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EDITORIAL

The Bellamy Storer Incident.

Except as a newspaper sensation, the personal controversy between President Roosevelt and Mr. Bellamy Storer is of little value. But if it should lead on to a disclosure of the facts regarding the relationship of Archbishop Ireland et al. to the Presidential campaigns of 1900 and 1904, with which it is connected, American history in some

of its politico-ecclesiastical aspects would be enriched.

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Roosevelt and the Japanese Question.

We hardly expected when we approved President Roosevelt's reasons for his proposed method of dealing with the Japanese question (p. 841), that we should be understood as also approving the method he proposed. The reasons given were democratic; the method proposed is imperialistic. To give the Federal government authority to exercise local police power would be destructive of the home rule principle, which is the sheet anchor of democracy. It would turn States into mere subdivisions of an empire. But though this is true, it is none the less true that States ought not to make or allow discriminations against the rights of their inhabitants on grounds of class or race differences. Mr. Roosevelt's strong indictment of such discrimination is what we approved last week, and we approve it still, for it is genuinely democratic. We do not approve his imperialistic conclusion. Unsound conclusions from sound reasoning, even to the extent of justifying imperialistic practice upon democratic principle, is no novelty—especially with Mr. Roosevelt.

* *

Mayor Johnson and Cleveland Traction.

The subsidized newspapers of the Plunderbund have been vociferous during the past few days in again denouncing Mayor Johnson of Cleveland for his alleged financial interest in the three-cent car line grants of that city (p. 749), the grants which threaten to put the traction plunderbund of Cleveland out of business by turning over all traction interests to the city itself. Mr. Johnson and Mr. Scripps of the Scripps newspaper league, in the interest of the city and of no other interest, guaranteed the financial backers of this municipal reform against loss. On the basis of that fact, the "Con-Con" company brought a suit to annul the grants, on the ground that Johnson had a financial interest in the matter. The implication is that he was to profit by it. The fact is that he cannot make a penny. All profits go to the city—directly as soon as the law will permit, and meantime indirectly through a municipal holding company. Instead of submitting to the delay involved in a trial, Mayor Johnson demurred to the complaint. In legal practice this proceeding tem-

porarily admits the allegations of the complaint for the sake of having the question of law passed upon. Heretofore the courts have held, where public bodies have corruptly given away public rights to plundering corporations, that the courts cannot invalidate the grants, the only recourse of the plundered public being to proceed directly against the officials. Mayor Johnson relied upon this policy of the courts, and, defying direct proceedings against himself, knowing that he could prove his fidelity to the public interests, took the ground that notwithstanding all the false allegations of the "Con-Con's" complaint against him, the grants for the benefit of the city were good in law. On this point a local judge has ruled against him in these preliminary proceedings. But in doing so the judge describes the complaint as "an omnium gatherum" of accusations, and expressly states that his decision is upon the assumption that these wild allegations are true, and not upon the merits of the case. Yet the plunderbund newspapers, suppressing these facts, are making merry over what they call Mayor Johnson's defeat. If it were a defeat it would be the defeat of the city of Cleveland and not of Mayor Johnson. But it is not a defeat. The case is to be tried upon its merits next week. Moreover, only one or two small franchises are in any way affected by the decision. The larger and controlling ones are in nowise affected by it.

* *

Conditions of Success.

In saying that "the man who is temperate, industrious, honest and thrifty succeeds, while the man who is not fails," Prof. Laughlin of the Chicago University is more comprehensive than discriminating. He ignores the fact that there may be industry without personal honesty, as burglars prove; and both industry and thrift without civic honesty, as Mr. Rockefeller has proved. Success of the kind to which Prof. Laughlin alludes, business success, is not only often achieved without honesty but it is often missed because of honesty.

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Postal Organizations.

To politicians and business men of the sordid type, there is a soothing sound in that protest against organizations of postal employes which insists that these organizations must do nothing to influence Congress to give them higher or fairer wages or better hours. Yet it is a protest wholly without merit. There is no reason whatever for denying government employes the right to in-

fluence public sentiment, which does not apply to every citizen. It is an administrative, a bureaucratic, notion altogether. And it is not made in good faith. The persons from whom this protest comes have no complaint to make of business men seeking subsidies of Congress. The spirit of the protest is the spirit of the master toward the servant—the spirit that demands of servants that they be humble.

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A Touch of Single Tax in New Jersey.

If the New York Times reports the matter correctly, the New Jersey city of Bayonne is undergoing a measure of single tax experience. A Republican assessor, Mr. Hugh Colville, although he protests strongly that he is merely enforcing the law conscientiously, is roundly denounced by beneficiaries of speculative real estate interests as a virulent disciple of Henry George. Mr. Colville, being a real estate dealer, understands land values, and he has assessed the lots of Bayonne at market rates. Naturally, the increase has fallen most heavily upon the owners of vacant lots, for theirs is the kind of property that is usually allowed to escape. From this class, therefore, a sky-piercing howl has gone up. "For instance," says the Times, "ex-Tax Assessor Daniel J. Murray, a leading Democratic politician, has been assessed \$4,500 for five vacant lots on Avenue C, whereas last year, when Mr. Murray was himself the assessor, the assessment was \$1,300." Another "protestant was the Democratic boss, Thomas Wagner, who was chief of police under a former administration and was removed from office by Mayor Garven. Last year Wagner's property was assessed for \$4,800. This year Assessor Colville slapped on a valuation of \$9,400." W. H. Gantz's case was even more startling. "Last year he bought some land fronting on Newark Bay, and obtained also the riparian rights, which had never been taxed at all. This year Mr. Colville presented to Mr. Gantz a bill based on a valuation of \$3,500."

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The Times report continues most interestingly: "Louis N. Creighton, a real estate broker, who is agent for numerous property owners, had the taxes raised smartly on all vacant lots he is agent for. So many taxpayers came to the City Hall to protest against their assessments that all complaints were ordered to be put in writing and sworn to. The Commissioners questioned owners closely about valuations this year and seemed disposed to uphold Assessor Colville, who says he only fol-

lowed the law, which requires that assessments be made at full value. Inspection of the assessment rolls would seem to indicate that Mr. Colville has in part adopted the Henry George single tax plan in so far as the present tax law will permit. Vacant lot owners have been the harder hit of any taxpayers, while in many cases valuations on buildings have been lowered. There has been scarcely any assessment on personal property in the whole city. There are a number of single taxers in Bayonne, and they have decided to use what influence they possess to uphold the Colville assessments. They say that since the assessments were made there has been a noticeable increase in the sales of vacant property, and also a boom in building. Speculators, they say, will not find it profitable to hold vacant land out of use if the taxes are kept up under the Colville plan." The last words are significant. They indicate that the claim of single taxers for the single tax as a labor reform is well founded; namely, that high taxes on land values and none on improvements will stimulate improvement and thereby make the demand for workers brisk and their earnings high.

* * *

A Boors' Banquet.

Chicago has an organization known as the Merchants' Club. It is composed for the most part of Republican parlor politicians, with a sprinkling of Democratic politicians of the same type, and is one of the agencies of the monopolistic confederacies with which the civic affairs of Chicago are bedevilled. Recently this club has taken a profound interest in the public schools, evidently aroused thereto by a change in the control of the school board which threatens the plunder of certain great grafters, between whom and the Merchants' Club there is automatic interchange of "business" courtesy. Courtesy of the other kind, however, seems entirely foreign to the operations of this interesting coterie of plutocrats. Under the guise of an educational occasion, the club invited the school board members with whose views it is out of harmony, to a dinner at which the speakers were to be the president of the St. Louis school board, the president of the Boston school board, and the president of Columbia University at New York. In the confiding expectation of learning something of the educational experience and views of administrative officials elsewhere and in other than public school service (partisans though they might be), some of the Chicago school board members accepted this dinner invitation of the Merchants' Club. But instead of getting information of school affairs elsewhere and in other

connections, these guests of the Merchants' Club appear from the reports of the plutocratic newspapers to have been made targets for oratorical abuse from imported speakers regarding school policies of their own city, for which several of them are responsible and which they stand ready to defend on all proper occasions. And whenever one of the imported speakers who had left his manners at home, hit a bull's-eye, in the way of drubbing "Mayor Dunne's school board," the club members who had brought their manners with them (such manners as they were), cheered and jeered. It was a most interesting occasion, and to the Merchants' Club of Chicago must be conceded all the credit for so startling a novelty as inviting guests to dinner in order to insult them.

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It is admitted, however, that the temptation was supreme. With the plutocratic interests which the Merchants' Club represents, fear of the democratization of the public schools is intense. A tutored proletariat, not an educated citizenship, is what they want. The only hope of these interests, therefore, lies in placing the school system hard and fast under "educational" administrators who shall not be answerable to the people, but who shall be made answerable (through social club and "business" connections) to the Plunderbund. The problem is not local to Chicago, although in Chicago it is at white heat. New York submits to it with grumbling. St. Louis submits to it meekly. Boston is just trying it. But Chicago rebels. Hence representatives of the despotic method of managing teachers are brought to Chicago from New York, St. Louis and Boston, to insult school trustees, to denounce civic organization among teachers, and to attack the labor organizations which alone are giving support to the teachers in resisting the tactics and exposing the thefts of the Plunderbund. When intelligently analyzed, this banquet proves to have been simply another attempt to make the public school system an appendage of that part of the Republican party which is in turn an appendage of the grasping confederacy of financial interests.

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The fundamental practical difficulty with the Chicago school system, as this Merchants' Club and its special pleaders (both domestic and imported) well know, is not educational but financial. This is not because Chicago is poor. Neither is the school fund small. It is so because the school fund is regarded as plunder by and for the interests which the Merchants' Club represents. The

whole force, therefore, of the Merchants' Club's energy is devoted to diverting attention from the true issue. When the Teachers' Federation uncovered some of the grafters and brought an additional \$250,000 a year into the school treasury, the Merchants' Club staid in its lair, silent and grumpy. Now it comes out, not to help the Teachers' Federation in its efforts to uncover more tax dodging, but to denounce the Teachers' Federation for existing. And in this undertaking it naturally has the co-operation of the Chicago Tribune and its journalistic coadjutors, who share with it a goodly part of the plunder of the school land income. These papers had column upon column to give to the novel banquet of the Merchants' Club, where the Teachers' Federation was roundly denounced, but not a word to give to the meeting of the Teachers' Federation held on the same day, at which undisputed and indisputable robbery of the school children was made public in plain facts and figures.

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These two meetings mark a lining up of hostile forces in Chicago; and it remains to be seen whether in the coming conflict the winner will be the Merchants' Club, representing in this connection the great plutocratic interests of Chicago which rob the school children, or the Teachers' Federation, which in behalf of the school children has already added \$250,000 a year to the school fund and is disturbing the Merchants' Club with its programme for getting more. Much is said by men of the Merchants' Club of Chicago and of similar clubs in other plutocratic centers, and by educators of the "administrative" variety and the plutocratic taint throughout the United States, in deprecation of the work of this Federation as a raising by the working class of class questions. But class questions are in reality raised not by the working class, whether teachers or mechanics. These ugly questions are really raised by steel trusts, merchants' clubs, Union League clubs and other business combines and social coteries whose members imagine themselves to be of a better class than the body of the people. Never was this genesis of class questions better described than by John Boyle O'Reilly when he wrote:

But alien is one—of class, not race—he has drawn the line for himself;

His roots drink life from inhuman soil, from garbage of pomp and pelf:

His heart beats not with the common beat, he has changed his life-stream's hue;

He deems his flesh to be finer flesh, he boasts that his blood is blue:

Patrician, aristocrat, tory—whatever his age or name,
To the people's rights and liberties, a traitor ever the same.

The natural crowd is a mob to him, their prayer a vulgar rhyme;

The freeman's speech is sedition, and the patriot's deed a crime.

Wherever the race, the law, the land,—whatever the time or throne,

The tory is always a traitor to every class but his own.

It was in that same tory spirit that the steel trust brought to Chicago the president of an aristocratic university of the East, himself a bounty-dispenser in educational circles of John D. Rockefeller's largess, to tell the people of Chicago what their school trustees ought to do, and to excoriate as enemies of their city school trustees who had guilelessly accepted the Merchants' Club's invitation to sit at a banquet board which turned out to have been prepared expressly for their humiliation.

* * *

FREDERIC C. HOWE.

The author of "The Confessions of a Monopolist,"* that brilliant portrayal of the modern type of the "successful" man in business and politics, had won his spurs both in authorship and in practical affairs before the "Confessions" came from his pen. Through Thomas Crowell & Sons he had published an historical review of the Internal Revenue System under the title of "Taxation and Taxes in the United States"; and he had contributed to Scribner's Monthly, the Atlantic, the Cosmopolitan, the Outlook, the World's Work and other high grade periodicals, articles on social and political subjects, including a series of articles on English cities at work entitled "The City of Glasgow" and "London a Municipal Democracy." The Bureau of Commerce and Labor having employed him in 1905 to investigate municipal ownership in Great Britain, his instructive report upon that subject appeared in the Bulletin of Labor for January, 1906. He had served with distinguished independence and ability in the City Council of Cleveland and in the Senate of Ohio. And he had made a distinct mark as author of "The City the Hope of Democracy," a profound yet intensely interesting book, which reverses the notion that democracy is inevitably a failure in city life, and which has had a wide sale abroad as well as in this country. He

*Frederic C. Howe, whose portrait is presented as a supplement to this week's issue of The Public, and whose "Confessions of a Monopolist" recently appeared serially in the same periodical.



Alvin C. Howe

now has in preparation a book entitled "The English City, the Beginning of Democracy."

✦

Frederic C. Howe was born in Meadville, Pa., November 21, 1867. His ancestry is Irish and Scotch of the Quaker mould. On his father's side it is American for three generations; it goes back on his mother's to the founding of Delaware in 1635. He spent his early years when out of school, working in his father's store and factory at Meadville; but at the age of seventeen he began to forge for himself independently of his father who soon afterward moved to Omaha. Yet he made his desultory labor, which ranged from clerking at Summer hotels to reporting for newspapers, serve him in getting an education.

Having passed through the Meadville common schools and graduated from the high school, he entered Allegheny College at Meadville in 1885. From this institution he graduated four years later, though without distinction, and immediately afterward entered Johns-Hopkins University at Baltimore. As a student here of political economy, history and municipal administration, he came under the direction of Richard T. Ely, whose economic books and essays had by their ethical coloring first excited Mr. Howe's interest in the social and economic problems which now concern him deeply. He supported himself during his course at the university by newspaper work, for which he had always had a passion, and upon graduation he received the degree of Ph. D. for original economic work.

✦

While still at Johns-Hopkins University Mr. Howe was appointed secretary of the Pennsylvania Tax Conference, where he served irregularly but usefully by making special studies of State and local taxation. It was while in this service that he became interested in the problems of local taxation and acquired familiarity with the methods whereby large financial interests control taxing machinery. His practical education in this respect has been of immense use to him, both in his shrewd satire upon the monopolist in politics and in his more serious forms of literary work.

Upon leaving Johns-Hopkins in 1892, he was appointed assistant secretary of the American Economic Association, and, soon afterward, obtaining employment on New York papers, he worked his way through the New York Law School. Upon leaving there in 1894, he went to Cleveland where he joined the law firm of the late President Garfield's sons, Garfield and Garfield.

Subsequently he became a member of this firm, and he still remains a partner in the reorganized firm of Garfield, Howe and Westenhaver.

✦

From the beginning of his residence in Cleveland, Mr. Howe took an active interest in local civic affairs. His first service in this connection was as a member of the Municipal Association. He was one of the ten men who formed the executive committee of that body, which maintained a vigorous agitation for the election of honest men to city, county and State positions. In 1896 he helped organize a delegation to the State capitol to defeat the odious "Rogers bill," which granted a fifty year franchise to street car corporations. For this public duty Mr. Howe had qualified himself not only by the character of his university education but also by his local investigations. As a result of the latter he had written a pamphlet on the street car question in Cleveland. His pamphlet opposed a twenty-five year ordinance which the companies were then seeking. The Municipal Association adopted and published this pamphlet, and it is believed to have defeated the ordinance.

Doubtless Mr. Howe's influence was enhanced by the fact that he was a Republican in party politics. For both the ordinances he helped defeat and the "Rogers bill" which was enacted in spite of him and his associates, were Republican measures—forced upon the party by the corporation ring.

✦

Mr. Howe found it difficult to remain a Republican in 1896. As his Republicanism had always been democratic, and he realized that the silver question of 1896 was only a surface question, his economic belief in the gold standard was a slender strand to hold him to his party, especially as he felt that the silver question was a mere temporary shibboleth of the rising democratic impulse among the people. So he was drawn strongly toward Bryan. But the pro-slavery record of traditional Democracy repelled him, as it has many a Republican like him, and he held back.

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In 1901 he was elected to the City Council of Cleveland as a Republican, in the face of bitter and probably not altogether immaculate opposition from the street railway companies. He came into the Council when Tom L. Johnson came into the mayor's office for his first term. Naturally, from his education and local experience, he joined Mayor Johnson in his street car politics. In this

course he was supported by William Springborn, also a Republican councilman at that time, and now president of the Board of Public Service by Democratic election. Both were criticized by their Republican leaders for co-operating with Mayor Johnson to resist the aggressions of the street car interests, which Senator Hanna is reported to have regarded as his savings bank. Yet Mr. Howe was offered by the McKinley administration the position of secretary of the treasury at Porto Rico, which, however, he declined, preferring to remain in Cleveland for the purpose of continuing the struggle for the improvement of local conditions.

✦

Identified with the first Johnson administration in many ways in the interest of good local government, Mr. Howe was especially concerned with Johnson's street car policy, and he introduced the first three-cent fare ordinance in the Council. It was he, also, who while in the Council started the legislation for small parks and playgrounds, with which the city is now dotted. He secured, too, the passage of legislation for the construction of public bath houses and the development of the parks into popular pleasure resorts. Through his efforts the first appropriation for public band concerts was made, which now amounts to \$15,000 a year. He drafted the bill which established the first juvenile court in the State and introduced the legislation which led to the opening of the boys' farm school, known as Boyville and located at Hudson, Ohio.

Mr. Howe also pressed the legislation for the grouping of the public buildings along the lake front and the employment of a commission of eminent non-resident architects to carry out the plan. This work is now assured and it promises to make of Cleveland one of the most beautiful cities in America. The motive of all these measures was the belief that the city should serve the people in the broadest possible way and that a city which did big things and many things for its people would receive a like service and affection in return. During the intervening years these beginnings have been developed into a comprehensive policy of city making. Cleveland is almost alone among American cities in having a definite ideal and a conscious program.

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At the municipal election in 1903, when Mayor Johnson won his second victory, the Democrats offered Councilman Howe a nomination on that ticket, but this Mr. Howe declined. Under Johnson's influence, however, no Demo-

crat was nominated against him when he ran as an independent candidate. He was nevertheless defeated by the regular Republican candidate, and for nearly three years he held no public office except that of president of the Board of Sinking Fund Trustees of Cleveland, to which Mayor Johnson appointed him.

✦

During this interval in his more active public career, Mr. Howe married Marie H. Jenney, of Syracuse, New York. Miss Jenney, a Unitarian clergyman by profession, had served in pulpits at Sioux City and Des Moines, Ia. Her views on public matters are similar to Mr. Howe's, and she continues active interest in public movements, especially such as affect the civic obligations of women and the protection and education of children.

✦

Although he had not severed his relations with the Republican party otherwise than by acting independently when his party supported the franchise corporations, Mr. Howe was nominated by the Democrats for State senator in 1903. But the Democratic legislative ticket was defeated that year and he with it. In 1905, however, he was again nominated by the Democrats, and this time he was elected by 1,000 votes more than the rest of his legislative ticket received.

In the Ohio senate last year he introduced the resolution for a constitutional amendment establishing the initiative and referendum. Although strenuously opposed by the corporate interests of both parties, this resolution carried in the Senate and will come up for passage in the House at the next session. Another of his measures, was a bill for the taxation of public service franchises at their face value, as measured by their stock quotations. The bill provided for additional revenues of from three to four million dollars and would have relieved the people of all direct taxes for State purposes. It was opposed by the corporation lobby by means of dilatory tactics. Some Democrats, though pledged to the measure by their party platform, aided in this indirect opposition, and the bill was not reached for passage even in the Senate. Its passage is again demanded by the Democratic platform of the present year. Among the other bills introduced by Senator Howe, all of which were defeated either in committee or on the floor, were a civil service reform bill; a bill for a quadrennial valuation of land and improvements separately and the publication of the same in each county; a bill for the creation

of municipal boards of review to be appointed by the mayors of the respective municipalities; a pure alphabetical Australian ballot bill, and a bill to prevent corrupt practices at elections.

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Mr. Howe is now vice-president of the Municipal Traction Company of Cleveland, the "holding" company by means of which Mayor Johnson is seeking to establish municipal ownership and operation and remove corporation influences from politics. The duties of this position are in line with Mr. Howe's whole career with reference to the question of municipal ownership, for which he has constantly agitated for ten years past and which he has efficiently served in both public and private life.

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Mr. Howe's life is a worthy example of young Americanism. A man of exalted political ideals, he has had the will, the discernment, the ability and the courage to depart from old models and to defy accustomed influences in order to give to his ideals practical form and dynamic force.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

Week ending Wednesday, Dec. 12, 1906.

The Congo Free State an International Problem.

For some years Christendom has been shocked by stories of the horrible exploitation of the native inhabitants of the Congo Independent or Free State. This country lies in the heart of equatorial Africa, covering a region of about 900,000 square miles. Through it runs the Congo river, and the State includes a strip of territory reaching out to the coast where the river empties into the South Atlantic. It has a population of about 30,000,000 Negroes of Bantu origin, speaking many dialects. Its great product is rubber, and it has been in respect to the methods by which the natives have been compelled to bring to the white exploiters of the country never-ceasing supplies of crude rubber, that the civilized world has been shocked. Naturally the first stories, mostly from missionaries, were denied. Then came more positive stories, supported by various kinds of proof, including photographs of dismembered bodies and of living mutilated men, women and children, for it seems that

the tribute of rubber has been most commonly enforced by cutting off the hands of those who have failed to make good the quantity required of them—even to the point of cutting off the hands of very little children. The photographs showed this. But the atrocities are still denied by the exploiters of the unhappy country.

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The Congo Free State is under the sovereignty of Leopold II., King of the Belgians (vol. vii, p. 441), who has bequeathed to Belgium all his sovereign rights in the State. King Leopold holds in succession to the Congo International Association, which he himself founded in 1882, and the sovereignty of which received international recognition. At the Berlin conference of 1884 the Congo Independent (or Free) State was established and internationally safeguarded; and further efforts at protecting the State were given shape at an international conference at Brussels in 1889. Nevertheless the situation has become increasingly intolerable.

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English associations for the amelioration of the situation have been in existence for years, and are now becoming insistent. At the present moment the Belgian parliament is considering the conditions under which King Leopold is bequeathing the State to Belgium. The terms apparently impose a minimum of parliamentary control, entirely exclude the crown lands (consisting largely of the great rubber forests) from supervision, and leave the rights of the monopolist companies intact for all time. That Belgium will agree to accept and perpetuate so gigantic a monopolization of a nation and so atrocious an exploitation of a people, seems unlikely, but it is to be noted that the King has known how to surround his iniquitous system with a complicated network of defences. As the London Tribune says, "he has distributed the wealth wrung from the Congo very widely in Belgium, partly by corruption, partly by lavish expenditure, most subtly of all by splitting up into fractions the shares of the companies which thrive on the rubber trade. He has on his side a solid and loyal clerical majority in the Chamber, and behind that a legal system based on the theory that the Congo is his private estate." Moreover, late news in the United States credits him with having succeeded in drawing into his Congo business relationships the Standard Oil connection, which interests will, of course, add to his invulnerability. Most recent news in regard to the situation is that on the 8th Prince Albert of Flanders, King Leopold's nephew and the heir apparent to the Belgian throne, was proclaimed heir apparent to the Congo Free State, so that whether Belgium annexes the State (as she has a right to do under international agreement, paying due regard to Leopold's rights of sovereignty), and whether she receives the sovereignty as a bequest from King Leopold, or not, Prince Albert will in any case be its next ruler. The existence of an expensive lobby maintained at Washington by King Leopold for the prevention of the passage by Congress of resolutions unfavorable to the exploitation of the Congo, was made known with detailed particularity in the American press of the 10th. And on the same day

Senator Lodge offered to the Committee on Foreign Relations the following resolutions:

Whereas, The reports of the inhuman treatment inflicted upon the native inhabitants of the Congo Free State have been of such a nature and so well sustained as to draw the attention of the civilized world and excite both the indignation and the compassion of the people of the United States, therefore be it,

Resolved, That in the opinion of the Senate of the United States the time has come when the affairs of the Congo Free State should be made the subject of international inquiry, and the Senate respectfully advises the President that in any steps he may deem it wise to take in co-operation with or in aid of any of the powers signatory to the treaty of Berlin, which shall seek to ameliorate the conditions of the Congo Free State and redress any evils now existent there, he will receive its cordial support.

* *

Famine in Russia.

The political struggle in Russia would seem to have diverted attention from the continuing famine conditions prevailing in large areas of the empire (p. 488). A dispatch from St. Petersburg dated the 8th tells of dreadful suffering. In ten provinces in central and southeastern Russia there have now been three bad harvests in succession. There are villages of 3,000 and 4,000 inhabitants where there is literally no rye or wheat to be had at any price, and the villagers, famished and broken-hearted, await death from hunger, or from the typhus and scorbutic diseases which are rife among them. Refuse of all sorts, chaff and dirty straw have been eaten. The dispatch reports a government inspector as describing districts which he had traveled through where the people were mere skeletons moving about, hollow-eyed and fever-stricken, with rage burning in their hearts against a government which failed to succor them.

* *

The Fate of the English Education Bill.

The House of Lords passed the education bill (p. 850) to its third reading on the 6th. On the 10th the Government unexpectedly announced its decision to reject the Lords' amendments entire, and allow the bill to be dropped. A new bill will be introduced at the next session. This decision places the responsibility of killing the bill on the House of Lords.

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On the 10th the Lords rejected the plural voting bill which was passed by the House of Commons at the instance of the Government. The principle of the bill was "one man, one vote."

* *

The Church and State Crisis in France.

The "separation law," divorcing France from official connection with all religious sects (p. 801), went into full operation on the 12th. The law was passed by the Chamber of Deputies, July 3, 1905 (vol. viii, p. 218), and by the Senate, Dec. 6, 1905 (vol. viii, p. 581), and was ratified as a law Dec. 11, 1905, to be put in force a year from that date. This act of disestablishment provided that within a year from the passage of the act the churches might be turned over to "public worship associations," and it was hoped and believed that the Catholics would institute

such associations. This, however, they have been forbidden by the Pope to do (p. 463).

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On the 11th the papal Nuncio, Mgr. Montagnini, was expelled from France, and escorted to the Italian frontier by a commissary of police. The Premier, Mr. Clemenceau, stated to the Chamber of Deputies on the same day that this action was taken because of the Nuncio's complicity with prominent clergymen of Paris against whom proceedings were pending, and also because he had incited churchgoers to rebellion. The Premier asserted that interference by foreigners under orders from Rome in the politics of France, was not permissible. Cardinal Richard, Archbishop of Paris, and the bishops and parish priests of the department, were ordered by the Government on the 11th to vacate their residences on the 12th. In other departments the clergy were notified to leave their residences on the 13th or 14th. The law contemplates life pensions to the older clergy, and pensions for from four to eight years for the others. An effort is being made by several deputies through the mayors of communes to induce two Catholic laymen in each parish to make the declarations which would ensure the conservation of the church property of that parish for Catholic worship—the declarations which the Pope has forbidden the priests to make. There is still another year, namely, until Dec. 11, 1907, within which the state may, if it deems it wise, transfer the religious property to public worship associations; but in the meantime the title to the property has been lost to the Catholic church, and the State has the right to seize, sell or destroy all of the church's property, or otherwise put it in liquidation. If the State takes over the religious property, the churches may be used free, but the act says the State must dispose of all the property within five years—that is to say, by Dec. 11, 1910.

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In the early morning of the 12th the Government issued a grant of 24 hours of grace. After that date the Roman Catholic church, as such, is outlawed in France. The situation has aroused the intensest feeling, but it is not believed that serious outbreaks will occur.

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French Nationalization of Railroads.

A proposal that the Government purchase for the nation the Western railroad passed the Chamber of Deputies on the 7th, by 364 votes to 187.

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The Bellamy Storer Incident.

Mr. Bellamy Storer, late United States ambassador to Austria, whose peremptory recall by the President was understood to have been caused by Mrs. Storer's excess of zeal in urging upon the Vatican the appointment of Archbishop Ireland to a cardinalate (vol. viii, p. 849), caused to be placed in the hands of the President and the cabinet, on November 20, a pamphlet disclosing correspondence with President Roosevelt both before and after his becoming President, relative to the issue between them. This pamphlet, which reached the public press of the 8th by channels unauthorized by Mr. Storer, he avers, was an effort on the part of Mr.

Storer to show that Mrs. Storer and he had authority, as they believed, from Mr. Roosevelt as man and as President, for all the efforts they had made on behalf of the Archbishop. On the 9th the President made public his view of the case, with bitter arraignment of Mr. and Mrs. Storer, claiming that they had grossly misused his expressions of personal interest in the Archbishop's advancement. On the 10th Mr. and Mrs. Storer defended themselves in press interviews with equal plainness of speech. The language employed on both sides of the controversy is what, for polite society, may be termed unusual.

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The Salton Sea Redivivus.

The Colorado river on the 8th broke through the new \$1,000,000 dam, only finished in October (p. 730), and is once more rushing down into the Salton "sink," in the southeastern corner of California. Again the settlers in the Imperial valley are facing the development of a great inland sea, already partly created, which if not dammed back will ultimately cover the best farming land of the valley and the city of Imperial, under from 70 to 200 feet of water, and will force the Southern Pacific to relay its tracks for 200 miles on higher ground. Not less than \$25,000,000 depends upon the success of efforts to close the breach, but it is uncertain whether, in the face of the present failure, it will be again attempted.

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The Traction Case in Cleveland.

Judge Phillips of Cleveland, on the 7th decided a demurrer in favor of the "Con-Con" traction company of that city (p. 749), which, if the facts were proved at final hearing as they are alleged by the "Con-Con" in its petition or complaint, and Judge Phillips were sustained on appeal, would, as at first reported, destroy all the work that Mayor Johnson has done in laying the necessary foundation for municipal ownership of the traction service of his city. As it now appears, however, it would have but little effect.

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The petition charges that Mayor Johnson has a financial interest in the "Threefer" lines. As the petition was demurred to, all its statements are taken as true for the purposes of the demurrer, and upon that assumption Judge Phillips holds certain franchises to the "Threefer" signed by Mr. Johnson as Mayor, to be invalid. The case is set for final hearing on the 17th, when the "Con-Con," to maintain its position, must prove its allegations. Failing that, the decision of Judge Phillips on the demurrer will count for nothing. As the Cleveland Plain Dealer of the 8th explains:

However sensational its interest to the public, and however important its bearing upon the outcome of the street railway war, Judge Phillips' decision in the demurrer hearing yesterday goes, in itself, no farther than to make certain that trial of the case on its merits which has so long, and from every public point of view, been desirable and necessary. . . . In the recent hearing the court had not to deal with facts, since no evidence was presented by which facts could be established. It was obliged to concern itself with ex-parte allegations, and to assume that the facts were as set forth in the plaintiff's petition. This petition was held

to contain sufficient grounds to warrant a trial, at which the facts in the case will be disclosed. In law, neither side has lost, but a way to winning or losing has been opened. Reduced to its lowest terms, the decision means that if Mayor Johnson has interested himself financially, in the manner and to the extent alleged in the petition, he has had his labor for his pains, and all franchises bestowed upon the defendant company by the joint action of the Mayor and Council are null and void.

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That Judge Phillips made his decision solely on what he describes as "this over-full petition, this omnium gatherum" of the "Con-Con," is evident from the concluding part of his opinion, in which he says:

Inasmuch as the defendants have not, in this case, questioned the propriety of any averments of the petition, but have challenged their sufficiency, admitting for the occasion that they are true, I have treated them as properly in the petition, and have considered only the questions of their legal operation and effect. . . . But the defendants, by demurring to this over full petition, this omnium gatherum, if I may so characterize it—virtually say: "For the purposes of this demurrer we are satisfied with your statement of your primary right, and with your statement of our ground of justification; but we challenge the legal sufficiency of the facts stated by you in refutation and avoidance of our justification." And this is the only question that has been argued; and the decision of this one question decides the case. . . . If I am right in holding that the facts alleged in the petition show official corruption, and this participated in by the defendant railway company, then it seems to me the attitude of the defendant is this: "We admit plaintiff's primary right; we admit our intended interference with that right; and we justify by a show of authority corruptly granted, and as corruptly received—authority obtained in a transaction that was conceived and consummated in official corruption, and we were parties to the corruption; but here are some technical forms of procedure, some legal formalities, that make this corrupt transaction immune." And this in a court of equity, whose conspicuous function it is to look beyond the form and into the substance of the transaction.

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Mayor Johnson's statement regarding Judge Phillips' decision, published in the Plain Dealer of the 8th, is as follows:

Judge Phillips has held, on a demurrer which for the time being admits as true all the misstatements and inference which skillful lawyers could imagine, that the interest of the Mayor would invalidate the grants of the Forest City Railway Co. (the "Threefer"). I have so often and so publicly stated my real connection with these matters that nothing can be added upon that subject, and when the courts come to pass upon the facts I have every confidence that a different result will be reached. I have acted solely for the public good as I see it, against the claims of a company which has stopped short of nothing in its efforts to create and preserve an offensive monopoly against the public, and I propose to continue the fight until the rights of the people are established against every attack in the courts of law as they are now clearly established in the court of morals.

Commenting editorially on the 8th, upon this statement by Mayor Johnson, the Plain Dealer, which has always opposed his municipal ownership policy, asserts:

In a brief statement the Mayor reaffirms his well known position that he has acted throughout solely for what he believed to be the public good, and that he ex-

pects to be legally as well as morally justified. On several occasions this paper, while seriously questioning the propriety of some of the Mayor's acts during his fight for low fare, has declared its belief that his motives were high and his course throughout disinterested. Nothing has yet appeared to change that opinion; nor is anything likely to appear, in or out of court, to show that he has erred, if at all, through anything more reprehensible than an excess of zeal in what he firmly believed to be a righteous cause. The fact, if such it shall prove, that he was mistaken in law will not impugn his motives.

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In a later interview, appearing in the Cleveland Press of the 10th, Mayor Johnson further explains, in answer to a reporter's questions:

The decision of Judge Phillips is of absolutely no consequence so far as it affects the ultimate result of the low fare war. Start all over again? Certainly not! The smoke from this Concon bombardment seems to have deceived more people than I imagined. The worst possible interpretation of Judge Phillips's decision doesn't jeopardize the validity of the Denison avenue and Fulton road grants. Of what consequence is it if the Bridge avenue and W. 65th street grants are knocked out? The council will pass them over again. To win a great victory for the people I lend my credit to a private corporation and the court says that that act taints its franchises. Well, suppose it does. I suspect no court will hold that a corporation loses its untainted franchises because it has one that is tainted.

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The Traction Situation in Chicago.

There is every indication now of an early settlement on the lines of "the Werno letter," of the traction question (p. 703) in Chicago. The ordinance proposed by the traction companies is reported to have been modified by them in its objectionable features, so that only one important point of difference now remains—the question of the share of net profits which the city is to allow the companies to retain. On the question of the price of the existing plant and all legal rights or claims to franchises, a virtual agreement in round numbers for \$51,000,000 has been arrived at. This amount includes items aggregating less than \$5,000,000, which the city disputes but is ready to allow as the "price of peace." Except for those items the amount agreed upon is the actual value of the property as appraised by the city's experts.

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Should this virtual agreement be adopted, the situation will be approximately as follows: The company will be granted a franchise for 20 years, subject to termination by the city at any time on six months' notice; in case of termination on such notice, the city must pay the sum of \$51,000,000, plus the actual cost of rehabilitation (not to exceed \$24,000,000) which the company is required to make and the city is to authorize and audit as made; if the city terminates for the purpose of owning and operating, no greater payment is required; if for the purpose of turning over to a "contract plan" or non-profit-making or "holding" company, no greater payment will be required; but if for the purpose of turning over to a profit-making company, then a penalty or premium is to be added to the payment; meanwhile the company is to provide

good service, and after retaining 5 per cent. on the agreed sum of \$51,000,000, plus cost of rehabilitation, is to divide the profits with the city, the proportion (as stated above) not yet having been agreed upon. The city's share is to go into a sinking fund for purchase of the lines.

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Chicago School Lands.

The fact that the Chicago public school system was once endowed with a large landed estate, which has been almost dissipated, and that efforts by local business interests, aided by local newspapers, have been unceasingly made to divert the remainder, is well known throughout the country; but more or less mystery has enveloped the circumstances. An examination into this mystery is now contemplated in the Board of Education, the character and results of which can hardly fail to be of general interest. As a basis, therefore, for understanding the subject, we shall briefly state the historical facts.

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About the middle of the early half of the last century the Federal government gave to Illinois, as it did to other Western States, certain sections of land a mile square for educational purposes. One of these, known as "Section 16," comprises so much of the site of the city of Chicago as is bounded by State street on the east, Twelfth street on the South, Halsted street on the west and Madison street on the north. This section was subsequently given by the State of Illinois to the city of Chicago for local educational purposes, and most of it was soon sold or given away in fee to private persons. The sales brought less than \$40,000. One city block, however, still remains in the hands of the school trustees of Chicago. This is the block bounded by State, Monroe, Dearborn and Madison streets, which is described as "Block 142." In addition to this block, which lies in the heart of the business district of Chicago, the school trustees hold miscellaneous lots, some within the area of the original "Section 16" and some outside of it, some in the business center and some in less valuable locations.

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In 1880 ground leases of the sites included in "Block 142" and of some other lots, were made for the term of fifty years, with provisions for readjusting rentals every five years. At the first date for readjusting rentals, 1885, the lessees threw the matter into the courts and forced the school trustees to make a compromise. One of the features of this compromise was an extension of the fifty-year term to a 100-year term, expiring in 1985; another was the substitution of ten-year for five-year readjustments of rentals. At the first decennial appraisement of rentals under this compromise, in the year 1895, the school trustees agreed with some of the tenants to strike out the revaluation clauses in their leases altogether, thereby leaving the leases to run ninety years on the rentals of 1895, which were low rentals, even for that period of great business depression. In consequence of this action of the school trustees the Chicago Tribune, for example, now pays for a corner site at the rate of \$2.74 a square foot per year, whereas McVicker's

Theater, on an inside site, pays at the rate of \$3.44. The Daily News is another beneficiary of the abolition of these revaluation clauses.

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This significant situation has attracted the attention of school trustees recently appointed by Mayor Dunne, and at the meeting of the Board of Education, on the 5th, one of them, Louis F. Post, introduced the following resolution, the discussion of which was postponed until the 19th:

Whereas, it appears from the records of the Board of Education (Proceedings of May 22, 1898, pages 471, 472, and 478) that a majority report of the Committee on School Fund Property presented to the Board May 22, 1895, recommended the modification of the then existing lease to The Tribune Company of school fund property known as Lots 12, 13 and 14, in Block 142 in the City of Chicago, by waiving the ten year revaluation clause of said lease and allowing The Tribune Company "to pay the sum of \$30,000 per annum until May 8, 1905, and \$31,500 per annum for the balance of the term," ending 90 years thereafter; and whereas, the same majority report recommended the modification of the then existing lease to Alexander D. Hannah and David Hogg of premises known as Lot 6, Block 58, Original Town of Chicago, by waiving the ten year revaluation clause of said lease and allowing Hannah and Hogg "to pay the sum of \$24,000 per annum until May 8, 1905, and \$25,000 per annum for the balance of the term," ending 90 years thereafter; and whereas, in a minority report (same Proceedings, page 472.) Trustee Joseph W. Errant denounced said recommendations as unbusinesslike, hurried, inconsiderate and prejudicial to the public interests, and as involving an unjustifiable diversion of money from the public school system in the interest of powerful and influential parties, as more fully appears from the copy of said minority report hereto attached, marked Exhibit A and made part hereof; and whereas, notwithstanding the notice and warning given by the aforesaid minority report, the majority report was on May 29, 1905 (Proceedings of 1894-5, page 479), adopted by the trustees of said property, and its future consideration prevented under the rules by the tabling of a motion to re-consider, all against the votes of Trustees Errant and Beebe, and the President and Secretary were instructed to execute the necessary legal documents to carry the same into effect; and whereas, it is reported that Trustee Alfred S. Trude was at that time the regularly retained attorney and adviser of the Tribune Company (which was and is one of the beneficiaries under said majority report), and was chiefly instrumental as a trustee of said property in procuring the preparation, presentation and adoption of said majority report; and whereas, at and about the same time various leases of school property were similarly modified under the same or like influences of an improper kind; and whereas, the consideration for the modification of all said leases was in each case so grossly inadequate as to give to said modifications the character of collusive and fraudulent agreements between the trustees of said school property and the said lessees thereof, for the surrender of contract rights, to the great financial loss of the school children of Chicago and the great financial gain of the conspiring lessees; and whereas, on the 26th day of March, 1895, the then Governor of Illinois, John P. Altgeld, in a message to the legislature, made a statement of facts regarding the circumstances under which the aforesaid suspicious transactions between a majority of the trustees of said property and the said lessees thereof were made, which statement indicates the probability of actual collusion, coercion and fraud in the modification of said leases, as more fully appears by the copy of so much of said message as related to the sub-

ject under consideration, which is hereto attached, marked Exhibit B; and made a part hereof; and whereas, in a letter addressed on the 8th of June, 1895, to the then Mayor of the City of Chicago, Mr. George A. Monlilig, a public-spirited citizen, characterized the aforesaid transactions as having been consummated under extraordinary pressure from interested parties, both within and without the Board of Education, and presented proof in support thereof, all of which appears in the copy of said letter hereto attached, marked Exhibit C, and made a part hereof; and whereas, in and about the year 1902, Mr. Ole A. Thorp, then a member of the Board of Education, made an investigation into the good faith of the aforesaid transactions, in the course of which he discovered that almost immediately after the modification of said lease of Hannah and Hogg the same was sold by said Hannah and Hogg for a bonus of \$235,000, and that other such leases were also sold for large bonuses in consequence of the said modification thereof, all of which more fully appears by reference to the copies of letters from said Trustee Thorp to his fellow-trustees, hereto attached and marked Exhibits D, E, and F; and made part hereof;

Therefore be it resolved, first, that the special committee on revenues be and the same is hereby instructed promptly to investigate and report upon the good faith and legal and equitable validity of all modifications of school land leases whereby school trustees have struck out of said leases the clauses for periodical revaluations of ground rent; and be it resolved, second, that said special committee be and it is hereby empowered to employ such professional and clerical assistance for that purpose as may be necessary, provided it shall first obtain from the Attorney for the Board of Education an opinion that the Board has legal authority to incur expense for that purpose.

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The Teachers' Federation at a meeting on the 8th, decided to take active steps to bring the foregoing facts to the knowledge of the parents of the public school children, by means of circulars and public meetings and through labor organizations. On the evening of the same day, the Merchants' Club gave a dinner at which the president of the St. Louis school board, the president of the Boston school board, and the president of Columbia University (New York) were speakers, and Vice-President Theodore W. Robinson of the Illinois Steel Company, was toastmaster and also a speaker. The papers friendly to the old regime in the school board, report the speakers as having "excoriated" the "radical" members of the Chicago school board, who had been invited as guests, and some of whom were present. One peculiarity of the meeting was the fact that the presentation of only one side of the question was provided for. When the school board called a meeting for open discussion of the same subject at Fullerton Hall on the 31st of October, and invited the Merchants' Club to participate, this club declined.

NEWS NOTES

—President Castro of Venezuela (p. 398) and the Shah of Persia (p. 731) have been reported during the past week as fatally ill.

—Earthquakes (pp. 802, 825) were reported on the 4th from the British West Indies, and on the 7th from San Luis Obispo and other points in California.

—In a special message to Congress (p. 846) on

the 11th, President Roosevelt especially urged "the desirability of conferring full American citizenship upon the people of Porto Rico."

—Fighting with the Pulajanes (p. 782) on the island of Leyte in the Philippines is reported as occurring on the 5th, with a loss of five Americans killed and ten wounded, among the latter a lieutenant.

—By the burning of a fraternity house at Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., in the early morning of the 7th, four students and three volunteer firemen lost their lives, and four students were seriously injured.

—The summer residents of Newport, R. I., carried the municipal election on the 4th by electing for Mayor William P. Clark, a newsboy favorite of the rich residents. This was the first election under a new and novel charter (p. 265).

—Two car loads of insane American soldiers from the Philippine islands are reported as having passed through North Platte, Nebraska, on the 8th, on their way to the government asylum at Washington. Their condition was reported as pitiable.

—At the special election at Kansas City, Kan., on the 11th to fill the office of mayor, made vacant by the resignation of W. W. Rose (p. 705), Dr. George M. Gray was elected on a "Citizens'" ticket. The candidate supported by ex-Mayor Rose was defeated.

—Manhattan and Brooklyn boroughs of Greater New York were connected on the 8th under the East river, by the piercing of the last section of earth which separated the ends of the north tube of the Rapid Transit tunnel, seventy-five feet below the surface of the river.

—Robert J. Lockhart, a Presbyterian minister of New York, will lecture at Handel hall, Chicago, on the 16th at 8 p. m., at the annual meeting of the Ingersoll Memorial Association. His subject is "Col. Robert G. Ingersoll." A charge of 50 cents is made for memorial purposes.

—The Ute Indians placed in charge of the army post at Fort Meade, S. D., after their runaway journey across Wyoming in the autumn (p. 823), are reported as suffering desperately for want of clothing suitable for winter weather. An appeal for aid for them has been made in Omaha.

—Proceedings having for their object the setting aside of the resolutions of the San Francisco board of education providing for the segregation of the Japanese attending the public schools (p. 731), were instituted on the 7th by United States Attorney Devlin before the Supreme Court of California.

—Upon the official count for the recent State election in New York (p. 775), completed on the 11th, the entire Democratic ticket except Mr. Hearst, the candidate for governor, was reported as elected by pluralities ranging from 5,442 to 14,250. The plurality of Mr. Hughes, Republican candidate for governor, is 57,973.

—The President's attitude toward the segregation of the Japanese in the San Francisco public schools (p. 731), as revealed in his message (pp. 842, 848), has intensified the anti-Japanese feeling in San Francisco, and a boycott against Japanese

domestic labor is reported. It is said that at least 1,500 Japanese servants have been discharged.

—The United States senatorial conference which convened at Des Moines on the 5th, adopted a resolution urging the thirty-seven State legislatures which meet this winter to demand that Congress call a constitutional convention at which it is proposed to so amend the constitution as to put the election of United States senators in the hands of the people.

—The Municipal Commission at the session concluded at Indian Head, Saskatchewan, Canada, on the 7th, was very generally attended by present and past municipal officers of the district. In the discussion it was made plain that absolute unanimity obtained in favor of basing all taxation entirely upon land values, regardless of improvements—the single tax method.

—At Salt Lake City on the 7th, indictments for land grabbing and conspiracies to ruin business men were returned by the Federal grand jury against a number of corporations and individuals, including the Union Pacific Railroad company, the Oregon Short Line railroad company, the Union Pacific Coal company, the Utah Fuel company, and several of the highest officials representing the Harriman and Gould corporations in Utah.

—The monthly statement of the United States treasury department (see p. 778) for November, 1906, shows the following for the month ending November 30, 1906:

Gold reserve fund	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash	231,470,287.02
Total	\$381,470,287.02
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1906	328,087,283.25
Increase	\$ 53,383,003.77

—The Nobel "peace prize" was awarded by the Norwegian parliament to President Roosevelt on the 10th. This prize is one of five awarded annually from a bequest left by Dr. Alfred Bernhard Nobel in 1896, for the most important discoveries in physics, chemistry, physiology or medicine, for the most distinguished work of an idealistic tendency in the field of literature, and for the best effort toward the fraternity of nations and the promotion of peace. The last named is awarded by the Norwegian parliament. The others are awarded by institutions at Stockholm. The prize has a pecuniary value of a little more than \$37,000, and Mr. Roosevelt has announced that he will use it to establish in Washington a permanent industrial peace committee.

—Springfield, Massachusetts, elected a workingman mayor on the 4th. Although the Republican candidate, he was cut by the silk stocking element of the Republicans. But the "dinner pail brigade" of the Democracy voted the Republican ticket for the first time on record and elected William E. Sanderson by a large plurality. The Democrats had pitted Edward H. Lathrop, one of the foremost members of the bar, against Mr. Sanderson. The overwhelming Republican preponderance in the fashionable residential districts dwindled down to a bare majority, but Sanderson carried two of the three Democratic

wards and halved the normal Democratic plurality in the third. Mayor-elect Sanderson is a "boss" in the yards of the Wason Company, car manufacturers. He has worked for day wages all his life.

—Commander Robert E. Peary (p. 753), just returned from the regions of the pole, in a lecture at New York on the 8th, said that he was convinced that there is an undiscovered body of land somewhere about a hundred miles northwest of Grantland. Grantland is the northernmost portion of that large body of land which lies west of Greenland, and is separated from it by the series of basins and channels north of Baffin's Bay. Mr. Peary said that his party found driftwood one hundred miles from Grantland in the open Polar sea, which, he was convinced could have come only from rivers flowing through land not yet placed on any map.

—A number of Chickasaw Indians are reported as being about to establish a banking trust and real estate company at Randlett, Oklahoma. All the stockholders are to be Indians, and the business will be transacted by Indians. Their leader said in an interview at Hastings on the 10th that they expected to draw business from the Chickasaws, the Comanches and the Kiowas; that they did not expect to be a big concern for a few years to come, but as the Indians become clothed with full American citizenship and begin handling their own financial affairs, the new enterprise hopes to handle their business. The members of the party are reported as well dressed and speaking good English. They expect to start with a capital stock of about \$500,000.

—The Chippewas on the Grand Portage reservation in upper Michigan have failed for some reason to get their usual governmental supplies, and it is reported that they fear starvation. They have written to Major S. W. Campbell, the Indian agent at Ashland, Wis., asking for assistance. They say:

The rabbits are nearly all gone in the woods, we are not allowed to kill any deer or moose, and we can't catch any fish to live on. The snow is so deep that we can't get our timber out to sell and we are told that we can't sell any of our pine this winter. We don't know how we are going to live. Does the government want us to die? God put us on earth to live and gave us the moose, deer and fish to use in making our living. He gave us the moose and deer to eat and the hides to make moccasins to use and to sell to make a living for our children. God also gave us the forest and all the timber to sell and make a living for our children.

PRESS OPINIONS

THE CAUSE OF SWOLLEN FORTUNES.

Providence (R. I.) Journal.—A progressive tax upon fortunes is a kind of remedial legislation which perhaps is required by existing conditions. But to rest content with this alone will be to ignore the cause of the disease. When special privileges cease the swollen fortunes growing out of them will cease also.

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CONSTITUTION AND TREATY RIGHTS.

Chicago Chronicle (Rep.), December 6.—To plain people it looks as if the Negro had a better right to attend the same school with whites in the South than the Japanese has to attend the same school with whites in

California. One right rests on the constitution, of which there is no doubt, and the other on a treaty the application of which is doubtful. The cases are entirely different in one respect. The Negro is helpless, and the Japanese are capable of making a good deal of trouble.

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), December 5.—In discussing government by injunction in his message to Congress, President Roosevelt has rendered popular government a service by taking issue with the contention that the courts should be immune from criticism and that to question their judgments is lese majeste to be summarily punished. Such a doctrine has no place in popular government, yet it finds favor with the courts themselves, the legal profession, and with the classes whose interests are to be served through the instrumentality of an irresponsible and autocratic judiciary. . . . Government by injunction has served one good purpose. It has placed violent hands upon the fetish that the judiciary can do no wrong. It has awakened the masses of the people to a realizing sense of the function that the judiciary plays in government and aroused them to the iniquity in popular government of the doctrine that the courts should be immune from criticism.

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THE CHICAGO SCHOOL FIGHT.

Chicago Daily Socialist (Soc.), December 10.—The Merchants' Club of Chicago has called for outside help in its fight against the teachers. They called Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University, who told them that there was too much discussion about the public schools. He gave it as his opinion that an ideal school board "should be able to gather quietly about one of these tables, and with no thought of the galleries or of teachers' organizations or of newspapers, be able and competent to transact the actual business of your schools effectually and quickly." We can tell Dr. Butler that the day is past when a school board can sit down around a table and quietly and secretly vote away millions of dollars of school property, tie the schools up to the book trust, sign boodle coal contracts, and victimize the teachers who dare to protest. These things have been done in the past. They have been done by some of the men to whom he was talking. Those "good old days" are gone, never to return. There is a press, an organized labor movement, an educated working class that do not propose to permit the Merchants' Club to steal the educational heritage of the children.

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THE PRESIDENT AND THE STORERS.

The Cleveland (O.) Plain Dealer (Dem.), December 11.—The Roosevelt-Storer episode leaves both men in a position into which the former, at least, should never have been led. In reply to Storer's charge that the president encouraged or authorized him to take a hand in Vatican politics and then repudiated him, the president asserts that the former ambassador is guilty of falsehood and misrepresentations, betrayal of confidence and violation of hospitality. The president's cause is weakened by the admission that while governor of New York he commended Storer's efforts to have Archbishop Ireland made a cardinal; though later, in his more elevated station, he recognized the blunder, and in attempting to undo his work was compelled to undo Storer also. Unfortunately, what is essential to a decision on the merits of the dispute, the alleged message to the pope in 1902, seems to rest on the issue of veracity, or rather of memory, between the disputants. . . . President Roosevelt should have realized that Mr. Storer is too small

game to draw his fire, especially as he must have foreseen the danger of being kicked by his own weapon.

* * *

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S MOB.

Chicago Daily Socialist (Soc.), Dec. 7.—Whom does Roosevelt mean by the "mob" that he tells us in his message is threatening to "plunder the rich"? Not once, but again and again in his published writing we meet this same sneering insulting reference to "the mob." Who make up the Rooseveltian "Mob"? . . . We may be fairly sure that Rockefeller and Rogers and Hariman and Hill are not in it. . . . The directors of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, the Guggenheims, the Clarks and the other land, timber and coal thieves who are attempting to judicially lynch the officials of the Western Federation of Miners do not belong to the "mob." When they wish to steal or murder or plunder they do not need to organize a mob. They use the regular governmental machinery. The "mob" cannot include Paul Morton, who plundered shippers with rebates, or Platt and Depew, who plundered the stockholders of the life insurance companies, for they, too, have the government at their disposal and do not need to join a mob. No! Roosevelt's "mob" consists of the great mass of workers who are asking and demanding that the plunder which has been taken from them by the "mob," of which Roosevelt is now the head, be returned to those who produced it.

IN CONGRESS

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the official report of Congressional proceedings. It includes all matters of general interest, and closes with the last issue of the Record at hand upon going to press. Page references are to the pages of Vol. 41 of that publication.

Washington, Dec. 3-7.

Senate.

After the formal opening of the second session of the 59th Congress on the 3d (p. 1), and the passage of the customary resolutions notifying the President (p. 1) and the House (p. 2), the Senate received a resolution from Senator Penrose (p. 2) asking departmental information regarding the dismissal of three companies of the 25th Infantry regiment, Negro troops. A substitute being offered by Senator Foraker, both resolutions went over (p. 2). A large number of Presidential nominations coming in (p. 2), including Charles J. Bonaparte for attorney general, Wm. H. Moody for justice of the Supreme Court, Oscar S. Straus for secretary of commerce and labor, George B. Cortelyou for secretary of the treasury, and James R. Garfield for secretary of the interior, the Senate went into executive session, and upon reopening the doors it adjourned for the day. The President's message was read on the 4th (p. 23), and on the 5th there was desultory discussion on several subjects, among them being a resolution for bringing the Panama railroad within the direct control of the Isthmian Canal Commission or the Federal government, which Senator Morgan discussed at length (p. 86). On the 6th the resolutions relative to the dismissal of Negro troops were discussed (p. 100), Senator Foraker's resolution on that subject being finally agreed to (p. 109). Adjournment was taken to the 10th.

* *

House.

Almost immediately after the assembling of the House on the 3d for the second session of the 59th Congress (p. 13), and the passage of resolutions (p. 13) notifying the President and the Senate, the House adjourned for the day. On the 4th the President's message was read (p. 39), and on the 5th a bill to allow national banks to make loans on farm lands as security (p. 69) was de-

bated and passed (p. 76). A bill to remove certain discriminations, relative to pilotage, against American sailing vessels in the coasting trade (p. 112), was discussed on the 6th and passed (p. 126); and on the 7th a bill relative to the protection of game animals in the State of Washington (pp. 139, 148), and one with reference to the application of State convict labor laws to interstate Commerce (pp. 149, 153), were discussed and passed. Adjournment was taken to the 10th.

* *

Record Notes.

Text of President Roosevelt's annual message (p. 23).

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

NOT GOD'S WAY, BUT MAN'S.

For The Public.

Almighty God, is it Thy will
That some should starve and freeze?
Dost Thou send millions naught but ill,
That few may take their ease?

And dost Thou send Thy sun and rain
A chosen few to bless;
Or condemn most to lives of pain,
That some have happiness?

And didst Thou give the few this earth,
Which Thou hast made so fair;
Where for man's needs there is no dearth,
But plenty everywhere?

Oh, pardon those who blindly say
Thou wilt human need.
Not Thine, but man's the cruel way,
'Tis due to human greed.

THOMAS O. CLARK.

* * *

TRAVELING VS. TOURING.

From "Memories and Thoughts," by Frederic Harrison.
New York: The Macmillan Company. See Review
on Another Page of This Public.

It is no paradox to maintain that the great labor and slow course of travel in former ages really promoted a more thorough and intimate knowledge of the country and the people where the traveler—as distinct from the tourist—chose to wend his way. Traveling went out with railways. We are all tourists now, and tourists who come home with tales of the chef at the "Metropole" and the rifling of one's boxes on those Mediterranean lines. When Dante and Chaucer, Froissart or Cellini traveled in Europe they had a far harder task; but they really lived amongst the people they visited. Milton only traveled once in Italy, and Voltaire only came once to England; and Goethe, Byron and Shelley never saw a tenth part of the countries that any Oxford tutor scampers across in a few vacations. But these men took time, took pains, found means to be admitted into the societies they met, and lived long enough in each place to saturate themselves with its spirit. Nowadays we have journalists, diplomats, book-makers (in both senses of the word), miscellaneous men-about-town, who live in railway trains, like the stokers or the guards, and who know as much of the countries they "travel in" as if they had

crossed them in balloons, getting up "Baedeker" as they sailed along.

When we read an old book of real "travels," such as Goethe's "Italian Journey," or Gibbon's "Memoir of My Life," or even, of our own age, those exquisite pictures of foreign life in Ruskin's "Praeterita," and his "Modern Painters" or "Stones of Venice," we see how the incessant whirl of locomotion that we absurdly call "traveling" has actually robbed us of all real intercourse with foreign nations. Parcels forwarded by the post do not "travel." An active man of means and leisure (some of them even without either means or leisure) will make twenty, thirty, or forty "tours abroad" of a month or two at a time, yet he will know less of other nations at the end of his life than if, with fit introductions, he had spent one six months rationally in any European center. He will know less; but what is worse, he will come back with feelings more akin to antipathy than sympathy—a more violent Jingo than he went forth. He has seen enough to despise, to pity, or to dislike. He has not seen enough to know, to understand, to enjoy. He likes mountains, pictures, promenades and casinos. "He never took to the queer ways of the natives!"

+ + +

A BROTHERHOOD OF MEN WHO HAVE BEEN IN PRISON.

Rev. Harris R. Cooley, Member of the Board of Public Service of the City of Cleveland, in the Cleveland Press of Nov. 3, 1906.

Like Topsy, the Brotherhood "just grewed." The manner of its birth and growth is a tale for scientific philanthropists to ponder over.

One day, summer before last, a circus came to town, and with it a rawboned canvasman. A Pinkerton detective, also an employe of the circus, arrested the canvasman on a grievous charge, and turned him over to the city police.

The canvasman told the judge it was a trumped-up charge; that the patrolman had taken the Pinkerton's word for it; that it was a habit of circuses to get their men arrested so they wouldn't be on hand at winter quarters on payday.

Anyway, the canvasman went to "the works."

By and by he was paroled. Penniless, as most released prisoners are, he found he had two things to do—get a job, and live till the first payday. He scratched his head; then hunted up another ex-prisoner, who had been a teacher at the workhouse night school.

"We're up against it," said the canvasman. "Let's get a room together, stand 'em off until the first payday, and be pals."

"Sure," said the other, "we'll be pals—share and share alike." And so the Brotherhood was born.

Together these men secured employment and a place to live. As soon as they were self-supporting and had a small fund, they found work for a third prisoner who was yet in "the works," but who easily secured a parole on his promise that he would go to work. They shared with him their lodgings and kept him in meal tickets. He promised to reimburse them out of his first pay envelope. And, of course, he kept his promise.

The Brotherhood was growing.

The amount which the third man paid back, together with that which the first two had saved, was the nucleus of a fund with which they were able to support other paroled men. They found jobs, secured the parole of prisoners, and took care of them until their first payday came.

Thus far the Brotherhood surely had "just grewed." It was nobody's idea. It was working out naturally.

Then, on January 1, a more formal association was effected, with eight members. They moved into a terrace, which was furnished them, rent free.

By this time Server Cooley and Patrol Officer Crane had discovered what the canvasman was doing, and they helped in many ways.

Using credit, which was extended to them to the amount of \$1,000, they bought furniture, kitchen utensils, beds.

To-day the Brotherhood does not owe a penny. The right side of the ledger shows \$4,500 to its credit. In the ten months since the formal organization, 250 men have been helped to their feet. Four divorces have been averted, the Brotherhood having convinced the wives that their husbands had "proved out" and deserved to be forgiven.

The terrace first occupied by the Brotherhood was soon outgrown. The terrace next door was taken, and then the one next to that. The Brotherhood has accommodations for thirty-five men.

The rooms are prettily furnished. There is a piano. One member is an excellent violinist. The Brotherhood is a place of sociability every evening, and in the dormitory there are soft beds with cool, white sheets.

The members like the life so well they are loath to leave. Many linger long after the expiration of their parole. Others return to their homes, changed men. There have been a few apparent failures.

One man who has gone to another city and is earning \$100 a month, in his last letter to the parole officer, says: "Such a change in my life seems miraculous. I am coming into my own."

They are all "coming into their own."

A few weeks ago the body of an unknown man was found floating in Lake Erie. All that could be learned of him was that he had been released from the workhouse. He was not a member of the Brotherhood. Who he was, from whence he came, what was his right name—these were as much mysteries to the Brotherhood as to the rest of the world.

But he had been a prisoner. So they had the body brought home—to their home. They covered the casket with flowers. Clean-shaven, in their best clothes, they attended the service, bowing their heads reverently while Server Cooley prayed, and they followed the body to the cemetery.

Server Cooley and the canvasman explain the mystery of the Brotherhood's birth and growth, each in his characteristic way.

Cooley says: "It is not the result of deliberate, matured plans, but, rather, the natural outgrowth of a spirit of mutual helpfulness."

And the canvasman says:

"You can't know how it feels till you've been there."

UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

Printed from the Original Manuscript.

Washington, D. C.

Dear John: Winter has come. The fur-bearin' women appear on the street, and the roast chestnut men.

Up and down Pennsylvania avenue, and over and across everywhere else, the bicycle knight, head down, runs atilt for his dinner, for as yet there is no snow. The Washington clerk can still be his own street car, and amass wealth by dropping his nickel into his vest pocket. There are as many bicycles in Washington, John, as silk hats in London. Now, do you get me?

My Congress is in session agin', but "the conies are but a feeble folk," and they won't hurt nothin'. I suppose such a collection of bobtail rabbits don't gather anywhere else in the world. Own their own souls? Nixie! They come down here and extend their hind legs to be tied up in bunches for sale by the President and the Speaker of the House. Honest, John, there was more ginger in one of my congressmen 40 years ago than in the entire drive to-day. Of course there are fellows like La Follette and Tillman, but they are 'strays. They really don't belong to a modern commercial Congress.

About a mile away, over at the other end of Pennsylvania avenue, I have my misfit parlors for Presidents—the White House, we call 'em. Theodore Roosevelt is tryin' to measure up now, and he don't do so bad. Every once in a while he is nearly right. There is some sign that if Theodore had been caught young and carefully tended he'd have been a Democrat. But it really does seem strange that even the mercies of the Republicans are plute. Take, for instance, Theodore's suggestion in the message that in criminal cases the verdict should not be set aside except when, "after the examination of the entire cause," the error complained of results in a "miscarriage of justice." That sounds good. A million blind men will clap their hands and see the Constitution and the laws. But here is the joker. A supreme court ain't scholars, John, like you and me. They can't read nothin' but print, large type. The "entire cause" has to be printed. See? Now a medium cause may cost \$2,000 to print, and few mechanics or farmers have \$2,000 to blow away. It's a rich man's appeal that Theodore suggests, and sometimes it seems to me that laws ought to hit everybody alike.

Well, so we go. I've been worryin' about race wars an' such questions. You see, John, I have different colors to look after, the same as you, and sometimes it sets me a-thinkin'. This yarn is true and maybe has a pint:

Once upon a time a lawyer drifted into a city in my Northern State of Michigan. It was early in the morning, and he went into a barber shop for a shave. The barber shop was a railroad car, adapted, and was light and snug. The head barber was a dark mulatto, and he had two black men as assistants at the other chairs. The shop had the extreme decorum of a first-class shop, presided over by the African barber. The chairs were full and all busy.

Soon a white man came in with an odorous breath

and a petition, and spoke in a low tone to the head barber.

"No, I won't sign your petition," said the head barber. "Your boy is in the reform school, just where he ought to be. He'll get some learnin' and be taught how to behave."

The white man expostulated in low tones.

"No," said the barber; "I know all about it. Your boy met a poor girl down on the railroad track, and abused her and tore her clothes, and the jury sent him to the reform school for two years. I won't sign no petition to let him out. He'll be taught there to be a good citizen. He'll learn some sense. If I'd been on the jury I'd 'a' give him more than that. I won't sign no petition."

The barber resumed his work and the white man went away. The lawyer followed, buttoned up his coat outside and looked up and down the street.

"Well," he said, "I suppose this couldn't have happened in Georgia. Nigger supremacy at last! And the nigger—what? Yes, sir, a pillar of society, standin' up for good order and the law. Well, I'll be shot!" and the lawyer marveling departed.

This yarn struck me a little, for I knew it was so; but I felt the need of other points of view, so finally I turned it into the poetry machine, the subject bein' "Tillman, how about him?" and I had to wait awhile before the chocolate was finally snapped out:

Ben Tillman.

Oh, Tillman Ben, we would like you,
So "fighty" yet so nobly true,
But, white and black, you make us blue—
Ah, Tillman friend.

For why should we all fight the Lord,
And seize the musket and the sword,
Because the Master made a horde
Of other dyes?

Why, half a million yellow men
Might all be white—and Tillmans—then;
Land sakes! we'd skip the planet when
These Chinese came.

And if all brown men were for fight,
With Tillman hauteur, shunned the white;
We'd have the dickens of a time in sight
With Japanese.

Now, who knows better, Ben, or you,
The "stunt" the Lord is going to do;
Why he wants red and yellow too,
And sometimes white?

Just help us with a little "sand,"
Throw pistol away, and lend a hand,
Let us all be big as our great big land,
Ah, Tillman Ben.

Let Tamerlane and Genghis Kahn
Do jury duty to a man,
With Booker Washington in the van,
And help "the push."

The Lord he is a driver rare,
The planets spin unharmed in air,
He is onto his job, don't have a care,
Ah, Tillman friend!

UNCLE SAM.

* * *

We are testing the influence of character on the nerves, and finding it vastly more potent than drugs.—Clarence Lathbury.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP IN CLEVELAND

Hon. Frederic C. Howe in a Symposium on Municipal Ownership and Operation, Which Appeared in *Moody's Magazine* for October.

In Cleveland, as in many other Western cities, municipal ownership of the street railways is a State, rather than a municipal, question. All of the large cities own their own water plants, as do most of the smaller ones. Electric lighting has been undertaken by many towns of from 5,000 to 20,000 inhabitants, but the limitations on the borrowing powers of the cities have prevented the larger towns from entering upon this undertaking. Cleveland has a small electric lighting plant, acquired through the annexation of a neighboring village; but this plant has been operated for so short a time, and is of such limited capacity, that its achievements are a matter of future determination.

State Legislation Blocks Municipal Ownership.

Ohio cities have no power to own street railway systems. Attempts to secure this right have been defeated by the corporate interests in the state legislature through the identity of the party machines with the franchise corporations. That the sentiment in favor of municipal ownership is militant and growing is evidenced by the fact that in Cleveland and Toledo, the street railway companies whose franchises are rapidly expiring have not been able to secure any extensions of their grants, although repeated attempts to do so have been made during the last ten years. In both cities pending franchise ordinances were defeated by popular demonstrations and threats against the council, who were believed to be influenced by other motives than the welfare of the people in their advocacy of these renewals.

Street Railway Situation.

In the city of Cleveland Mayor Johnson has continued an aggressive fight for three-cent fares and ultimate municipal ownership, ever since he was first elected mayor, in 1901. The Cleveland Electric Railway is in possession of the field. One of its franchises has expired. Many others fall in 1908, and none of them have more than eight years to run. This company is capitalized at nearly three times its acknowledged physical value. Its power of resistance is measured by \$20,000,000 of watered securities. Added to this are the financial, professional and business interests grouped around the franchise interests which, through favoritism and fear, corrupt and control public opinion in its interest. The laws of the State, drawn to protect these companies, have been invoked in the courts on fourteen different occasions to prevent competition and the establishment of independent lines. The warfare against a competing system has continued unceasingly for five years. The Cleveland Electric claims rights not only in the streets which it occupies, but the right to deny to any other company the privilege of using any other streets. To maintain this position, it has made use of the courts and legislature. It is in the face of the most persistent opposition and scurrilous personal abuse, that the city has been able to establish new routes, grant franchises to the Forest City Railway Company, and secure the construction of thirteen miles of competing street railway lines

on the basis of three-cent fare and universal transfers.

As is always the case when honest arguments fail, the personality of Mayor Johnson has been attacked. It has been done by innuendo and direct suggestions of pecuniary interest in the system. But it is always the habit of privilege to attribute its own motives to all mankind, and to assume that men in public life are animated by the only sort of morals which "big business" can understand or believe in.

New Company's Fair Offer.

Owing to the fact that, up to the present time, the legislature has refused to permit the cities to decide for themselves on the question of municipal ownership, Mayor Johnson has insisted that all franchises should contain a provision permitting the cities to take over the franchise corporations at any time on their physical value, plus 10 per cent. for their good will. He has further insisted on a straight three-cent fare basis with transfers.

The Forest City Railway, the new competing company, has accepted these terms. Its stock was sold at 90 cents on the dollar, subject to the purchase of the plant at its structural value plus 10 per cent. The stock was largely oversubscribed, the bulk of it by Cleveland people. Subsequent to the first grant to this company, and before it received any extensions, it leased its lines in construction and those to be thereafter acquired to the Municipal Traction Company. The latter company has a nominal capital of \$10,000. It has five stockholders and five directors. It has agreed to pay 6 per cent. on the stock of the Forest City Railway Company, which contains about 10 per cent. of water. It has agreed to turn over the plant to the city at any time it may demand it. It further has an option to retire the stock of the lessor company at \$110 a share. The members of the Municipal Traction Company are pledged to a policy of operation in the city's interests. It can earn no money for itself. It has asked the city council to incorporate in its ordinances the power to revoke all grants at will on compensation being made for actual damage. By this means, the city is able to control the new company at all times. The city can regulate fares, compel transfers and enforce good service. The Municipal Traction Company is designed to prevent stock watering and to assure to the city all of the benefits of municipal ownership without the use of the city's credit. It is municipal ownership without its alleged dangers.

The Two Propositions Compared.

The Cleveland Electric Railway Company and the Municipal Traction Company have presented competing propositions to the council. The former company asks a twenty-year grant at five-cent fare with seven tickets for a quarter, with certain transfer privileges, the city to have the right to acquire its property on the expiration of twenty years. The Municipal Traction Company asks a franchise at straight three-cent fare, universal transfers, municipal ownership at any time, and the full right of regulation in the council through its power to revoke its franchises. By this proposition the investor is protected to the extent of his investment; the people are protected through the full power of control lodged in the city council.

These two propositions are now before the council.

The Municipal Traction Company has secured grants over the West Side streets and through portions of free territory in the city's center. It is asking that The Cleveland Electric Railway franchises be renewed to it on their expiration. In the meantime, the stock of The Cleveland Electric Railway has depreciated ten points.

Molding Public Sentiment.

In advocacy of its position, The Cleveland Electric Railway Company has imported paid experts to make public opinion. It has hired advertising space in the newspapers to promote its cause. Having failed to secure its franchise from the council, it is appealing to the people as a final resort. It has asked that its proposition be submitted to a popular vote. But it has refused to be bound in any way by that vote if it is adverse to its interests. It seeks a referendum on the "Heads-I-win, tails-you-lose" basis. Mayor Johnson has declared that he favored a referendum which would bind somebody, a referendum which the company was bound to accept, one in which they would lose, as well as gain, something. His proposition has been to submit, at the same time, the ordinances of The Cleveland Electric and The Forest City Railway, under a binding agreement of their directors that they would abide by the decision of the people. The Cleveland Electric has shown no inclination to accept this modification to its own proposal.

The secretary of state has recently decided that measures of the kind which are not provided for by law cannot be submitted to popular vote. So the proposal of a reference to a vote of the people is for the present in abeyance.

In the meantime, The Municipal Traction Company is laying rails, driving spikes, erecting machinery, completing its power house, and aims to be ready for operation in November.* It promises to bring passengers to the Square for three cents, and carry them all over the city as rapidly as it can extend its lines into other parts.

Meanwhile Cleveland is being educated on the street railway question. It is probably the wisest town in America on the subject. The contest has been dramatic and spirited. The Cleveland Electric has complained that the mayor of the city should do nothing as mayor towards carrying out his pledges. They have bitterly assailed his policy of securing three-cent fare as interfering with their vested rights and as manifestly unfair. In past years the paving monopoly had the same feeling. So did the gang of contractors. So, also, felt the Electric Illuminating Company. Successively, each monopoly, each privilege has cried aloud against the efforts of the city of Cleveland to regulate its abuses and compel it to serve the people.

Cleveland Probably for Municipal Ownership.

How the people of Cleveland would vote on municipal ownership can only be conjectured. It is a city of independent voters and has enjoyed ten years of almost uninterrupted discussion of franchise questions. The people have been harassed by the franchise corporations at every turn. However they might vote on municipal ownership (and it is my opinion it would carry overwhelmingly) there is ev-

*It is now, December, in operation.—Editor of The Public.

Publishers' Column

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HOTEL WARNER—EVENINGS

CHICAGO

ery indication that Ohio cities have decided to grant no more franchises to private interests. This seems to be verified by Chicago, Detroit, Toledo and elsewhere. The conflict of interest, the control of the government, the misuse of the courts, the arrogance, insolence and terrorism which they exercise, has schooled the people to a resentment of any interest whose magnitude renders it immune from any control. Added to this is the unquestioned success of the Water Department in Cleveland. It makes three-quarters of a million dollars a year profit. Almost all consumers have been metered, and the average house rate is \$5 a year. The garbage disposal plant has also been taken over by the city. Its service has been greatly extended and bettered, while the cost has been materially reduced. But in Cleveland, as elsewhere, all further extension of public activity is strangled by the control of the legislature by privileged interests who prevent the legislatures from enlarging the powers of the cities.

BOOKS

LEISURE HOURS WITH FREDERIC HARRISON.

Memories and Thoughts. Men—Books—Cities—Art.
By Frederic Harrison. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York and London. 1906.

A reading of this latest book of Frederic Harrison brings to mind once more that a good essay is perhaps the most charming form of literature. And that the author of "Memories and Thoughts" is a master of the essay-form, no reader of any of his works needs to be told.

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Such a man's opinions are worth attention. To be sure his outlook upon our present-day civilization has a tinge of personal regret for the past for the old intellectual sympathy between the European nations which was fostered by the slow, intimate travel of fifty years ago; for the leisurely browsing and independent thinking of the non-scientific education; for all the now passing conditions that went to make up his own happy life. All this, however, is only an undertone. The dominant strain is active and optimistic participation in the world around him to-day. He calls upon his long and wide experience of difficulties overcome and conditions mastered, to

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tell us in the midst of his criticisms, that life and work are thoroughly worth while.

ANGELINE LOESCH.

* * *

POEMS BY EDMUND VANCE COOKE.

Chronicles of the Little Tot. By Edmund Vance Cooke. New York. Dodge Publishing Company. Sold by The Public Publishing Company, Chicago. Price: cloth, \$1.50, postpaid; leather, \$2.00, postpaid.

Rimes to Be Read. By Edmund Vance Cooke. New York. Dodge Publishing Company. Sold by The Public Publishing Company, Chicago. Price: cloth, \$1.50, postpaid; leather, \$2.00, postpaid.

Very spontaneous and full of common sense philosophy and kindly human brotherhood, are all Mr. Cooke's poems. Shrewdness, wisdom or fun are to be found on every one of these handsome pages of heavy paper with quaint wandering green borders.

Readers of The Public may remember the admirable economics of "The Beast and His Burden," now to be found in "Rimes to be Read." And perhaps not since the days of Tom Hood have so many really witty puns been gathered into twenty-five lines, as are to be found in "Otto and the Auto."

"The Chronicles of the Little Tot" has another kind of charm. The first poems are parental, and perhaps only those who remember early parenthood can appreciate their homely tenderness. Then come the little child poems and the early school-days poems, sweet and natural, and moreover, with an unaffected refinement which is somewhat rare in these days of a child literature which in seeking after realism often overlooks the delicacy which properly belongs to unimpeded, unspolled family life. Very especially beautiful are the last poems, "In Remembrance," beginning with "The Little Boy Who Left Us," which first appeared in The Booklovers' Magazine. This poem was also reprinted in The Public. A spontaneous expression of gratitude for that poem written when it first appeared, seems equally true now: "I was touched beyond expression by the beauty of the poem. It says with perfect expression, and a proper repression, so that all mere sentimentality is perfectly eliminated—something that, as far as I know, never has been said, but that has certainly been waiting to be said since the first little child to go into the other world went alone on its first journey. I know of nothing better in American literature."

ALICE THACHER POST.

* * *

DAILY SENTIMENT.

A Sentiment in Verse for Every Day in the Year.

Compiled by Walter L. Sheldon, Lecturer of the Ethical Society of St. Louis. Ethical Year Book No. 11. Published by S. Burns Weston, 1415 Locust St., Philadelphia, 1906.

In the thought life of the average citizen of this selfish, grad-grind world, there is a lack of sentiment of the wholesome, ennobling sort, and hence we welcome a book which is calculated to inspire men with higher ideals, broader sympathies and more altruistic aspirations. For thirty years Mr. Sheldon has gleaned from the great poets their noblest expressions of the ethical life, and has em-

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For example, Cornaro's great book "The Art of Living Loug" is included. This is a very handsome volume, illustrated, and will entertain and benefit any man or woman who wishes to live long and well. It is described on page VII of this issue.

The fine set, in ten volumes, of the New Library Edition of the Complete Works of Henry George (including the life of Henry George by Henry George, Jr.), is a notable bargain at its regular spot cash price, \$15.00. But the special offers on page II include opportunities for immediate buyers to get this set at figures that will seem startling. This handsome set of great books will enrich and adorn any library, private or public.

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bodied the results of this long labor of love in this volume. He has used rare discrimination in selecting passages that ring strong and true with brave, cheerful, elevating thought. There is an uplifting sentiment offered for each day of the year. Apart from the enjoyment of the literary excellence of the quotations, no thoughtful, aspiring person could absorb the thousand-souled message of this assemblage of authors without gaining strength and fortitude of spirit for the battle of life.

W. H. S.

* * *

SELF-CONSCIOUS RELIGION.

The King's Daughters' Year Book. By Margaret Bottome, President International Order of the King's Daughters. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company. Cloth, \$1.25.

A series of little, personal, pleasant sermons, one for each day of the year, well written and well printed. They will undoubtedly serve a use and bring comfort to many; but a question insists on presenting itself after reading a few pages. Does not this sort of intensely personal religion tend to religious self-centeredness? "He that loseth his life for my sake, shall find it." Where do we lose our lives? Not in the intense endeavor to perfect them, but in the great common life of service for service under divine law.

Alice Thacher Post.

* * *

SOCIALISM.

Socialism By John Spargo. Published by The Macmillan Company, New York.

In the two hundred and fifty pages at his disposal Mr. Spargo has given a clear and succinct account of the development and progress of "scientific," as distinguished from "utopian," socialism. Having a natural aptitude for brief statement, supplemented by an experience as a lecturer wherein he has had to answer all sorts of questions from audiences, he has been able to present a book that will well repay the time given it by any one seeking information on this subject.

After a cursory review of the inception of the socialistic idea, and a more detailed account of utopianism as exemplified in the remarkable career of Robert Owen, the author confines his attention to Karl Marx and the "materialistic conception of history." Though reserving for Marx the right to err, he personally accords the great German Jew the highest place in the Hall of Fame. The "Communist Manifesto," the joint work of Marx and Engels, in 1848, is given as the beginning of scientific socialism, and the subsequent work of these two strangely-attached men is offered as the best exemplification of that school of thought.

After noting Mr. Spargo's sense of fairness one cannot but regret the inevitable limitation of the socialistic mind. Clearly as he sees the present unjust condition of labor, and evident as he shows the necessity of a change to be, he yet utterly fails to grasp the essence of the problem. Like Marx and Engels, and all the other great lights of socialism, he makes no distinction between land and capital; and this failure to distinguish between monopoly

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Hearst Second**

Theodore Roosevelt continues to lead in the votes cast by new subscriptions to THE PUBLIC. As we have announced, the winner in the voting will be presented by us with a set of the New Library Edition of the Complete Works of Henry George and Life of Henry George by Henry George, Jr.

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These votes are cast by new and paid subscriptions to THE PUBLIC, no matter by whom sent. Every new subscription for three months (price 25 cents) is entitled to one vote; every one for six months (price 50 cents) two votes; every new yearly subscription (price one dollar) to four votes; and so on. We wish to have a very large vote.

The election will be over next week, and all desiring to have their preferences recorded should send in new subscriptions at once.

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THIMBLE-RIGGING BY THE SAFE, SANE AND CONSERVATIVE TRUST NEWSPAPERS OF CHICAGO.

Bill the Blink: "I works my sandbag proper and quiet, an' I takes a sportin' pride in a sportin' genelman's perfeshun; but I'm blowed if I likes this here hocussin' o' kiddies out o' their school money."

and true capital would seem to be the sole reason for his being in the socialistic, rather than in the individualistic, camp.

Another feature that marks the socialistic mind in this work is the avoidance of concrete propositions. Dismissing the abortive attempts to establish utopian socialism, Mr. Spargo says: "Socialism is henceforth a theory of social evolution, not a scheme

of world-building; a spirit, not a thing." Yet the man's evidently practical mind compelled him to add to his history a chapter on "Outlines of the Socialist State," in which he offers a sop to Cerberus by attempting to show that, even under socialism, private production would continue and individual initiative find scope. Instead of taking his position squarely on the socialist platform adopted at the

Chicago national convention, in 1904—Included as a part of his text—which says, "that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end," he says, "there are many petty, subordinate industries, especially the making of articles of luxury, which might be allowed to remain in private hands." And then, as though his conscience was still unsatisfied, he adds, "There would be no danger to the state in permitting, or even fostering, private enterprise within the limits suggested."

These and other evidences of fairness throughout the book lead one to think that the author would be an individualist instead of a socialist, were he really to analyze the phenomena and laws of political economy.

STOUGHTON COOLEY.

+ + +

THE CYNICISM OF POLITICS.

Senator Sorghum's Primer of Politics. By Philander Chase Johnson. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company. Decorated boards, 50 cents.

Politicians are commonly so cynical, and literature is mostly so sweetly moral, that it seems like the real thing to read a "Primer of Politics," more satirical than comic, where we find such sentiments as these:

A theorist is called a Utopian until his ideas have a chance to win. Then he is called a demagogue and a dangerous character.

Going behind the returns of an election is like a post-mortem. It may afford information of future value, but never cures anything.

Honesty is the best policy, but any man who takes honesty as a speculation is very liable to get tired waiting for dividends.

ALICE THACHER POST.

+ + +

Fairy-Tales in Modern Clothes.

The Magic Wand. By Tudor Jenks. With illustrations by John R. Neill. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company. Price, 50 cents.

This little book contains three charming little modern fairy stories, without morals, by the inimitable Tudor Jenks of St. Nicholas fame. The pictures are as delicate and spontaneous as the little tales.

ALICE THACHER POST.

PAMPHLETS

The Revenue Commission of California.

The preliminary report of the Commission on Revenue of the State of California, issued by the State printer at Sacramento in 1906, proposes a distinct advance in methods of taxation. Considering the defects of the present drastic system in California, it shows that under it the farmers pay the equivalent of a 10 per cent. income tax, while manufacturers pay but 2 per cent. The personal property tax is condemned. By way of remedying defects the Commission proposes the separation of State from

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Strong and stirring, with a flesh and blood hero.—*New York Herald.*

In this story we have art for man's sake. It pictures the conflict of classes. . . . The principal characters go down into the depths of their several hells, and there "finding themselves" rise to the level of what is best in them. . . . It is all life-like, it is all true, and from the opening sentence to the last word one's interest in the people, their anxieties, their hopes, their disappointments, their weaknesses, their sins and their repentances, is acute and unflagging.

—*The Public.*

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local taxation and the adoption of the principle of fiscal home rule.

+ + +

"Oh, ma! Here's a little green snake!"

Keep away from it, dear. It may be just as dangerous as a ripe one."—Buffalo Commercial.

+ + +

"Pa, what is an Optimist?"

"An Optimist, my son, is a man who doesn't care a — what happens, so that it doesn't happen to him."—Life.

+ + +

Miss Nancy—I wonder why it is that sailors are such terrible swearers.

Cousin Tom—Why, don't you know? They learn profanity of the parrots. I thought everybody knew that.

Miss Nancy—Why, of course! Wonder it had not occurred to me!—Boston Transcript.

+ + +

A tremendous admirer of Edgar Allen Poe boarded the stage to drive to Fordham, where, in a small cottage Poe wrote "Berenice," "Ligeia," and other immortal tales. The stage driver was of an inquisitive turn. He said: "Why are you so anxious to go to Fordham, sir?" "Because Poe lived there." The driver grunted. "Poe wouldn't ha' been much thought of if he'd only lived at Fordham," he said. "It wasn't on that account he's famous; it was on account of them there pomes and tales."—Indianapolis Star.

A PRIZE OFFER

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