. Fitness in the second sense includes that merciful care for the weak and helpless, which Professor Petrie imagines to be the source of retrogression.

## RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

### THANKSGIVING.

We thank Thee. Yea, in the even tone  
Of those who are glad of the goods they own.  
We thank Thee. Yea, that Thou hast preferred  
And blessed us more than the common herd.  
We thank Thee, part with the heart's intention,  
But most, let us own, with the lip's convention.

"We thank Thee." Lord! what a selfish prayer.  
Thanks!—while a beggar's breast is bare?  
Thanks that our own full reast is spread  
While another creature is lacking bread?  
Thanks that our full-fed blood runs warm,  
While a starveling baby breasts the storm?

Thanksgiving! The word is a godless taunt  
From the "House of Have" to the "House of Want."  
Until I share my uttermost crust  
With sinner or saint, with jailed or just,  
I will not clamor to God and raise  
My complacent eyes—and call it praise.

Why, what am I, that Thou givest a feast  
Which Thou hast not shared with Thy worst and least?  
I look at the world and I see the yield  
For all from forest and mine and field,  
And because I have seized a share, shall I  
Cry out Thanksgiving—and only cry?

Thanks? Nay, for though I am cloyed, I know  
The taste of the hungering want. And though  
My limbs are whole, I can feel the crack  
Of the bloody bones on the torture-rack.  
I have looked in the pit and have not feared,  
But I know the shrink of the soul it seared.  
Yes, yes; I am even as you—of those  
Who can not, or will not, heal these woes.  
I am what I am, but I will not be  
At one with the smug-lipped Pharisee  
Who praises his God for his earthly gain,  
While Misery stares through the window-pane.

—Edmund Vance Cooke in the Saturday Evening Post.

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### STAND-PATISM A CURSE.

From a Sermon Delivered by the Rev. E. D. Daniels, of  
Laporte, Ind., Nov. 4, 1906. As Published in the  
Daily Argus-Bulletin of Laporte.

One of the most salutary lessons which corrupt politicians need to be taught is, that they cannot count upon a certain number to vote their way—

will split their tickets, or even vote the opposite ticket, if in their judgment the the times requires it. Once they thor- this lesson, corrupt politicians will be at air calculations, and hence will be large- their power. One of the greatest curses ical campaign is the doctrine which has called "stand-patism," or standing pat ical party under all circumstances. To to party is wrong; it is contrary to all nciples of divine truth. It makes one a gning and unprincipled men.

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### ARMENIAN WOMEN TO VOTE.

*Christian Register, Reprinted in the Friends' Intelligencer of Nov. 10, 1906.*

ic ideas are fast spreading, even in the e Catholicos, or head, of the Armenian venerable prelate having his seat in an antery at the foot of Mount Ararat, has sent ving the church a liberal constitution and the conduct of church affairs hencefor- neral assembly of delegates to be elected members over twenty-one years of age. kable of all, when he was asked if this men, he issued a second bull declaring men might not only help elect the dele- ight also be elected delegates themselves. troke of his pen this Oriental prelate has question which agitated the Methodist urch in the United States for so many

new constitution the first general assem- Armenian Church in Russia will be held in the monastery of Etchmiadzin at the nt Ararat—a monastery which lately cele- xteen hundredth anniversary—and it is it a number of women will be among the Truly, the world moves.

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### BEAUTIFUL BUILDINGS.

*Modern Machinery for November, 1906.*

ificent new capitol of Pennsylvania has d to its beauty some amazing charges of hile it is no unusual thing to fasten orruption upon these piles of stone built nds, this beautiful structure of architec- tions that would cause the proud citizen glad wonder to admire it, the charges of i even those connected with the Albany

that plastering provided for under the is and paid for was taken off and marble

Heavy cement floors, perfectly satisfac- practical purposes, were covered with ex- quetry, and over that were laid carpetings an exclusive design by a favored firm. g, which had been turned over to the blic buildings and grounds, was counted d as incomplete, \$9,000,000 being used for " A special corporation known as the la Bronze Company was organized to e chandellers and electrollers for the 'his company furnished these articles at

an expense to the state of over \$2,000,000 and then the company disbanded and went out of business. There is a hope that the expense may not exceed \$15,000,000. When the capitol commission turned the completed building over to the present board it had cost \$4,000,000.

The Pennsylvanians have strayed from the path in which walked William Penn and his gray-frocked friends.

There is another story told of a beautiful building at St. Paul where a great commonwealth secured a building without the enrichment of a gang of thieves. The building is Minnesota's capital, built at St. Paul. The site is beautiful, and the whole world contribut- ed to its decoration. The proud citizen of St. Paul tells the wondering Eastern man of the commission of business men who undertook the work and gave to the public interest the same attention that they would their own. While the furnishings are mag- nificent enough to gratify the most refined taste, there are no \$2,000,000 chandellers, built by a com- pany specially organized for the work, and the build- ing was turned over to the people without any sus- picion of graft.

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### THE DISCHARGE OF THE COLORED TROOPS.

*William Lloyd Garrison at a Mass Meeting in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Nov. 16, 1906. As Reported in the Springfield Republican.*

While the authority of the President to dismiss soldiers from the army for sufficient reason is un- questionable, the courts have yet to decide whether he can "forever debar them from enlisting in the army or navy of the United States, as well as from employment in any civil capacity under the govern- ment." Prima facie, it is an arbitrary edict unsus- tained by law. But the gravity of the procedure lies in the peculiar circumstances now facing the colored people of the country. With the constitu- tional amendments nullified by State action in the South, the frequent barbarous lynchings, the unpro- voked horrors of Atlanta, and the declared purpose of the dominant whites to keep the Negro in politi- cal and industrial subjection, a condition of national peril and individual oppression exists. Everything tending to inflame passions and encourage present tendencies is portentous. Whether intended or not, the unusual episode which prompts this meet- ing will surely be construed as a concession to race prejudice.

The colored people of the South are abandoned to the tender mercies of the Southern whites. It was easy for the president to inflict swift punishment upon the offending companies because a few of their members were transgressors, but he is powerless to protect colored citizens from daily outrage and murder. Granting that his grounds of dismissal were valid, the situation demanded that it be ordered in such a way as neither to rejoice white savagery nor depress a victim race. The uncton and severity of the act betrayed a prejudiced bias. Had a few members of white regiments been provoked to vio- lence by Negro taunts and abuse, or led wantonly to attack a hostile townspeople, who supposes that

such a hasty and drastic decree would have followed? Government by spasm with afterthought of sorrow seems to be chronic.

I hold no brief for soldiers, white or black. I think the trade of human butchery execrable. On any ground it is to be regretted that colored men can lend themselves to military service under a flag that refuses them shelter of national law and stands for foreign conquest and massacre. They can be in better business; but the single point in the present instance concerns the "square deal" between American citizens of differently colored skins.

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### THE SECRET OF HAPPINESS.

An Extract from "The Balanced Life," by Clarence Lathbury. See Review on Another Page of This Public.

Here lies the secret of gladness and health; to come into native union with the things which God has placed about us is to live from Him once more. Then the morning will breathe a new and sparkling energy into the blood and the hungry tissues will drink light like the young leaves in Spring. There is an unconscious aspiration for perfect fraternity with the world, oneness of the soul with that which engirts it. Any severance is a severance from life which enters through incalculable and myriad avenues. The real life is an utter blending of self with nature, yielding peace and strength. We should walk as gods and goddesses through the halls of a temple built for us. If we will live in the simple noble regions of ourselves, we shall return to our rightful estate.

Health, then, is the perfect relation of the soul and body to the encircling universe. The craving for repose and gladness is a native hunger for a union predestined of God, and is as natural and legitimate as the wish for bread and water. We can never be men and women in the divine sense, never wholesome, sane, and happy without it, because without it we must be incomplete, and to that extent life in part unrealized. True religion is simply soundness, its clearest definition being a divine and vigorous bloom on body and spirit. Holiness implies something more than ceremonial or conventional virtue, and to be warped in mind or body is to be, to that extent, unholy, and thus far excluded from the Kingdom.

We are men and women in the ratio of apt and genuine relatedness to the things about us; we are invincible and holy as we have with us the weight and sanction of nature. The perfect whole enfolds us, and to find real manhood and womanhood we must touch that whole with utter peace. This is a truth too fine for many to comprehend; it will seem to multitudes like the vaporings of a too light-winged fancy; yet it is so radical and inevitable that no thinking and investigating person can deny it. It is evident that the masses are yet playing in the dooryard of time. John Briery says: "Even the highest human thinking has not yet become fully acclimated to immensity." The average person prefers a narrow chitchat world and fears to let his skill float outside the quiet inlets of the great waters. But we will have to learn that we are inextricably bound up with everything about us and cannot escape the task of investigation. We must put to sea

whether we will or not, and until we greet the wider waters we shall feel the gall of limitation; fetters will bind and barriers hinder. The secret of happiness is not found in retiring from life and sheltering the soul from infinity, but in pushing life to its full power, inviting it to touch as many points as possible—the perfect life touching harmoniously and vital-ly all points.

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### THE DESTRUCTIVE CHARACTER OF A POLICY OF INDIFFERENTISM.

Extract from a Speech by Abraham Lincoln at New Haven Conn., March 6, 1860. Reprinted from "Letters and Addresses of Abraham Lincoln," Unit Book Publishing Co., 1905.

I have spoken of a policy based on the idea that slavery is wrong, and a policy based upon the idea that it is right. But an effort has been made for a policy that shall treat it as neither right nor wrong. It is based upon utter indifference. Its leading advocate has said: "I don't care whether it be voted up or down." "It is merely a matter of dollars and cents." "The Almighty has drawn a line across this continent, on one side of which all soil must forever be cultivated by slave labor, and on the other side by free." "When the struggle is between the white man and the Negro, I am for the white man; when it is between the Negro and the crocodile, I am for the Negro." Its central idea is indifference. It holds that it makes no more difference to us whether the Territories become free or slave States, than whether my neighbor stocks his farm with horned cattle or puts it into tobacco. All recognize this policy, the plausible sugar-coated name of which is "popular sovereignty."

That saying, "In the struggle between the white man and the Negro," etc., which, I know, came from the same source as this policy—that saying marks another step. There is a falsehood wrapped up in that statement. "In the struggle between the white man and the Negro," assumes that there is a struggle, in which either the white man must enslave the Negro, or the Negro must enslave the white. There is no such struggle. It is merely an ingenious falsehood to degrade and brutalize the Negro. Let each let the other alone, and there is no struggle about it. If it was like two wrecked seamen on a narrow plank, where each must push the other off or drown himself, I would push the Negro off—or a white man either; but it is not: the plank is large enough for both. This good earth is plenty broad enough for white man and Negro both, and there is no need of either pushing the other off.

So that saying, "In the struggle between the Negro and the crocodile," etc., is made up from the idea that down where the crocodile inhabits, a white man can't labor; it must be nothing else but crocodile or Negro; if the Negro does not, the crocodile must possess the earth; in that case he declares for the Negro. The meaning of the whole is just this: As a white man is to a Negro, so is a Negro to a crocodile; and as the Negro may rightfully treat the crocodile, so may the white man rightfully treat the Negro. This very dear phrase coined by its author, and so dear that he deliberately repeats it in many speeches, has a tendency to still further brutalize

, and to bring public opinion to the point of indifference whether men so brutalized are or not. When that time shall come, if ever, that policy to which I refer may prevail. We the good free men of this country will see it to come, and until then the policy can be maintained.

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## EVIDENCE OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

Circular Issued by the British Proportional Representation Society, Dated November 7, 1906.

During this year, at home, abroad, and in the colonies, proportional representation has achieved notable successes. For the fourth time it has been employed in Belgian Parliamentary elections, although there may be some difference of opinion as to the details of the electoral law, the principle is now no longer in dispute. Proportional representation has been embodied in the constitution of Finland. The Swedish Government pledged to introduce a Proportional Representation Bill. The French parliamentary group advocating this reform has been reconstituted under the leadership of M. Chas. Benoist and now numbers more than 200 deputies drawn from all parties. The German Government, whose measure last year passed the Lower House, has again brought forward a proportional representation scheme. Sir Robert Cartwright in a speech in the Canadian House urged the application of this reform to the House of both the Canadian Houses of Parliament. After the conference in the House of Commons, convened by this Society, a considerable number of Members of Parliament expressed approval by joining its committee, and in particular, Mr. D. C. Cummings, in his address as President of the Trades Union Congress, pleaded for serious consideration of proportional representation.

### Where It Is Needed.

Although the Government declined to incorporate a proportional system in the new Transvaal Constitution, Mr. Winston Churchill, in his statement to the House of Commons, acknowledged that the proposals afforded "the only perfect way in which minorities of every shade of view and in all lands can receive effective representation," and we trust that they would have done much to mitigate the unfortunate racial differences between the English and Dutch. The Constitution of the Orange Free State is still under consideration, and, if the Government takes a more favorable view of the proportional method, the minorities in the new colony will be deprived of all representation. In the Mohammedan States, foreseeing the probable result of the introduction of the English electoral system—that they would get little or no representation—petitioned Lord Minto to make effective provision for their representation in such a form as may be established. The result of any evolution proposals will depend in large measure on the character of the electoral arrangements. It is evident that the fair representation of the national forces in Ireland can be secured only by

the adoption of a system of proportional representation.

### A Trial for Illustrative Purposes.

In view of all these facts the committee have decided to organize an illustrative election on a large scale. Votes will be invited through several agencies and in different parts of the country, the ballot papers subsequently collected, and the result publicly declared. It is believed that this demonstration will have great educational value in proving the ease and certainty of the electoral method advocated by the Society.

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## UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

Printed from the Original Manuscript.

Washington, D. C.

Dear John:—Talkin' about automobiles, give me a good horse.

I got in here from the country the other day to look after things, and I find 'em pretty seedy.

Where the car climbed the capitol far and wide,  
Temple and tower went down,

Byron says about Rome. 'Taint so at Washington. People go down where the car climbs, here, for it's an automobile car—electric, steam, or frankincense—and you'd better look out.

A good horse? Give me any kind of a horse. What's a horse done anyway? He beats an automobile, anyway you can take him; and as for style—could you hire a great sculptor to carve a big general on a prancin' automobile instead of a war horse? No, sir! The more successful he was, the more his work would call for smellin' salts.

The tar walks are cracked and seamy, and the cement—well, we're all a-gettin' old, but my capitol is a fine pile of rocks. Shows a little worn, here and there, but pretty, too. I stood out front of it and thought: What a blamed fine stone quarry it would make for the Arabs who follow us in a couple of thousand years.

Temple and tower went down nor left a site:—  
Chaos of ruins! who shall trace the void, . . .

And say, Here was, or is, where all is doubly night?

Then I went through the pile. Haint been about the Senate much of late years, but wrote my initials, "U. S." in the dust on the Senate mahogany. (The Senate is cleaner when it's in session—dustwise.) Outside is Statuary Hall. Every State has a stone figure of its pet man there, and Illinois has Frances Willard. It seemed to me Frances looked a little forlorn and scared in there alone with all those big men; but she was in good company all right, and so were the men. Still I thought it would be nice and comfortable if Pennsylvania would move and add Lucretia Mott. Lucretia's pet sayin' was, I remember, "Truth for authority, not authority for truth"—which would look well on a stone, and wouldn't hurt none if followed.

But the thing that pleased me most, John, is my trees around in the capitol grounds. I tried to have an assortment of American trees, two of a kind, and I have made a start. They are a good sight. West of the capitol are avenues of sycamores, so lovely it makes your heart sick to look at 'em, and at the foot, shrubbery in great variety. A long time ago, maybe in Lincoln's time, the gardeners marked ev-

everything with its proper Latin name, and you can read some of 'em yet.

I like purple foliage and reds, rock maples and Japanese in their fall suits. Up one side is a group of magnolias, the common southern kind, and the kind with great big burdock-like leaves, now all scattered on the ground.

One of 'em was *Magnolia Acuminata*. I got it off the plate. And what do you s'pose it was? Nothin' in the wide world but a cucumber tree. I've seen finer along a line fence in Ohio, but it's a pretty tree. John, if you'd see a cucumber tree in early fall, with dark green pointed leaves and full of scarlet cucumbers, you'd want to come west to live.

I called on my Supreme Court; eight fine lookin' grandfathers sittin' in a row, intent on upholdin' the rights of property. The rights of man are more in the realm of poetry—in Bobby Burns's "sphere of influence," I guess. A bald-headed lawyer was tellin' the court how things were, and the old boys were botherin' him, askin' him flip questions, and tyin' the grass in front of him to trip up his heels. You can't cure a boy of mischief—not by age.

One difference between the Supreme Court and the Negro minstrels is that the end man is in the middle. That's the Chief Justice—Fuller, his name is—and he looks the part. He has long, flowin' white hair, and long, flowin' white mustache. They're grave and reverend seigniors all right, and I'm proud of their appearance a little and stage effects. Once we came nigh havin' an accident. A sight seein' woman appeared, ostrich feather afloat, an' all sail set, and turned into the holy circle around the throne sacred to the lawyers. In another second she'd have got in and the anarchy I've been afraid of would have arrived; but two ushers, hiss'n' like geese, caught her and turned her into the audience circle, and the country was saved. Then someone said in a husky voice: "Suspend!" There was a sudden show of gowned backs, a flash of bald heads, a stir of concealing drapery, and, a moment later, eight empty chairs. The Supreme Court of the United States had vanished.

UNCLE SAM.

\* \* \*

## JUSTICE TO THE NEGRO.

It seems to have become popular, even in the North, to regard Negro suffrage a failure—and to acquiesce in an effort to make it a failure. This, to me, is unmistakable evidence of the decadence of patriotism—of which we have another humiliating example in our war on the Filipinos. For ourselves, as American citizens—without regard to the welfare of the Negroes—we cannot afford to be unjust to them! We are morally responsible for them! Our teaching and training have made them what they are!

Had the whites been truly just, not to say magnanimous, they would have said at the close of the war:

My colored friends, you have served us long and well. Your unrequited labor made us rich. You are now free. Henceforth you shall have a fair race in an open field. We have the advantage of you now and intend to hold it, but if in the strife for a higher civilization you can

overtake and pass us, we will yield the palm and say: God speed you!

With the manifestation of a just and kindly spirit a race war would have been impossible.

If we search the history of the world, we shall find no story more pathetic, and in multitudes of cases none more tragic, than that of the colored people of this country. Stolen from their native land, sold into a bondage in which they were held for centuries in the most abject slavery; with no rights, even of person, which their masters were bound to respect; helpless and hopeless they lived on in peaceful, friendly and often intimate and trusted relations with the whites.

How they became free we need not here relate. It is enough to say that it was not because of their asking. Freedom was thrust upon them, not from motives of humanity, or philanthropy for them, but as a last resort for the preservation of our Union. The ballot was given them as a supposed means of protection.

As a race they have proven themselves amiable, docile, forgiving and quite as trustworthy as could have been expected when we consider their training and environment.

I think it would be difficult to find a white race, which as slaves, would have protected the interests of their absent masters as they did during our civil war. They not only protected their families—wives and daughters—but in many cases provided also the means for their subsistence. Indeed it would be difficult to invalidate the oft repeated statement that not till the Negro aspired to a higher manhood was he objectionable to the whites.

Believing that the Golden Rule is of universal application, and that the Sermon on the Mount will never become obsolete, the more I read and hear of the feeling manifested by the whites toward the Negro, the less I am inclined to justify their attitude. They assume it to be their right to rule arrogantly, with or without law, evidently expecting the colored man to practice the forbearance and self-control generally acquired by education only; and that he shall forego his right of citizenship also. As evidence of the feeling which dominates the South, I quote an editorial from a Bristol, Tenn., paper:

The Negro problem has long been one of gravest importance to the people of the South, and the recent race riots in the Carolinas have brought it even more forcibly before the public. There has never been a time since the civil war, perhaps, when the two races were at peace and on friendly terms in all sections of the Southern States. There has always been more or less trouble and ill feeling; but the dire possibility of Negro equality, the threatened calamity of Negro domination in some of our sister States, has aroused hatred and prejudice to the point of slaughter, and intensified the existing enmity between the white man and the black, to the last degree.

The Southern people are averse to bloodshed, and resort to the shotgun policy only when that alternate is forced on them. . . . In the North the Negro's offense has mostly been competition with white labor; while in the South he ignorantly aspires to domination and seeks equality. This danger is ever present and ever growing, and as the lines are becoming more and more sharply drawn, it is only a question of time when race riots will become frequent. There seems to be no solution to this problem, which as time goes on becomes more complex. The Negro is a free citizen by

of government, and under the law has rights as a white man. And yet, where Negro supremacy is established by reason of numerical strength, the Negro has shown that he will never submit.

multitudes of people in the South deprecate, in this quotation is manifest the quint-essence of the spirit which has persistently antagonized the black man. He knows that morally and intellectually he is entitled to political equality. That he is entitled to social equality (except possibly in rare cases) he does not believe.

Missionaries to Africa at vast expense of money and leisure, in an effort to spread the gospel of Jesus, to inculcate a belief in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men. Would not those whom we justify in sending missionaries to Africa and South?

SUSAN LOOK AVERY.

April, 1903.

\* \* \*

## RULED BY THE DEAD.

*Rebuilding of Old Commonwealths,* by Walter H. Page, Doubleday, Page & Company, New York.

Modern Southern life is to be found not only in the cities but in certain old towns also. A college town serves as an example. I know such a college town where it seems proper to rest till one dies, so contented, so mild, so dignified the life, so dignified the trees, and so peaceful the half-neglected lawns. You are aware only of an inviolable peace. When a route for a railroad half a century ago was run through a college town this there was great excitement. A railroad! It would jar the dignity of the community, corrupt the morals of youth. It was deferred; and, after thirty years of jolting over bad roads, the people had to build a new railroad. But even then they would not come nearer than a mile. The railroad, ended in an old field and the same place have their share of work to do. But the site is now the site of a cotton mill.

I recently visited a college town contemporary with the century-old buildings, the elms and oaks that give acres of shade—trees some of which were planted by great men with proper ceremony—such an atmosphere generation after generation of youth has absorbed a little yearning for patriotism. The young men you meet are earnest, earnest fellows who have already dedicated themselves to the State; for the State is the Nation.

In this academic circle more than a decade ago I asked a member of the faculty why he attended the particular church, for I knew that he had many years been an "adherent" of another denomination. "I throw my vote to the church," he said. "The sectarian representation in this State is so evenly balanced, and by this advertisement I belong to the church that I attend." He opened the door in his library and took out a handful of books, Matthew Arnold's "Literature and Culture," Renan and two or three others. "Keep under lock and key."

In this college town that I went to rest last

winter. My memory will suffer palsy before I forget the unchanging charm of that academic circle of eighteenth-century life; for it is as it was before anything was that now is in our country. The succession of generations is an incident; the coming of men from other States and other lands—it is they that soon change, not this circle into which they come. Tradition is king here and there is no other. You would wear his livery yourself within an hour after you entered his kingdom; and you feel at home, as you would feel at home if you could visit your ancestors from whom you were reprehensible for straying away into your own generation.

When the play of general conversation had ended one evening the talk settled down to a specific topic, and this was the topic—the lack of freedom of speech in the community. Of course, there was in that company absolute freedom. We were talking about "radical" opinions, especially on theological subjects and about the race-relation. "I should not dare," said one Professor, "to say in public—in my lecture-room or in print—a single thing that I have said here."

"Why?"

"I should be dismissed."

"Do the men who hold the power of dismissal allow you to discuss a crime?"

"Why, not one of them. They all agree with me. There is no difference of private opinion. I can discuss anything with them in private. But they could not withstand the public indignation that would be expressed through the press."

"This is the more remarkable," another added with a laugh, "because the editor of the most important newspaper in this quarter of the world holds more 'radical' opinions than any other man I know. But he has to serve the public."

"Who is the public?"

"The Democratic platform, the Daughters of the Confederacy, old General So-and-So, and the Presbyterian creed," said one.

"And the farmers who vote whether they can read or not," added another.

As for the editor of the powerful newspaper, I knew that a year before he had sought an engagement in New York in order "to get out of the realm that is ruled by the dead."

It is in such a circle of the old academic society and in rural regions that you come upon the real Southern problem—that unyielding stability of opinion which gives a feeling of despair, the very antithesis of social growth and of social mobility. "Every thing lies here where it fell," said a village philosopher in speaking of this temper. "There are the same rocks in the road that were there before the war."

To illustrate—one morning I went to a school for the Negroes and I heard a very black boy translate and construe a passage of Xenophon. His teacher also was a full-blooded Negro. It happened that I went straight from the school to a club where I encountered a group of gentlemen discussing the limitations of the African mind.

"Teach 'em Greek!" said old Judge So-and-so. "Now a nigger could learn the Greek alphabet by rote, but he could never intelligently construe a passage from any Greek writer—impossible!" I told him what I had just heard. "Read it? Understood



it? Was black? A black man teaching him? I beg your pardon, but do you read Greek yourself?"

"Sir," said he at last, "I do not for a moment doubt your word. I know you think the nigger read Greek; but you were deceived. I shouldn't believe it if I saw it with my own eyes and heard it with my own ears."

\* \* \*

### THE PHILIPPINE PROBLEM.

Excerpts from an Address Delivered at the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League, by the President, Mr. Moorfield Storey.

The theory that the white races are necessarily superior to those whose skins have a richer hue and that white men, therefore, have a divine mission to conquer and govern all others has been rudely shattered. More recent experience has discredited the belief that white men can govern yellow, brown and black men better than they can govern themselves. The schemes for the partition of Asia among the great powers of Europe are indefinitely postponed. Government by might the world over totters to its fall.

When the armies of Russia were defeated in battle after battle, when Port Arthur, that impregnable stronghold, was taken, and finally when the Russian fleet was overwhelmed in the straits of Japan, the superstition that yellow men are inferior to white, that Asiatics are not in every way equal to Europeans, received its death blow. "The dwarfs with the faces of baboons and the brains of monkeys," as the Russians contemptuously called them, have brought Russia to its knees.

Not only has Japan freed Asia from the peril of Russian tyranny; it has emancipated the Russians themselves. The most powerful autocracy in the world, fortified by the traditions of centuries, controlling an enormous and subservient army, ruling a people poor, ignorant, disorganized and abjectly submissive, inspiring terror at home and abroad, possessing every thing that can place tyranny beyond the reach of disaster, has been forced to surrender its authority, and to recognize that even its power cannot endure without the consent of the governed. Whether the Russian revolution terminates like the French in a frenzy of terror and bloodshed, or whether the evil results of long oppression on every class in Russia can be remedied by peaceful legislation, we are not wise enough to tell, but when the Czar of all the Russias admits that he cannot govern his people without their consent, no man can hope and no man need fear that government by brute force will endure anywhere.

The oppression of many years with all the blood that has been shed to maintain order in Warsaw has not extinguished the spirit of freedom in Poland. Finland has recovered its ancient constitution. Norway peacefully resumes its independence. The tie which subjects Hungary to Austria is strained to the breaking point. Everywhere the movement of men is towards popular rights and national independence. In our own country the campaign against the equal rights of men has been arrested in Maryland. The best men in the South are rousing themselves to oppose the monstrous doctrine that the

remedy for colored ignorance and brutality is to keep the whole colored race ignorant and brutal, to deny them the rights, opportunities and education of white men—in a word, that the way to lift them up is to keep them down.

The world is beginning to think, and the ancient standards of right and wrong again assert themselves.

Great captains with their guns and drums  
Obscure our judgment for the hour,  
But at length silence comes,

and in that silence we hear the still small voice which ever teaches that all men are brothers.

At a time like this when the whole world is moving towards freedom, does it not seem passing strange that this great country, the apostle of freedom, should persist in setting an example of tyranny; that we should take from another people the right to govern themselves in their own country, establish over them a government in which they have no voice, deny them the protection of any constitution, and rule them absolutely without their consent? Is the Land of the Free the last country in which a universal movement for freedom is felt? There are those who would have us think that the cause of Philippine independence is lost, as their fathers would have led men to believe that slavery was a divine institution and destined to endure in this country. We do not believe it. We have not lost faith in our countrymen. The independence of the Philippines is assured. . . .

If it was a mistake to take the Islands, why not undo it? If we had not taken them their inhabitants would have formed their own government. Spain had been expelled and if we had sailed away they must have governed themselves, as indeed they were doing until we overthrew their government. Why should we not do now what we ought to have done then?

It cannot be claimed that it is impossible to do now what we could have done then. To say that is to admit that till now, so far from fitting them to be independent we have unfitted them; that our seven years have been worse than wasted. If this be so the sooner we stop the process of unfitting them the better. If the imperialist is right they are at least as fit now as they were then to govern themselves.

Let us have the courage to admit our mistake and undo it. An agreement with foreign powers easily made will secure them against foreign aggression, as Switzerland is secured. The method which we adopted in Cuba has proved successful. Why not follow a good precedent and not perpetuate a costly blunder ruinous to the Filipinos and demoralizing as well as expensive to us? We can if we will.

Meanwhile let no American invest his money in Philippine enterprises because he believes that America will persist in a policy of injustice merely to protect his miserable dollars. No American, in office or out, can give any pledge which will bind the American people to hold these Islands for any length of time. He who invests does so at his peril, and must understand distinctly that at no distant day the conscience of his country will assert itself and will not hold millions of men in subjection that a few Americans may profit. The millions invested



in slaves did not save slavery, and ere long we shall again ask in the burning words of Whittier:

Is the dollar only real? God and truth and right a dream?  
Weighed against your lying ledgers must our manhood  
kick the beam?

And be sure that our answer will be a "No" as emphatic as the answer which we gave the same question in 1863.

How long must the Filipinos and our own countrymen alike suffer from our pride and obstinacy?

The dawn of freedom for the Philippines is breaking. Have patience and courage. We shall yet live to see the full day. This great nation will yet be more proud of having done an act of justice to their weaker brothers than if all the fabled wealth of the Orient were won by "criminal aggression."

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## THE TEN WISE OLD FOGIES.

For The Public.

Ten wise old fogies, standing in a line.

A modern theory finished one; then there were but nine.

Nine ancient fogies, not one up to date.

One drowned in a thought current; then there were but eight.

Eight solemn fogies, till a mental leaven

Acted fatally on one; then there were but seven.

Seven settled fogies; in the modern mix

One chanced to change his mind, expired, and left but six.

Six belated fogies; one happened to arrive

At a liberal idea, and that killed all but five.

Five sleepy fogies; for "good old days of yore"

One fell a-pining, died, and there were four.

Four hard-shell fogies, set as set could be.

An agitator tackled one and left the score at three.

Three pious fogies, of antique point of view.

An unconventional remark reduced the three to two.

Two crabbed fogies, objecting to the sun.

A light ray did for one of them; then there was but one.

One lonely fogy with groups of fossils linked

Till he slowly petrified; then they were extinct.

LEONORA PEASE.

+ + +

"I bought a dozen fancy vests to-day, wife."

"A dozen! What for?"

"Economy."

"Well, buying a dozen vests at a time doesn't look like economy."

"Oh, yes, it does. You see, I'm getting so stout that it will take more material to make a vest for me, so I got 'em before I got any stouter!"—Yonkers Statesman.

+ + +

The German girl who presided over the soda fountain in Heckelmeyer's drug store was accustomed to patrons who did not know their own minds, and her habit of thought was difficult to change.

"I'd like a glass of plain soda," said a stout man, entering one day in evident haste as well as thirst.

"You have vanilla, or you have lemon?" tranquilly inquired the young woman.

"I want plain soda—without syrup. Didn't you understand me?" asked the stout man, testily.

"Yes," and the placid German face did not change

in expression or color. "But what kind sirup you want him mitout? Mitout vanilla, or mitout lemon?"  
—Youth's Companion.

+ + +

"Do you reckon this hurts the worm?" asked Johnny, as he baited his hook.

"That's somethin' I don't believe we've got any right to inquire about," said Tommy, watching his cork intently. "It ain't any of our business. All we know is that there's lots of worms. If they ain't for fishin' with I'd like to know what they are for. 'Sh! I've got a bite!"—Chicago Tribune.

## BOOKS

### THE LAND QUESTION IN CROMWELL'S TIME.

The Digger Movement in the Days of the Commonwealth. As revealed in the writings of Gerard Winstanley, the Digger, Mystic and Rationalist, Communist and Social Reformer. By Lewis H. Berens, author of "Toward the Light," etc. Published by Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd., London. Price 7s 6d net. Sold by The Public Publishing Co., Chicago. Price, \$2.25, postpaid.

The Diggers were Englishmen of the Commonwealth period who intended, as they said, "not to meddle with any man's property nor to break down any pales or enclosures, but only to meddle with what was common and untilled, and to make it fruitful for the use of man." Accordingly they set about digging the common lands and sowing the ground with parsnips, carrots and beans, for which they were haled before Lord Fairfax and questioned.

It was upon this occasion that they declared themselves as quoted above, regarding the digging of the common lands, to which they added that they would not defend themselves with arms; and while before Lord Fairfax they stood with their hats on, because he was but their fellow creature. These circumstances led Carlyle to note the germ of Quakerism in their movement. Mr. Berens finds in it also the germ of the modern single tax movement, and describes its leader, Gerrard Winstanley, as the Henry George of the Seventeenth Century.

This book does more than tell us of an obscure reformer of 250 years ago. It restores a phase of the rising democracy of that time, a phase that history hereafter is likely to account of more importance than other phases of the same period which have heretofore been within the rays of the historian's limelight.

Mr. Berens's interesting story of Winstanley and his associates is set in the framework of the Reformation, of which both in Germany and in England, he makes instructive analyses and reaches this interesting conclusion:

In Germany, as we have seen, from a religious and popular, the Reformation degenerated into a mere schol-

# Publishers' Column

## The Public

astic and political movement, favorable to the pretensions of the ruling and privileged classes, opposed to the aspirations of the industrial classes, and conducive neither to moral, social, religious, nor political progress. In England, on the other hand, it ran a very different course. From a merely political, it gradually rose to the height of a truly religious and popular movement, infusing new life into the nation and lifting it into the very forefront of the van of progress, curbing the insolent pretensions of king, priest and noble, purifying the minds of the people of time-honored but degrading conceptions of the functions of church and of state, inspiring and uplifting them with new conceptions of political freedom, social justice, moral purity and religious toleration, which, despite temporary periods of reaction, have never since entirely lost their sway over the hearts nor their influence over the destinies of the British nation.

It was in this stream of progress that Winstanley appeared in the first half of the seventeenth century. He was born about 1609, and became a small trader in London. Finding the conventional piety of his time repugnant to his religious sense, he turned to the Bible, and thence derived his religious and economic convictions. The rationality of his religion may be inferred from this quotation from his writings:

The Sprit Reason, which I call God, the Maker and Ruler of all things, is that spiritual power that guides all men's reasoning in right order, and to a right end . . . and knits every creature together into a oneness, making every creature to be an upholder of his fellows; and so everyone is an assistant to preserve the whole. And the nearer man's reasoning comes to this, the more spiritual they are; the further off they be, the more selfish and fleshy they be.

Out of this really profound religious philosophy, Winstanley brought forth the elementary truth that the earth was not made for a few men, but for all; and in 1649 he and 45 associates issued an address to the privileged classes from "the poor oppressed people of England," in which they announced their principle and purpose in these stirring words:

We whose names are subscribed, do in the name of all the poor oppressed people of England, declare unto you that call yourselves lords of manors and lords of the land, that, in regard the King of Righteousness, our Maker, hath enlightened our hearts so far as to see that the earth was not made purposely for you to be lords of It, and we to be your slaves, servants and beggars, but it was made to be a common livelihood to all. . . . And further, in regard the King of Righteousness hath made us sensible of our burthens, and the cries and groanings of our hearts are come before Him, we take it as a testimony of love from Him, that our hearts begin to be freed from slavish fear of men such as you are, and that we find resolutions in us, grounded upon the inward law of love one towards another, to dig and plough up the commons and waste land through England; and that our conversations shall be so unblamable that your laws shall not reach to oppress us any longer, unless you by your laws will shed the innocent blood that runs in our veins.

His argument for his radically democratic convictions, made after the execution of the King and during the Commonwealth, is no bad bit of reasoning:

But you will say, Is not the land your brother's? and you cannot take away another man's right by claiming a share therein with him. I answer, It is his either by

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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creation right or by right of conquest. If by creation right he calls the earth his and not mine, then it is mine as well as his; for the Spirit of the whole Creation, who made us both, is no respecter of persons. And if by conquest he calls the earth his and not mine, it must be either by the conquest of the king over the commoners or by the conquest of the commoners over the king. If he claim the earth to be his from the king's conquest, the kings are beaten and cast out, and that title is undone. If he claim title to the earth to be his from the conquest of the commoners over the kings, then I have right to the land as well as my brother; for my brother without me, nor I without my brother, did not cast out the kings; but both together assisting, with purse and person, we prevailed, so that I have by this victory as equal a share in the earth which is now redeemed as my brother, by the law of righteousness.

It is a mellow story of days that are ancient and of ideas that are never new and never old, that Mr. Berens tells; but he can give no glimpse of his hero save through the latter's writings. Uncertain as to the place and year of Winstanley's birth, he neither knows where he lived nor when he died. Yet in the obscure writings of this obscure man of a stirring time in English history, Mr. Berens finds a lesson well worth consideration by the best thought of to-day, which is possibly more likely to welcome it than the best thought of the day in which Winstanley lived. "His words still appear to us," Mr. Berens feelingly writes, "prompting us to cast off the blinding and distorting spectacles of convention and custom, to look the facts of social life fairly and squarely in the face, and boldly to proclaim whatever social truths reflection and study may reveal to us."

+ + +

**FINANCIAL MUCK.**

**A Strange Flaw.** By Henry S. Wilcox. Author of *Foibles of the Bench, Trials of a Stump Speaker*, etc. Published by Thomas and Thomas, Chicago.

In this volume Mr. Wilcox has given us his view of modern "business" methods in building a railroad by the people, of the people, and for the capitalists of the United States.

A land grant by Congress is badly scrawled in the prefix to—"cluding"; so that the text may be read "including" or "excluding."

This flaw in the title is revealed to a Wall street plunderbund promoter by an ex-clerk of the land department, who becomes his accomplice in spoliating the homes of the affected region by inducing the innocent inhabitants to buy stock and levy taxes in the interest of "The Sound and Reliable R. R. Co." How the local press and certain members of the clergy are worked—how this company falls and how a second mortgage holding company also in the conspiracy follows in the work of exploiting the people, who must "plunge" further to save their stocking-and-home-investments, Mr. Wilcox describes with picturesque and enlightening detail.

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W. H. S.

\* \* \*

## BRITISH BISHOPS AND BRITISH PROGRESS.

**The Bishops as Legislators.** By Joseph Clayton, with a preface by the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam. Published by A. C. Fifield, London. Price, paper 1s. net; cloth 2s net.

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\* \* \*

## THE HOPE OF IMMORTALITY.

**The Hope of Immortality.** By Charles Fletcher Dole. Published by T. Y. Crowell and Company, New York. Sold by The Public Publishing Company, Chicago. Price, 75 cents net.

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\* \* \*

J. G. P.

### PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

**Humane Education.** By the Rev. A. M. Mitchell, M. A. Published by A. C. Fifield, 44 Fleet street, E. C., London. Price, 3d net.

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**The Balanced Life.\*** By Clarence Lathbury. Philadelphia. Nunc Licet Press, 42 West Coulter street. Price, cloth, \$1.00; postage, 9 cents.

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\*An extract from this book will be found on page 828 of this issue of The Public.

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**BOOKS RECEIVED**

—Robin Hood. (Volume I of The Dandelion Classics for Children.) Selected and Illustrated by Lucy Fitch Perkins. Published by Frederick A. Stokes' Co., New York. 1906. Price, \$1.50.

—Golden Rule Jones, Mayor of Toledo. By Ernest Crosby. Published by The Public Publishing Co., Chicago, 1906. Price, cloth, 50 cents; paper, 25 cents, postpaid.

**PAMPHLETS**

**Massachusetts Statistics.**

One of the interesting disclosures of the Massachusetts decennial census for 1905 (Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, State House, Boston) is the fact that there are in Massachusetts 26,160 veterans of the Civil war, and that 20,510 are drawing United States pensions. The Negro population is only 1.15 per cent, the Chinese 0.07 and Indians 0.02.

+

**Protecting Home Industry.**

Byron W. Holt's little pamphlet on "Export Prices to Date" (Reform Club, 42 Broadway, New York) is an interesting exposure of one of the protective-tariff film flams. The text luminously explains what the accompanying tables almost as luminously show, that tariff protection enables American manufacturers to charge more for their products in the home market than they sell the same goods for abroad. This difference in favor of the foreign market ranges from 11 per cent. to 82 per cent.

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