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EDITORIAL

Government Telegraphs.

In the midst of all this muddle which Mr. Roosevelt has been making regarding the regulation of railroad rates in restraint of railroad monopoly—something like trying to restrain a locomotive with cotton twine—it is refreshing to hear a voice, a Republican voice, raised in Congress in favor of public ownership. The specific demand in this instance, made by Congressman S. W. Smith of Michigan, is for public ownership of the telegraph; but the principle would be the same in application to railroads, and it is only

through public ownership of railroads that railroad monopoly can be destroyed.

* *

Congressman Pumphrey's Diary.

It would be difficult to name a political satire upon any period of American history so incisive as John T. McCutcheon's "Diary of Congressman Pumphrey," just completed in the Chicago Tribune. The whole story of insidious corruption is skillfully told in a few brief sentences illustrated with cartoons that seem almost photographic. There is neither misrepresentation nor exaggeration; only the simple story of an unsophisticated Congressman, a type, who becomes a prey to the rich Senator Octopus, another type. Yet the whole mechanism of high grade grafting is revealed, and the respectable causes of crooked legislation are explained.

* *

Birds of a Different Feather.

It is no more true that birds of a feather flock together than that birds not of a feather "flock apart", and there is good sense in the idea of loving a man for the enemies he has made. An application is suggested by the Standard Oil investigation in Cleveland. The man who is dragging out into public view some of the concealed rascalities of the Standard Oil ring is a Republican, Mr. Monnett, who has been in sympathy with Mayor Johnson's long fight against the same general set of conspirators, while the man who is trying to protect these conspirators, Virgil P. Kline, is a Democrat who has done all he could to thwart Johnson in the public spirited policy he has been pursuing. Although Johnson and Kline are both Democrats, they are evidently not of the same feather. The fact that Kline is Johnson's enemy in the political party to which both are attached, is pretty good evidence that Johnson is worthy of confidence for at least one of the enemies he has made.

* *

For Opinion's Sake.

It is strange that so many good people should be so solicitous of God's truth as to fear it may not be able to take care of itself in this wicked world. The Rev. Dr. Knox, of Union Theological seminary, vividly portrayed this solicitude when in a recent speech in New York he said that upon his coming to the head of that institution he re-

ceived many letters, not one of which told him to "find the truth and proclaim it," but all warned him "not to do something awful." The fact about it is that the truth is in no danger, whatever men may think or say or do about it. What is in danger is men, not truth. But men are in far less danger from hunting truth than from hugging error.

* *

The Evil of the Tariff.

There is force in the criticism which Edward J. Shriver, a free trader, makes of one of the objections raised by the tariff reform committee of the Reform Club of New York, that it goes only to the point that the tariff increases cost to consumers. As Mr. Shriver says, this argument does not offer the slightest answer to the argument of the protectionists that the tariff fosters production; and it is herein no doubt that the strength of the protection position lies with reference to workingmen and manufacturers. Those classes feel that if production is fostered business will flourish and employment be abundant, and consequently that profits will be rich and wages high. They think little or nothing at all, therefore, of the higher prices of goods. To meet the argument that has appealed to them it is necessary to show, what the truth is, that the tariff does not foster production. It fosters some kinds of production, but that can be only at the expense of other kinds; and as for competitive profits and workingmen's wages, these are determined not by the special profits of special industries but by the profits and wages of business as a whole. Nevertheless, such startling facts as that stated by the Reform Club (p. 169) that the tariff compels consumers to pay in enhanced prices \$1,500,000,000 a year more than goes into our public treasury, are important to awaken public thought. It is one of the things, moreover, which go to show the bad character essentially of the tariff system.

* *

The Chicago Traction Settlement.

The adjustment by the Chicago traction company of their affairs to Mayor Dunne's ultimatum (pp. 169, 131) appears to be a painful process, as was to be expected in view of the large volume of water which they must arrange among themselves to squeeze out of their stock. But they are going through the ordeal with few protests and much fortitude. It is feared in many quarters that they may yet play some trick upon the city authorities, and this is a reasonable fear when their shady history is considered. But we incline to believe that if they are playing any crooked

game at all it is a bigger and broader and more far-sighted one than any they have ever before attempted. It would be suicidal for them to try any petty tricks. They would be caught in the act, and this would end all possibility of further negotiations. But they might go on in good faith, rehabilitate the system, give first-class service under revocable license, and in every other way comply with Mayor Dunne's ultimatum; and then, under cover of the popular recognition of their unwonted fair dealing, secure a bit of vicious legislation here and there, at Springfield or in the City Council or both, which would enable them to litigate the revocation of their operating licenses. Something not unlike this has occurred in Boston, and it is possible that the experience in Boston may have suggested a plan of procedure for Chicago. But even that game can easily be thwarted by reasonable vigilance. Meanwhile it would be wise policy on the part of the city to see to it that no authority to trolleyize or to secure any other hold upon the streets than they now have, be granted to the companies until they have put in binding form the agreement their representatives have verbally made (p. 181) to negotiate details of adjustment upon the Mayor's ultimatum.

* *

Business Grafters.

The continued exposure of business graft is appalling. During the past few years a carnival of corruption seems to have reigned in business circles and to have been condoned by business men. The life insurance companies have been proved to have been rotten through and through. The Standard Oil Company, always under suspicion, is getting into the pillory. Now comes the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, an old and hardened offender; all along the line of officials it is proving to be a mass of internal corruption. And then there are the Chicago packers who are poisoning the whole country with foul food. When Upton Sinclair's "Jungle" made this exposure, President Roosevelt ordered an investigation. The circumstances were such as to show his expectation of crushing Sinclair as a proved "muck-raker." But the investigation turned out otherwise and Mr. Roosevelt has suppressed the report for weeks. This he had no right to do, and as the facts are leaking out he is not likely to be able to do it much longer. So amazing have these exposures been that the old "shibboleth" of "business man" is losing its power to charm. Yet there are business men still who imagine that the business man and the business man's clubs and associations con-

tinue to command unquestioning public confidence, and that the bare sign of "business" approval or disapproval is as potent as ever. The underwriters' association of Chicago is an instance. When Mayor Dunne dismissed the fire department chief this week, that body rushed to the dismissed chief's aid, autocratically in the name of "business" demanding his retention. And this although the chief had been dismissed for cooking specifications for the purchase of engines so as to make it impossible for any competitor of the trust to bid. The ramifications of business graft have been so various, and some of them so unexpected, that the peculiar friendliness of the Chicago underwriters to this particular fireman, in spite of the well-founded reasons for his dismissal, is under the circumstances a curious fact. They may be acting in the best of good faith. This may possibly be true of all of them. But something more than the "business" stamp is necessary to inspire confidence in "business" recommendations at this time of business demoralization. Until business men take a bath, not an immunity bath but a morally cleansing bath, they must expect as a class to be under suspicion. It is but fair, however, to say of the business class, that there are not the same evidences of the existence of this wretched corruption in competitive lines of business as in the monopoly lines. It seems to be the concerns having valuable public privileges that generate all this mass of business corruption.

* *

When a Crime Is Not a Crime.

We have all heard of the colored culprit who was "exonerated" upon accusation of crime, because "there was a flaw in the indictment." The gentlemen who gave life insurance money to the Republican national committee have been similarly "exonerated" by the bench of five judges in New York which holds that Mr. Perkins of the New York Life (p. 59) and his associates did not steal this money which they diverted, because they did not intend to steal it. They knew it was not theirs to give, they intended to deprive the true owner of it, they intended to appropriate it to the use of persons not entitled to it in law or morals; yet, as they did not intend to commit the crime of larceny they did not commit that crime. Great is the value of a good conscience. But not always. In that same court about 15 years ago three workingmen, restaurant waiters, were convicted of extortion, which is another grade of stealing and also requires intent. They were a strike committee. The strike had been won, but

as a condition of calling it off they demanded \$1,000 in part payment of the expense it had caused their union. The payment being made with a check they called off the strike and turned the check over to the union. It was all openly done. No one on either side dreamed of it as an illegitimate transaction. The committeemen had no thought of stealing. There was no intent on their part to commit a crime of any kind. But they were sentenced to State prison for three years, and had served three months of their sentence when Gov. Hill pardoned them. And now the same court "exonerates" Mr. Perkins. What is the difference between those two cases? None whatever except that the workingmen took \$1,000 for their union, whereas Perkins took \$48,000 for the Republican committee; that they believed they were diverting no money wrongfully from its rightful owner, whereas he knew he was wrongfully diverting money from its rightful owner; and that they were of the workingmen class, whereas he is of the same class as the judges who "exonerated" him. Yet workingmen are criticized when they complain that there is a harsh law for them and a gentle law for such as Perkins.

* *

Tax Reform in New York.

A commission on tax reform was provided for by the present legislature of New York at the request of Gov. Higgins, who urged some "comprehensive plan to rationalize the tax system." As one of his appointees is Lawson Purdy, there are grounds for believing that an attempt at least will be made by this commission to establish a rational system. Not only is Mr. Purdy in the front rank of taxation lawyers and experts, but he has long been a leader in the movement for local option or home rule in taxation. The strength this movement has gained may be inferred from the following editorial observations of the New York Times on the subject of the present outlook for tax reform in New York. The Times of the 28th says: "It is in every way better there should be but one tax jurisdiction, and that the taxes contributable to the State by any locality should be raised in its own manner, being apportioned and paid to the State by counties or towns in proportion to town or county revenue. If the State requires no revenue in addition to specific taxes—as is the case at present—there would be no apportionment. But when the State again requires revenue it ought to be provided in manner least burdensome and least complicating to local affairs." It is by no means improbable that Gov. Higgins's commission are of the

same way of thinking in this respect as the Times; and it is a very good way of thinking.

* *

Free Alcohol.

For the first time in half a century the United States is to have free alcohol for use in the arts (p. 50). Senator Aldrich, Standard Oil representative in the Senate and Republican chairman of the most important Senate committee, had smothered the bill, for free alcohol would be a serious competitor against the Standard's product. At last, however, he was forced by his committee, which in its turn had been driven by the demands of the agricultural interests, to bring out the bill and submit gracefully to its passage. Meanwhile, the Standard is said to have secured options on all the large alcohol plants, and if the House could have been got to amend the bill so as to limit the production of denatured alcohol to large distilleries the Standard would still have had its monopoly. But as the bill has gone to the President presumably in such condition as to permit manufacturing on small capital, free alcohol is probably assured, and by its economies it will make a phenomenal increase of demand in many directions.

* *

Clarence A. Miller.

One of the leading citizens and lawyers of Los Angeles, Clarence A. Miller, was so useful a representative in California of the single tax idea that his death is a distinct loss to this movement, especially in Los Angeles. He died on the 18th of May. Mr. Miller was a native of Ohio, a brother of Marion M. Miller, who is well known in publishing circles in New York, and also of Prof. Arthur M. Miller of Lexington, Ky. His conversion to Henry George's views was due as much, perhaps, to the leading university reply to George—Gen. Walker's—as to "Progress and Poverty" itself. Having read the latter book, he sought for its refutation in the former; but finding this to rest upon the author's absurd misconception of George's position, Mr. Miller yielded to George's logic and thenceforth was an outspoken advocate of his doctrine.

* *

Memorial Tablets to Garrison and George.

It is an interesting custom which has lately grown up in New York City, that of marking sites especially associated with justly celebrated men; and its adoption for the purpose of perpetuating the memory of the place of death of William Lloyd Garrison and that of Henry George is pe-

culiarly gratifying. For this purpose a memorial tablet committee has been organized, with Joseph H. Choate, lately Ambassador to Great Britain, as chairman, and Bolton Hall, 56 Pine St., as treasurer. The committee has limited single contributions to ten dollars or less. With the fund it proposes to place a tablet commemorating Garrison's death on the house at the southeast corner of 17th street and Fourth avenue, and one commemorating George's, on the Union Square Hotel, about two blocks away. Each tablet is to consist of a bas-relief portrait with an inscription bearing the name and date of death. The association of Garrison's and George's names in this memorial undertaking is in a high degree appropriate.

* *

THOMAS JEFFERSON AND HENRY GEORGE.

Few if asked to name the foremost democrat of history would fail to answer Thomas Jefferson. Among statesmen of all times he is the most philosophic as well as practical champion of human rights. Jefferson, too, while cosmopolitan in view, was thoroughly American in spirit. No man ever lived who understood the American people, their character, needs and aspirations as did he; and they loved, trusted and honored him. To prove, therefore, the democratic orthodoxy and Americanism of any proposition by the argument from authority, it is only necessary to inquire if it harmonizes with the principles of Jefferson.

To this test I intend to bring the proposal of Henry George. The words of Jefferson will be allowed to speak for themselves with few comments. In the citation of his works the Washington edition will be used unless otherwise indicated, and pains will be taken to give the exact volume and page so that there may be no question of correctness. The quotations will be seen to cover every period of Jefferson's life and to be from his writings of every nature.

It is taken for granted that the reader is more or less familiar with the writings of Henry George, and for the sake of brevity no extended citations will be made from them. On the fundamental question of land ownership nowhere do I find his position more succinctly stated than in the preface of "Progress and Poverty," page ix, as follows:

"An investigation of the nature and basis of property shows that there is a fundamental and irreconcilable difference between property in things which are the product of labor and property in land; that the one has a natural basis and sanction, while the

other has none, and that the recognition of exclusive property in land is necessarily a denial of the right of property in the products of labor. Further investigation shows that private property in land always has, and always must, as development proceeds, lead to the enslavement of the laboring class; that land owners can make no just claim to compensation if society choose to resume its right; that so far from private property in land being in accord with the natural perceptions of men, the very reverse is true, and that in the United States we are already beginning to feel the effects of having admitted this erroneous and destructive principle."

I propose to show that each of these propositions is backed by the authority of Thomas Jefferson and that he was also in favor of the policy of relieving labor, commerce and enterprise of taxation as proposed by Henry George.

*

To begin with, it is certain that Mr. George himself believed he was in accord with Jefferson, for throughout his speeches and books he quotes the sage of Monticello in support of his contentions. Not to multiply extracts reference is made to a speech delivered during his canvass when a candidate for mayor of New York city in 1886. It can be found in a book entitled "The George-Hewitt Campaign," at page 79, and is as follows:

"I hold that the people have unalienable rights and that the right to land is one. Mr. Hewitt says this is undemocratic. Mr. Hewitt never got his democracy from Thomas Jefferson."

Taking now the most famous of Jefferson's writings, the Declaration of Independence, as the first from which to quote, we find these words:

"All men are created equal, endowed by their creator with unalienable rights; among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

By clear implication the equal right to the earth is here asserted. Life, liberty and happiness can only be enjoyed on the earth and Jefferson says in his Mississippi River Instructions, works vol. vii, p. 579:

"The right to a thing gives a right to the means without which it could not be used."

In his note to Destutt Tracy's Political Economy to be found in vol. i, p. 574, of his works, Jefferson lays it down that:

"The first principle of association is the guarantee of every one of a free exercise of his industry and the fruits acquired by it."

Here by industry Jefferson means labor, and as it is an established tenet of political economy that in the last analysis labor can only be exerted on land, it follows that if labor is to be free, so must land.

Valid as this reasoning is, however, we are not

left to implication or deduction, for Jefferson definitely asserts the equal right to the earth in one short sentence to be found in a letter to Rev. James Madison, works vol. iii, p. 36, Ford's edition, as follows:

"The earth is given as the common stock for men to labor and live on."

And that exclusive possession carries a privilege in derogation of common rights that must be compensated for he asserts in the same letter as follows:

"If we allow the earth to be appropriated we must take care that other employment be provided for those excluded from the appropriation. If we do not the fundamental right to labor the earth returns."

An emphatic denial of the right of private property in land is made by Jefferson in a letter to Isaac McPherson, works vol. vi, p. 180, where he says:

"While it is a moot question whether the origin of any kind of property is derived from nature at all, it is agreed by those who have seriously considered the subject that no individual has of natural right a separate property in an acre of land. Stable ownership is the gift of social law and is given late in the progress of society."

Jefferson, however, saw the "fundamental and irreconcilable difference between property in things which are the product of labor and property in land" that Mr. George notes in the extract I have quoted. In a letter to Dupont de Nemours, works vol. vi, p. 591, he says:

"A right to property is founded in our natural wants, in the means with which we are endowed to satisfy these wants and the right to what we acquire by those means without violating the similar rights of others. No one has a right to obstruct another exercising his faculties innocently."

In almost the same words Mr. George states the right of property. In Condition of Labor, p. 4, he says:

"Being created individuals, with individual wants, men are individually entitled to the use of their own powers and the enjoyment of the results. To attach to things created by God the same right of private ownership that justly attaches to things produced by labor is to impair and deny the true rights of property."

Writing to the same effect, Jefferson, in his paper on the Batture case, works vol. viii, may also be quoted as showing that his investigations go to prove what Mr. George asserts when he says private property in land is against the first perceptions of men:

"A right of property in movable things is admitted before the establishment of government. A separate property in land not till after that establishment. The right to movables is acknowledged by all the

hordes of Indians surrounding us. Yet by no one of them has a separate property in land been yielded to individuals. He who plants a field keeps possession till he has gathered the produce, after which one has as good a right as another to occupy it. Government must be established and laws provided before lands can be separately appropriated. Till then the property is in the body of the nation to be granted to individuals on conditions to be determined."

Again as indicating Jefferson's view that private property in land is not a natural right, but a civil arrangement, the following from a letter to Madison, works vol. viii, p. 103, is to the point:

"That portion of the earth occupied by an individual ceases to be his when himself ceases to be, and reverts to society. If the society has formed no rules for the appropriation of its lands in severalty it will be taken by the first occupant. If a child, legatee or creditor takes it, it is not by natural right, but by a law of society."

That the land of a country belongs to all the people of a country is asserted by Jefferson in the following from a pamphlet by him entitled "Rights of British America," works vol. i, p. 139:

"From the nature and purpose of civil institutions all the lands within the limits which any particular society has circumscribed around itself are assumed by that society and subject to its allotment."

To the same effect the following may be quoted from his paper on the Batture case, works vol. viii, pp. 539 and 541:

"That the lands within the limits assumed by a nation belong to a nation as a body has probably been the law of every people on earth at some period of their history. It seems to be a principle of universal law that the lands of a country belong to its sovereign as trustee for the nation."

*

Mr. George in discussing the claim of landholders to compensation says in *Progress and Poverty*, p. 363:

"Try the case of the landowners by the maxims of the common law. We are told it is the perfection of reason and certainly the landowners cannot complain of its decision, for it has been built up by and for land owners. Now, what does the law allow to the innocent possessor when the land for which he paid his money is adjudged to rightfully belong to another? Nothing at all. That he purchased in good faith gives him no right or claim whatever; it allows him no claim whatever."

Equally positive is Jefferson on this question. He, too, holds that landowners have no rightful claim to compensation, but that if it is given at all it is a pure gratuity. The quotation is from a letter to James Madison from Paris, France, and is to be found in works, vol. viii, p. 103, as follows:

"This principle is of very extensive application and

consequence in every country. It enters into the resolution of the questions whether the nation may change the descent of lands holden in tail, whether it may change the appropriation of lands given in perpetuity, whether it may abolish the charges and privileges attached on lands, and it goes to perpetual monopolies in commerce, the arts or sciences, with a long train of et ceteras, and it renders the question of reimbursement a question of generosity and not of right. In all these cases the legislature of the day could authorize such appropriations and establishments for their own times, but no longer, and the present holders, even where they or their ancestors have purchased, are in the case of bona fide purchasers of what the seller had no right to convey. This principle would furnish matter for a fine preamble to our first law for appropriating public revenue; and it would exclude at the threshold of our new government the contagious and ruinous errors of this quarter of the globe which have armed despots with means not sanctioned by nature for binding in chain their fellow men."

The right of the people to resume possession of their birthright in the land is asserted by Jefferson in numerous instances and the following may be quoted as samples:

"The creator has made the earth for the living, not the dead; nothing is unchangable but the inherent and unalienable rights of men."—Letter to John Cartwright, works vol. III, p. 359.

"Every generation comes equally by the laws of the creator of the world to the free possession of the earth which he made for their subsistence, unencumbered by their predecessors, who like them were but tenants for life."—Letter to John Taylor, works vol. VI, p. 605.

"This corporeal globe belongs to its present corporeal inhabitants during their generation."—Letter to Samuel Kerchival, works vol. VII, p. 15.

"The laws of society indeed give the property of the parent to his family on his death and in most civilized countries permit him even to give it by testament to whom he pleases. But this does not lessen the right of the majority to repeal whenever a change of circumstances or of will calls for it. Habit alone confounds what is civil practice with natural right."—Letter to Thomas Earle, works vol. VII, p. 310.

In expressing the same thought Mr. George uses nearly the identical language. In *Progress and Poverty*, p. 337, he says:

"If all existing men were to unite to grant away their equal rights, they could not grant away the rights of those who follow them. For what are we but tenants of a day? Have we made the earth that we should determine the rights of those who after us shall tenant it in their turn? The Almighty has entailed it upon all the generations of the children of men by a decree written upon the constitution of all things—a decree which no human action can bar and no prescription can determine. Let the parchments be ever so many, or possession ever so long, natural justice can recognize no right in one man to the possession and enjoyment of land that is not equally the right of all his fellows."

Mr. George saw that "private property in land always has, and always must as development proceeds, lead to the enslavement of the laboring classes," and this inevitable consequence was also perceived by Jefferson. Writing from France to Rev. James Madison, works vol. vii, p. 36, Ford's edition, he says:

"I asked myself what could be the reason that so many should beg who are willing to work in a country where there is a very considerable portion of uncultivated lands? It should seem that it must be because of the enormous wealth of the proprietors which places them above attention to the increase of their revenues by permitting their lands to be labored. Whenever there is in any country uncultivated lands and unemployed poor it is clear that the laws of property have been so far extended as to violate natural right. I am conscious that an equal division of property is impracticable. But the consequences of this enormous inequality producing so much misery to the bulk of mankind legislators cannot invent too many devices for subdividing property. A means of silently lessening the inequality of property is to exempt all from taxation below a certain point and to tax the higher portions of property in geometrical progression as they rise."

Writing to Washington, works vol. ii, p. 62, Jefferson says:

"To know the mass of evil which flows from this fatal source a person must be in France. He must see the finest soil, the finest climate, the most compact state; the most benevolent character of the people and every earthly advantage combined insufficient to prevent this scourge from rendering existence a curse to twenty-four out of twenty-five parts of the inhabitants."

To John Page, works vol. i, p. 549, he writes:

"The laboring people of France are poorer than in England. They pay about one-half their produce in rent; the English in general about a third."

That Jefferson recognized the unearned increment that comes to land with the increase of population is shown in a letter to James Monroe, works vol. i, p. 347, regarding certain lands and reading as follows:

"If sold in lots at a fixed price the best lots will be sold first. As these become occupied it gives a value to the interjacent ones, and raises them though of inferior quality to the price of the first."

+

While Jefferson never fell into the mistaken idea that it is necessary to do everything at once, yet he knew that if liberty was to be halted at mere political equality the hope of real democracy was in vain; for he declares that if nothing else were done "instead of elevating the masses they would be sunk lower, and instead of a diffusion of wealth it would be gathered into more portentous accumulations." In his own day he felt it

only prudent to go to the extent of devising ways to break up large estates. How he sought to accomplish this he tells in a letter to John Adams, works vol. vi, p. 225, as follows:

"At the first session of the Virginia legislature we passed a law abolishing entails and the privilege of primogeniture and dividing the lands of intestates equally among all the children or other representatives. These laws drawn by myself laid the ax at the root of pseudo-aristocracy."

In his autobiography, works vol. i, p. 49, he says the object of these laws was to "prevent the accumulation and perpetuation of wealth and preserve the soil of the country from being daily more and more absorbed in mortmain."

That this mere breaking up of large estates, however, was not the end of Jefferson's ideas as to the land question, there can be no doubt. The country was yet new and land was not held to any extent for speculative advance. So he says in a letter to Rev. James Madison, works vol. vii, p. 36, Ford's edition:

"It is too soon yet in our country to say that every man, who cannot find employment, but who can find land shall be at liberty to use it, paying a moderate rent. But it is not too soon to provide by every possible means, that as few as possible shall be without a little portion of land."

In fact, he explicitly says that he was not satisfied with this as a final disposition of the matter, for in a letter to James Madison, works vol. iii, p. 4, he says: "If we cannot secure all of our rights let us secure what we can. Half a loaf is better than none."

Jefferson, however, looked forward to the day when, as he says, works vol. ii, p. 332: "We get piled upon one another in large cities as in Europe and go to eating one another." He knew that with the development of the country the same social and economic problems that confronted older countries would press here for solution. He knew that what was good in one age and for one set of men and conditions would be bad in and with others. In a letter to Samuel Kerchival, written in 1816, works vol. vii, p. 14, he says:

"Some men look at constitutions with sanctimonious reverence, and deem them like the ark of the covenant, too sacred to be touched. But laws and institutions must go hand in hand with progress. As new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also and keep pace with the times. We might as well require a man to wear still the coat which fitted him when a boy as civilized society to remain ever under the regimen of their ancestors. It is this preposterous idea which has lately deluged Europe in blood. Their rulers instead of wisely yielding to the gradual change of circumstances have clung to old abuses

and obliged the people to seek through blood and violence rash and ruinous innovations. Let us follow no such examples nor weakly believe that one generation is not as capable as another of taking care of itself, and of ordering its own affairs. If this avenue be shut to the call of suffrage it will make itself heard through that of force."

Again he writes to Governor Plumer, works vol. vii, p. 19, as follows:

"The idea that institutions established for the use of the nation cannot be touched or modified even to make them answer their end, because of rights gratuitously supposed in those employed to manage them in trust for the public is absurd against the nation itself. Yet our lawyers and priests generally inculcate this doctrine and suppose in fine that the earth belongs to the dead and not to the living."

At this point, before passing from the ethical side of the question to the practical or fiscal, it may be well to summarize what has been presented. In brief it is this:

I believe it has been shown by the "written word" of Jefferson himself that he is in agreement with Henry George in that there is no natural basis for private property in land, but that it is "a common stock for men to live and labor on"; that it is against the first perceptions of men and rests on civil enactment alone; that when new conditions demand it may be abolished, compensation being a matter of favor and not of right, and, lastly, that private property in land means the "ultimate enslavement of the laborer."

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Along about the middle of the eighteenth century there arose in France a school of thinkers known as the Economists or Physiocrats, Quesnay, Mirabeau, Dupont, Turgot, Condorcet and others. They were virtually one in theory with Henry George, and in his book "Progress and Poverty," under the head of "indorsements," he says, p. 421:

"The French Economists headed by Quesnay and Turgot, proposed just what I have proposed, that all taxation should be abolished save a tax upon the value of land. . . . As I am acquainted with the doctrines of Quesnay and his disciples only at second hand through the medium of English writers, I am unable to say how far his peculiar ideas as to agriculture being the only productive avocation, etc., are erroneous or mere peculiarities of terminology. But of this I am certain from the proposition in which his theory culminated—that he saw the fundamental relation between land and labor which has since been lost sight of, and that he arrived at practical truth, though, it may be, through a course of defectively expressed reasoning. The causes which leave in the hands of the landlord a 'produce net' were by the Physiocrats no better explained than the suction of a pump was explained by the assumption that nature abhors a vacuum, but the fact in its practical relations to social economy was recognized, and the bene-

fit which would result from the perfect freedom given to industry and trade by a substitution of a tax on rent for all the impositions which hamper and distort the application of labor was doubtless as clearly seen by them as it is by me. Without knowing anything of Quesnay or his doctrines I have reached the same practical conclusion."

Now with many of the Economists Jefferson was personally acquainted and corresponded with them. I having already quoted a letter he wrote to Dupont, in which he discussed the foundation of the right of property. That he was almost in perfect agreement with them is indicated in his introduction to Destutt Tracy's book on Political Economy. He says, works vol. vi, p. 570:

"Political economy in modern times assumed the form of a regular science first in the hands of the political sect in France called the Economists. They made it a branch of a comprehensive system on the natural order of societies. Quesnay first, Gournay, La Frosne, Turgot, and Dupont de Nemours, the enlightened, philanthropic and venerable citizen now of the United States, led the way in these developments, and gave to our inquiries the direction they have since observed. Many sound and valuable principles established by them have received the sanction of general approbation. Some, as in the infancy of a science might be expected, have been brought into question and have furnished occasion for much discussion. Their opinions on production and the proper subjects of taxation, have been particularly controverted; and whatever may have been the merit of their principles of taxation, it is not wonderful they have not prevailed; not on the question score of correctness, but because not acceptable to the people, whose will must be the supreme law."

These Economists coined the phrase—*Laissez faire, laissez aller*—"clear the way and let things alone." That is, sweep away all restrictions on labor, industry and commerce. To this doctrine Jefferson subscribed. They were free traders, so was Jefferson, as was George. In his Report on Foreign Commerce and Navigation, works vol. vii, p. 646, Jefferson says:

"Instead of embarrassing commerce under piles of regulating laws, duties and prohibitions, could it be relieved of all its shackles in all parts of the world, could every country be employed in producing that which nature has best fitted it to produce and each be free to exchange with others mutual surpluses for mutual wants the greatest mass possible would be produced of those things which contribute to human life and human happiness; the numbers of mankind would be increased and their condition bettered."

Going further than mere free trade and pleading for entire freedom of all industry, Jefferson says in his first annual message, works vol. viii, p. 13:

"Agriculture, manufactures, commerce and navigation, the four pillars of our prosperity, are the most

thriving when left most free to individual enterprise."

Commenting on the system combatted by the Economists, he says in his Autobiography, works vol. 1, p. 86.

"We should not wonder at the pressure there for a change when we consider the monstrous abuses of power under which the French people were ground to powder, when we pass into review the weight of their taxes and the inequality of their distribution."

So much regarding Jefferson's opinion as to the effect of complicated, crooked and unjust taxes. His own system is outlined in quotations already given and is further stated in his first inaugural message, works vol. viii, p. 9, as follows:

"Sound principles will not justify our taxing the industry of our fellow citizens. That labor may be lightly burdened I deem an essential principle of our government and consequently one which ought to shape its administration. Still one thing more fellow citizens—a wise and frugal government which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned."

The single tax, advocated by Henry George, is a direct tax; and Jefferson always favored direct taxes as opposed to crooked or indirect taxes. We have seen how he was opposed to tariff taxes. He referred to an excise as "most odious," declared a stamp tax "a very disgusting pill," and exulted over the abolition of internal taxes as follows in his second inaugural address, works vol. viii, p. 40:

"The suppression of unnecessary offices; of useless establishments and expenses enabled us to discontinue our internal taxes. These covering our land with officers had already begun the process of vexation which once entered is scarcely to be restrained from reaching successively every article of produce and property."

Jefferson was fully conscious of the folly and sinfulness of trying to tax everything, as was Henry George. In a letter to Samuel Kerchival, works vol. vii, p. 14, he says:

"If we must be taxed in our meat and in our drink, in our necessaries and our comforts, in our labors and our amusements, for our callings and our creeds, our people will have no time to think, no means of calling their mismanagers to account, but be glad to obtain subsistence by hiring ourselves to rivet their chains on the necks of our fellow sufferers."

It was of the direct tax of the monarchist Federalists, that Jefferson wrote when in a letter to Edmund Pendleton, works vol. iv, p. 275, he complained of the "disgusting particularities of

the direct tax." To James Madison he had written, works vol. iv, p. 234:

"The Federalists talk of a land tax. This will probably not be opposed. The only question will be how to modify it. On this may be great diversity of sentiment. One party will want to make it a new source of patronage and expense."

The intention feared by Jefferson is just what happened, as he says in a letter to John Taylor: "The principle of the present majority is excessive expense, money enough to fill their maws." This principle, together with the following purposes of the Federalists' direct tax, constituted the "disgusting particularities": to wit, it was levied to carry on an unnecessary war with France, to create a standing army to menace public liberty, to enforce the odious alien and sedition laws and the arbitrary and "purely vandalish Logan law."

Of what he really thought of a direct land tax laid on just lines and for good purposes, he tells in a letter to Peregrine Fitzhugh, Ford's edition, vol. vii, p. 136, as follows:

"I am suggesting an idea on the subject of taxation which might perhaps facilitate much that business and reconcile all parties. That is to lay a land tax. This would tend, I think, to mollify the hard tone of government which has been asserted. It will be objected to by those who are for consolidation."

Jefferson's view as regards taxation are well set forth in the following in an essay in *Hunt's Magazine*, vol. iv, p. 507, by George W. Tucker, and quoted in vol. i, p. 115, of *Bolles' Financial History of the United States*:

"Those who carry their recollection back to the period immediately proceeding Mr. Jefferson's administration or who are familiar with the history of parties in our country, know that it was a favorite doctrine with the Republican party that direct taxes were preferable to a tax on imports for two reasons. One was that they were more economical inasmuch as the importer being obliged to advance the tax to the government, charged a profit on such advance, as well as on the price of the goods, by which the price to the consumer was proportionately enhanced; and thus more was taken from the pockets of the people than was paid into the treasury. The other reason was purely a political one; it was, that, when taxes were direct, the people would necessarily know what was the extent of their burdens, and when they were increased, whereby they would more closely look into the expenditures of the government, and thus check its tendencies to waste and extravagance which, when taxes were indirect they may indulge with impunity."

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To summarize, it will be seen that Thomas Jefferson and Henry George are practically one in believing that there is no natural basis for private property in land; that when society

pleases, equal right may be restored; and, finally, that a single tax on the value of land appears to be a method by which this equal right may be secured.

The argument from authority is not conclusive as to the truth of any proposition, but it is final in defining a dogma and protecting it from the charge of heresy. Admitting that Jefferson is the highest Democratic authority, it follows that his principles are Democratic dogma; and if the principles of another man agree with Jefferson's, the principles of that other man must also be Democratic dogma. That the principles of Henry George agree with the principles of Thomas Jefferson has here, it is believed, been abundantly established.

ALFRED H. HENDERSON.

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, May 30.

Pennsylvania Railroad Corruption.

A sensational confession of high grade graft was made at the investigation before the Interstate Commerce Commission (p. 148) at Philadelphia on the 23d. William A. Patton, the assistant to President Cassatt of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, was on the witness stand, and very reluctantly after close cross-examination confessed that he owns \$307,000 worth of stock in coal companies, for which he has never paid anything. He had received it for no other apparent reason than for discriminating in favor of these companies and against their competitors in affording transportation facilities.

Other employes of the Pennsylvania railroad testified to similar instances of graft. One of these was Mr. Patton's clerk, K. M. Perviance, who reluctantly confessed to having about \$38,000 worth of coal stocks which had cost him nothing. Still another was Samuel Rea, the third vice-president, who disclosed 1,500 coal company shares and \$87,000 worth of bonds. D. S. Newhall, purchasing agent of the same road, held \$6,000 worth of coal stock. Theodore N. Ely, chief of motive power, had \$7,650 worth of stock. J. K. Johnson, superintendent of the Tyrone division, testified that he was in no way interested in any coal company, although he had frequently been offered stock in coal companies, but had always declined because he thought it improper. An assistant train master of the Tyrone

division admitted that he had been in the habit of receiving \$1 to \$5 tips from coal operators wanting cars, and had taken it, but done nothing for it. Most of the employes shown to hold coal stock for which they had paid nothing, were connected in some way with the distribution of coal cars, and gross discriminations by the Pennsylvania road in car distribution were disclosed. At the same inquiry on the 25th F. Albert von Boyneburgh, general manager of the Reakert Bros. Coal Company, testified to the relations of that company with the Pennsylvania road, and accused President Cassatt of having given orders which resulted in the ruin of coal companies that refused to make presents of stock to officials of the road.

* *

Further Standard Oil Exposures.

At the hearing on the 24th to the 26th before a branch of the Interstate Commerce Commission sitting at Cleveland, further disclosures of lawless operations on the part of the Standard Oil Company (p. 148) were made. It was shown by direct proof that the Pennsylvania and the Lake Shore railroads are in collusion with the Standard Oil Company to ruin independent oil producers and refiners, and the story of the independent pipe line was told in detail. The Standard Oil Company had obstructed the construction of this line at every possible point but without effect until the line reached the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western road near Belvidere, N. J. At this point the matter was thrown into the New Jersey courts, which held that the line must not pass under the railroad. In this case a son of the Chief Justice of New Jersey was employed by the Standard Oil Company as their lawyer. Among the minor methods for destroying competition, the Standard Oil Company was shown to have been accustomed to underselling and otherwise breaking up the trade of retail dealers. "My instructions," testified one of the agents for this purpose, "were to kill them, and I was told that if I could not do the job somebody else would be sent to take my place. I worked in Youngstown and surrounding small towns, Canton, Girard, Warren, Ravenna, Massillon, Mansfield, Elyria, Oberlin and other places. In all of the towns, with the exception of Youngstown, the independent peddlers were forced to abandon their business." At another point in his testimony he said: "I operated not as a Standard man, but as an independent, but I got my orders from the Standard Oil office just the same. The Freedom Oil Company was the independent oil company there, but we were fighting the tank wagon drivers. We got presshers to give us letters to members of their congregations recommending our oil, and for this we gave them oil, some one gallon, some ten."

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Chicago Packing-House Exposures.

Horrifying details of packing house methods in Chicago have filled the papers during the week, in connection with the leaking out of information gathered by a committee of investigation appointed by the President. The appointment of this committee was in consequence of the publication of a novel, "The Jungle," by Upton Sinclair. Upon coming

this novel, the scenes of which are laid in the slaughter house district of Chicago, Mr. Sinclair met with great difficulty in securing a publisher, owing to his revolting revelations as to the conduct of the slaughter house industry. One publishing house, Doubleday, Page & Co., sent the manuscript for verification to a Chicago lawyer, who, in returning it, described it as a tissue of falsehood. The publishers then commissioned a New York lawyer, Thomas H. McKee, to investigate. In his report this lawyer declared that Sinclair had not told half of the scandalous story of the filth and disease of the meat industry. The manuscript was consequently published and a copy of the book fell into the hands of the President, who, of his own initiative, appointed Labor Commissioner Charles P. Neill and Mr. James B. Reynolds, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, to investigate. He gave immediate publicity to his action, and as he was quoted in the press at the time he expressed himself indignantly rather at the author than at the accused packers.

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Meanwhile, the packers brushed the accusations aside, even to the extent of ignoring a challenge by Sinclair (p. 97), in which he said: "One hundredth part of what I have charged ought, if it is true, to be enough to send the guilty man to the gallows; one hundredth part of what I have charged, ought, if it is false, to be enough to send me to prison; if the things which I have charged are false, why has Mr. Armour not sued me for libel? All that I ask of Mr. Armour is a chance to prove my charges in court."

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After a time the investigators made their report. But it was not given out for publication, and the Washington dispatches foreshadowed a report denouncing Sinclair's revelations as 95 per cent. lies. A little later the Washington dispatches began to announce, that of the Chicago Tribune of the 19th of May for example, that "the President is much more stirred up over this matter than the people generally know. He had believed in the beginning that there was no foundation whatever for the charges made by Mr. Sinclair; but subsequent information has lent at least sufficient credence to what has been said by that author, to cause him to determine to insist upon legislation to correct the abuses which have been discovered actually to exist." The same dispatch told of a bill which had been introduced by Senator Beveridge, providing for drastic reform in the Federal meat inspection service, and following the lines of the Sinclair revelations."

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As the Washington news on the subject dribbled along from day to day thereafter, it appeared that the stock raising interests were coming to the aid of the packers in opposing the Beveridge bill, and that the President was holding back the report of his investigators to use as a club for forcing that bill through. As Sumner, a Washington correspondent, said in the Chicago Record-Herald of the 25th—
It has been sought by representatives of the stock-raising industry who arrived in Washington yesterday to fore-

stall or stave off the impending report on the investigation conducted by Labor Commissioner Neill and Special Commissioner Reynolds by having an expert commission appointed to conduct a more technical examination of conditions. . . . But this suggested plan seems to have shown the Administration the strength of its position, and as a result it was stated this afternoon on high authority that if the meat inspection bill backed by President Roosevelt is not passed without delay the packers will not have their wishes carried out. As it was put with great force to the Record-Herald correspondent. "This legislation is going to be exacted. If it can be had without scandal so much the better, but if necessary it will be had with scandal." The inference is plain, and it is to the effect that the Administration has "the goods" on those whom it assumes to be fighting adequate and thorough government inspection regulation, and will make every use of the same unless the corporations concerned come to time. It is contended that with an adequate inspection and sanitary regulation law in force existing evils would be remedied, and it therefore would be unnecessary to put disclosures bordering on the sensational before Congress to stir it to further action.

The Beveridge bill was passed by the Senate on the 25th as an amendment to the agricultural appropriation bill, and is now before the House. It virtually places the entire packing industry under national inspection.

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On the 27th Mr. Sinclair wrote a letter to President Roosevelt on the subject of suppressing the Neill-Reynolds report, in which he said:

A dispatch states that you have written one of the senators to the effect that if the Beveridge bill were passed it would not be necessary for you to submit to Congress the report of Commissioners Neill and Reynolds. I can understand the effectiveness of their report as a club to force the passage of this bill. Yet it seems to me that there is something else to be considered more important than this. The source and fountainhead of genuine reform in this matter is an enlightened public opinion. Given that, everything else will come of itself, including proper legislation; and without that no bill, however adequate, can accomplish much. That report ought to be printed and ought to be on file so that anyone can refer to it readily.

On the same subject two resolutions were introduced in the House of Representatives on the 29th. One was by Congressman Sulzer of New York and the other by the minority leader, Mr. Williams. Mr. Williams's resolution calls upon the Secretary of Commerce and Labor to report the facts; the one by Mr. Sulzer asks the President, if not incompatible with the public interest, to make public the Neill-Reynolds report.

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The Eight-Hour Law in Congress.

Members of the lower house of Congress were amazed on the 29th by a favorable report from the committee on labor on the eight-hour bill, which was supposed to be so safely buried in that committee that no Congressman would be obliged to go on record upon it. The Federation of Labor had complained to the President and Congress of hostility to labor measures, this among the rest (p. 31), and the existing law the weaknesses of which this bill is intended to remedy. But the committee of the lower house continued its perfunctory sessions with no apparent end in sight. According to the dispatches it was not the intention of the majority leaders to let the bill get out of committee and upon the House calendar. But on the 29th that very thing

happened. The committee was listening, without a quorum, to a speech against the bill by the representative of a ship-building firm, when Congressman Hearst, a member of the committee, entered the room. His presence made a quorum with a Democratic majority. As soon as this was observed a motion was made to close the hearing and report the bill favorably forthwith. The Republican members of the committee sent out hurry calls for their colleagues, but without success; and in a few minutes the bill had been reported back to the House with a recommendation that it pass. This bill fixes an eight-hour day for all work in which the Federal government is interested whether done directly under the supervision of the government or by contract.

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Politics in New York.

Congressman Hearst's name for the Democratic candidate for Governor of New York was announced on the 24th by the Democratic committee of Queen's County, the vote for him being 16 to 5. A few days later Roger C. Sullivan, the Illinois member of the Democratic National Committee, publicly stated upon returning from New York that Hearst's name will be the only one presented for governor to the Democratic convention. His inference was based upon conversations with Norman F. Mack, national committeeman from New York, and others; and in comment, as reported in the Chicago Examiner, he said: "If this be so, and Mr. Hearst should be elected, which, according to the same sources he will be by a tremendous majority, then there must follow a political miracle to keep him away from the nomination for President in 1908."

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Politics in New Jersey.

The upheaval in the Republican party of New Jersey (p. 8) over the power in that party of great corporate interests, has produced an announcement from George L. Record, of Jersey City, of his intention to become the Republican candidate for U. S. Senator in opposition to Senator Dryden. In the New York Times of the 24th Mr. Record's announcement was reported as declaring:

I have been moved to enter the field by various considerations. The equal tax agitation, led by Mayor Fagan and Senator Colby, has disclosed the fact that the State Republican organization, and in large measure the local county ones, are controlled by political leaders who are directly or indirectly the representatives of the great corporations of the state. The control by these men of the party machinery has been to them very profitable, and they will not surrender that control until they are driven out. That the corporations, acting through the state leaders, will endeavor to select the United States Senator to be elected next winter, goes without saying. The choice of the machine is Senator Dryden. They will not proclaim this fact from the housetops, because they fear that Mr. Dryden's corporate affiliations and his record have made him unpopular with the people. Their legislative candidates will therefore dodge the question so far as they can. They will say they have reached no conclusion on the subject, or that they will decide after considering all the candidates who may be before the legislature next winter, or they will give out that they are for some other candidate who may have some local popularity. But this dodging will fool nobody. The machine, the bosses, and the corporations are all for Mr. Dryden. They know him. They have tried him. Of all men in public life in New Jersey Mr. Dryden best typifies and represents the fundamental

idea of machine politics, the alliance between corporations enjoying or desiring special privileges and the boss of the party machines. Mr. Dryden stands for what the machine and boss stand for; he represents politically everything we are fighting to destroy. To defeat him is to destroy the control of the party organization by the corporations. In order to defeat him a candidate identified with the anti-machine forces must take the field. You cannot beat somebody with nobody. It is the opinion of some of the leaders of the fight against the machine that I should make this contest, and for that reason I have become a candidate. I shall make the best fight I know how to make. I shall go into every county and state our case to the people wherever I can get a hearing. I shall appeal only to reason, and shall rely for success upon argument and discussion. I shall try to call things by their right names, and to state the truth as I see it. There is now shaping in the United States, in my judgment, one of the greatest political contests in the history of the country. It is becoming plain that there is great peril to our institutions in the huge fortunes and aggregations of capital in the hands of the few, which are characteristic of our day, and in the influence which these exercise over the railroads, our national highways. President Roosevelt has recently pointed out this danger. Thoughtful men everywhere perceive it. In some form or other the attempt to remedy this and similar evils is bound to shape our politics in the future. It is the old, old question of special privilege in a new form. The doctrine of the square deal is but an expression of this feeling. The beneficiaries of special privileges will bitterly oppose any attempt to abolish these evils. Considerations, not only of state but of national importance, require that a Senator should be sent to Washington by the Republican party whose sympathies are against the special interests which have so long dominated our politics, and are with President Roosevelt and the policies which he has come to represent in the popular mind.

Mr. Record has been the chief aide of Mayor Fagan, whose administration in Jersey City has been given national interest by one of the magazine articles of Lincoln Steffens. The question of equal taxation as related to public service corporations was first brought into prominence in New Jersey by Mr. Record, and through his efforts the bills of last year and this year to compel the railroad companies to pay their taxes, were put through the New Jersey legislature. He is the author of the Jersey primary law.

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Politics in Pennsylvania.

A fusion of the Prohibition and the Democratic parties on a ticket for State officers in Pennsylvania was effected at Harrisburg on the 24th, with William H. Berry, the present treasurer of the State (vol. viii, p. 509), as the candidate for governor.

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Prohibition Politics in Indiana and Iowa.

In making State nominations (pp. 59, 80) on the 23d, the Prohibitionists of Indiana adopted a platform declaring for 2-cent railroad fares, the abolition of passes, woman suffrage, and the initiative and referendum. At Des Moines on the 23d, L. S. Coffin was nominated by the Prohibitionists for governor of Iowa.

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Approaching Election in Oregon.

An important State election will occur in Oregon on the 4th—important chiefly for the referendum issues involved. Five constitutional amendments and various bills, all initiated by popular petition, are to be voted on. Four of the amendments and one of the bills were initiated through the efforts of the

People's Power League of Oregon. These amendments are—

An amendment to extend the principle of the initiative and referendum to local, special and municipal laws and parts of laws.

An amendment to allow the State printing, binding and printers' compensation to be regulated by law at any time.

An amendment giving to cities and towns the exclusive right to amend their charters, subject to the constitution and criminal laws.

An amendment giving power to the legislative assembly to propose and submit to the people amendments to the constitution, to proclaim such amendments, and requiring the people's approval before a constitutional convention can be called.

In addition to these amendments, the Equal Suffrage Association (p. 148) has filed a petition for—

An amendment conferring upon women the right to vote upon the same terms with men.

The bills to be voted upon are as follows:

Prohibition of free passes and discrimination by public service corporations.—Initiated by the People's Power League.

Provision for two corporation license laws.—Initiated by the State Grange.

Authorizing purchase of toll roads by the state for \$24,000.—Initiated by the owners of toll roads.

Modification of the local option liquor law heretofore adopted on referendum.—Initiated by the State Liquor Dealers' Association.

Popular veto of an appropriation bill adopted by the legislature.

The initiative and referendum amendment to the Oregon constitution under which this voting is to be done, was adopted by the people by an overwhelming vote at the election of 1902. Since then but one general election has been held, that of 1904. The referendum is optional in character, and has been used but once. This was after the last legislature adjourned after having passed an appropriation bill which included an unusually large amount of money for certain purposes. The people immediately "held up" this bill by filing a five per cent. petition, and the matter will be decided by the people at the coming election. The initiative has been used twice. One of the initiative petitions asked for a vote on a bill for direct nominations, and the other was for a bill providing a satisfactory local option law. Both bills were adopted by the people. Their success two years ago appears to have emboldened the people to use their powers of initiating legislation more fully than before. The views of Gov. Chamberlain on the operation of the initiative and referendum in his State were recently voiced in a letter from him to Roland T. Patten of the Maine Referendum League. In this letter Gov. Chamberlain said:

It is my opinion that the Initiative and Referendum amendment to the constitution will have a most salutary effect in Oregon. In the first place it will make legislative bodies more careful of the people's rights, and will make them hesitate to pass extravagant appropriation bills and other measures which will not meet with the approval of the people; and if demands for healthful legislation are ignored, the people have it in their power to initiate such laws as they may deem necessary for the advancement of their interests and for their protection. One of the noticeable things at the first session of the legislature after the adoption of the amendment referred to, was the decrease in the number of lobbyists, whose vocation it was prior to that to hang around each succeeding legislative assembly. . . . One thing is sure, the party boss and machine are both eliminated from politics, and with them must inevitably go corruption in public life.

In the Presbyterian General Assembly.

What is reported as one of the most exciting debates in the history of the Presbyterian General Assembly (p. 180) took place at Des Moines on the 23d over the book of forms of worship prepared by the committee of which Dr. Henry Van Dyke was chairman. The result was a virtual reversal of the action of the General Assembly in 1903, 1904 and 1905, in which progressive steps were taken for authorizing a book of forms. The publication of the book was authorized not as "published by authority of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America for voluntary use in the churches," as the committee had proposed, but as "prepared by the Committee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, for voluntary use."

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On the 24th the Moderator completed the union with the Cumberland Presbyterian Church (p. 180) by making the following formal announcement:

I do solemnly declare and here publicly announce that the basis of reunion and union is now in full force and effect and that the Cumberland Presbyterian Church is now reunited with the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America as one church.

Immediately upon this announcement representatives from the Cumberland body were received and the fact telegraphed to the Assembly of that body in Decatur, Ill., which thereupon, after formal announcement of the union, dissolved. But 106 members of the Cumberland body, claiming to represent 110,000 people, refused to disperse. Declaring they would never agree to this union, they remained in session and elected new officers, J. L. Hudgins of Union City, Tenn., being chosen moderator.

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The race question came up in the General Assembly at Des Moines on the 26th, although it was not thus distinguished either in resolution or debate. The presbyteries of Birmingham, Levere and Rogersdale, in Alabama, now included in the synod of Tennessee, are composed of Negro churches, the other presbyteries of that synod being composed of white churches. To separate these the committee on church polity submitted a report recommending the erection of a synod to be composed of the former presbyteries, those made up of Negro churches, and to be called the Synod of Chattanooga. After a spirited debate, in which Russell Taylor, a Negro minister of Levere, participated, the subject was referred to the General Assembly of 1907.

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Settling the Chicago Traction Question.

At the meeting of the Chicago City Council on the 28th, the completed and perfected ordinance authorizing the issuing of Mueller certificates (p. 181) was adopted with only two dissenting votes.

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Another step in the process of completing Mayor Dunne's plans for municipalization was reported from New York on the 24th. It consists in the con-

solidation into one new company of all outstanding traction interests, the stock of the new company to be deposited under a trust agreement subject to the adjudication by the courts of conflicting rights, and this company to have authority meanwhile to negotiate with the city.

* * *

Conflict of Douma and the Czar.

Passing from the news movements of the United States to those of Europe, the only important historical event which the reports of the week disclose is the advancing internal conflict in Russia. The reply of the Czar's ministers to the Douma (p. 181) was read in the lower house of the Douma on the 26th by the prime minister, Mr. Goremykin. It was wordy and diplomatically evasive, denying little and promising nothing. "The ministry," it began, "after examining the address of the lower house of Parliament in accordance with the instructions of the Emperor, is fully prepared to lend its entire support to the elaboration of the questions suggested by the lower house in so far as they do not go beyond limits of the legislative initiatives assigned to the lower house." It then advised postponement of discussion of the franchise law; evaded the prayer for relief of the rural population, and for freedom of press and of meeting; refused some of the demands as to land as in derogation of rights of private property; refused to entertain the proposals for abolition of the upper house and the creation of a responsible ministry; evaded the demands regarding the army; and claimed the question of amnesty as a prerogative of the Czar. The address was vigorously denounced by speaker after speaker, one of them evoking tremendous enthusiasm by declaring that "it is not the ministry but the representatives of the people who must decide what is best for the welfare of the country." Before the House adjourned the following vote of censure was adopted:

The declaration of the Premier heard to-day by parliament contains the decisive statement that the ministry in nowise wishes to meet the demands of the people and the expectation of a land of liberty and civil rights, enumerated in the address of the House in reply to the speech from the throne, without fulfillment of which pacification of the country and successful work by the House is impossible. By its refusal to satisfy the popular demands the ministry clearly shows its disregard of the real interests of the people and its plain unwillingness to relieve from the shadow of new disasters a country which is harassed by poverty, lawlessness and the continued unpunished arbitrariness of the authorities. The lower House of Parliament considers that it is its plain duty to proclaim to the country its complete distrust of an irresponsible ministry. It regards as a most necessary condition to the pacification of the country and fruitful work by parliament the immediate resignation of the present cabinet and its replacement by a ministry possessing its confidence. Parliament thereupon votes to proceed with the regular order of the day.

NEWS NOTES

—The Western Federation of Miners met at Denver in annual convention on the 28th.

—James E. Scripps, founder of the Detroit News, died at Detroit on the 29th at the age of 73.

—Henrik Ibsen, the Norwegian dramatist, died at Christiania, Norway, on the 23d, at the age of 78.

—The biennial convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs met at St. Paul on the 30th.

—The great Irish leader, Michael Davitt, died at Dublin on the 30th of blood poisoning due to a surgical operation, at the age of 60.

—Twenty-three indictments charging manslaughter were found by the grand jury at Springfield, Mo., on the 23d, against as many of the mob which lynched three Negroes in April (pp. 51, 59).

—At the parliamentary elections in Denmark on the 29th the ministerialists elected 55 (a reduction of 4), the Socialists increased their delegation from 16 to 24, and the Radicals elected 9 in place of their former 15.

—The municipal council of Panama adopted a resolution on the 28th soliciting the intervention of the United States for the purpose of preserving order at the Panama elections to be held on the 24th of June.

—Madame Curie, the discoverer with her husband of radium, has been appointed to the chair of the new professorship in the Sorbonne, Paris, founded for her husband. The minister of public instruction has ratified the choice of the faculty, and "congratulates himself on being the first democratic minister of education to appoint a woman to what is, in some ways, the most distinguished chair in the Sorbonne."

—Judge Owen P. Thompson resigned on the 28th as a trustee of the Woman's College at Jacksonville, Ill., on the ground that the college has accepted a large sum of money from Andrew Carnegie. In his letter of resignation he says he "could not remain identified with an institution of learning wherein the management allows a policy which robs it of its independence freely to discuss all forms of social and economic questions and places the institution under obligation to capitalists."

—Attorney General Moody applied to the Supreme Court of the United States on the 28th for an order requiring the sheriff at Chattanooga, Tenn., and other persons concerned in the lynching of Edward Johnson, a Negro convict, who had appealed to the United States Supreme Court and was consequently in Federal custody, to show cause why they should not be punished for contempt. The grand jury had refused to find indictments for the lynching. The court granted the order making it returnable October 15.

—The Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York decided on the 25th that George W. Perkins (p. 59) was not guilty of larceny in diverting \$48,000 of the funds of the New York Life Insurance Co., of which he was an official, to the Republican National Committee for campaign purposes. As stated by the court the facts were these. Perkins made the contributions out of his own funds at the request of the president of the company and with the understanding that the company would repay him, as it afterwards did.

* * *

"That Mr. Gailey must be very poor?"

"Why?"

"I asked him how he made his money and he said he earned it."—Puck.

PRESS OPINIONS

THE RUSSIAN DOUMA.

The Manchester Guardian (Lib.), May 12.—The opening of the Douma on Thursday is a historic event, not because institutions are of themselves pregnant, but because they testify to the power and the wealth of the force which has called them into being. There have been Russians who have loved liberty better than life, but until now we were lacking in proof that liberty was more than the inspiration of a few. The opening of the first free assembly that Russia has ever known is a sign that the long agony of a nation is becoming conscious and articulate, that it is passing from the patience of suffering to the realization of fruitful discontent. How far the process of awakening has gone it is difficult to record. The greeting which the people of St. Petersburg gave to the members of the Douma goes to convince us that in the towns, where the fellowship of men is closer, as their suffering is keener, the desire for freedom has a reality apart from the desire for relief, but we do not yet know how intense and sustained it may be. And beyond the towns dwells the vaster mass of peasants, whose minds are as remote from us as their homes. The cause of freedom rests with them.—(Mar. 17) The language of the Address leaves little room for doubt that the members of the Douma desire not only to resume the lands of the crown and the monasteries, but to resume them without compensation. The resistance of the regular clergy is certain; nor is it unlikely that the owners of private estates will oppose a scheme which strikes a blow at their territorial influence and may reduce their wealth. The cold silence in which the Douma listened to an appeal for generous compensation is significant. Nevertheless the Douma will not have to face a united Church or a united gentry. In Russia, as in most countries, the hostility between regular and secular clergy is intense, and the Douma will probably gather to it the parish priests, who count for most, while the Constitutional Democrats ought to cary with them the majority of the landed proprietors. The real peril before the Douma is of disappointing its natural friends rather than of rousing its natural enemies. Already some members have criticized the Address as too moderate, and have expressed a doubt whether its proposals are adequate to solve the land question. But if the peasants can complain that they are offered not enough, the artisan gets nothing from the State except the right to do what he can for himself. The social question in Russia, as elsewhere, will be the crux of the Revolution.

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INDIVIDUALISM AND SOCIALISM.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), May 22.—The late Thomas G. Shearman was right when he predicted fifteen years ago that this country would have to face the issue of socialism. . . . Mr. Shearman anticipated just what is now seen to be developing. He foresaw with a perfectly clear vision the reign of economic disorder of which recent graft exposures in insurance, railroad, banking and other circles have been a reminder; and he ventured the prophecy that there would grow up a tremendous reaction against the existing system as a result of which socialism would take on a new importance and become a serious threat against the very foundations of democratic society. . . . Mr. Shearman, however, did not feel alarmed by the prospect of a great socialist uprising. Indeed, he was disposed to welcome it—not because he had any sympathy with socialism, but because he believed that such an uprising would excite a revival of the democratic spirit and compel the believers in individualism to take a new grip on their faith. He pointed out that it has been in a denial of individualism that the social woes which socialism proposes to remove have obtained. Individualism has not failed; it has simply not been tried; it has not been given a chance. It has been girt about by tariffs, by privileges, by restricted opportunity and by undemocratic limitations on free government until it has possessed only the forms of democracy without the substance; and it thus unjustly bears a burden of blame which rightly should rest upon quite other shoulders.

IN CONGRESS

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the official report of Congressional proceedings. It includes all matters of general interest, and closes with the last issue of the Record at hand upon going to press. Page references are to the pages of Vol. 40 of that publication.

Washington, May 22-26.

Senate.

The railroad rate bill having passed the Senate on the 18th (p. 7292) by 71 to 3, the legislative appropriation bill was taken up on the 21st (p. 7347) and passed (p. 7360); and on the 22d the bill to regulate immigration was considered (p. 7430). After further consideration on the 23d (p. 7497) it was passed (p. 7514). The bill to exempt denatured alcohol from internal revenue taxation was considered (p. 7534) and passed (p. 7539) on the 24th; after which consideration of the agricultural appropriation bill was resumed (p. 7539) and passed (p. 7551). The agricultural appropriation bill being considered (p. 7578) on the 25th, was passed on the same day (p. 7597); and after passing the bill to regulate Philippine coinage (p. 7601-2) the Senate adjourned to the 28th.

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House.

Miscellaneous business was done on the 21st and on the 22d the diplomatic and consular appropriation bill was taken up (p. 7461). Its consideration was continued on the 23d and the 24th (p. 7554). A conference on the railroad rate bill was ordered on the 25th (p. 7604), and on the 26th the consular appropriation bill was further considered (p. 7656).

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Record Notes.

Text of bill to exempt alcohol used in the arts from internal revenue taxation (p. 7600). Speech of Representative Dalsell on revision of the tariff (p. 7648). Senator Newland's speech on regulation of railroad rates (p. 7523).

RELATED THINGS
CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

RECIPROCITY.

For The Public.

With the May blossoms, cheery and bold,
Came the oriole's song to his mate;
And he sang to her early and late
The one theme that can never grow old;
While after-notes too eager to wait,
All regardless of measure and date,
Were at any odd season outrolled,
When she thought his whole story was told.

Serene in her gold-hued gown sat she,
With no sign of assent or demur
To the rhapsodies showered upon her
By the flamelet aloft in the tree,
That her love was awake and astir
With his jubilant music and whirl,
Sife could trust such a wooer to see.
"Nothing sweeter than silence," sang he.

D. H. INGHAM.

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SAN FRANCISCO'S GREAT OPPORTUNITY.

A Letter in the London Speaker of April 28, 1906, Signed by T. R. Bridgwaters.

May I, through the columns of The Speaker, voice an appeal to the citizens of San Francisco before they build upon the ashes of their disasters, to con-

sider the enfranchisement of their new city, by some system of state municipalization?

Having visited this city more than once and being familiar with every part of it, these great disasters during the past week seem to have created the opportunity to put into effect, even if only to some partial extent, the main great idea which was so eloquently advocated by one who lived in that great city—Henry George—and who wrote there in that city his famous book thirty years ago, "Progress and Poverty."

The glorious site of San Francisco, visited by Sir Francis Drake, and many years later named and founded as a mission station by the Spanish monks of the Order of St. Francis, owes its greatness to-day to no one man, or to men, but to its unrivaled natural position, one of the finest harbors in the world, and almost the only one for thousands of miles along the Pacific Coast from Vancouver to Valparaiso. The city of San Francisco, built on seven miles of sand waste, surrounded on three sides, east, north and west, by sea, extends from the great bay of San Francisco on the east for about five miles across to the full Pacific Ocean on the west. All the most valuable property is on the bay front, with its docks and landing stages, and diminishes in value as the five miles or so are traversed towards the Pacific; the last three miles are little more than half unbuilt on sand wastes, ending in complete sand wastes along the Pacific shore. All that is not built on is mapped out for that purpose, and has therefore some fictitious value. The abnormally valuable land lies on some eight square miles out of about thirty square miles, ready to receive a far greater city in course of years. The wealthy land owners possess, therefore, but a small fraction of the whole, and the majority of owners are what is known as "land poor," waiting for the development of sites.

Would it not be an act of great recklessness with this remaining twenty-two square miles almost unbuilt on to rebuild the city of to-morrow upon the comparatively small site of the ruined city of yesterday? Should not the new city, with the warnings of the past week, be built in quite a different way, in sections, to withstand earthquakes, and surrounded by garden spaces, across which no flames can be carried by the ever-blowing winds of the Pacific, which so much cause the always beautiful climate of San Francisco? Vienna of to-day, and many German cities, illustrate this style of building with open spaces. This new way of rebuilding San Francisco could not be done except by some great system of municipalization, or land enfranchisement, a system which will add to the glory of a great city, and which must yet become even a greater city, uniting as it does now the eastern world with the western world.

* * *

AN EARTHQUAKE EXPERIENCE.

A Portion of a Letter Written to Mrs. Marie Howland, of Fairhope, Ala., by Mr. Ng Poon Chew, Editor of the Chinese Daily Paper of San Francisco.

It is impossible to relate fully what we have passed through in the earthquake and fire which have almost destroyed the whole city of San Francisco.

At 5:13 o'clock in the morning of the 18th ult. I

was rudely awakened by the shock of the earthquake. Immediately I was thrown from my bed onto the floor. The house, it seemed to me, almost tipped over on its side. I tried hard to get up on my feet, but was unable to do so while the earth trembled so violently. It seemed hours long, although it lasted only half a minute. The noise was simply fearful. Our bookcases fell upon the floor one after another. Every glass globe was also thrown down and broken. One heavy bookcase fell in front of our children's bed, and came near killing or injuring them. They were half scared to death.

But our little baby, the three and a half year old Caroline, who was sleeping in another bed with her mother, in my room, sat up on her bed. Seeing me sitting on the floor, she pointed her little finger at me, crying out and laughing, saying, "Look at papa! He is a baby sitting on the floor!" She thought it was a funny sight to see me on the floor.

When the shake ceased, we all ran out to the street, only half dressed. The street was already full of people, some dressed, some half dressed, and some only in their night gowns. The women and children were crying and the men fearful. The front walls of many houses in our neighborhood fell upon the street, and all chimneys were thrown down. Some injured and dying were here and there. The atmosphere was filled with dust of falling chimneys and buildings, which caused the early morning light to be very peculiar and extraordinary, thereby increasing the apprehension of the people. Few dared to return to their homes, on account of the frequent shaking of Mother Earth during the whole day, with more or less violence.

Soon we noticed fire in different parts of the city, and we were startled to know that the water mains were broken by the quake, hence no water to put out the fires. Still we did not realize that the city was doomed. But in the afternoon of the 18th we were confronted with the cold realization of our danger. It was then too late to save anything except what we could carry in our hands. No street cars, no teams or any other vehicles could be had for love or money. So we ran for our lives, for the fire threatened to cut off our retreat in the rear, our only way to safety. So we led our five children along as fast as we could walk.

We slept in the open air, on the public highway, on the night of the 18th; and after trodding along the whole day of the 19th, covering many miles, we were picked up near the shore of the Golden Gate and conveyed to Berkeley, where we are now, staying with friends.

We lost practically everything we ever possessed on earth. Our whole newspaper plant went up in smoke, including every volume of my large library of 2,600 volumes, and all my household effects.

We are to-day just as innocent of earthly possessions as a new born babe. But we are thankful it is not worse. We might have been killed or injured, as so many of our less fortunate fellow beings were killed or injured.

With good health, strong arms, brave heart, and faith in the future we will begin life again. God has taken care of us in the past and He will provide for us in the future. Yours very truly,

NG POON CHEW.

A PARALLEL IN HISTORY

Russia—France.

Ancient history is wonderfully modern. The story of one uprising is the story of all. The pictures on the curtains are changed and the names of the characters, but the drama is the same. For Paris to-day we have St. Petersburg, for Louis we have Nicholas, for Necker we have Witte, for the States General we have the Douma. But in Russia to-day, as in the France of yesterday, the provinces are aflame with burning palaces, the cities are crowded with hungry men, mutiny is feared in the army, the cruelties of government are answered by the outrages of the mob, and everything seems ready to make the 10th of May, 1906, as memorable a date in history as the 5th of May, 1789.

Whenever it comes to be the overwhelming sentiment of a people that a certain obstacle to their progress must be removed, then some kind of a revolution is bound to follow. If the obstacle yields, it will be a peaceable revolution. If the obstacle resists, and in proportion to the resistance, it will be a violent revolution.

In France, the obstacle that everybody determined must go was the old regime. There was no hostility at first to the king. There was no quarrel with the monarchy. But there was a ring of lords and bishops, the court, as it was called—a small privileged class, men who enjoyed fat pensions, were exempt from taxation, consumed the revenues, meddled in public affairs, were tenacious of their privileges, successful in thwarting reforms, enemies of a free press, and generally obnoxious. This court clique must go. These two or three hundred thousand men should not be permitted to forever suppress the liberties and prevent the progress of twenty-five millions of people. The nation could be nothing until they and their privileges were brushed aside. This was the overwhelming conviction, this was the state of the public mind on the eve of the French Revolution.

But if the people were almost a unit that this court clique should go, why then was there any trouble about it? Why was it not done easily and peaceably? The court had the army, and the court resisted. That was one condition that favored violence. That condition exists in Russia as in France. But that is not all. Let the government have the army; if the people have the votes, the army will be of little use. But just there was the rub. In France as in Russia, while the government had the army, the people did not have a vote. Here was an overwhelming sentiment in the nation that the court clique must go. But this sentiment was disfranchised. It had no voice in the government and an army was opposed to it. How, then, could this overwhelming sentiment express itself except in violence? These were conditions that made a revolution of blood inevitable. These conditions prevailed in France. These conditions are strikingly characteristic of Russia to-day.

On the 10th of May, at the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg, the Douma, the States General of Russia, convened. But whom does this Douma represent? Not the Russian people. In St. Petersburg there are a million and a half of people. And of all that number only 9,000 can vote. Of the 410,000 inhabitants of Odessa, only 7,000 can participate in the elections

In the days of the Revolution Paris had upwards of a million people, and only 14,000 of them were given any voice in the government. The government had closed the gates against the nation of France, and when the floods rose the gates broke, and abuses that might have yielded in peace were destroyed in a rage. Every limitation of the franchise is an invitation to revolution. This is a lesson which Russia might have learned from the history of France. Tyranny is a disease for which the leeches of insurrection must be applied. Democracy is the surest guarantee of peace.

HERBERT S. BIGELOW,

Pastor Vine Street Congregational Church, Cincinnati, O.

* * *

A SOCRATIC DIALOGUE.

"When we were discussing overproduction, O Bicyclades, you called Lycurgus a farmer."

"Yes, Socrates, and deservedly; for he would not agree that men are in want because they produce too much of every thing they need."

"Did you mean then, Bicyclades, that he was a cultivator of land, or do you consider that to be a farmer is equivalent to being stupid?"

"Assuredly the latter, Socrates; for I think farmers are poor because they are stupid—that is, excepting those that farm farmers instead of farming farms."

"Then either there is something stupid in cultivation of land, or else a stupid class of men takes to it. Is that not true?"

"Yes, Socrates."

"But to farm requires much knowledge and skill; moreover, the stupid are inclined to keep their places as professors rather than to go to the country; therefore, it cannot be that a stupid class of men takes to farming."

"True, Socrates, I had not thought of that."

"Is it not also true, Bicyclades, that contact of men one with another, more than anything else, makes men bright and sharp?"

"I believe that to be the fact."

"What class of men then is the most isolated, O Bicyclades?"

"Surely the farmers, Socrates, unless we except keepers of lighthouses, and the wise."

"But why are the farmers isolated—is, then, all the vacant land adjoining the cities used for farming or otherwise?"

"Indeed, no, Socrates; around Athens, Ohio, are many miles of unoccupied land."

"Are those such 'Vacant Lots' as Potato Patch-rockles allowed the disemployed persons to cultivate?"

"I do not understand you, Socrates; for, if the people cultivated lots, they would not be disemployed."

"I meant disemployed from their natural avocations of building or manufacturing or trading on those lots."

"They are the same kind of lots, Socrates."

"Who holds those lots of land?"

"No one, Socrates; they stay there without being held."

"You say truth, Bicyclades; but I mean who owns them?"

"I, indeed, for I bought them of Lycurgus, as you know, Socrates."

"It was he who made the land laws and went away, instead of adopting a Constitution, lest wiser men should change them." [Editor's Note.—Socrates appears to be mistaken here.] "But you, Bicyclades, do you let the farmers have those lots to farm?"

"No, for the farmers are poor; they cannot pay all that the land may be worth in five years, Socrates."

"Are they not poor because they have to work upon poor or distant lands?"

"It certainly seems that that would make them poor."

"But these poor men would get rich by tilling that valuable land if you would let them."

"It seems so, Socrates."

"Do you get produce from it, Bicyclades?"

"No, it produces nothing now; you know that I am land-poor, O Socrates."

"Then is it not you who would rightly be called 'a farmer,' Bicyclades, if you make other men poor in order to keep yourself poor also?"

"It is time that you drank your hemlock, Socrates."—The Game of Life, by Bolton Hall.

* * *

STATE AND MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP IN SWEDEN.

VI. MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

For The Public.

It is evident that in a country where the proper functions of government in regard to public ownership have been recognized by the national administration as they have been in Sweden, the municipalities could not have overlooked the duties involved in local government. Wherever it has become a fixed principle, recognized by the people, that certain public service cannot with advantage be left in the hands of private interests, there this principle will manifest itself in local as well as in state administration.

In Sweden the possibilities for the municipalities to own and operate plants for public service have been greatly facilitated by the extensive right to local self-government conferred upon the municipalities. This right is an ancient one in that country. It is not a product of modern legislation, but an inheritance from the time of the Vikings, although it has been, of course, properly defined as to its limitations in later years. In all affairs of a strictly local nature the national government has little or no power of intervention. In some cases its sanction to certain resolutions is required, as, for instance, in cases of involving the municipalities in public debt. But this is more a formality than a check on the authority of the local body, for hardly any cases are on record where the national government has overruled the municipality.

Each municipality can acquire for ownership and operation any kind of property. If in doing so any private interests should come to suffer, the proper redress will be sought for in the common courts, where the case will be tried in the same manner as a case between two conflicting private interests. The power of the local government also includes the power of taxation for all local purposes. The mu-

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

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municipality may tax one, two or all of the groups subject to taxation, namely: 1, real estate not improved in respect to buildings on same; 2, real estate with buildings; and 3, income of capital or labor. At present all these various sources for revenue are utilized, but the very right of the municipalities to exclude some items from taxation at will may in some future day prove of great value in carrying through a tax reform, which is no less urgent in Sweden than in any other country.

The subjects for municipal ownership as usually understood by this expression are gas works, electric light plants, water works, and street car systems. The larger cities and municipalities own all their own gas works, 28 in all. Most of these were originally established by private companies, but the people soon realized what private operation of the gas works meant, as well in regard to prices as in regard to the quality of the service. The old gas plants were all acquired by the cities by purchase, according to agreements made at the time of granting the franchise. In fact it has become an established rule never to grant any franchises to public service corporations without entering a clause providing for the right of the municipality to acquire the property at a certain price, determined mainly by the actual cost of buildings and equipment. This course has been often followed by the national government also, in regard to private railroads, and in some cases the right has been made use of, adding to the state railway system some of its very most important and paying lines. It must be understood, however, that in doing so, there has been no violation of any private rights or interests. Individual investors have always been compensated in full, and although some complaints were heard from those who were not any longer permitted to share large dividends at the expense of the public, public opinion has always been in favor of having the public own what the public can conduct to the best advantage of the majority.

If now we return to the question of municipal gas works, one example may suffice. The price of gas in Stockholm is about 70 cents for 1,000 cubic feet, and the gas is of excellent quality. When comparing the price with the price charged elsewhere, we must also consider that the domestic coal supply of Sweden is totally insufficient for the country's demand, and the coal used for the gas works has to be imported from England and Germany, which adds materially to the price of coal in Sweden. However, in spite of the low price asked for gas, and the disadvantage of the country in regard to insufficient domestic coal supply, the gas works of Stockholm are a source of considerable revenue for the city, netting about \$600,000 a year. What this figure means is more easily comprehended when considering that Stockholm is a city not fully as large as Cleveland, and that gas is by no means used as extensively in the former city as in the latter. It can cause no wonder that the private gas companies in this country are guarding their franchise "rights" so zealously when evidence of public ownership, which they themselves admit is not as economical, and consequently not as profitable, shows such enormous success. In view of this the public is more to be blamed for permitting the extortion to continue than the gas companies for making use of rights conferred upon them by the

Spread Democratic Principles Now

A subscriber said to us recently: "In those parts of my town where a number of new subscriptions to THE PUBLIC were obtained some months ago, we made a much better showing for municipal ownership, at the last election, than we expected to." Others in other localities have often spoken or written to the same effect. It is a recognition of the success of THE PUBLIC in teaching and spreading democratic principles.

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HOTEL WARNER—EVENINGS

CHICAGO

voters. For although corrupt councils may have been the immediate cause of giving away public franchises without discrimination, and without any obligations on the part of the corporation, the fact remains that it was by the will of the voters these councilmen were elected; and it cannot too often be repeated that it is a thoughtless and empty phrase to say that no matter whom you elect they will serve their own ends when in office. This is to accuse oneself of inability to be honest and it is an insult to American integrity. In private affairs dishonest employes are dismissed. Let the public make it a rule to dismiss also the dishonest employes of the public life, and public ownership need carry with it no apprehensions.

Equally successful with the gas works of the Swedish municipalities have been the electric light plants, many localities, some of which have only a few thousand inhabitants, possess their own electric light plants. As a curiosity it may be mentioned that Hernosand, a town of about 7,000 inhabitants, was the first municipality in Europe to establish an electric plant for street illumination. Statistical information is meager as to the actual financial outcome of many of the municipal-owned plants, because public ownership has in Sweden been considered as such a self-evident phenomenon that there never was a reason for collecting the facts for argumentative or agitative purposes. However, if popular opinion be awarded any esteem for good judgment, we must admit that municipal ownership has proven no less a success in Sweden than has state ownership. No one has ever suggested that private corporations would handle the business to greater advantage for the public. Corrupt councilmen are practically unknown, a very evident fact when considering that the private interests which induce corruption are eliminated. Publicity and a well devised merit system in all governmental service have been reducing the temptations and the possibilities for dishonesty in public life to a minimum.

Private water works have been wholly unknown to municipal life in Sweden. It was so evident that to supply the inhabitants with water was a proper public function, that no thought was ever given to private enterprise in this connection. As water is so necessary a commodity the rule has also always been to conduct the water works with a view to simply paying expenses, and not to try to gain any revenue for the city's treasury from this source.

The street railways in Sweden are comparatively little developed. The cause for this is that Sweden has only a very few cities of such dimensions as to make street car lines a necessity. It must also be borne in mind that the cities of the European continent are always more congested than American or English cities and occupy a very much smaller space for the same population. Only the three largest cities in the country are provided with street car systems, but recently there has been a strong movement for the development of this convenience all over the country. The municipalities, however, are wisely conservative before entering into any new transactions. When thoroughly convinced that there is a need for the municipality to act, the action usually is well prepared. Of the systems mentioned, two are owned and operated by the municipalities, and one, in Stockholm, by a private company. In the latter case,

Announcements

MEETINGS, LECTURES, DEBATES, ETC.

Chicago—Twelfth annual convention of the Congress of Religions, June 3 to 7. Sermons at various churches on the 3d on "The Greatest Need in Religion To-day." Reception at Abraham Lincoln Center on the 4th and discussion of "The Church and Its Mission," etc. Discussion of social problems at different centers and churches on the 5th, and church problems on the 6th. For programme write Cyrus A. Osborne, field secretary, Lincoln Center, Oakwood and Langley avenues.

Louisville, Ky.—Home-coming for Kentuckians, June 13 to 17. The object of this occasion is to bring back to Kentucky all those who formerly lived in the State now residing elsewhere, together with those who wish us well, to enjoy with us a brief season of reunion and good fellowship in "The Old Kentucky Home."

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SPECIAL NOTICE TO SINGLE TAXERS OF CHICAGO

The Single Taxers of Chicago and vicinity, and their friends, will dine at the **Washington Restuarant, N. W. Corner Wabash Avenue and Adams Street, Chicago**, on the first Friday evening of each month, at 6 p. m. The dinner on **June 1st** will be table d'hote. For further particulars communicate with the committee at 1202 Ashland Block, Chicago. (Telephone, Central 925)

NELLIE CARLIN,
U. A. H. GREENE,
H. W. McFARLANE,
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Committee.

The Woman's Journal

3 PARK ST., BOSTON, MASS.

A weekly paper, founded 1870, devoted to women's progress and especially to woman suffrage. Editors, Henry B. Blackwell and Alice Stone Blackwell. Three months on trial, 25 cents; per year, \$1.50.

the city has reserved the right to acquire the system at the end of every fifth year, and this understanding is of such a beneficent influence that the service is nearly as cheap and probably as good as in the cities where the public owns and operates the lines.

It may be proper to mention in this connection a form of municipal ownership peculiar to Sweden. Many towns in the middle and northern section of the country possess enormous property values in public forests. These are never sold, the principle being recognized that the municipality here possesses an asset the value of which is continually growing. Only the right to the lumber of certain sections is sold yearly to the highest bidder, the purchaser being under obligation to replant after having cut the trees. Thus the municipality possesses an inexhaustible supply of revenue, and in fact many of the towns thus provided with means for a natural taxation of public domains do hardly pay any taxes at all individually for local purposes. Here is a lesson in taxation for those who do not recognize the true principle of collecting revenue. It appears in a peculiar form, but the principle of Henry George was in fact in operation in a crude form at the very time that he gave it a more definite expression.

Those who have fear that the enormous business which would be added to the governmental functions of American municipalities if all properly public utilities were owned and operated by the public would cause corruption, forget that the very officials who now handle the business of a private corporation honestly can equally well handle it with honesty under the auspices of the municipality. But in order to remove the possibilities for temptations to corruption it must be recognized that all acts of the public officials must be as open to the public as they would be to private stockholders in a company. The dishonest official must be under fear of removal by the public as easily as he is now dismissed by the company for the same offense. Municipal affairs and national politics must be separated by the means of a proper merit system and civil service regulations. There should not be left too many appointments to be made by the personal judgment of mayors and various municipal commissions. And, above all, there should be direct expression of the will of the people in regard to all public questions, which would go far to insure integrity because of preventing the undue influences of machine rule and partisanship, in non-partisan questions.

ERIK OBERG.

+ + +

A CREED.

This most to know:
 (Much else is only chaff
 The centuries blow
 One to another.)
 That God to men the Father is,
 And man to man a brother.

—Julian A. DuBois.

+ + +

"So you were all through the civil war, were you?" someone asked the old colored veteran who was cheering the band.

"Ever' step of it, suh!"

"At the surrender, too?"

"Ever' step of it, suh'!"

"What did General Lee say to Grant?"

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And Finds Himself in a New World of Public Opinion.

"Never said nuttin', suh—des chopped off his head an' went on!"—Atlanta Constitution.

+ + +

"What's the matter, little boy? What are you crying about?"

"The fellers on the street have formed a trust, and I ain't in it. A feller can't play baseball or shinny all by hisself, can he?"—Ram's Horn.

+ + +

"But if the professor is so absent-minded that he can't remember his own name, why doesn't he write it on a slip of paper and carry it with him?"

"He tried that, but he found that he couldn't read his own writing."—Brooklyn Life.

BOOKS

ANDREW JACKSON.

The True Life of Andrew Jackson. By Cyrus Townsend Brady. Published by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia and London.

Mr. Brady tells us that he began the study of Jackson with no predisposition to admire him, but he has become persuaded that he is one of the great Presidents in our history; that although he stands

below both of them, he is quite worthy to be mentioned in the same breath with Washington and Lincoln. It would be interesting to know, should Mr. Brady devote the same careful study to the life of Jefferson that he has to the life of Jackson, to what rank among the Presidents he would assign the former, and whether in his opinion the relative positions would undergo a change. This suggestion the more forcibly intrudes from the fact that the few allusions to Jefferson are not such as would imply admiration on the author's part.

The greater portion of the book deals with events in the life of Jackson previous to his Presidential career. In discussing the matter of the United States Bank, the author expresses an opinion regarding the real effect of the abolition of the bank which we cannot here let pass unchallenged. Concerning this he makes the surprising statement that "the subsequent financial crisis through which the United States passed in Van Buren's time must certainly be laid at his (Jackson's) door." But Mr. E. M. Shepard, in his excellent biography of Van Buren, clearly shows that this financial crisis was the direct result of wild speculation in land values, which rose from 1831 in leaps and bounds and began to topple in 1837. In Mobile, for instance, real estate valued at a million and a quarter in 1831 rose to twenty-seven and a half millions in 1837, to sink again a few years later to eight millions. Mr. Brady's book is replete

with interesting data relating to the personal, social and military life of Jackson, and as a character study is well worth a place in American biography.

JOSIAH EDSON.

* * *

A PREMATURE SOCIALIST.

A *Premature Socialist*. By Mary Ives Todd. Published by the Broadway Publishing Co., New York.

Mingling some of the ideas of Ouida's "An Altruist" with ideas of her own, Mary Ives Todd has made a little comedy somewhat in the Bernard Shaw style, in which the nephew of a lord figures as the premature socialist. He begins by boring his aristocratic friends with an interminable paper explaining his new ideas, and after much tribulation through three acts (some of it comic and some pathetic), ends prematurely. As the book is "affectionately" inscribed to socialists and anti-socialists, the ambiguity of the hero's hearty laugh with his aristocratic chum as the curtain falls may be interpreted by either to suit their own wishes.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—*The Battles of Labor*. Being the William Levi Bull Lectures for the Year 1906. By Carroll D. Wright, Ph. D., LL.D. Published by George W. Jacobs & Co., Philadelphia.

PAMPHLETS

The Attitude of Anarchism Toward Industrial Combinations (Tucker, New York), an address at the Trusts Conference in Chicago in 1899 and now published in pamphlet, attributes the growth of trusts to absence of adequate competition; and this is traced to legal denials of liberty through patents, copyrights, tariffs, rent and interest, none of which are regarded as necessary to the equal liberty of individuals.

PERIODICALS

In illustration of an interesting story of the Sierra Club in the Northwest by Willoughby Rodman, *Out West* (Los Angeles and San Francisco) for May prints a fine series of mountain and glacier views from Mt. Rainier and Mt. Hood. Lummis's department is devoted to his reflections on the San Francisco disaster.

* * *

Moody's Magazine (New York) for May does not see real prosperity in times when prices are rising and profits and wages are being calculated in larger and larger amounts. "There is less real prosperity at such times," it observes, "than when prices are low and stable." Its reason is a sensible one. "Prosperity for the people as a whole is measured not by the amount of work done or by the nominal or money wages received, but by the good things of life that are distributed amongst the workers and earners in exchange for their labor and service." This is strangely sane for a financial magazine.

IT WILL BE FREE

If America were free, we should not write books about its freedom, any more than we write books about the freedom of the winds.

But until it is free, we must be forgiven this satire of picturing that as yet non-existent ideal.

It is no particular reflection on America that it is not free. At present there are plenty of other countries and plenty of other things that it is treason somewhere even to speak of as Free—Free Russia, Free Trade, Free Love, Free Ireland, Free Thought, Free Land.

But we shall grow. The principles that will free one will free all, and "Free America" is merely a simple and entertaining statement of those principles.

BOLTON HALL.

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