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EDITORIAL

A Useful Memorial.

At the Iroquois theater fire in Chicago three years ago, two nieces of Mr. Charles R. Crane lost their lives, and the tragic circumstances inspired Mr. Crane to employ Mr. John R. Freeman, president of the Society of American Engineers, to devote himself to the solution of the problem of making such disasters impossible. In consequence, a book on the subject by Mr. Free-

man has just been issued by Mr. Crane as a gift to the public. Whether so intended or not, this book is the noblest possible memorial to the children whose death inspired it.

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Bryan and the Car Shortage.

It hardly needs explanation that the car shortage in the Northwest, causing widespread and intense distress for want of coal, was deliberately planned by railroads interested in coal production, for the purpose of increasing the price of coal. Not many more experiences like this will serve to prove how tremendously right Bryan was in his New York speech when he warned the people of the growing power and greed of the railroad monopoly, and argued for government ownership.

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Sources of Wealth.

It was a curious fallacy into which Mr. Carnegie fell, when in his speech before the National Civic Federation in New York he confused fortunes earned by useful work with fortunes appropriated by levying tribute upon useful workers. His illustration of two farmers of equal industry, one of whom gets a farm where population does not multiply and consequently remains poor, whereas the other gets a farm where population does multiply and consequently grows rich, does not exemplify, as Mr. Carnegie assumes that it does, the financial benefits of partnership with the community. It is an illustration of the financial benefits of despoiling the community.

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The Debtor Class and Cheap Money.

In connection with the remarkable explanation by Moody's Magazine of the effect upon the working classes of the country of the depreciation of gold, upon which we commented last week (p. 891), that magazine made the concession, no less remarkable, that the depreciation of gold has given us the cheap dollar which Mr. Bryan tried to secure through the remonetization of silver. But it seems that the resulting prosperity, the very prosperity that Mr. Bryan predicted as an effect of cheap money, has not been shared by the poorer classes. "The rich debtors," says Moody's, "are pocketing the great bulk" of the advantages of depreciation. Not only have wages

not increased in proportion to the prices of necessities, but the rich reap great profits through their indebtedness to the poor. "The hard-working saving people," Moody's continues, "put their money into banks and policies. The stockholders of these corporations take these honest full-value dollars and invest them in bonds, stocks and notes. They pay the depositors and policy holders 3 to 3½ per cent. interest. At the end of say ten years, the depositor or policy holder calls for his money. He receives it back in shrunken dollars that have lost one-third of their value." This seems truly enough to have been the effect of money depreciation. It is a fair assumption, however, that if money were to appreciate, the same rich depredationists who now reap the profits of depreciation by making themselves debtors of the thrifty poor, would turn themselves into creditors in some fashion in order to reap the profits of appreciation. Mr. Bryan never contended that depreciation would not despoil creditors, nor that appreciation would not despoil debtors. He insisted upon the contrary result as to each. Neither did he advocate abnormal depreciation. What he demanded was steadiness of prices. His whole contention rested upon the theory that, with other things the same, bi-metalism would maintain steadiness, so that commodities would rise or fall in price in response, not to changes in money standards, but to changes in the cost of production of the commodities.

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Denatured Alcohol.

Public sentiment proposes, but government bureaus dispose. Public sentiment proposed the freeing from taxes of alcohol for use in the arts, and Congress accordingly abolished taxes on denatured alcohol. But the internal revenue bureau, ostensibly for the purpose of guarding against the manufacture of alcohol for consumption, makes regulations that virtually prevent competition in the manufacture of the denatured article. The competitive advantages expected from denatured alcohol are thereby nullified, very much to the satisfaction, no doubt, of the Standard Oil trust, which opposed the enactment of the law.

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Hanged on a False Confession.

Last summer a young man, Richard Ivens (p. 292), was hanged at Chicago upon his own confession of a murder which it is evident beyond reasonable doubt he never committed. The murder was a brutal one, the people were wildly indig-

nant, an innocent man has been hanged, and the murderer is still at large. All this is the result of a combination of circumstances that may easily recur. A populace demands vengeance; a detective force too incompetent or too lazy to work out clews, devotes itself to forcing confessions; a weak boy is arrested and, under hypnotic conditions, confesses; a public prosecutor who measures his success merely by the number of his convictions, prosecutes the boy and adds another conviction to his string; a trial judge who cares more for what he would call "putting down crime" than for administering justice in each particular case, ignores the circumstances that point to falsity in the confession; a Supreme Court without the courage to stand between a mob and its victim, refuses a re-hearing upon new evidence of a most impressive character. That the confessions were false is evident from the circumstances which Dr. Christison points out in his recent pamphlet on the case (Chicago); that the boy made them in a state of mental irresponsibility is apparent both from Dr. Christison's pamphlet and the able and interesting psychological article, "Untrue Confessions," which appears in the Times Magazine for January under the signature of Hugo Munsterburg, professor of psychology at Harvard. For the prevention of these miscarriages of justice it is impossible, perhaps, either to restrain the partisanship of prosecutors, or to correct the lopsidedness of weak judges; but it is not impossible to abolish capital sentences nor to put an end to the police "sweat box." Capital sentences serve no good purpose, even at best. When the convict is guilty, they do not reform him nor prevent similar crimes by others; they only satisfy a brutal craving for vengeance. The police "sweat box" is a torture chamber in which men with the mentality of rat-catchers win the reputations of astute detectives by forcing false confessions out of weak suspects, while the real criminals go their unobstructed ways. The Ivens tragedy should be made a point of departure.

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The Chicago Traction Fight.

The problem now confronting Chicago with reference to the traction controversy (pp. 874, 891) seems to center about the question of referendum or no referendum. The ordinance is probably a desirable one. But as it is long and complex, there may be hidden away in its verbiage tricky provisions which the companies may use for a club, as they but recently used the 99-year franchise. That there are some such tricky pro-

visions is a fair inference from the fact that the companies, et al., are so eager to make a "hurry-up" matter of the ordinance. The Tribune, which has labored for the stock-jobbing interests steadily, is now so much in love with this ordinance, the supposed principle of which as outlined in the Werno letter it despised last Summer, that it is running a faked referendum with a view to having the ordinance adopted without a real referendum in the Spring. United with the Tribune in trying to rush the ordinance through, are the Lawson papers, which have opposed every referendum heretofore; the Republican business and political clubs, which have always favored the stock-jobbers and opposed referendums; and the "local improvement clubs," which have been organized by agents of the public utility corporations for just such purposes as this. When the same newspapers and organizations that have all along stood by the stock-jobbing traction interests, and opposed the past referendums whereby alone the traction interests of the city have been saved—when these soldiers of plutocracy line up with absolute unanimity by the side of the traction companies in opposition to a referendum on the pending ordinance and in favor of its immediate adoption, there is reasonable ground for grave suspicion. If this ordinance has no tricks hidden away in its verbiage, it will suffer none from a three months' referendum campaign. The people who have waited more than ten years for good service can afford to wait that much longer rather than be buncoed again. If the ordinance has tricky provisions in it, let the people have the opportunity to hunt for them. Any man, any paper, any organization, which demands the passage of this ordinance without a reasonable opportunity for public inspection, discussion and deliberation, is fairly an object of suspicion. Unless approved on a referendum it should be rejected. This policy is not new. Mayor Dunne distinctly pledged himself to it in his campaign, and so did Mr. Harlan, his Republican adversary. So also did the city council unanimously a year ago. For the friends of the ordinance to advise now against this policy, is to indicate that the ordinance will not bear investigation and that they know it.

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Is It a Railroad Board of Equalization?

Of the Illinois Board of Equalization it is often said that its membership is owned and its action is dictated by the railroads whose franchise valuations it is required by law to assess. On this

matter we disclaim all knowledge. The Board may be morally immaculate, for all we know to the contrary. It must be admitted, however, that its standards of morality, when considered in connection with its actions, tend to produce confusion in the mind.

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This Board is in law the original assessor for taxation of the value of all railroad franchises within the State. The law very definitely points out its mode of procedure. It must ascertain the fair cash value of the capital stock of the railroads, this being obviously the only reasonable basis for estimating the value of the roads, over and above their indebtedness. Having thus ascertained the net value of the roads, the Board is then required by the law to deduct the assessed value of their tangible property, for the taxation of which other provisions in the law are made. The remainder, as a moment's reflection shows, is the value of the franchises, and it is this value that the State by this means aims to reach for taxation. Without some such process the franchise values would escape taxation altogether. It was evidently the intent of the law that they should not escape. Nevertheless they have escaped, year after year, because the Board of Equalization has established for its own guidance the arbitrary, unlawful and absurd rule that a railroad company's capital stock is worth no more for purposes of taxation than the value of its tangible property; in other words, that franchise values are not taxable property. The courts have always overruled this practice when cases have reached them; but the Board assumes to overrule the courts in the other cases.

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One of the consequences of this lawless procedure by the Board of Equalization has been the financial strangulation of Chicago. Some years ago the Teachers' Federation attacked the Board of Equalization in the Courts and forced it to tax the Chicago utilities corporations on the value of their franchises. This resulted in adding some six or seven hundred thousand dollars to the city's annual income, of which the schools get about \$250,000. But the Board of Equalization has disregarded in other cases the action of the courts in this case. And now Mayor Dunne's law department has taken a step toward enforcing the same rule of law against the steam railroads that the Teachers' Federation brought to bear against the street car companies of Chicago. Corporation

Counsel J. Hamilton Lewis, assisted by William B. Fleming and John M. Duffy as special counsel, presented a case to the Board of Equalization which it seemed impossible for that Board to escape. But it has escaped it so far. It has done so by simply refusing, arbitrarily and with a high hand, to act upon it. Whether the power of the courts can yet be invoked we are not advised; but upon the showing made by Mr. Lewis and his associates, that power should be invoked, if not with reference to this year's appraisalment then to next year's.

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From the presentation made it appears that in 1873 the Board assessed 51 railroads on their franchise values; that this number was increased until 1875, when there were 61, and that the number dropped to none from 1877 to 1900. Since 1900 it has ranged from 2 to 4. On the matter of values, the franchise value in 1873 was \$64,611,070, and since then it has run steadily down. From 1877 to 1900 it was nothing, and in 1905 it was less than one million. This year it is raised to about three millions. "It then appears," as is well observed by the special counsel named above, "that in 1873, when the railroads had less than two-thirds of the present mileage and less than one-third of the present values, this capitalization was assessed at more than \$64,000,000, whereas since 1876 it has either escaped assessment altogether or been assessed at a nominal sum." We repeat that the Board of Equalization is morally immaculate so far as we know to the contrary. But we do not know everything.

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VESTED RIGHTS.

As public sentiment more and more insistently questions the moral right of individuals to own common property, these privileged individuals and their parasitical apologists increasingly assert the sanctity of "vested rights." Consequently an antithetical relationship of moral rights and vested rights is becoming continually, in greater and greater degree, a burning issue with reference to private property.

It is an issue that has always flamed up whenever legal privileges of the few in any form have been assailed as derogatory to the natural rights of the many. Royal rights to govern from thrones have, for instance, been defended against demands for popular government on the ground that these so-called rights were vested. Similarly vested rights to govern in hereditary legislative bodies have been defended—are indeed still de-

fended, though weakly—because they were vested. The defense of great landed estates against the plainest dictates of the moral law is a familiar instance of a resort to the doctrine of vested rights as an armor for the perpetuation of wrongs. To-day we hear the same appeal to vested rights for the protection of owners of great iron deposits, great coal deposits, great railroad rights of highway, great oil-pipe lines, and the stock which represents vast interests in mere privileges—in the values of common property held by individuals or corporations as private property.

The fallacy which may be found in these deceptive uses of the doctrine of vested rights is not far to seek nor difficult to find, if the desire be to find and not to confuse. It consists in conjuring a legal expedient into the semblance of a moral principle.

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The legal expedient known as the doctrine of vested rights has a useful function in its own sphere. Its function is to put an end to controversies over circumstances whose effects, so far as we can know them, are complete with the happening. Any wrong which is complete with its commission, any right which is temporary in its effects upon others, should be removed from the field of controversy after the lapse of a reasonable time.

This is in the interest not only of social peace but also of a fair adjustment of social relationships. No one should be held answerable for wrongs, or be required to prove rights affecting past interests, after time has blurred the memory of witnesses. However important the matter may have been to the parties originally, it becomes less important even to them as the years go by. Peaceable possession, not redress, comes then to be the important consideration.

If, for illustration, one man steals a horse from another, the gain to the one and the loss to the other are complete at the time. A wrong has been done which ought to be righted; but if the injured party sleeps upon his right, he ignores the wrong to himself and allows an assertion of title by the other to grow into an appearance of unquestioned right. No one is injured but himself, and he has acquiesced in the injury. Not only that, but the injury itself is temporary. The horse will soon die, and thereafter the title will be of no value.

The theft itself soon ceases to affect the distribution of the products of labor. Though all such property as horses, houses and machinery were

stolen from their rightful owners today, the distribution of labor products would not be thereby affected a hundred years hence—probably not in fifty or twenty-five, possibly not in ten—unless the thieves were allowed with these speedily perishable things to buy some form of governmental power over their fellows. Wrongs like these are not continuing in their character and operation. Rights so acquired are not capable in themselves of generating continuous wrongs. The rightful owner loses this property and no other; the thief gains this property and no other. To hold, therefore, that lapse of time makes good this title, originally bad, operates only to silence controversy over ancient deeds of a kind that die with the doing. It does not operate to license perennial theft. Over all such legal titles as spring from wrongs of a non-continuing character, wrongs like the theft of a horse, the doctrine of vested rights is wise and useful.

But the beneficiaries of and the apologists for privilege, make of this wise and useful doctrine, which ought to be held to apply only to titles to perishable things,—they make of it a wicked sort of morality fetish, using it not for the purpose of silencing ancient controversies over titles to perishable things, but for the purpose of establishing institutional plunder. They confuse temporary wrongs with continuing wrongs, and apply the doctrine of vested rights to both. Resorting to this legal expedient, which finds its justification in the social necessity for ignoring ancient wrongs that are not continuing, they utilize it as a principle for giving moral sanction to the predatory effects of ancient wrongs that are continuing.

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This subject has been picturesquely illustrated by Henry George in the seventh chapter of his *Land Question*:

Captain Kidd was a pirate. He made a business of sailing the seas, capturing merchantmen, making their crews walk the plank, and appropriating their cargoes. In this way he accumulated much wealth, which he is thought to have buried. But let us suppose, for the sake of the illustration, that he did not bury his wealth, but left it to his legal heirs, and they to their heirs and so on, until at the present day this wealth or a part of it has come to a great-great-grandson of Captain Kidd. Now, let us suppose that some day—say a great-great-grandson of one of the shipmasters whom Captain Kidd plundered, makes complaint, and says: "This man's great-great-grandfather plundered my great-great-grandfather of certain things or certain sums, which have been transmitted to him, whereas but for this wrongful act they would have been transmitted to me;

therefore, I demand that he be made to restore them." What would society answer?

Society, speaking by its proper tribunals, and in accordance with principles recognized among all civilized nations, would say: "We cannot entertain such a demand. It may be true that Mr. Kidd's great-great-grandfather robbed your great-great-grandfather, and that as the result of this wrong he has got things that otherwise might have come to you. But we cannot inquire into occurrences that happened so long ago. Each generation has enough to do to attend to its own affairs. If we go to righting the wrongs and reopening the controversies of our great-great-grandfathers, there will be endless disputes and pretexts for dispute. What you say may be true, but somewhere we must draw the line, and have an end to strife. Though this man's great-great-grandfather may have robbed your great-great-grandfather, he has not robbed you. He came into possession of these things peacefully, and has held them peacefully, and we must take this peaceful possession, when it has been continued for a certain time, as absolute evidence of just title; for, were we not to do that, there would be no end to dispute and no secure possession of anything.

Now, it is this common-sense principle that is expressed in the statute of limitations—in the doctrine of vested rights. This is the reason why it is held—and as to most things held justly—that peaceable possession for a certain time cures all defects of title.

But let us pursue the illustration a little further:

Let us suppose that Captain Kidd, having established a large and profitable piratical business, left it to his son, and he to his son, and so on until the great-great-grandson, who now pursues it, has come to consider it the most natural thing in the world that his ships should roam the sea, capturing peaceful merchantmen, making their crews walk the plank, and bringing home to him much plunder, whereby he is enabled, though he does no work at all, to live in very great luxury, and look down with contempt upon people who have to work. But at last, let us suppose, the merchants get tired of having their ships sunk and their goods taken, and sailors get tired of trembling for their lives every time a sail lifts above the horizon, and they demand of society that piracy be stopped.

Now, what should society say if Mr. Kidd got indignant, appealed to the doctrine of vested rights, and asserted that society was bound to prevent any interference with the business that he had inherited, and that, if it wanted him to stop, it must buy him out, paying him all that his business was worth—that is to say, at least as much as he could make in twenty years' successful pirating, so that if he stopped pirating he could still continue to live in luxury off of the profits of the merchants and the earnings of the sailors?

What ought society to say to such a claim as this? There will be but one answer. We will all say that society should tell Mr. Kidd that his was a business to which the statute of limitations and the doctrine of vested rights did not apply; that because his father, and his grandfather, and his great- and great-great-grandfather pursued the business of capturing ships and making their crews walk the plank, was

no reason why he should be permitted to pursue it. Society, we will all agree, ought to say he would have to stop piracy and stop it at once, and that without getting a cent for stopping.

Or supposing it had happened that Mr. Kidd had sold out his piratical business to Smith, Jones or Robinson, we will all agree that society ought to say that their purchase of the business gave them no greater right than Mr. Kidd had.

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It would seem impossible for society to say anything else. But Mr. George was too observant not to see that this is exactly what society would not say, certainly not at first. And as was his habit, seeing this he wrote of it:

We will all agree that that is what society ought to say. Observe, I do not ask what society would say.

For ridiculous and preposterous as it may appear, I am satisfied that, under the circumstances I have supposed, society would not for a long time say what we have agreed it ought to say. Not only would all the Kidds loudly claim that to make them give up their business without full recompense would be a wicked interference with vested rights, but the justice of this claim would at first be assumed as a matter of course by all or nearly all of the influential classes—the great lawyers, the able journalists, the writers for the magazines, the eloquent clergymen, and the principal professors in the principal universities. Nay, even the merchants and sailors, when they first began to complain, would be so tyrannized and browbeaten by this public opinion that they would hardly think of more than of buying out the Kidds, and, wherever here and there any one dared to raise his voice in favor of stopping piracy at once and without compensation, he would only do so under penalty of being stigmatized as a reckless disturber and wicked foe of social order.

If any one denies this, if any one says mankind are not such fools, then I appeal to universal history to bear me witness. I appeal to the facts of to-day.

Show me a wrong, no matter how monstrous, that ever yet, among any people, became engrafted in the social system, and I will prove to you the truth of what I say.

The majority of men do not think; the majority of men have to expend so much energy in the struggle to make a living that they do not have time to think. The majority of men accept, as a matter of course, whatever is. This is what makes the task of the social reformer so difficult, his path so hard. This is what brings upon those who first raise their voices in behalf of a great truth the sneers of the powerful and the curses of the rabble, ostracism and martyrdom, the robe of derision and the crown of thorns.

Am I not right? Have there not been states of society in which piracy has been considered the most respectable and honorable of pursuits? Did the Roman populace see anything more reprehensible in a gladiatorial show than we do in a horse race? Does public opinion in Dahomey see anything reprehensible in the custom of sacrificing a thousand or two human beings by way of signaling grand occasions? Are there not states of society in which, in

spite of the natural proportions of the sexes, polygamy is considered a matter of course? Are there not states of society in which it would be considered the most ridiculous thing in the world to say that a man's son was more closely related to him than his nephew? Are there not states of society in which it would be considered disreputable for a man to carry a burden while a woman who could stagger under it was around?—states of society in which the husband who did not occasionally beat his wife would be deemed by both sexes a weak-minded, low-spirited fellow? What would Chinese fashionable society consider more outrageous than to be told that mothers should not be permitted to squeeze their daughters' feet, or Flathead women than being restrained from tying a board on their infants' skulls? How long has it been since the monstrous doctrine of the divine right of kings was taught through all Christendom?

What is the slave trade but piracy of the worst kind? Yet it is not long since the slave-trade was looked upon as a perfectly respectable business, affording as legitimate an opening for the investment of capital and the display of enterprise as any other. The proposition to prohibit it was first looked upon as ridiculous, then as fanatical, then as wicked. It was only slowly and by hard fighting that the truth in regard to it gained ground. Does not our very Constitution bear witness to what I say? Does not the fundamental law of the nation, adopted twelve years after the enunciation of the Declaration of Independence, declare that for twenty years the slave trade shall not be prohibited nor restricted? Such dominion had the idea of vested interests over the minds of those who had already proclaimed the inalienable right of man to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?

Is it not but yesterday that in the freest and greatest republic on earth, among the people who boast that they lead the very van of civilization, this doctrine of vested rights was deemed a sufficient justification for all the cruel wrongs of human slavery? Is it not but yesterday when whoever dared to say that the rights of property did not justly attach to human beings; when whoever dared to deny that human beings could be rightfully bought and sold like cattle—the husband torn from the wife and the child from the mother; when whoever denied the right of whoever had paid his money for him to work or whip his own nigger was looked upon as a wicked assallant of the rights of property? Is it not but yesterday when in the South whoever whispered such a thought took his life in his hands; when in the North the abolitionist was held by the churches as worse than an infidel, was denounced by the politicians and rotten-egged by the mob? I was born in a Northern State, I have never lived in the South, I am not yet gray; but I well remember, as every American of middle age must remember, how over and over again I have heard all questionings of slavery silenced by the declaration, that the Negroes were the property of their masters, and that to take away a man's slave without payment was as much a crime as to take away his horse without payment. And whoever does not remember that far back, let him look over American literature previous to the war, and say whether, if the business of piracy had

been a flourishing business, it would have lacked defenders? Let him say whether any proposal to stop the business of piracy without compensating the pirates would not have been denounced at first as a proposal to set aside vested rights?

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Mr. George was not content with pointing to the misuse of the doctrine of vested rights in the past. He pointed to its misuse in his own day of a quarter of a century ago, a misuse that is even more common now. Having appealed to other states of society and to times that were past merely to get his readers out of their accustomed ruts of thought, he continued:

The proof of what I assert about the Kidds and their business is in the thought and speech of to-day.

Here is a system which robs the producers of wealth as remorselessly and far more regularly and systematically than the pirate robs the merchantman. Here is a system that steadily condemns thousands to far more lingering and horrible deaths than that of walking the plank—to death of the mind and death of the soul, as well as death of the body. These things are undisputed. No one denies that Irish pauperism and famine are the direct results of this land system, and no one who would examine the subject will deny that the chronic pauperism and chronic famine which everywhere mark our civilization are the results of this system. Yet we are told—nay, it seems to be taken for granted—that this system cannot be abolished without buying off those who profit by it. Was there ever more degrading abasement of the human mind before a fetish? Can we wonder, as we see it, at any perversion of ideas?

Consider: is not the parallel I have drawn a true one? Is it not just as much a perversion of ideas to apply the doctrine of vested rights to property in land, when these are its admitted fruits, as it was to apply it to property in human flesh and blood; as it would be to apply it to the business of piracy? In what does the claim of the Irish landholders differ from that of the hereditary pirate or the man who has bought out a piratical business? "Because I have inherited or purchased the business of robbing merchantmen," says the pirate, "therefore respect for the rights of property must compel you to let me go on robbing ships and making sailors walk the plank until you buy me out." "Because we have inherited or purchased the privilege of appropriating to ourselves the lion's share of the produce of labor," says the landlord, "therefore you must continue to let us do it, even though poor wretches shiver with cold and faint with hunger, even though, in their poverty and misery, they are reduced to wallow with the pigs." What is the difference?

This is the point I want to make clearly and distinctly, for it shows a distinction that in current thought is overlooked. Property in land, like property in slaves, is essentially different from property in things that are the result of labor.

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The property in land to which Mr. George has referred comprised landed property of many dif-

ferent kinds. It comprised property in city building lots, which grows in value as the city grows. It comprised property in unimproved farming lands, which enables mere owners to levy tribute upon working farmers. It comprised property in railroad rights of way, which enables railway corporations to monopolize traffic. It comprised property in natural mineral deposits, which enables owners to consolidate titles in these gifts of nature and thereby to plunder the people for the coal they burn and the iron they use. Of all these he might have said, as he did say of the monopolized lands of Ireland, that the indictment which really lies against the private owners of such natural bounties is not that their predecessors robbed the American people in the distant past, for that makes no difference, but that here and now, at the close of the year 1906 and the opening of the year 1907, they themselves are robbing the American people.

Though they are not robbing the American people now of grants of lands and mines and highways, they are, by means of grants in the past, now robbing the American people of the products of their present labor which is dependent upon those lands and mines and highways. "And shall we be told that there can be a vested right to continue such robbery?"

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

AUSTRALIA.

(See pages 367, 486.)

Corowa, N. S. W., Nov. 20.—The last session of the second Federal parliament ended last month. The principal acts passed were the Australian industries preservation, British preference, South African preference, spirit duties, agricultural machinery duties, and alteration of Constitution referendum acts.

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The Australian industries preservation act (usually called the anti-trust act), is intended to repress monopolies and prevent "dumping." It prohibits, under heavy penalties, restraint of trade, the destruction or injury by unfair competition of any advantageous Australian industry, and the monopoly of trade. The definitions of unfair competition are very wide and are evidently intended to prevent importers from underselling local manufacturers. As originally introduced, this measure gave the Minister of Customs a great deal of authority, but under the act as passed all power is vested in the Federal High Court, which is, of course, a great improvement.

The British preference act is a sham. The ministry brought in a bill for raising the import duties on a number of articles unless they were manufactured in Great Britain. In some cases Britain had already the whole trade; in others, the articles af-

fectured were not manufactured at all in Great Britain. The object of the bill was really to increase the protection to local manufacturers. It passed the House, but in the Senate an amendment was inserted that the preference be extended only to goods of British manufacture, carried in British ships which were manned wholly by white seamen. When the bill returned to the House it was discovered that the clause would violate a number of treaties between Great Britain and other countries to which the Commonwealth is a party, and it was struck out. But the Houses came into conflict on some question of procedure, and the Senate insisted on the amendment, so it was retained. The act was not signed by the Governor-General, but reserved for the Royal assent; that is, the British government will veto it.

A somewhat similar bill was brought in to establish preferential trade (so-called) with New Zealand, in accordance with an agreement made between Mr. Deakin and the late Mr. Seddon. Australia was to raise the duties on certain articles against all countries except New Zealand, which was to do likewise as regards the Commonwealth. The New Zealand parliament rejected the bill, so of course the whole scheme was then dropped.

The South African preference act is a real reciprocity treaty as far as it goes, duties being reduced on both sides. Two reports of the tariff commission were dealt with; those referring to spirits and agricultural machinery. In both cases alterations were made in the duties for the benefit of the local manufacturers.

A referendum is to be taken at the next election on the question of altering the Constitution so that the term of service of senators may begin on July 1, instead of January 1. At present elections have to be held in November or December, which is inconvenient to farmers, as it is harvest time in most parts of the commonwealth.

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The next election for the whole of the House of Representatives and half the Senate is to be held on December 12. When the House rose the state of parties was as follows: Ministerial (Deakin) 19, Opposition (Reed) 31, Labor (Watson) 25.

The Labor party is the only one with a definite policy. The principal planks of its platform are: Maintenance of a white Australia, nationalization of monopolies, old age pensions, tariff referendum, graduated tax on land values, restriction of public borrowing, navigation laws, citizen defense force, arbitration act amendment.

Deakin's followers are divided among themselves, some supporting most of the proposals of the Labor party, while others are opposing them. Their only common ground is the advocacy of increased protection to manufacturers.

The party led by Reed calls itself anti-Socialist. It includes both free traders and protectionists, who have agreed to sink the fiscal issue and oppose the Labor party. Mr. Max Hirsch is a candidate for the Wimmera, a large country electorate in western Victoria. He stands as an anti-Socialist. If there were a straight-out contest between him and the Labor candidate it is thought he would win, but as there are several other candidates, the result is very uncertain.

In the new South Wales state parliament, the local government extension bill has passed the lower house and is now before the Council. It provides that all municipalities shall impose a tax of one penny in the pound on land values. For any further revenue required it is optional whether the tax be levied on the improved or unimproved value of the land. Every municipality is to decide for itself by taking a referendum of the taxpayers.

This bill has encountered great opposition, and it is rather doubtful whether it will be passed this session. In addition to altering the incidence of taxation, it gives greatly extended powers to local governing bodies.

ERNEST BRAY.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

Week ending Wednesday, Dec. 26, 1906.

Single Tax in Scotland.

The report of the parliamentary committee on land values taxation in Scotland (p. 895) reaches this country as apparently adverse to the measure. Upon examination, however, it proves to have been adverse only to the particular bill, and not to the principle. And, as to the bill, it reports against it because it is hostile to the principle. A minority report supports the contention of the landlords.

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As the report is summarized by the Edinburgh Evening News of the 14th, it appears that:

The main principle which, in the opinion of the committee, underlies the proposals to tax land values is the setting up of a standard of rating whereby the ratepayer's contributions to the rates is determined by the yearly value of the land which he owns or occupies apart from the buildings and improvements upon it, the object being to measure the ratepayer's contributions, not by the value of the improvements on the land to any extent, but solely by the yearly value of the land itself. A justification given for the adoption of the new standard is that land owes the creation and maintenance of its value to the presence, enterprise, and expenditure of the surrounding community. The value of the land is not created or maintained by the expenditure or exertion of its owner except in so far as he is a member of the community. It is well, therefore, the committee think, to select a standard of rating which will not have the effect of placing a burden upon industry. Hence the proposal to exclude from the standard the value of buildings and erections of all kinds and fixed machinery. To include these in a standard tends to discourage industry and enterprise; to exclude them has the opposite effect. If, then, the value of bare land apart from improvements be chosen as the measure by which to fix contributions to the burgh expenditure, the ratepayer will, it is alleged, be merely restoring to the exchequer of the local authority part of that which he has derived from it. Of this principle and of the reasoning on which it rests, the

committee approve. The direct effect of its adoption will apparently be to effect a complete redistribution of the burden of rating. The indirect effect will be to stimulate buildings and improvements, to bring more building land into the market, to lower rents, and to diminish overcrowding. To what extent the burden of rating would be redistributed by the adoption of the new standard must, it is apparent, be a matter of conjecture, inasmuch as no reliable data exists from which to form a just estimate of the value of land in Scotland apart from the buildings and improvements upon it. It seems to the committee, therefore, to be absolutely essential before the proposed new standard is adopted that such a valuation be made.

The question to which prominent attention was directed in the evidence was, whether to make such a valuation is reasonably practicable. The committee adopted the view that a considerable expenditure of time and money will be incurred in making the valuation for the first time, but as the amount and character of the aid required would vary in different burghs, depending not only on the number and character of the returns, but also on the skill and experience of the assessor, they consider that the question of additional assistance ought to be left to the discretion of each local authority. Whilst placing on record the opinion that in making the valuation regard must be paid to every restriction validly imposed on the ground and legally binding at the date of the valuation, they say that it should not be forgotten that the restrictions usually found in the title deeds of the property in Scotland are such that, although they may sometimes diminish its selling value, nevertheless they materially conduce to the amenity of the district and to the health of the community. Such restrictions seldom benefit the owner, qua owner, although they may enhance the value of neighboring land, the valuation of which will be accordingly increased, and the rating correspondingly heightened. The committee, therefore, reject the view that restrictions validly imposed on land, even if they tend to diminish its selling value, should either be disregarded or separately valued, and a rate imposed in respect of this value on the person maintaining the restriction. Consequently if a valuation such as the committee recommend be made, regard should be paid to restrictions validly imposed upon the land. . . .

Proceeding to summarize their conclusions, the committee express the view that the new standard of rating, based upon the yearly value of land apart from the buildings and improvements upon it, is sound and would prove advantageous; that to set it up by estimating the value of land apart from buildings is practicable, that in making the valuation regard must be had to all restrictions validly imposed on the land and to recent expenditure in preparing it for use, that exemptions such as are proposed in the bill are proper, but that to these exemptions ought to be added railways, canals, docks, piers, and harbors; that so far as both occupiers and owners are concerned the new standard of rating should be substituted for the present standard, and that within the category of owners ought to be included the owners of feu-duties whensoever created. The committee therefore recommend that the bill referred to them be not proceeded with, that a measure be introduced making provision for a valuation of land in both burghs and counties of Scotland apart from the buildings and erections upon it, and that no assessment be determined upon until the amount of that valuation is known and considered.

* * *

British Politics.

The education bill, the subject of ten months' debate, was finally killed in the House of Lords on the 19th, by a vote of 132 to 52, through the Lords' insistence upon retaining their amendments rejected by the Commons (p. 895). In a speech in

the Commons on the 20th, the Premier, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, repudiated the claims of the Peers to lecture the Commons, and stated that the government would withdraw the measure. Of the constitutional phase of the situation he said:

Is the general election and its results to go for nothing? It is intolerable that the second chamber, while one party is in power, shall be its willing servant, and when that party is emphatically condemned by the country it shall still be able to thwart and distort the policy which the electors approved. It may be necessary to submit for the moment, but neither the resources of the British constitution nor of the House of Commons are wholly exhausted yet. A way must and will be found whereby the will of the people, expressed through their elected representatives in the House of Commons, will be made to prevail.

According to the dispatches these declarations were received with prolonged cheering.

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Parliament was prorogued on the 21st for the holiday recess, to meet again February 2.

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James Bryce, Chief Secretary for Ireland, has been appointed Ambassador at Washington, to succeed Sir Mortimer Durand. Mr. Bryce, it is said, will come here as a commoner, and will be the first plain citizen to represent his country at Washington. Mr. Bryce is widely and favorably known in America as the author of "The Holy Roman Empire," and "The American Commonwealth."

* * *

A Protest Against the Congo Horrors.

An open letter protesting against the conditions in the Congo Free State (pp. 871, 896) was addressed on the 25th, by a number of prominent citizens of New York, to the Secretary of State, Mr. Elihu Root. Among the signers of the letter were the Revs. Lyman Abbott, Henry Mottet, Wilford L. Robbins, George William Knox, Charles H. Parkhurst, John P. Peters, William R. Richards, Anson P. Atterbury and Percy S. Grant, and Messrs. William Jay Schiefelin, William H. Douglas, Charles A. Schieren, Spencer Trask, George Haven Putnam, Everett P. Wheeler, Robert C. Ogden, J. Pierpont Morgan, D. Willis James, R. Fulton Cutting, J. Cleveland Cady and W. J. Havemeyer. The portions of the letter given in the press were as follows:

Over a year has passed since the report of the Commissioners chosen by the chief Executive and virtual owner of the Congo to investigate conditions in that state was published. In spite of their natural desire to give all possible credit to their Sovereign, the Commissioners felt constrained to report the existence of measures and practices of flagrant inhumanity.

Among these measures and practices are the following:

1. The exaction of a labor tax so oppressive that many natives on whom it falls have little if any freedom.
2. Appropriation of land to such an extent that the natives are practically prisoners within their own territory.
3. The employment under authority of the government as sentries of cruel, brutish blacks, chosen from hostile tribes, who murder, pillage and attack the people for whose protection the government is avowedly established.
4. The abuse of the natives by white representatives of officially recognized companies.
5. The binding of little children to years of labor at

uncertain wages by contracts they do not understand and even more serious maltreatment of children supposedly under the immediate care of the government.

6. Great injustice in the administration of the courts, so that the natives dread the name of Boma, the place where the judicial system is centralized.

7. The sending out of punitive expeditions not for the purpose of establishing peace and order but for the purpose of terrifying the natives into paying a tax which, as administered, even the Commissioners regard as inhuman.

It is to be remembered that these are not charges brought against the Congo government, but findings of the Commission which was appointed by the chief Executive of the government to investigate and report on the facts. Acting upon these findings, a second commission, also appointed by the King, has recommended measures of reform.

No steps have been taken to adopt them. There is no evidence that the Congo government is undertaking seriously to remedy these evils. The powers which created the Congo government have clearly a right to call that government to account. Inasmuch as the United States gave their moral support to the establishment of the Congo government they are justified in giving their moral support to any undertaking to secure conditions in the Congo that will not disgrace civilization. We wish to assure you that for any measure you may adopt in order to give the powers such moral support of the United States, you will have our earnest and urgent approval.

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French Separation Law Amended.

The law separating church and state in France, which went into final effect on the 11th (p. 896), was amended in the Chamber of Deputies on the 21st, the bill of amendment having a majority of 413 against 166. The dispatches fail to state the character of the amendments, but their general tenor seems to be in the direction of creating new methods for working out the separation law, made necessary by the refusal of the church authorities, acting under orders from the Pope, to co-operate in the original arrangements.

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Universal Suffrage in Austria.

At the close of a remarkable sitting of the Upper House of the Austrian Parliament, on the 21st, lasting from 11 o'clock in the morning until 11:30 at night, the universal suffrage bill passed that House by a large majority. Only fifteen members voted for the principle of plural franchise, which was combatted by the Premier, Baron von Beck, who made an eloquent plea for universal equal suffrage. The Upper House also adopted the bill limiting to 180 the number of life members of that House, appointed by the Emperor. Of the movement for universal suffrage in Austria (p. 30), the Chicago Record-Herald says that it "is the by-product of the struggle in Hungary between the Nationalists and the non-Magyar elements. The government offered Hungary universal suffrage in the belief that that the masses were loyal to the Crown, and would support the union between Austria and Hungary. That offer, however, compelled the making of a similar one to the lower classes of Austria. Within a short time, therefore, Hungary as well as Austria will have universal suffrage as a fundamental feature of her constitution."

The Russian Elections.

It was reported in October (p. 704) that the elections for the next Douma (p. 896) would come off on December 30; but a ukase, issued on the 21st, set February 19 for the elections, except for those in the Caucasus, Central Asia and Siberia, the dates for which have not been given out. Announcements of disfranchisements and disabilities which will restrict the breadth and cripple the strength of the new Douma seem to be on the increase. Dispatches of the 22d stated that Professor Paul M. Milukoff, president of the Constitutional Democrats, who had been slated for the floor leader of the party in the new Douma, has been declared ineligible for election, for lack of proper residence qualification. Professor Serge A. Mourmtsoff, President of the last Lower House, and a number of other former members, have been debarred, not only from standing as candidates, but even from voting in the elections. Moreover, administrative measures against the Constitutional Democrats are being sharpened instead of relaxed, as the date of the elections draws near. They are not permitted to hold meetings, and printing establishments have been forbidden, under very severe penalties, to publish their literature.

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Progress of the Initiative and Referendum Movement.

Six States are reported to have adopted, at the recent election, some form or to have taken some step toward the adoption of the initiative and referendum (p. 800). They were Massachusetts, Maine, Delaware, Michigan, Montana and Oklahoma. In Montana only, however, was the form adopted decisive. The Montana form was an amendment to the State constitution. This was the same as the Oregon amendment, except that it had been so doctored in the legislature as to exclude constitutional amendments and amendments to special laws, and to prohibit any initiative except upon petitions signed not only by the requisite percentage in the aggregate, but also such percentage in two-fifths of the counties. The adoption of the initiative and referendum amendment is the result of the efforts of the Montana State Federation of Labor, which inaugurated the movement four years ago by inducing the conventions of both political parties to submit the amendment. The Federation followed this by stimulating the local unions to secure pledges from legislative candidates to support the amendment, and from voters to vote only for candidates making that pledge. The work was effective in obtaining the passage of the amendment in the lower house of the legislature; but, although a majority was obtained in the senate, it failed there to get the requisite two-thirds. But the people had been educated on the subject, and at the next election not only did both conventions approve the measure, but all the candidates vied with one another in supporting it. The next legislature consequently submitted it, though with the limitations noted above; and at the recent elections it was carried by a vote of six to one—36,374 for the measure, and 6,616 against it. This vote was 70 per cent. of the total vote cast for candidates at the same election. There was a pronounced affirmative majority in every county.

The Cleveland Traction Fight.

Further progress for Mayor Johnson's traction policy (p. 897) and more injunctions against him, is the latest word from Cleveland. On the 20th the "Three-fer" line, by means of tracks it had laid around the "Injunctioned" street, reached the Superior avenue viaduct, the tracks on which belong to the city, and crossed the Cayahoga river to the East Side. This brings the three-cent line to within a few hundred feet of the Public Square, the business center of the city. All the afternoon and until midnight on the 20th the three-cent fare cars ran across the viaduct at intervals of three or four minutes, and they still do so. So much the "Concon" company could not, or did not, prevent. But it did procure a restraining order from the same Judge Phillips, whose decision in favor of the "Concon" on a demurrer was noted two weeks ago (p. 873), by which order the "Three-fer" was prevented from continuing east of the viaduct to the Public Square. This street is what is called "free territory"—that is, a street on which the existing company has no monopoly, but must submit to competition when the city government orders it. The restraining order was granted on the ground that Mayor Johnson's guarantee of stockholders of the "Three-fer" against loss vitiated the franchise for the "Three-fer," and consequently that this company has no competitive rights on free territory. The hearing of the motion for an injunction began on the 21st.

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In commenting upon the restraining order on the 21st Mayor Johnson said:

The granting of a restraining order in that part of Superior avenue is like robbing the city of its birthright. It is the most outrageous thing ever considered yet. It is the most outrageous injunction yet asked for. That part of Superior avenue has been free territory ever since 1869. A free territory clause was contained in the first franchise ever granted by the city. Ever since then this free territory right has been respected. The question has been fought in the Supreme Court twice and in each case that body declared that it was free territory. If any street railway man had appeared before the council and requested a franchise that would have been exclusive for that section of the public streets he would have been laughed out of the council. No one has ever dared deny that it was free territory.

NEWS NOTES

—Bishop Charles C. McCabe, of Philadelphia, one of the most noted Methodist Episcopal clergymen of the country, died on the 19th, aged seventy years.

—The Chicago traction question, in so far as it depends upon the Mueller law and the city ordinance under that law (p. 205), was argued in the Supreme Court of Illinois on the 22d.

—President Castro, of Venezuela (p. 875), is still reported as a very sick man; the Shah of Persia (p. 898) seems to be at the very point of death, and to these is added King Menelik, of Abyssinia, whose health is reported as failing.

—The "Long Bridge" across the Potomac at Washington, originally opened in 1809, and identified with stirring movements in the War of 1812 and the

Civil War, is being demolished, a modern steel structure having been built to take its place.

—A mandamus suit has been brought by the Sunday-Closing Association of Chicago against Mayor Dunne (pp. 819, 889) to compel the closing of saloons, beer gardens, etc., under a law which he regards as obsolete, and which has not been enforced for thirty years.

—A strike declared on the Atlantic system of the Southern Pacific Railroad by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers went into effect at 5 o'clock on the 23d. Simultaneously nearly 400 men employed on Southern Pacific lines in Texas and Louisiana quit work.

—General Eloy Alfaro was elected President of Ecuador for four years, on the 24th. General Alfaro was President of the Republic from 1898 to 1901. Last January he led a revolt against President Lizardo Garcia, drove him from Ecuador and reorganized the government. His election comes now in due course.

—A violent earthquake shock was reported from Russian Turkestan as occurring late on the 22d. It seems to have been recorded on seismographs as far apart as the Isle of Wight, Italy, and Washington. A second earthquake was recorded on seismographs, widely separated, as occurring on the 23d. On the 25th a shock was reported from Martinique.

—The passenger steamship Strathcona, running between Halifax and Canso, Nova Scotia, was destroyed by fire on the 23d. Not one of the 380 passengers was lost, thanks to the heroism of the engineers and firemen, who stuck to their posts until the ship was beached and every passenger landed. In less than an hour after beaching the ship had burned to the water's edge.

—The Supreme Court of the United States, on the 24th, decided that Sheriff Shipp, of Chattanooga, Tenn., and twenty-six of his fellow-citizens must stand trial on the charge of contempt of court because of the lynching of a negro of the name of Johnson, after the Federal tribunal had granted a stay of execution. The ruling was on the preliminary question of jurisdiction, the defendants claiming that only State courts had any rights in the case.

—A decree appointing a commission to revise the laws of Cuba, was signed on the 24th by Provisional Governor Magoon. This commission is to submit to the Provisional Governor the draft of an electoral law, new provincial and municipal laws, a law defining the organization and functions of the judiciary, a civil service law, and also consider such other subjects of great interest as may be referred to it by the Provisional Governor. This is regarded as the first step toward holding new elections (p. 849).

—President Roosevelt, assuming that the California Development Company, which was originally responsible for the breach in the banks of the Colorado river which let it into the Salton sink, was an enterprise of the Southern Pacific railroad, on the 20th ordered the president of the Southern Pacific, Mr. E. H. Harriman, to proceed instantly to close the new break (p. 898). While denying the responsibility of the Southern Pacific in the matter, Mr. Harriman acceded to the demands of the President and immediately started the repair work, an-

nouncing that he trusts that the government will ultimately assist in bearing the burden.

—Lieutenant-Colonel William Camm, who died at Danville, Ill., on the 14th of November last, at the age of 69, was one of the earliest and most active disciples of Henry George in the middle West. An Englishman by birth, he served in the Union army during the Civil War as lieutenant-colonel of the Fourteenth Illinois Volunteers. His anti-slavery impulses having made his mind receptive to the equal rights doctrines which Henry George taught, he early became and thereafter remained a tireless advocate of those doctrines.

—The statistics of imports and exports of the United States (see p. 778) for the month ending November 30, 1906, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for November, were as follows (M. standing for merchandise, G. for gold and S. for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M.....	\$562,465,528	\$436,186,317	\$127,279,211 exp.
G.....	6,144,006	58,129,114	51,985,109 imp.
S.....	16,415,942	12,177,621	4,238,321 exp.
	\$585,025,476	\$505,493,052	\$ 79,532,423 exp.

—The annual report of the Kenosha Municipal Water Company, filed with the city clerk of Kenosha, Wis., on the 22d, shows that the plant is one of the most successful, if not the most successful, municipal enterprises in the State. There is a net profit to the city for the year just closed of more than \$26,000, while all the water used by the public buildings and the schools has been supplied without cost. The company has spent more than \$17,000 in extending the service and has retired bonds to the amount of \$5,000, and water has been furnished to patrons at 12 cents per 1,000 gallons.

—Resolutions denouncing President Roosevelt's message to congress on the Japanese situation in San Francisco (p. 866), resenting his interference in the domestic affairs of the State, expressing want of confidence in Secretary Metcalf and declaring that his report to the President on the Japanese school question is "utterly unworthy of credence in any particular," and contains "numerous mis-statements and misrepresentations, obviously one-sided and grossly exaggerated," were adopted at a mass meeting held on the 23d, at Walton's pavillion, San Francisco, under the auspices of the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League. About 2,500 persons were in attendance.

PRESS OPINIONS

THE APPROACHING DOOM OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

London Speaker, Dec. 8.—Regardless of their doom, the little victims in the House of Lords are playing with important bills sent up to them by a newly-elected House of Commons. These bills are backed by majorities of from 200 to 300, but a body of hereditary nobles and nominated bishops, relying upon the forms of the constitution, thinks in its simplicity that it can mutilate or even reject bills passed by the representatives of the people without bringing about its own destruction. Mrs.

Partington with her broom is the only figure at all adequate to illustrate such an illusion.

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THE STATES' RIGHTS QUESTION.

The Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Dec. 22.—It is significant that the men that are making public declaration of their devotion to States' rights are the very men that have looked with approving eye upon the work of stripping the States of their power. When the Federal judiciary interpreted the Fourteenth amendment to the Constitution to prohibit the States from "confiscating" corporate property and thus opened the way for appeal to the Federal judiciary on all sorts of local questions, "the interests" were exceedingly happy. The States were reduced to helplessness and the Federal power was in their keeping. Now, however, that the people are looking to the Federal government to take action to curb monopoly and correct corporate abuses, "the interests" are seized with a profound and abiding regard for the rights of the States.

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THE FUEL FAMINE.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), December 18.—The fuel famine in the Northwest, which for the last twenty years has been a chronic complaint with the appearance of the winter, does not reflect creditably upon the elaimed superiority of private management over public ownership. There is a shortage of coal because the railways have lacked the equipment to handle the traffic. The same complaint is made by shippers in all the industries. The railroads do not have the cars and the locomotives and the track facilities to handle properly the country's commerce. And this condition of affairs has existed for years. The railway managers have gone on the assumption that a check would come to industrial activity and that by bringing their equipment up to meet the demands they would find themselves with idle locomotives and cars when the slump should come. But there has been no slump. Instead the volume of traffic has increased by leaps and bounds, with the railway managers at their wits' ends to handle it and with exasperating delays to shippers. The fuel famine in the Northwest may prove the straw to break the camel's back. It is high time for the private owners of the railways to perform the service to the public that they are obligated to perform or else step aside and permit the public to perform the service itself.

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AN ENGLISH VIEW OF THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

London Speaker, Dec. 8.—A chapter in the President's message deals with "The Ethics of War and Peace," and will earn the gratitude of Jingoers in both hemispheres. "Peace," we are told, "is normally a great good, and normally it coincides with righteousness; but it is righteousness and not peace which should bind the conscience of a nation as it should bind the conscience of an individual; and neither a nation nor an individual can surrender conscience to another's keeping." Mr. Roosevelt deludes himself with words. Every nation which goes to war claims that right is on its side—when the United States and Spain recently struggled for mastery, neither government showed the least doubt on the matter, and the consciences of Russian and Japanese ministers were equally clear. Individual consciences tend to differ on many matters and the submission of individual differences to an impartial tribunal is one of the necessities of a civilized community. For President Roosevelt, however, "the chance for the settlement of disputes peacefully, by arbitration, now depends mainly upon the possession by the nations that mean to do right of sufficient armed strength to make their purpose effective"! What

the nations that mean to do wrong will be about Mr. Roosevelt leaves unexplained. Let us apply his principles to the case of Japan, whose subjects are just now being unjustly treated in California. The President rightly condemns that treatment, and pleads for such an amendment of the Constitution as will enable the Federal Government to enforce the observation of treaties by recalcitrant States. We have no hesitation in predicting that, however much the anti-Japanese agitation in California may be condemned by other States, no such power will be given the Federal Government. What, then, should Japan do? Right, according to the President, is on her side. "A just war," says Mr. Roosevelt, "is in the long run far better for a nation's soul than the most prosperous peace obtained by acquiescence in wrong or injustice." On these lines Japan would be entitled, nay bound, failing the constitutional coercion of California by the Federal Government, in beginning a sanguinary struggle with the United States that would dislocate commerce and industry and paralyze civilization, her reward being the advantage of her national soul. It is a curious doctrine, but hardly to be described as ethical.

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"THE POWER OF THE PRESS."

Chicago Daily Socialist (Soc.), Dec. 13.—The facts which we are printing on the school question are known in every newspaper office in Chicago. Every newspaper in Chicago knows that the school fund has been looted, school property wasted and stolen, and the schools demoralized that capitalistic greed may be fed. Not one of the editors of these papers would deny these facts in private conversation. Yet there is not a single one of them that dares slip a word on the subject. It is not alone the Tribune, Record-Herald, Post, News and Chronicle that have joined the howling pack at the heels of the Teachers' Federation. Hearst's Chicago American is as silent as the rest. Once or twice it dared to feebly protest. Then the Merchants' Club took up the fight. These men are the heaviest advertisers in Chicago. Hearst closed up like a clam. He has not whispered since. He dare not. Yet this is just the sort of a story that he would like to exploit. The teachers are not Socialists. Not one of the members of the Board of Education is a member of the Socialist party, or votes the Socialist ticket so far as we know. Most of them are supporters of Hearst's policies. Yet Hearst has nothing to say. His muzzle is clamped down tight. It will stay clamped down as long as the State street stores have the key. This paper, on the other hand, is bitterly opposed to the political beliefs and tactics of the members of the school board and the officers of the Teachers' Federation. It has nothing to gain by supporting them. But at this moment, whatever their political beliefs, they are fighting the battles of the workers and of the school children of Chicago. They are fighting for the right of labor to organize in its own defense. They are battling against the capitalist mob that has so long controlled and exploited the schools of Chicago. When they took up this fight they loosed against themselves all the fiends of the capitalistic hell. Consciously or unconsciously they had stumbled upon the class struggle. They are on the workers' side in that struggle. Therefore every newspaper in Chicago save this one is closed to them. Therefore they are insulted when they appear as invited guests of the gentlemen of the Merchants' Club. Therefore they find themselves gagged in the churches of which they are members, while made-to-order resolutions are hurled at them from the pulpit. Therefore this paper is with them, and will be so long as they fight on the workers' side of the great class struggle.

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Eat at your table as you would eat at the table of the King.—Confucius.

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. 20.

Senate.

No decisive business of general interest was done on the 17th; but on the 18th the bill to investigate the industrial, social, moral, educational and physical condition of woman and child workers in the United States was passed (p. 513). Nothing of general interest was accomplished on the 19th. Mr. Foraker spoke on the 20th (p. 587) on the subject of the dismissal of the three companies of Negro troops from the army. On the same day the Senate adjourned to the 3d.

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House.

The House was in committee of the whole on the 17th on the Indian appropriation bill (p. 481); also on the 18th (p. 532). Nothing of general interest was accomplished on the 19th, and on the 20th (p. 623) adjournment was taken until the 3d.

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Record Notes.

President's message on the public land laws (p. 462).
President's message on Panama Canal (p. 464).

**RELATED THINGS
CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT**

INDEED A KING.

For The Public.

The toiler is a king; he earns
The right to live, to toil and rest;
His is the strong, brown hand that turns
The wheel of progress to the West.

No man his tyrant, he may stand
Erect, and neither bow the knee
Nor play the sycophant; his hand
And brain and skill have made him free.

The master of a trade, he owes
No man a living, and the sting
Of charity he never knows—
The toiler is indeed a king!

HENRY COYLE.

+ + +

OYSTER BEDS AS NATURAL RESOURCES.

From the Philadelphia Record of Nov. 18, 1906.

A dim and confused perception of a natural principle has made most of Maryland oystermen indiscriminate enemies of almost any legislation intended to protect the oyster from destruction.

The lands of Maryland are owned; but the waters, with their immense richness in fish, oysters, crabs and other edible marine life, are free. Any able-bodied man, with even a leaky skiff at his command, can earn a living most of the year out of the Chesapeake and its tributaries, and that without asking

leave of any man, once he has paid the trifling license fee exacted of the small oysterman. Plainly enough, then, no able-bodied man of reasonable energy will hire himself to a farmer for much less than he can earn upon the free waters of the Chesapeake. Farms are often neglected because labor cannot be had to work the crops. The capitalists who own and operate oyster boats have to import some of the worst and most shiftless residents of city slums, because thousands of local laborers, black and white, are self-employing oystermen.

It is natural and proper that these self-employing oystermen should watch with suspicion all legislation for the protection of the oyster, lest it result in their being driven from the natural oyster beds and made the hired men of farmers ashore, or of those who own land under water and private oyster beds.

The new law, which was drawn with the view to enabling as large a number of persons as possible to avail themselves of riparian rights, is condemned by many of the self-employing oystermen, and the operation of it is being keenly watched.

Some such protective legislation is needed if the oyster industry is to be preserved, but if the effect shall be to drive many of the smaller oyster men out of employment there will be a strong movement for its repeal or amendment.

* * *

RUSSIA'S LAND PROBLEM.

From an Editorial in the London Tribune of December 6, 1906.

More interesting than the dismal chronicles of repression and scandal are the measures which M. Stolypin is taking to transform the Russian land system.* Good or bad, they are certainly revolutionary, and Liberals of all shades are bound to protest against them, as the moderate "Party of Pacific Regeneration" did, because they are an autocratic exercise of legislative powers which ought to belong to the Douma. But, quite apart from the party politics of Russia, they have for all the world an immense sociological interest. They seem to destroy, or at least to doom, the oldest system of land tenure in Europe, that communal ownership which historians still study as the type and survival of an arrangement which once flourished in one form or another among so many primitive agricultural peoples.

In the Russian Mir the land is the common property of all the families of the village, who also pay their taxes in common, and claim by virtue of this obligation a patriarchal power over the movements of every member of the community. The fields are redistributed periodically, but while each family cultivates its own lot, it may neither be alienated nor transferred, and returns at the end of a term of years to the common stock. The advantages of the plan are obvious. The inequalities of soil and situation are shared fairly; no family can become landless and desperate; even a peasant who, with the consent of his village, has gone to work in a town, knows that his wife and his heirs retain their right, and remain members of a brotherhood which will respect it. The disadvantages are equally obvious. Since there is no fixity of tenure, the peas-

ant is tempted to do as little as possible for the soil, and to take the utmost out of it. The method of tillage has remained wasteful and primitive, and the Mir system undoubtedly plays a part second only to that of bad government in explaining the listlessness of the peasantry and the poverty of rural Russia.

It is easy to guess the political reasons which have induced M. Stolypin to attack the Mir system by allowing peasants to detach themselves from it and to claim their present lot or its equivalent as their permanent private property. He is afraid of socialism, and the Mir is a species of primitive communism. He is also fighting Liberalism, and hopes no doubt to create a class of peasant farmers who may become a conservative element. The liberated peasant, left alone with his inadequate plot of land to face the tax collector and the money lender, may sell out, and drift into the class of the landless and voteless laborers. He is thereby eliminated from politics. But the land remains, and must pass into the hands of someone, whose interest may perhaps lie in maintaining the status quo.

But is there no alternative to individual peasant ownership, with its danger of alienation, and this communal system with its wasteful tillage? The "Temps" tells the Russian Liberals that they ought to remember that the prosperity of France is founded on peasant proprietorship. It forgets that this replaced a bad system of dual ownership, and that the French peasants acquired not merely the poor land they had cultivated before the Revolution, but the rich land of which the church and the emigrant nobility were despoiled. There was no tradition of communal ownership in France, on which an even better scheme could have been grafted.

We, for our part, regret that Michael Davitt's views were not followed in Ireland; we rejoice no less that in its Scottish Land Bill our own government, while giving the crofters security of tenure on their allotments, has reserved the ownership of the land to the public. This method gives to the tiller the security which alone can develop private resource and energy. It also preserves the nation from the monopolist, prevents the growth by purchase of vast estates, and secures the land as a means of livelihood to the largest number of independent families. The Mir system could easily have been modified in this sense, and so evolved as to develop the habit of co-operation.

Let us hope that when at length, a free Douma meets it will have the power to save the precious tradition of common ownership and mutual aid, which made the Mir system one of the most hopeful germs for the creation of a free rural community.

* * *

THE CREATOR OF WEALTH.

An Editorial from the Pittsburg Evening Leader of Dec. 15, 1906.

Andrew Carnegie clearly recognizes and points out the inequities of our present system of taxation, to which is due the accumulation of fortunes swollen to danger point and a distribution of wealth that has caused both political and commercial corruption in the life of the nation. But the remedy he pro-

*See The Public of December 1, page 824.

poses would give only partial relief. It would not cure the evil.

He advocates a graduated inheritance tax that would be confiscatory after a fixed limit of wealth had been passed. He would not levy a tax on incomes, which, he says, would make this a "nation of liars." He would not "disturb the bee while it was making honey," but when the "bee" has passed from earth then he would have the State step in and take the biggest share of the "honey," when there was more than was needed for the good and comfort of the little "bees."

In proposing this tax Mr. Carnegie justifies it on the ground that the real creator of the wealth is the community, and in confiscating part of it the community would be merely taking its own. He shows how the community creates the wealth, by proving that the ownership of land, well or fortunately located, will bring wealth.

To illustrate his point he takes the suppositious case of two brothers, one of whom got a farm that was located on Manhattan island from his father and the other got a farm beyond the Harlem river. The owner of the Manhattan island farm was made immensely wealthy without an effort on his part. His wealth was created by the growth of the community known as New York City near and around his farm. The trans-Harlem unfortunate remained a common farmer.

Now would Mr. Carnegie contend that the owner of the Manhattan farm was a "bee" who should not be disturbed while "making the honey"? Rather would he not be a drone in the hive taking the honey made by others?

Of course he would be and why should the working bees of the hive have any hesitancy about "disturbing" him? Why should the community wait until the Manhattan landowner died before taking the wealth that it created?

Since the wealth belonged to the people living when he was living they were entitled to the use and enjoyment of it during their lives and at the same time he was using and enjoying his fair share of it. There is no reason why they should wait until he died before taking possession of their own.

Other illustrations used by Mr. Carnegie to prove that the community creates the wealth of the individual show the relation between the community and the miner and manufacturer. The miner makes his money out of the minerals he finds in the land for which minerals a demand or market is created by the community. The manufacturer makes his in practically the same way, except that he turns the minerals the miner sells into useful commodities to meet the demand created by the community.

The miner and the manufacturer are working bees in the hive. So far as they are concerned Mr. Carnegie is right. Do not interfere with them while they are making the honey. Do not take away from them any of the honey they make. It is theirs and in all fairness and justice they should have it.

And to go a bit further than Mr. Carnegie: they should have it for their use and enjoyment not only during their life time, and they should have it all to pass on to their children or whomsoever they please when they die. Not one bit of the honey that

they made should be taken away from them under any pretense.

But they should have no more than they made. They are not entitled to the honey that the other bees in the colony made. They have no right to that in their lifetime and they have much less right to pass it on to their children at their death. It belongs to the colony and the colony should take it when it is made.

But how can the colony or community take this honey? Mr. Carnegie makes plain how it should not be taken in his argument to prove that it should be taken after the death of the "bee."

He proves conclusively that the land is the source of all wealth and that while it may be taken from the land by individuals its value is created by the community. Without the community the land might as well be a desert, for there would be no demand for its direct or indirect products. The community may then be said to be the actual creator of wealth.

With the opportunity that the individual has, or is given by the community through the ownership or exclusive occupancy or possession of land, he may accumulate personal property or wealth in which the community has no right to share. What he makes for himself should be his. What the community makes should be the community's.

The land belongs to the people, and the users of it should pay to the whole people the actual use value of it. Their profits from the use of it would be their own and they could do as they please with it without dodging the tax collector or perjuring themselves when he happened to catch them.

The income tax that Mr. Carnegie condemns would undoubtedly make many men liars and perjurers. But they are liars and perjurers now under the present system of taxation. They dodge the tax collector when they can and swear falsely when they cannot.

The inheritance tax would also be dodged. Instead of disposing of his property by will or under the intestate laws of the State the dodger would make both real and fictitious transfers of his property during his lifetime.

When the tax collector would call around after the panegyric had been delivered and the obseques reverently performed he would find that the deceased died a comparatively poor man; that in the generosity of his heart and in his laudable desire to be his own executor he had in his lifetime put all of his property in the name of his wife and children.

But he could not dodge the land tax. He would have to pay that or the land would pass into the possession of some other man who would pay it.

And he would still have to pay his share of that tax even though he did not own a single foot of land. He could not live without using the land. He could not live without the products of the land. He might not pay anything directly into the common treasury if he owned no land, but he would pay to the man who did own the land, or to the man who supplied him with products of the land, who in his turn would have to pay to the owner of the land. The community would then collect from the land owner.

In that way it would take the wealth as it created it and would have the enjoyment of it when it needed it. That would put an end to the justice of the

few "bees" "hogging" all the "honey," while the many were existing precariously and unpleasantly on New Orleans molasses.

But until the people of this country can be induced to take their own under the reasonable and rational system of land taxation let us have the inheritance tax proposed by Mr. Carnegie. Let us have any tax that will give the slightest relief from the present intolerable system that throws the burden on those least able to bear it and on those who receive the smallest benefits from government.

Every step that is taken toward the dispersion of over-grown fortunes brings us nearer to a fair and equitable distribution of wealth and that is the great problem to be solved.

* * *

POLITICAL PARTIES IN RUSSIA.

From an Interview with Professor Samuel N. Harper, as Published in the Chicago Chronicle of December 9, 1906. Professor Harper Has Recently Returned from Russia.

There are in Russia three general parties—a Reactionary, a Revolutionary and a Reform party. The last two are often confused or viewed as one, though their principles and policies are really radically different.

Revolutionary Parties.

The Revolutionary parties are: The Social Democrats and Social Revolutionists, the Jewish bund and a few smaller parties. They are working for a democratic republic, a socialistic order. They believe that reforms can be secured only through revolution. They are propagating for an armed uprising of the peasants and workmen. They are trying to spread disaffection among the troops.

The Social Revolutionists admit terroristic acts as a temporary weapon of combat, but not as a principle. They are the revolutionists who killed Von Plehve, Sergius and the rest. But they do not recognize petty terrorism such as police murders and holdups for political purposes. The Moscow bank robbery and the attempted assassination of Stolypin were not their work, but that of a small group which had seceded from the party. They denied officially the Stolypin attempt, which had been laid at their door. They are much embarrassed by the uncontrolled development of terroristic acts due to their adopting this weapon for extreme cases.

The Social Democrats do not admit terroristic acts at all. The Social Democrats and Social Revolutionists do not work together harmoniously. They are always burying the hatchet, but the co-operation never lasts very long. The Social Democrats are themselves split up into two distinct factions which expend much of their energy in purely partisan polemics. To summarize the distinction between Social Democrats and Social Revolutionists in a single word, the former are more theoretical, doctrinarian socialists; the latter more practical, social and revolutionary workers. Both are antagonistic to the bourgeois reformers—the Social Democrats particularly.

These actual revolutionary workers are a small but most active minority. Their methods of combat, however, tend to give them a disproportionate prominence and they are rapidly gaining ground among the peasants. The workmen are already with them.

Reactionary Parties.

The Reactionary parties are also not large. The official figures are several times larger than the opposition will admit. The opposition accuses the Government of supporting these reactionary organizations, of aiding them with funds, of allowing them privileges denied to others, such as freedom of meeting, etc. These organizations are held to be responsible for the policy of organized massacre. The official organs of some of these reactionary groups come out quite frankly with most insidious accusations against the Jews and liberal intelligence. They lay all the blame for this reform movement upon the Jews, thereby trying to arouse false sentiments of patriotism among the most ignorant classes.

Unfortunately there have been instances of the clergy preaching in this same tone. The creed of these reactionaries is "Russia for the Russians." They called themselves the "Union of Russian Patriots," the "League of Sincere Russians," etc. They support an autocracy—a firm sovereign authority. They are now urging a change in the electoral law which shall insure against a second Douma of the radical character of the first.

Reform Parties.

The Constitutional Democrats, Professor Milyoukov's party, present the type of the Reform organizations. Their name indicates their program. They hope to bring about reforms by legal measures. The extent of protest to which they will go is indicated in the passive resistance policy they advocated in the Viborg appeal, but admitted that the program of passive resistance, especially the refusal to give recruits, could not be applied at the present moment.

They demand more concessions than the Government has consented to give, especially insisting upon ministerial responsibility. The Cadets, as the Constitutional Democrats are called for the sake of brevity, are accused of not drawing a sufficiently clear line of distinction between themselves and the revolutionists. Perhaps during the Douma session they gave way too much to the influence and pressure exerted by the radical groups. Their excuse, however, was the necessity of maintaining the support and co-operation of radicals in order to control and direct them. As I shall try to explain later, it is this care to win over the support of the people that dictates in a large degree the policy of all these three tendencies.

The other Reform parties are the Octobrists and the Party of Peaceful Regeneration. The latter was organized out of the former by Count Heyden assuming a more definite and radical liberal tone. The Peaceful Regenerationists refused to participate in Stolypin's ministry.

The Octobrists, so called because they have taken the manifesto of October, 1905, the manifesto which was the promise of a constitutional form of government, as their policy, are the only reform party

which is supporting the government at the present time. They are under the leadership of M. Guchkov.

All Parties Face the Agrarian Problem.

As I said before, all these parties are working for the support of the people—that is, the workmen and the peasants. The peasants are 90 per cent. of the population. This without commentary explains why the dominating factor in this whole crisis is the agrarian problem. It is an economic and social as much as a political crisis. The peasants are in a pitiable condition; there is an insufficient amount of land in their actual possession; the standard of cultivation is very low; the price of land to be bought or rented is very high. The peasants' poverty reflects on industry because there is no home market. The peasants were still subjected to class instructions and administrative tutelage until a few weeks ago, when a ukase gave them equal rights.

The Revolutionist and Socialist demand for the peasants the forcible expropriation without recompense of state, church and even private lands. The watchword of the Revolutionist propagandists is "land and liberty." The Social Revolutionists demand the abolition of all private property—the forming of a national fund of land to be leased to all who wish to till it, with the establishing of an elementary form of land tenure.

The Constitutional Democrats demand also expropriation of crown lands and forcible expropriation of private lands with just compensation. It is this clause in their program which is the most radical—more radical than many of its members like. It was inserted in order to get the support of the peasants.

Even the Octobrists admit the necessity of expropriation. But five months ago the Government in the declaration to the Douma said emphatically that no expropriation could be permitted. This was the beginning of the conflict between the Government and the Douma which led eventually to the latter's dissolution. The immediate cause of the dissolution of the Douma was the passage of a resolution interpreted by the Government as an appeal to the people, in which the Douma stated that it had decided upon a certain amount of forcible expropriation, and asked the peasants to wait peaceably and quietly until the Douma could formulate its definite agrarian bill. This resolution was put through by the Constitutional Democrats alone. The radicals abstained from voting. They could not accept the two expressions, "expropriation with just compensation" and "wait peaceably."

Since the dissolution of the Douma the government has transferred large tracts of appanage and crown land to the Peasants' bank, to be offered for sale to the peasants. This would seem to be an absolute change of policy, for these sales imply an admission of the principle of expropriation. The Liberals and Revolutionists say quite frankly that the Government could have stopped the present political movement by solving the agrarian problem two years ago. The steps taken now are considered insufficient. The agitation has increased the demands and hope of the peasants. The competition for land has raised the price enormously. The Peasant banks have been mere speculative institu-

tions, and have contributed largely to the abnormal raising of prices.

The Government Attitude Toward the Different Parties.

What, now is the position of Stolypin among and toward these three tendencies—Revolutionary, Reform and Reactionary?

In the first place, he has sent instructions to all government employes forbidding them to belong to any of the Revolutionary parties, or parties which by their acts (the signing of the Viborg appeal, for instance) are working against the Government. This includes the Constitutional Democrats. Stolypin promised to allow all freedom to the expression of public opinion as long as this freedom was not used for revolutionary propaganda. He refused to allow the Constitutional Democrats to hold a congress. They were obliged to hold it in Finland.

On the other hand, Stolypin is combating the Reactionary parties, censuring in several instances a too enthusiastic expression of patriotism. But he has not been firm enough in this course to avoid being charged by the opposition with openly fostering reaction.

Stolypin holds that there must be order before there can be reform. The opposition insists that there can not be order until there is reform.



A DREAM.

For The Public.

"Prepare for rhyme—I'll publish, right or wrong:
Fools are my theme, let satire be my song."—Byron.

Lyceum statesmen flayed the tramps,

Not very long ago;

Since then I've dreamed of other scamps,

A dream you ought to know.

I dreamed one night that it was day,

And I, with line and hook,

Had gone to wile an hour away.

Down by the babbling brook.

While wandering along the banks,

I heard familiar chatter:

"Is it," said I, "our Lyceum cranks,

Or just the babbling water?"

"Oh, no! The water makes no stir,

So dried up is the stream,

But mulletheads are talking, sir,

And 'floaters' are their theme—"

So spake a turtle, and 'twas so;

Then slipping from the stone,

He dove into the pool below

And left me there alone.

Then gazing in the pool I saw

What I shall ne'er forget—

A lean fish laying down the law;

I see him at it yet.

He stood upright on forked tail;

All confident was he

That homeless fish belonged in jail,

Or else in Kankakee.

This closed the opening speech, and then

All fish-fins flapped applause;

Then gars and tadpoles urged, like men,

"Enforcement of the laws."

At last a mountain trout thus spake—

No mullethead was he:

"Give floaters river room, or lake,
And honest fish they'll be."

The lean fish made a splatter, just
A sally at the trout:

"A fish that walls for water must
Be some fool water spout.

"The remedy for every ill
To which our kind is heir
Is Joliet, or Bartonville;
Send crooks and lunies there."

This closed the meeting, and I threw
My line into the brook,
And caught the lean fish, and, 'tis true,
Like "standpat" it did look.

ROBERT CUMMING.

* * *

"No," said Burton Holmes, "it doesn't do to get swelled head and think you're indispensable to the welfare of this world.

"I was in the lobby of a big hotel in Cincinnati when a bus load of traveling salesmen came from the station. Every man of them, as he signed the register, paused to shake hands with the hotel clerk, a fatherly old fellow who had been there many years.

"Ah," said one of them to the clerk, 'it's a good thing you're still on deck, Uncle Dave; I don't think the house could run without you.'

"'Couldn't it, just!' said Uncle Dave. 'You fellows would come in here, and if there was a strange clerk, you'd say, 'where's Uncle Dave?'"

"'And the clerk would say, 'Why, didn't you hear? He died a month ago.'"

"'And then you'd say, 'Well, I'll be darned! That's too bad. Say, when'll dinner be ready?'"
—Saxby's.

BOOKS

HUMANITARIAN HUMOR.

Consolations of a Faddist. By Henry S. Salt. Published by A. C. Fifield, 44 Fleet St., London, E. C., 1906.

Mr. Henry S. Salt, the English humanitarian leader, editor of the "Humanitarian" and of the "Humane Review," differs from the vast majority of his kind in possessing an admirable sense of humor. The unvarying seriousness of most opponents of barbarous survivals in our manners and customs has made them the easy butt of conventional humorists, and it is especially refreshing to see their own weapons turned against these latter themselves. The fact is that it is not the awakened man, trying honestly to apply his reason to the problem of the day, who is "funny," but rather his smug self-satisfied critic who undertakes to argue on behalf of his inherited lower instincts, and whose traditional arguments have long since lost every vestige of common sense. Mr. Salt has just collected in a little six-penny paper-covered volume his occasional verses directed against the various scoffers at humanitarianism, and they are, all of them, without exception, excellent examples of wit and literary

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skill. His elegy to the "Deer Departed" on the abolition of the royal tame-stag hunt is rich:

I could not love thee, Deer, so much,
Loved I not Hunting more.

So is the "Epitaph on Laissez-Faire:"

Nor gold, nor pelf, nor tears, nor prayer
Could save the loveless Laissez-Faire;
But here (the text is all her own)
She lies, severely let alone.

"A Supper-Room Reflection" is short and to the point:

Ah, gross is the casting of pearls before swine
When the carnal in nature contemns the divine!
But grosser the casting of swine before pearls,
As in handing ham-sandwich to beautiful girls!

His poem on "Efficiency" ably turns the power of Kiplingian versification back upon itself, and its last line—as a picture of the beau-ideal of the worshipper at their shrine,—

A breed of efficient devils in an efficacious hell—
takes hold of the memory with a firm grip. Mr. Salt ought to be much better known in America, for he is one of the most significant men in England today—and "efficient" in the best sense of the word. His office is a clearing-house for all the humane movements of London—of all, that is, that deserve the name; and his books—short, terse and brilliant—exhibit at once his enthusiasm and his scholarship. His little volumes on Shelley, on Jefferies, on Thoreau and on De Quincy are stimulating in the extreme, and of lasting value as criticism. I do not know why they are not published in America. Read one of them, and you will not rest content until you have read the rest.

ERNEST CROSBY.

* * *

THE PRINCIPLE OF TRUE DEMOCRACY.

The Genesis of the Social Conscience. By H. S. Nash, Professor in the Episcopal Theological School of Cambridge. New York and London: Macmillan & Company.

If a classic, as Professor Norton defines it, "is contemporary with all time," then this not very recent, but exceedingly interesting and exhaustive study of the relations between the establishment of Christianity and the social question may be regarded by the student as a permanent addition to the volumes of research along kindred lines.

It is not on the external events of history that Professor Nash rests his argument. He affirms with Coulanges, "History does not study material facts and institutions alone; its true object of study is the human soul." With him the social problem, when run to the earth, reads: "Is it possible to individualize the downmost man, to make him really count as one?"

"The desire and need of our time," he says, "is not less individuality, but an individuality that is more vital and deep because more free from the tyranny of fate in the form of inherited standards."

* * * * * If the democratic view of things is not lost in the woods, the individualization of the men who are the mudsills of society is a necessity. It is the goal of universal history, unless history is to end with a march into the desert."

But, as Professor Nash sees it, this necessity has sprung out of the establishment of Christianity with

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its clear definition of the "soul." And by "soul" he does not limit the view to the theological standpoint of a thing to be saved for some inconceivable state of future bliss; but the soul is the elemental man, the individual whose rights are to be asserted and recognized in the free social institutions of time that have their root in the deep, eternal verities of being. He traces the development of this idea through all the philosophies of which he has made an unprejudiced study until he comes to Kant, with whom he agrees "that no unitary view is possible, save on the basis of an ethic that levels all aristocratic differences, and makes the individualization of the common man the goal of history. There is no ultimate ethic, save the ethic of democracy: Kant and Rousseau, taken together, seen in their radical difference of personality and method, and at the same time in their unity of interest, conspire to show that the social question is henceforward a part of the very tissue of all idealistic thinking. The mind and the conscience, the whole treasure of modernity is at stake in it."

While it is impossible in a brief space to give more than a glimpse at the trend of argument which Professor Nash pursues through 300 odd pages, the transcription of a few of the striking aphorisms scattered through these pages will serve to indicate, in some measure, the spirit and purpose of a book which can not fail to interest all real lovers of genuine democracy.

As the root of the social problem is the right of the individual to a free and full unfoldment of his powers, Professor Nash, in the elucidation of his philosophy, makes frequent and reverent allusion to the individual as "historically inseparable from the conception of God." Thus he follows to its ultimate conclusion the idea that "the individual cannot live unto-himself; and that not the bare individual but the social individual is the necessary unit of feeling. It teaches him that he can only live by a deepening sense of the whole."

The end of the religious movement of humanity is to find a ground for the principle of individuality that shall be as deep as the bottom of all being. On the other hand, the end of the social movement of humanity is to extend the area of the common good—that is, individuality—until the right to be individual, and the opportunities for being individual shall lie at the door of the lowest human life.

Therefore, as Prof. Nash reasons, the tribal organization must be outgrown, and though he draws no analogy between the Tribe and our modern Capitalistic Rule the likeness is somewhat startling.

Neither was there any individual, as such, inside the Tribe. The old people, and the sickly had no rights. Infants brought into the world had no value of their own; they must be formally recognized by the head of the tribal family before they had a valid claim upon existence. The individual is merely part of a lump of humanity . . . The primitive man belonged to an undying corporation and did not breathe outside of it.

But, "the to-be must become at least as sacred as the has-been;" and as "the principle of individuality once established draws after it the principle of Progress," we have infinite hope of the future. The door indeed opens wide into Plato's saying, "God is the measure of all things."

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History cannot remain a moral process unless the downmost man become individual. But this result cannot be reached, cannot even be looked forward to unless there is a regnant trust in the superiority of the future over the present, a dominating conviction that the possible underlies and overlaps the actual.

Democracy and the social question must always go together.

The ground of Democracy is optimism touching the masses; and the things that are believed to be possible in the case of the average man must bulk very large if the democratic ideal is to get and keep a foothold in history.

What we call the historical spirit is simply the spirit of self-reliant and reverent individuality.

History is never written until the individual has found himself. In India it has not been written at all, because the individual as soon as he found himself forsook the earth; that is to say, gave up the one sure foothold for the principle of individuality and took wing into mysticism. History was written by the prophets of Israel because they believed that one man with God makes a majority.

The right and duty to be individual is the ideal element within our social unrest.

We might continue making extracts from the strong statements concerning the inherent rights of the individual in church and state; but this would not give a comprehensive idea of the author's fine course of reasoning, which draws on the rich resources of the past for promise and proof that "the modern free state exists in order that the area of highest privilege may be as broad as humanity, in order that all men may live nobly. Any other bottom for political theory is a false bottom."

The earth is to be the battle ground of the new ideal. . . . The social question could not be asked in the days of the Fathers for then every vital question was straightway appealed to the other world. But now it must be asked. There is to be a new crusade. The holy land to be redeemed is under the feet of the peasant and day laborer. Conscience must enter politics and conquer the earth. Optimism is in the air. The genius of the most dogmatic of all religions, the most hopeful of all religions speaks through the mouths of radicals and revolutionists.

Then who shall presume to hush them?

A. L. M.

* * *

A SPANISH "HISTORY OF MY DICTATORSHIP."

Historia de Mi Dictadura. Traducida del Inglés y Editada por el Doctor Bios. Montevideo: "Imp. Latina," calle Uruguay, numero 26. 1906.

It has been asserted that a man may get the single tax and be able to control it, but when the single tax gets the man the characteristic symptom is a constant desire to promote the cause. With this in mind, it is not difficult to diagnose the case of Dr. Felix Vitale, of Montevideo, Uruguay, as being a typical case of infection by the germ Singletaxibus, for the Doctor does things for the cause and does them well. His latest effort is a translation into Spanish of "My Dictatorship," a book familiar to most students of the Henry George philosophy. "Mi Dictadura" needs no further comment as to its Henry character than to say that it ranks in excel-

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It is my purpose in this book to show what real democratic government is. People have studied the outside of the body of democracy; they have hardly begun to know what makes its life, or upon what its good health depends.—*From the Preface.*

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I'm a Vested Right and I'm sitting tight,
And the rest can go to ———.

lence with the previous translations of Dr. Vitale.

In putting these economic truths before his fellow-citizens, Dr. Vitale is fulfilling the highest mission of a physician—that of teaching the people how to avoid disease. As a prophylactic measure, surely there is nothing to equal the socialization of economic rent.

There is a national association in this country, the object of which is to prevent the spread of tuberculosis. In their annual convention this year the members agreed, in substance, that this is not a medical, but a social question; that the disease can be eradicated only when the laboring classes are paid wages that will enable them to attain a higher standard of living, and make possible hygienic and sanitary improvements in their environments. This could be truthfully said of almost all diseases, and an intelligent revision of modern books on pathology might properly deduce "monopolization of natural opportunity" as the greatest etiological factor in producing human ailments. It is regrettable that this fact is not more generally recognized by members of the different schools of therapeutics.

C. L. LOGAN.

GERMAN HISTORY.

The German Empire. By Burt Estes Howard, Ph. D. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York and London. Price \$2.00.

The German Empire, like the American Republic is composed of individual States; but unlike the States of the American Republic, the German States have wholly surrendered their sovereignty to the empire they have constituted. Although the States are still free to govern themselves in many important respects, the German Empire may enlarge its powers in its own discretion. Yet the Empire is not a monarchy. Its sovereignty rests not with the emperor, but with the totality of the allied governments, the king of Prussia being the only agent of those governments in their imperial character. This is the essential constitutional principle of the German government, which has existed since 1806, and to the development of that principle Dr. Howard's book is devoted. Without much interest as a popular history, to which, however, it makes no pretension, the book is a most valuable outline for the student of German affairs. Indeed, its usefulness

not confined to the student. The ordinary reader of current events will find it helpful in making German affairs intelligible.

PERIODICALS

"The Love-Theme in Fiction," by Charles Leonard Moore, in *The Dial* of December 16 (Fine Arts Building, Chicago), is a blithe essay. But was there "fiction" in Homeric and Arthurian days? That word seems somewhat over-conscientious for even our own little unconvincing, half-told tales, which we wouldn't read were it not that there's a little truth in them. The elemental love stories are certainly everlastingly true, and all very first chapters bear out Mr. Moore's own clever statement of the love-theme:

All that man really wants of his own accord is to gnaw at a great shin of beef, knock some other man's brains out with the bone, and then plunge into meditation on the What and Why and Where of the universe. But his sweet tormentor appears, and he has to clean and dress himself and cultivate the courtesies of life, and turn his talents to practical account in order to furnish her with barbaric wealth of gold and gems.

A. T. P.

✱

The second (January, 1907) number of *The Times Magazine* is even more notable and interesting than the first number. This new magazine is already in the very front rank of American popular monthlies. The illustrated editorial review of the *Times* and the *Manners* by Franklin H. Giddings, deals with the latest events in the warfare of democracy against plutocracy, and a variety of topics now uppermost in the public mind. Prof. Giddings also contributes the second instalment of his "Natural History of American Morals," touching upon the spread of emotionalism. An article of remarkable interest to all the people of Chicago is "Margaret Haley, Rebel," by William Hard, of which the first part appears in this number. This is the inside history of the successful fight made by Miss Haley and her associates against corporation tax-dodgers and for fair treatment for the school teachers of Chicago. It is a stirring and instructive story, and is to be continued in the February number. Prof. Hugo Munsterberg contributes a very able article entitled "Untrue Confessions," explaining the development of abnormal states of mind, with especial reference to the case of Richard Ivens. There is the second instalment of Basil King's novel, "The Giant's Strength;" and there are short stories by Cyrus Townsend Brady, Alfred Henry Lewis, and others. Jean Jaurès writes of "Political Socialism in France;" Grant Wallace of "Cuba and its Problems;" Walter Littlefield of "How the Panama Canal Will be Dug;" and Charles Klein discusses "The Ethical Idea in Playwriting." The interesting case of District Attorney Jerome of New York, and why he has not yet secured the conviction of any of the great insurance thieves, is discussed by John D. Barry, very leniently toward Jerome. In this January number also appears the first instalment of Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman's story, "A Woman's Utopia," which reveals in a charming narrative our country

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