

# The Public

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## EDITORIAL

### "Be It Repealed."

So long have we been accustomed to the legislative phrase, "be it enacted," that the virtues of the antithetical phrase, "be it repealed," are almost forgotten. Instinctively, therefore, when something seems to go wrong, we call for another law, for more legislation, for another succession of "be it enacteds." This was the instinct, no doubt, that led Attorney General Moody, at a Pittsburg banquet on the 27th, to say that "the laws by which the national justice is expressed are by no means perfect or complete," and to ap-

prove the work of Congress in constantly making "an effort to extend them and make them adequate for the solution of the problems of the time." That is indeed what Congress is trying to do. Yet it is not new laws that the country needs in order to cure the evils that old laws have created. If instead of hunting for remedies in new legislation Congress would hunt in old legislation for the causes of the evils complained of, better conditions might be looked for. "Be it repealed!" should be the slogan in Congress until the statute books are cleared of demoralizing legislation.

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### The Muckrake.

Mr. Roosevelt's "muckrake" venture has had time enough to produce an effect, but it has neither created a popular sensation nor brought contentment to any of the bad men who are getting found out. Some who have not yet been caught mud-handed, are praising the speech feebly, as if it might prove consoling when their day of exposure arrives; and in Chicago, the grand jury has paid so little heed to the spirit of Mr. Roosevelt's words as to indict a public official the very day after he had taken refuge behind the speech by denouncing his prosecutors as muckrakers. In considering the general effect of this speech, the apparent response of District Attorney Jerome must be left out of the count. The strenuous efforts he is making to save his political-corruption-fund friends from indictment by the grand jury, may indeed seem to be consequences of Mr. Roosevelt's speech, but it is to be recalled that Mr. Jerome had preceded Mr. Roosevelt in denouncing men who expose the mud-wallows of rich rascals. Take it all in all, Mr. Roosevelt has not done so very much in his muckrake speech for the protection of decent people from scandal. Those who are really decent know that no muckraking can harm them. It is only men who are in and of the muck, and only nominally decent, that fear exposure; and the reasonableness of this is so commonly understood that suspicion turns at once to any man who protests against muckraking. The louder he protests the more the suspicion grows.

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### Bad Food and the Beef Trust.

We have looked for a response from J. Ogden Armour to the specific accusations made against

him personally in Everybody's Magazine by Upton Sinclair, the author of The Jungle. Mr. Armour has no right to be silent under these charges. If they are true, the Armour food products can not be safely consumed. If they are not true the public ought to have some assurance of it. This is not a private matter which Mr. Armour can properly treat with contempt; it is a matter of public concern, for Mr. Armour appears before the public as a food caterer. After making his charges circumstantially, Mr. Sinclair adds:

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.

This is a fair challenge, and Mr. Sinclair is right in saying that under the circumstances neglect to prosecute is equivalent to confession of guilt. It may be, however, that a prosecution will yet be instituted by Mr. Armour.

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#### The Chicago Traction Question.

Mayor Dunne has begun the work of securing the results of the recent referendum authorizing municipal ownership of the traction system, by proposing a procedure which the Council must adopt or else come out into the open for the traction interests, and to which the traction interests must accede or else go to the wall. His proposition is substantially the same as his "contract" construction plan of a year ago. But he now suggests that the present companies be allowed to finance that plan if they show a disposition to come to reasonable terms. The terms he requires include an agreement by the companies to sell their existing rights to the city, immediate improvement by them of the service on plans to be made by the city, purchase by the city as soon as it is financially able to pay the present agreed price of existing rights and the authorized cost of improvement, and operation by the companies meanwhile under a license revocable at any time by the city upon its making such payment. There is no sound objection to this plan from the point of view of immediate ownership and operation by the city. The city could own as soon as it paid for the plant, and operate as soon thereafter as it was legally authorized to do so. Nothing could be more immediate than that. It is to be observed also that the financial ability to pay for the plant would be aided by a sinking fund consisting of part of the profits of intermediate operation.

#### Site Values in San Francisco.

Hardly had the ink got dry on the editorial in which last week (p. 75) we drew a distinction between those property interests of San Francisco that have suffered by the disaster and those that will profit by it, when the wires confirmed us. We had described the improvement interests as losing and the landed interests as gaining. And precisely that difference is what a staff correspondent of the Chicago Record-Herald, Richard Fairchild, reported from San Francisco on the 26th as having already begun to disclose itself. "It has become obvious within the last few days," writes Mr. Fairchild, "that instead of shrinking, real estate values have risen rapidly and will continue to rise." The values that are rising are not improvement values, for the improvement values have been swept away; they are site values, the values of the location on the earth's surface known as San Francisco. The owners of these will profit by the disaster, unless they owned improvements and personal property enough to make their losses on this kind of property offset their gains on the other. And yet the improvers who rebuild San Francisco will be taxed for public purposes as heavily, dollar for dollar, as the site-owners who for a consideration merely allow them to improve!

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#### "Outwest" and "the Single Tax."

In saying that the people of San Francisco will burden the improvers who rebuild the city, as heavily as the site owners who at enhanced values merely sell or lease the privilege of rebuilding it, we speak advisedly. It sounds foolish enough, to be sure—very much, indeed, like the noodle story of the Negro who gathered driftwood in the Mississippi river on halves with a Yankee whose contribution to the partnership was his permission to the Negro to do the gathering. But even if there were no precedents to judge by, we should know from the blind way in which *the* magazine of the Coast and one of the best in the country, Outwest, looks upon the general subject to which the San Francisco instance relates. The method of taxation that will be blindly followed as we intimate above, is known as the "general property tax." It falls alike, in theory, upon the man who earns his income by doing useful things and the man who draws his income by permitting others to do those things, alike upon the builders of cities and upon the appropriators of cities' sites. The obviously fair method would be to exempt the improver, who, after all, only gets the value of his own improvement, and to tax

the site-appropriator, for he gets the value of the city's site, a value that grows as the city grows though he himself be a dawdler or an absentee. The latter method is called "the single tax," and Outwest declares emphatically against it.

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This declaration is made in Outwest for April, in the course of a review of young George's popular book, "The Menace of Privilege." The reviewer does not come very well equipped to his task; for he thinks of economic rent as "the entire value of product beyond the cost of labor and capital employed in producing it," whereas economic rent has no relation to the value of product, the same quantity and quality of product commanding the same price in the same market whether produced from land of high or of low economic rent. But this blunder may be passed over as only academic, and attention be turned to Outwest's elaborate effort to show that the value of a site or location cannot be disentangled from the value of its improvements. To show this, particular instances are marshalled. All are exceptional, in comparison with the great body of land and its improvement; yet the most baffling of them is not beyond the reach of fair approximation. Shall all attempt at fairness in distinguishing between the value of the improver's work and that of the forestaller's monopoly be abandoned because forsooth the difference cannot be measured to a penny?

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The gist of the matter is this: There is such a thing as land value, and such another thing as improvement value. Land value depends upon natural fertility or natural mineral deposits and upon social growth, rising as these rise and falling as these fall; but improvement values depend, with only slight and unimportant variations, upon individual industry, rising with its efficiency and falling with its inefficiency. Obviously, therefore, the latter values are the natural wages of individual workers, whereas the former are the natural income of the co-operative whole or community. Whether an exact apportionment can be made or not is away from the point. Justice is satisfied if a fair approximation be made; and no one in his senses will deny the possibility of this, whether by the single tax or by some other method. Though it were true that in some instances, even in all, we might not be able to draw the line exactly between "mine" and "thine" on the one hand and "ours" on the other, that is no reason for not trying to draw it at all. Suppose we can not get for com-

mon use precisely all the common income, is this any reason for pouring most of that income into private pockets and then confiscating individual earnings to make up the deficit in the common exchequer?

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#### The San Francisco Star.

Readers of The Public will be pained to learn of the utter destruction by earthquake and fire of the property of the San Francisco Star. For twenty years and more the Star has been a beacon light of genuine democracy in California. Its editor, James H. Barry, is not only a thorough Jeffersonian democrat, but his thought strikes true and the full courage of his convictions has never failed him. The history of his paper is part of the best history of his city and State. It is not merely sympathy for James H. Barry that moves us to speak in these terms of his loss, keenly sympathetic though we are; it is a realization keener still of the loss that genuine democracy would suffer should the San Francisco Star be buried in the ruins of the city whose best ideals it has so faithfully and courageously voiced.

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#### Dr. Gaffney and Hamlin Russell.

These two men of New Jersey, who have recently died, both citizens of Newark and co-workers each in his own way as disciples of Henry George, had achieved reputations extending beyond their city and State. Hamlin Russell, an old newspaper man, was the founder and publisher of Russell's Convention Dates. At one time he was railway editor of the St. Louis Republic and later of the Cincinnati Inquirer. A personal friend of Henry George, he was one of the honorary pallbearers at George's funeral. Dr. Matthew T. Gaffney, a physician of large practice in Newark, was well known as a consistent Roman Catholic who in boyhood became and until his death remained an indefatigable supporter of the economic doctrines preached by Father McGlynn. At the time of his death he was secretary-treasurer of the New Jersey Single Tax League. The last appearance in public of Dr. Gaffney and Mr. Russell was together at the New Jersey Democratic conference (p. 8) on the 20th of March. Both are described as men of strong convictions, tenacious purpose and high moral courage.

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Miss Kulcher: Of course, Mr. Freschmann, you are quite familiar with Greek.

Mr. Freschmann: Oh, yes, indeed. I know Greek the minute I see it, the letters are so funny looking, you know.—Philadelphia Press.

### DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION.

The irrepressible conflict between democratic and despotic tendencies, which has become plainly observable in the political adjustments even of our own democratic republic, has not passed our public school system by. It would be strange had it done so. For this tendency is inevitable in political relationships; and educational systems, like everything else, come into the political sphere upon becoming public institutions.

But that conflict has not yet got to be generally obvious in our public school system. While we are all conscious of the obtrusion of partisan and spoils politics, and everybody except corrupt politicians and their equally corrupt beneficiaries in business life is anxious to rid the system of that parasitical growth, we have not yet awakened to the more profound and more dangerous aggressions of the despotic idea. It needs no special acuteness, however, to detect these aggressions in the public school system of the United States, nor more than ordinary historical knowledge and political intelligence to recognize signs of warfare in that system between the despotic idea and the democratic.

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In its distinctly national aspects, the manifestations of this irrepressible conflict may be observed in the operations of the National Educational Association.

A comprehensive association of educators, that organization draws by far its largest membership from the public school teachers; and these contribute in high degree the largest proportion of its funds. Yet by subtle methods, the government of this great body of teachers and their powers over their own funds have been diverted from themselves to persons who are in no real sense their representatives.

There have been established in the Association, bodies within bodies, caucuses within caucuses, powers within powers. And above them all there is a nondescript and practically self-perpetuating oligarchy known as the National Council of Education, which seems to be of the Association but not in it, and to have more power over it than the Association itself could command without a persistent campaign for independence extending over a period of several years. Under these influences, which have been accumulating for a quarter of a century, an effort is now making in Congress to secure for the Association a charter that shall extend, and fix in legislation amendable only by Congress, this despotic power of the few over

the many who chiefly constitute the body of the Association and create the bulk of its fund.

It has been charged that railroad interests and school book trusts animate this tendency to centralization in the Educational Association. There may be truth in the charge. Certain it is that the agents of school book trusts are ranged on the side of the despotic tendency. Certain it is, also, that this tendency became most pronounced immediately after the successful contest of the Chicago teachers against the tax-dodging corporations of Chicago, and apparently in direct response to an attempt of teachers in the Association to appropriate for an investigation of tax-dodging by railroad and other corporations to the prejudice of public school funds throughout the United States, some of its sacred funds. These and related facts do give color of probability to accusations of an ulterior purpose back of the centralizing movement in the National Educational Association. But the probability of the truth of those accusations is not pertinent to our purpose.

Corruption of that kind, like political corruption in the public school system, is in its nature superficial and ephemeral. Much more important, therefore, even than positive proof of corrupt motives could be, would be the fact that this tendency to concentration is what we believe it to be, only an honest and well-intentioned expression of the paternally despotic spirit.

The despotic spirit distrusts the masses of the people. When it does not fear their motives, it doubts their intelligence. There is nothing superficial nor ephemeral about this distrust. It is at the center of the despotic mind; it always has been, and probably always will be. There is no necessity, then, for assigning low motives for centralizing tendencies in the National Educational Association, even if they exist. These tendencies may be considered merely as manifestations in that particular group, of a warfare that extends throughout the public school system—a phase, that is, of the irrepressible conflict between the despotic and the democratic mind.

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The same warfare is observable in varying degree and through various modes of manifestation, in almost every center of public school activity.

Though in each of these centers the superficial and ephemeral phenomena, such as political spoils, school-book corruption, school-land grafting, business favoritism and corporation tax-dodging, with their "pulls," "pushes" and percentages, may be noticed, the real cause lies deeper. It is every-

where the same cause that has precipitated all the contests over the notion of "divine right," little and big, local and general, from which Abraham Lincoln drew his inspiration of government of the people, that it should be not by "superiors" either in virtue or intellect, but by the people themselves. These public school controversies are but local manifestations of a national conflict in the public-school system; and at bottom this conflict everywhere is between despotic and democratic tendencies as old as human association.

Just now Chicago happens to offer the best illustration, because in Chicago the despotic tendency in the schools has been more obviously aggressive, and the democratic tendency more militant. The essential character of the conflict has therefore taken visible form and may be seen for what it really is.

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The first clear manifestation of this tendency in Chicago came out in a litigation with tax-dodging corporations. The public-school teachers had been subjected to a process of salary-compression which led them to organize the Chicago Teachers' Federation. They were not long in discovering that the apparent necessity for the cutting off of salaries had been caused by the street-car companies and other public-service corporations, whose franchises were listed for millions on the stock market and for nothing on the tax duplicate. Upon the discovery of this the Federation sued the companies for dodged taxes. After a long fight the suit was won, but in the face of fierce opposition from the companies, from the business interests of the city, from the taxing authorities, from the city government, and from the school board itself. When victory came at last, Judge Grosscup of the Federal Court stepped in with an injunction under which he acted as a local board of review and arbitrarily cut down the money value of the victory about 60 per cent. To cap this climax, the school board, having received its share of the money, refused to pay the teachers their withheld salaries; and when the courts decided in favor of the teachers, the board tied up the fund they had fought for and won, by appealing. A board less despotic in its personnel has now by a slight majority remedied that wrong by withdrawing the appeal.

In the progress of this fight, the Chicago Teachers' Federation came to be a representative body of acknowledged force in the community; and as its intelligence regarding despotic tendencies expanded, it came more and more to be a local agency of democratic progress. What had at first

seemed to its members to be arbitrary or corrupt school management, was revealed to them as a phase of the despotic tendencies (whether corrupt or not) in all public affairs. Against these tendencies this organization has ever since set its face, and with such effect that the victories won in Chicago for municipalization of public utilities are directly traceable to its work.

But the Teachers' Federation, while it has struggled with despotic tendencies wherever in local civic affairs they have come to the surface, has consistently done so as a necessary part of the work for which it is especially organized—the protection of the body of public-school teachers, and the school system itself, from despotic policies in school management, and the professional improvement of the teachers. It is in this connection that the conflict in which it has been engaged is especially illustrative of the subject here under consideration.

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The public schools of Chicago, like those of probably all public-school centers, have drifted steadily into the current of despotic tendencies in education. In the name of "business" management, the ideals of the factory or the department store have displaced the true ideals of the school room. High salaries for management with low salaries for teaching, a small expense account and a large output,—this is the commercialistic ideal that has prevailed. And this mercenary ideal has naturally allied itself to the despotic ideal of public-school pedagogy, which, military in its antecedents and commercial as to its modern models, reverses the democratic order.

According to the despotic ideal, authority descends from the head downward or the center outward. Its conception of authoritative sequence is a council of war or a board of directors, a commanding general or a business manager, generals for each division and brigade or department managers and bureau chiefs, an appropriate assignment of minor officers or assistant chiefs, and a body of troops or workmen responsive as a vast mechanism to transmitted orders from above.

However imperative this ideal may be in the military or the commercial sphere, it has no place in the pedagogical. School children are not an enemy to be fought with military precision, nor pots and pans to be manufactured and distributed with a minimum of expense and a maximum of product. Neither military nor factory organization is adaptable to their educational processes.

In warfare or commerce the human agencies are of two kinds in point of relative importance—the

able head to command and the responsive mass to obey. While either would be ineffective without the other, yet in comparison with the individual head an individual of the mass is of little account. But that is not true of the school. In teaching it is the individual teacher that counts, and not the mass of teachers merely as a mass. True, there are indispensable organic phases in a public-school system, and in these respects the military or commercial analogy may apply. But in the teaching function, the most important factor is not the school board, nor the superintendent, nor the assistant superintendent, nor even the principal. It is the individual teacher. And each one counts.

Perhaps few would deny this. It is doubtless a pedagogical truism, too universally acknowledged to deserve mention except for the fact that the business or military method of public-school teaching is utterly out of harmony with it. If the individual teacher is the most important factor in the function of teaching, then the public-school system which makes the teacher an automaton in a mass of automatons moved by electric buttons at a central office, must be a false and demoralizing system.

But this is the despotic ideal which has prevailed in Chicago, and is challenged by the Teachers' Federation.

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The position of the Federation has been outlined by its representatives before the educational committee of the Chicago Charter Convention, and one of the reforms proposed by it is the—

abolition of secret marking of teachers' efficiency, and of promotional examination on outside studies as a basis for determining increase of salary, thus providing for tenure of teachers in office except for inefficiency proved by trial.

To this it is objected, rightly enough, that mere length of service is not a sufficient test of efficiency. It is indeed true that a teacher who does not keep abreast of the times in respect of the teachers' work may become less instead of more efficient with length of service. But neither retention nor promotion are fairly determined by secret marking. On the contrary, this plan is exceptionally open to the influences of favoritism and malice; and, while thus demoralizing to the teaching body, is in all other respects wholly indefensible except from the despotic point of view.

Another suggestion has been made—one that would require a certain round of satisfactory class work on some subjects or other, in the Normal

School or other academic institution. This is perhaps a nearer approach to a reasonable condition of promotion. Yet a lawyer or doctor of long service and good standing, of whom even this sort of test was required, might very fairly object that efficiency in his profession is not determinable by academic tests after his days of academic training are lost in the perspective of professional experience. He could fairly argue that the results of his experience are important factors in his efficiency which academic study cannot, any more than secret markings, disclose, supplement or offset. And why may not the teacher raise a like objection? Teachers in private schools doubtless would raise it. Then why not those in public schools? It may well be replied that in a public-school system some systematic method of testing pedagogical efficiency and progress must be required. But because some such test is necessary, why adopt one which, while serving but poorly as a test, has so much the appearance of an arbitrary exercise of authority by superiors over inferiors?

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The other reform pertinent to this subject which the Teachers' Federation proposed to the charter convention's committee was the organization of—

an elective council of teachers, with advisory power on questions of administration, curriculum, and the selection of text books, such advisory recommendations to be made matters of record for consideration by the school board.

This proposal—and its application is general and not local to Chicago—goes to the heart of the subject. While continuing business authority where it is and where it belongs, at the business end of the system, and while also continuing there the authority to determine pedagogical as well as business problems, this reform would bring into advisory relations with the school board, on pedagogical problems, the very class whose place in the service especially qualifies them to give such advice. The advice would not be a command, but it would go upon record as the legally authorized consensus of the opinion, as to pedagogical methods, implements and administration, of the only persons who do the teaching work and come in constant contact with the individual children whose education is the object of that work. If the heads of the system went counter to that advice, they would have the power to do so, but they would have to give a reason for it that would appeal to the public intelligence and conscience.

There would be no more flirting with school-

book trusts to the prejudice of the schools, no more grafting with school-land leases or shielding of tax-dodgers to the prejudice of school funds, and no more arbitrary and irresponsible governing of schools along despotic lines. With a representative advisory council of teachers, the public-school system would cease to be a form of military organization, department store or factory, and become a democratic institution for the education of the citizens of a democratic republic.

An objection to this innovation is that it would turn the teaching body into a public-school boss. In response we quote the apt words of The Elementary School Teacher for January last, regarding a similar objection to a somewhat more elaborate plan along the same general lines proposed by Dr. Cornelia De Bey, who is a member of the Chicago school board, a trained and experienced teacher, and an eminent student of educational subjects. "The chief difficulty in the way of such a plan," said The Elementary School Teacher, "is that most people have no conception of public life except that under the administration of a boss. The press and public, generally, regard our common-school system as now administered in this country as being of necessity under the control of a boss, though whether this function resides in the superintendent or board of education is, in most places, still an unsettled question. The idea of the boss being uppermost, people jumped to the conclusion, therefore, that Dr. De Bey's plan means that the teachers shall be the boss, and that the collar now worn by themselves shall be placed upon the necks of the superintendent and board. It has not dawned upon the average mind that there yet may be a plan evolved which will eliminate the boss, and under which all will have the opportunity and the privilege of co-operating and contributing to the common good up to the limits of their power to help. That is the spirit of Dr. De Bey's plan, and that is all there is to it." It is also the spirit of the proposed advisory council of teachers, and all there is to that.

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In some such way, and only in some such way, can those despotic tendencies in education be checked, which now curse our public-school system and add to the corruption of our civic life. We are in the midst in our country of a conflict between the despotic and the democratic spirit in education, and of that general conflict the instances here described are phases.

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My papa owns a newspaper!  
Dat's nuthin'; I buy and sell sixty of 'em every day.—New York Times.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### NEW ZEALAND.

Auckland, N. Z., March 22.—At the coming session of Parliament it is probable that a bill largely reducing customs duties will be passed. This will doubtless interest you, especially when considered in connection with the action of the government regarding the land value tax. Land speculators are ferocious about it. The site valuation has been brought up to date, and the tax has risen accordingly. But worse than that for the land speculators, the boroughs that have adopted land value taxation for local purposes are required to levy their rates on the basis of the government's valuation. In some of the boroughs the rate is 3 3-4 pence in the pound of capital value; that is, a section valued at £100 (say \$500) pays £1 11s 3d (say \$7.50) per annum local taxes. But on land worth over £500 the general land tax of a penny in the pound is levied in addition to the local rate, thus making the total land value tax in such cases 4 3-4 pence in the pound. Adding special rates to this, generally a quarter of a penny in the pound, and we have a total of 5d in the pound. If, then, the full single tax were 4 per cent. per annum of the capital value of land irrespective of its improvements, we have got in some parts of New Zealand about half way to the single tax.

GEORGE STEVENSON.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

Week ending Wednesday, May 2.

### Labor Conflict in France.

The European "labor day," May 1st, was the occasion of serious military and police violence in Paris. There had been striking of an alleged violent character in the French mining regions during April; several trades were also on strike in Paris, but peaceably; and more extended striking for the eight-hour workday throughout France was set for the 1st. Meanwhile rumors became rife that the royalists were encouraging these labor demonstrations in the expectation of consequent disorders of sufficient magnitude to overthrow the republic and make a restoration of royalty possible. The fact that the parliamentary elections are to take place on the 6th, doubtless had much to do with fomenting the excitement. At any rate the government appears to have been sufficiently alarmed, apparently by fears of the royalists more than of the strikers per se, to cause it to forbid all labor demonstrations on May 1st, and troops were massed at important points. In addition to this,

wholesale searches of the houses and offices of royalists, Bonapartists, anarchists, the Federation of Labor and labor leaders were made for incriminating proof.

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When the first of May came the troops and the police took possession of Paris. Workmen were confined to their home districts, and many of their leaders were arrested. No parading was allowed, and whenever crowds gathered they were dispersed. Hundreds were cut down with sabers, prodded with bayonets, trampled on by cavalry and clubbed by the police.

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#### Labor Demonstrations in the United States.

Celebrations of the European "labor day" were undertaken in the United States on the 1st by socialist organizations. In New York a large meeting, held at the Grand Central Palace, was presided over by John Spargo, under the supervision of a detail of 75 policemen. It was held for the purpose of protesting against an unfair prosecution of the officers of the Western Federation of Miners (p. 28), now awaiting trial in Idaho on charges of murdering ex-Governor Steunenberg. The meeting is reported in the dispatches to have been "as orderly as a church convention," the "only suggestion of the spirit of revolt" being "the sale of little red flags" and the display of red flags having "a gold emblem of an arm and torch on them." In Newark, N. J., a socialist parade was stopped by the police because the paraders displayed a red flag. In Chicago the parade, numbering more than 3,000, was permitted; but the police forbade the carrying of red flags, and one of the flag bearers was arrested.

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#### Status of the Coal Strike.

Since the decision of the bituminous coal miners early in April to allow special agreements with employers willing to restore the old wage scale (p. 10), negotiations have been in progress with both bituminous and anthracite operators.

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Many of the bituminous operators have agreed to this scale, and their competitors proposed arbitration to the miners on the 20th. This was refused by the miners on the grounds, first, that "no arbitration scheme would be fair that did not take into consideration the earnings of company stores, company houses or railroad companies operating mines and docks, and other subsidiary companies connected with or incident to the production of coal," and second, that when so many operators in the same fields have restored the old scale of wages it would be unjust to arbitrate with their competitors who reject the scale. In concluding his reply for the miners, Mr. Mitchell said: "We are willing to meet you at any time to consider the signing of a scale on the same basis as your competitors have already signed, but we cannot be a party to any such unfair and partial arbitration scheme as you propose." The operators whose arbitration overtures were thus rejected, claim to represent 90 per cent of the total coal tonnage of Ohio, 75 per cent. of that of the

Hocking Valley district, 90 per cent. of that of Indiana, and 90 per cent of that in Illinois. Against these operators the strike is now in force.

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The anthracite negotiations have come to a deadlock over the refusal of the operators to consider any modification of their own terms, which are that the award of the anthracite strike commission of 1902 be renewed for three years, or that there be an arbitration only as to the question of "what changes, if any, shall be made in the scale of wages fixed by the commission in its original award." The miners stand for a revival of the award, subject to certain specified increases in wages ranging from 15 per cent. for dollar-a-day men down to 5 per cent. for those getting more than \$1.75 a day.

\*

Pending these negotiations the men in the anthracite mines have suspended work, and collisions with State police have occurred. The most serious was at Mount Carmel, Pa., on the 30th, when four of the police were injured with stones and seventeen men and boys were wounded. Four of the latter were reported as in a dying condition. One of the men who were shot, Paul Pulaski, vice president of district No. 9 of the miners, being interviewed on the 1st, said:

All has been quiet to-day. There has been no act of violence. This proves that there would not be trouble if the State troopers did not come and excite the people. The mine workers have been and will continue to be quiet and orderly.

The Sheriff, J. R. Sharpless, in a concurrent interview, said:

I ordered the State troopers to remain behind the stockade at the Sayre colliery to-day. They wanted me to permit them to march through the town. Had I done so they would have excited the people, and there would have been more trouble. As long as the State troopers keep out of town I expect that there will be no trouble.

The peace was not disturbed at Mount Carmel on the 1st. The troopers who engaged in the fight and the re-enforcements which reached them on the 1st, did not attempt to enter the town, but remained in the Sayre colliery. "Some of the troopers wished to ride into town to show," say the despatches, "that they had not been intimidated by the attack of the 30th, but more pacific advice prevailed and further trouble was avoided."

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#### Strike on the Great Lakes.

One of the largest of the May day strikes is that of the Lake Pilots' Protective Association, which began at midnight of the 30th and may paralyze the commerce of the Great Lakes. It is understood that the handlers of ore, coal, grain and package freight will support the striking pilots should non-union pilots be employed. The strike is not for higher wages, but for recognition by the Lake Carriers' Association, the employers' union, of the Lake Pilots' Protective Association, the pilots' union. It is therefore made against the Carriers' Association only, lumber-carrying and passenger vessels being exempt. The Lake Carriers' Association controls 80 per cent. of the lake tonnage.



**Structural Iron Workers' Strike in Chicago.**

After an interval of some five years, the building trades in Chicago were again disturbed by a strike on the 2nd—one of the largest of the May-day strikes. The immediate cause of this strike is a wages dispute, the men demanding \$5 for an 8-hour day, and the contractors offering \$4.60 for four months and \$4.80 for the remainder of the year. The men voted for the strike 3 to 1. In behalf of the strikers' demand it is said that the average of life in the trade is only ten years.

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**Municipal Ownership in Omaha.**

The election of James C. Dahlman, a Democrat, as mayor of Omaha on the 1st, is of national interest because Omaha is a Republican city and Mr. Dahlman was elected, along with a Democratic council, after a strenuous campaign for municipal ownership. The platform, in one of its planks, pointed to—

the fact that the Democrats under the leadership of Mayor Dunne in Chicago and under the leadership of William Randolph Hearst in New York represent to the fullest extent the principle of public ownership of public utilities, and so they are hereby pledged to do in Omaha.

In other planks, Mr. Dahlman and his party were pledged to municipal ownership of water works, electric lights, gas, street cars, telephones and all other public utilities. Whereas, at the previous election a Republican was elected mayor by 1,000 and the council had but one Democrat in it, Mr. Dahlman is elected by 2,790 and the council has but one Republican in it.

\* \*

**Municipal Ownership in Chicago.**

An attempt is being made by the Chicago traction interests to secure a rehearing in the United States Supreme Court on the 99-year question recently decided against them (vol. viii, p. 837), and an application for that purpose was made at Washington on the 26th. No decision on the application is yet reported.

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At the request of Alderman Werno, the chairman of the reorganization committee on local transportation of the Chicago council, Mayor Dunne outlined a policy on the 28th regarding the traction question (pp. 32, 52), in the prosecution of which he invited the co-operation of the committee and the council, stating that the work of the committee—

naturally divides itself into two great parts:

1. The accomplishment of municipal ownership of the street railway system; and
2. The improvement of our street railway service while municipal ownership is being established.

Referring then to the fact that "the people of Chicago have repeatedly expressed their opinion in favor of municipal ownership of the street railway system, and at the last election definitely voted in favor of the ordinance which has been passed by the city council for the purpose of providing the financial means by which municipal ownership may be accomplished," Mayor Dunne assumed in his letter that the committee would "fully accept the result of this election in good faith and co-operate in all proper and reasonable ways to carry into effect the

will of the people." Upon this assumption he outlined the present situation, and proposed and explained at length his plan for securing complete municipal ownership immediately upon the payment by the city of the cost of the plant with improvements, and good service meanwhile. His proposals may be briefly summarized as follows:

I. As the first practical step the existing companies should be given a reasonable opportunity to save the remnant of their property by making a fair adjustment. Accordingly, if they will promptly agree to enter into negotiations upon a broad principle of adjustment, such negotiations should be had. The principle of adjustment should be: (1) reconstruction by the companies; (2) unified service; (3) universal transfers, and (4) operation under revocable license. If this principle of adjustment be promptly accepted by the companies, the details of negotiation should require: (a) a fair valuation of the present value of the present lawful property of the companies, and an agreement by the companies to sell therefor to the city; (b) an agreement by the city to allow a fair investment return to the companies upon such value, and also upon such investment in reconstruction as the city requires or authorizes; (c) an agreement by the city to give a fair share of the net operating profits to the companies, in addition to the investment return, so long as they are allowed to operate; (d) an agreement by the companies allowing the city to take over the system at any time upon paying the present agreed value of the present property, plus the actual authorized investment in reconstruction; (e) meanwhile, a fair share of net operating profits to go into a sinking fund for aiding in the payment for the property upon taking over the same.

II. If the present companies refuse or neglect to negotiate promptly upon the foregoing basis, then a construction company should be organized to proceed at once to reconstruct the system upon a fair construction profit, with right to operate until the investment and profit are repaid, the profits of operation to be applied (1) to paying interest on the investment, and (2) to repayment of the principal sum.

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This is in substance the same plan that Mayor Dunne submitted nearly a year ago, known as the "contract plan," differing from that only in minor details and in the fact that he now makes overtures to the present companies. Should these proposals be seconded in good faith by the aldermen and accepted by the present companies, complete municipal ownership would depend only upon payment for the plant. The present value of the companies' property would be at once appraised. The character and cost of reconstruction would be at once decided upon and reconstruction would begin. The work would be done by the present companies, and they would continue operation under circumstances making good service more profitable than poor service. Meanwhile, the constitutionality of the Mueller law would be carried to the highest court, along with the validity of the city ordinance drawn under its provisions, and the legal value of Mueller certificates would be thereby established. Should the court's decision be adverse, changes in the law or the ordinance, or both, could be made without disturbing the process of establishing municipal ownership or interfering with the improvement of the service. If the decision should be favorable (and even if unfavorable, then after any adjudicated defects in the law or the ordinance had been cured), the financial value of the Mueller certificates would be established, and out of the proceeds of their sale the property could be paid for and at once taken over, thereby establishing complete municipal ownership. As the sinking fund would have accumulated progressively

meanwhile, the amount of Mueller certificates requisite would be diminished in proportion to the delay. In addition to it all, as the people would in the interval have had ample opportunity to vote, with the requisite majority, for municipal operation, the completion of the process of securing ownership by the city would be supplemented by the establishment of operation also by the city.

\* \*

#### Political Events.

The Chicago Protective Alliance (p. 32) held its first nominating convention on the 29th, the nominations being for candidates at the Democratic primaries. Each candidate is required to sign a pledge that he will make the contest in good faith and keep himself free from entangling alliances with any of the old party leaders. He is also pledged to resign if a majority of his constituents demand it. The speakers in the convention were emphatic in their declarations that the movement is not an independent one. The intention is to turn out the labor vote in such numbers at the Democratic primaries as to capture the party machinery and let the labor candidates stand as the nominees of the Democratic party.

\*

The Kansas convention of the Democratic party at Topeka on the 25th nominated ex-Senator William A. Harris for Governor, and David Overmeyer for Attorney General. The platform declares against railroad passes, and for a 2-cent per mile passenger fare. A sensational feature of the convention, as reported, was the speech of the State chairman, Mr. Sapp, who scored Governor Hoch for enforcing the prohibition law in Kansas City, Kan., where there is a Democratic mayor, Mr. Rose, and ignoring violations in cities with Republican mayors.

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The Republicans of Kansas on the 2nd nominated Gov. Hoch for re-election.

\*

In Indiana Democrats who oppose Thomas Taggart's management of the party met at Indianapolis on the 30th and organized a wing of the party by the name of the "Democratic League for the Recovery of Majority Rule." The leader in the movement is John W. Holtzman, formerly mayor of Indianapolis. The resolutions demanded the reorganization of the State committee and a revision of the party rules, and provided for issuing a manifesto based upon the broad principles of Jeffersonian democracy.

\* \*

#### An Important Church Controversy.

At Batavia on the 28th, the heresy trial of the Rev. Dr. Algernon S. Crapsey (p. 61), rector of St. Andrew's Protestant Episcopal Church at Rochester, came to an end. Dr. Crapsey's legal counsel was Edward M. Shepard, of New York. The accusations were based upon Dr. Crapsey's famous book, "Religion and Politics," and sermons he had preached, the alleged heresy consisting principally in denials of the miraculous birth of the Founder of Christianity,

contrary to the creed of the church. In his defense it was contended that belief in the creed does not foreclose individual interpretations of it. No decision has yet been reported from the ecclesiastical court before which Dr. Crapsey was tried.

\* \*

#### A Marvelous Invention.

The press dispatches of the 28th told of a marvelous invention by Tom L. Johnson, the mayor of Cleveland—an invention so marvelous that its probability was evidently not credited by the newspapers that published the report, and only a little space was given to what would fill pages if the report were taken seriously. Yet the report itself shows that in all reasonable probability the invention as described has been really made and that its marvelous possibilities may soon be realized. It consists of a car running on an overhead track with sliding shoes instead of wheels, and capable of a speed that would carry passengers from New York to Chicago in less than three hours. Friction is minimized and speed obtained by means of electrical contrivances. In recent actual tests, as reported, a theoretical speed of 400 miles an hour was demonstrated. It is not improbable that a higher rate of speed will in fact be developed.

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#### The San Francisco Disaster.

As communication with San Francisco becomes more regular, reports indicate that most of the damage was done by the fires and not by the earthquake. The earthquake did great damage to poorly constructed buildings, and to all buildings on "made" or filled-in ground. In the region of the filled-in Mission Creek, the ground settled some 12 feet, zig-zagging along the old line of the creek, and toppling buildings over on every side. But on the solid ground, on the hills and in the business district, where good foundations had been laid, but little damage was done until the fire came. The fire-proof steel structures in the business district were unharmed by the shock; and even buildings 50 years old, if well constructed, are reported to have been without a crack—not so much as flower pots on window sills being disturbed. The great damage is traceable to the economies of the private water company. Its inferior cast iron pipes were broken by the earthquake and when the fires broke out there was no water to stop their spread. Dynamite was used without avail; the debris of the dynamited buildings making better fuel than the buildings intact. Over 200,000 people are believed to be homeless. No credit can be had; transactions are in cash. Among the businesses destroyed was that of the San Francisco Star, of which James H. Barry was owner and editor. His entire property was swept away. The new postoffice building stands almost unharmed, notwithstanding the earthquake and the fire that surrounded it. Its machinery has remained in operation (the only instance), since the morning of the catastrophe. Proposals to ask the Federal government to endorse mortgage bonds for rebuilding in order to borrow at low interest, are being agitated; and Congress is considering the suspension of the tariff on steel for reconstruction purposes.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—Voting on amendments to the railroad rate bill (p. 9) in the United States Senate is to begin on the 4th.

—James E. Boyd, the only Democrat ever elected Governor of Nebraska, died at Omaha on the 30th at the age of 72.

—The New York grand jury on the 30th indicted five persons for forging signatures to petitions for the nomination last Fall of William Randolph Hearst for mayor.

—William J. Bryan addressed a special meeting of the Christian Missionary Alliance on the 29th in the Tabernacle at Jerusalem, his subject being the life of Christ.

—Official announcement of acceptance of resignation of Witte from the Russian ministry was made at St. Petersburg on the second. He will be succeeded as premier by Goremykin, formerly secretary of the interior, a reactionary in politics.

—Under the protection of an injunction John Alexander Dowle (p. 34) went to Zion City on the 29th and preached twice in the Tabernacle. At the morning meeting 200 attended; in the afternoon there were 1,500. He and his wife are reconciled.

—Frederick Starr, the distinguished anthropologist who is now in Africa upon a unique anthropological expedition, has been heard from by his friends in the United States. He has recovered from an attack of fever and reports curious experiences in Congo.

—The convention of the National Educational Association, to have been held at San Francisco, July 9, has been abandoned. The committee having decided at the same time to select no other place for meeting, there will be no meeting of the Association this year.

—The New York grand jury reported to the court on the 30th that although it wished to investigate political contributions by insurance companies (p. 59), the inquiry was not made, because District Attorney Jerome advised against it. Mr. Jerome explains that the question of criminality is now on appeal in habeas corpus proceedings in the Perkins case. Recorder Goff said to the grand jury: "It would not be the truth for me to say that you performed your whole duty; nevertheless you have rendered a signal service in accentuating the unequivocal responsibility which now rests upon the district attorney."

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### MR. ROOSEVELT AND THE MUCKRAKE.

Collier's (Ind.), Apr. 28.—Mr. Roosevelt's history is at times more bountiful than exact. In his conspicuous if inconclusive deliverance, about exposure, in spite of his talk about Bunyan's allegory, he did not bring out the fact that the Muckrake Man was symbolic not of the person engaged in sanitary activity or even curious investigation, but of the gentleman whose energies were

devoted to coining worldly fortunes. Bunyan was attacking neither the errors of generally sound reformers nor the excesses of wild and guesswork specialists in loud noise, but the able financiers who are objects of wonder and envy to weak man. What Bunyan had in mind was not Lawson, Steffens, Phillips, Sinclair, or any journalist, good or bad, but Ryan, Belmont, Rockefeller, Walsh and Baer. Mr. Roosevelt, when he has time, might put this point in his pipe and smoke at it for a while, or, better, take "The Pilgrim's Progress" and give an extra minute to its perusal.

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### DR. CRAPSEY'S TRIAL.

Auburn (N. Y.) Citizen (Ind. Dem.), Apr. 28.—We think the trial of Doctor Crapsey was most unfortunate and ill-advised. . . . We think it would have done the church less harm to let Doctor Crapsey continue his preaching, than to make him a martyr, for the scandalous proceedings at Batavia can scarcely fail to have that effect. We cannot see how any one can view those proceedings from an unprejudiced point of view, without a great regret that the trial, if trial there was to be, should not have been carried on with some regard to decency if not of propriety. The spectacle of a court, where the majority of the judges are appointed by the accusing party, is not an edifying one. Neither is the matter bettered when this court refuses reasonable delay, for fear, so it is alleged, that the meeting of a superior body might in some way prevent its action. When we add to this the spectacle of the prosecution's one and only witness being the unfortunate clergyman to whom we have referred, who admits taking notes of a sermon, apparently in the hope that it may lead to his rector's dismissal, who applies in advance for the position which he hopes will soon be vacant, and when he is placed upon the stand twists and squirms and refuses to answer, and on top of all this, when the court, the majority of which the prosecution has directly named, refused to hear any of the numerous witnesses called for the defendant, the lay mind is fairly staggered. . . . Without regard to the merits of the controversy, the conduct of the trial has been a grave scandal.

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### MAYOR DUNNE'S TRACTION LETTER.

Chicago Chronicle (Rep.), May 1.—What the Mayor gravely proposes is that the companies shall fix a price on their properties and invest perhaps \$20,000,000 in improving them and then repay themselves out of their own profits, after which everything they have shall belong to the city. If the traction companies will not agree to this he proposes to find a construction company that will be attracted by such terms. Of course the traction companies would not listen to such a proposition.

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), Apr. 29.—The letter of Mayor Dunne to Chairman Werno of the council transportation committee is an admirable statement of the traction situation and should be carefully read and considered by our readers. It seems to us that the programme suggested by the Mayor looking to the immediate rehabilitation of the traction systems is entirely feasible and desirable and should meet with the cordial approval of the council and the traction companies themselves.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), Apr. 30.—The chief argument in favor of the Mayor's new plan is that if the companies reject it the city's policy of municipal ownership and operation will be still more impregnable. If the companies decline an offer that permits them to retire with profit and the semblance of honor, they will merely make the demand for municipal ownership and operation unanimous. . . . The vital point is to insist that no new operating contract, for a specified term, shall be smuggled into the proposed "rehabilitation" agreement, on the ground of expediency.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), May 1.—Mayor Dunne would like to have the traction companies reconstruct their lines upon certain conditions. One is that they are able and willing to enter into an agreement to sell to the city their tangible property and unexpired rights at a price to be now fixed. . . . It will do no harm to ask the

traction companies whether they are able and willing to agree to sell, and, if so, to name a price. They should give the information promptly if asked for it, and not name so excessive a price as to make bargaining impossible. They have a lot of old junk in the way of cable equipment which cannot be used much longer, no matter who operates the lines. It would be a mistake to ask too much for that or for unexpired rights which are speedily running out.

Chicago Daily News (Ind.), May 2.—It would be unfortunate for all persons and interests concerned if the impression should get abroad that Mayor Dunne's declared policy of inviting the traction companies to combine and then to reconstruct and operate the car lines of Chicago under a revocable license indicates a surrender of his municipal-ownership plans. Some shallow or designing critics are endeavoring to implant this idea in the public mind. Yet no one can give an intelligent reading to the Mayor's letter to the chairman of the local transportation committee without discovering abundant proof that the only change in the Mayor's policy consists in the substitution of practical methods of arriving at municipal ownership for impractical ones. The Mayor declares that there should be no term contract of any kind with the capitalists who undertake to reconstruct and operate the traction lines. On the contrary, they should understand from the outset that the city insists upon being left free to purchase and take over at any time, on reasonable notice, the entire traction system. . . . The council apparently is in hearty accord with the Mayor in the policy which the latter has outlined. This, therefore, is the "last call" for the traction people. If they have nothing to offer in the way of a reconstruction plan in harmony with the essential features of the Mayor's plan the city will proceed to make other arrangements. It should not be especially difficult to interest outside capitalists in the profitable construction work which is about to begin here. But they will not get a term grant. The road to municipal ownership may be long or short, according to the attitude taken by the courts on important questions yet to be decided, but Chicago is traveling that road with all diligence. In the meantime it will erect no new barriers to prevent the completion of the journey whenever it chooses to take the final steps.

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#### AN EASTERN VIEW OF CHICAGO POLITICS.

Collier's (Ind.), Apr. 28.—Municipal ownership is a leading issue of the day; Chicago has that issue by the horns, and Mayor Dunne is protagonist in the battle. The Mayor and the council are now somewhat at odds. Mr. Dunne offended Democratic partisans by ignoring party lines entirely during the campaign. He now offends them more by asking Mr. Walter Fisher to be his legal adviser on the traction tangle. Mr. Fisher supported Mr. Harlan against Judge Dunne. Mr. Raymond Robins, whom some men consider the most effective moral force in Chicago to-day, brought about the arrangement between the Mayor and the moving spirit in the Municipal Voters' League, and Mr. Robins was chief adviser to Mr. Harlan, a post which he came later to occupy toward Mayor Dunne. Partisan Democrats can not see why the Mayor should use the talents of men who voted for his opponent. Before Joe Patterson abandoned his big task as commissioner of public works, the Mayor stood by him in drastic measures which disgusted the politicians and their henchmen. Judge Dunne is deserving well of Chicago. He and Mr. Fisher and the council and the citizens may solve the puzzle in the remaining year of the Mayor's present term, or they may not, but in the moral spirit, at least, with which he has approached his intricate undertaking, the Mayor's record is a good one. Whether or not he will be renominated depends partly on the traction developments of the present year, and partly on the ins and outs of politics as played by Hearst, Harrison and the minor individuals of the busy world of politics and wires.

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#### AFRICAN DEMOCRACY.

(East London, So. Af.) Izwi Labantu (Kaffir), Mar. 20.—The white man, the brown man or the black man who would like to get liberty for himself, from which others are debarred who have equal claims to it, is a tyrant at

heart, although he may not know it. . . . The idea of patriotism is not one race against the other, but all the races against capitalistic tyrants who are responsible for these divisions. The war is against those monsters of tyranny who threaten to throw this country into cold storage, mining camps, and trade corrals, and to use the garrisons to overawe the loyal inhabitants as they are doing with the Zulus, as they did with the white labor in the Rand, and as some of their confederates in the Cape ministry have shown an inclination to do with the colored people of the western provinces, acting doubtless under the inspiration of the mining magnates in one concerted policy. This is no time to allow them to separate and weaken the people, but rather is it a time for unity of sentiment and policy on the part of all the white and colored people who value their liberties.

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#### GREAT FORTUNES.

The Outlook (rel.), Apr. 21.—Law must at least so far modify the tariff as to prevent it from being a stimulant to the acquisition of great fortunes. It must bring all corporations under such legislative supervision and control that the common people can invest their savings in productive industrial enterprises as safely as they are now invested in savings banks. Above all, it must, by a system of taxation on the land and its contents, secure to the people that common wealth which under our present industrial system is put up to be gambled for by the unscrupulous or laid hold of for their own benefit by the astute and the strong.

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## IN CONGRESS

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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, Apr. 23-29.

#### Senate.

Further relief resolutions were adopted on the 23d (p. 5836), and the bill for the regulation of railway rates (p. 5838), as well as the Indian appropriation bill (p. 5840) was under consideration. The Indian appropriation bill was under consideration also on the 24th (p. 5881) and the 25th (p. 5908). On the 26th no business of general importance was done; but consideration of the railway rate bill was resumed on the 27th (p. 6034), and on the 28th the Indian appropriation bill was considered (p. 6139) and passed (p. 6161).

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#### House.

The District of Columbia appropriation bill was under consideration on the 23d (p. 5855) and passed; but on the 24th there was no session. The agricultural appropriation bill was taken up on the 25th (p. 5919), and its consideration continued on the 26th (p. 5955). The 27th was devoted to private bills, and on the 28th consideration of the agricultural appropriation bill was resumed (p. 6161).

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#### Record Notes.

Speech of Senator La Follette on regulation of railway rates (p. 5960). Text of Foraker amendment to railroad rate bill relative to review by the courts (p. 6037).

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"Remember this," said the primary school teacher, "a plural subject takes a plural verb—a girl is, a boy is; girls are, boys are. Now do you understand?"

Every hand was raised in assent.

"Well, then, who will give a sentence with girls in the plural?"

This time only one hand was raised. "Please ma'am," said the little girl, "I can give a sentence: 'Girls, are my hat on straight?'"—Chicago Chronicle.

## RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

### THE BLEATING OF THE LAMBS.

Dear Father abune, take tent tae Yer weans,  
For sair they are greeting wi' hunger an' cauld;  
maud doon Yer heid till I tell Ye oor grievance—  
We're just Yer puir lammies put oot o' the fauld.

The big sheep and goats got a' the fresh fother—  
I ken weel Ye laid doon enouch for us a';  
But they struggled, an' buntit, an' foucht wi' each other,  
An' grabbed till they left us just naething ava.

They've mair than enouch, but greed kens nae limit;  
Some trample doon what they get for their pains;  
And some strut aroon wi' the pride they take in it,  
While others stand guard ower their ill-gotten gains.

We stood it until we grew desperate wi' hunger,  
And stole frae their bundles a moothfu' or twa;  
Then they wowed they wad thole wi' thieves there nae  
langer.  
And clubbed a'thegether and drove us awa'.

We tell't them that we were sae hungry and lonely,  
And feart for the big wolf that prowls up an' doon;  
But they bade us begone, the fauld was theirs only,  
And they didna want us tae be hanging aroon.

O wull Ye no' tell them tae treat us mair fairly—  
Tae gie us a corner in the bield o' the wa'?  
O, bid them be honest and share up richt squarely  
The bonny fresh fother Ye meent for us a'.

—C. Kyle Anderson, in *Scottish American*.

### A FATAL OBJECTION.

Labor was wild. He found his work very hard, his head was swelled, and he didn't know his place, and he was unreasonable and violent; so they took him to the Social Reform Clinic, and considered his case.

When he was stripped, an iron collar appeared embedded in his neck, and Doctor Lord explained that many years ago, when Labor was a child of wandering habits, he had put the collar on him, and that it had never seemed to do him any harm. He said also that, anyhow, there was plenty of room for Labor outside of the collar.

Doctor Legis suggested compulsory arbitration to decide what was really Labor's place. Doctor Ate-ower said: "I think that to shorten his days would lengthen his life." Doctor Malitia said that his system needed stimulation. "Now," said he, "if we could get him into a fight, so he wouldn't think about his own condition—"

Doctor Boness said a share in the profits of exploiting would do Labor good.

Doctor Status said an old age pension would help Labor very much if he lived long enough, but that if he should die sooner, what he needed was an Association for the Reduction of Funeral Expenses.

"A law against sweating," said Doctor Statute. "And against drinking," said Doctor Prohib; "if he didn't drink he wouldn't sweat." "And against gambling and other excitements," added Doctor Nosey. "Not forgetting," said Doctor Vigllart, "a law against immorality (of the cheaper grades)."

"Why not remove the iron collar?" asked an or-  
derly.

"My friends," said Doctor Conservita, "we have had many excellent suggestions here to-day from my learned colleagues; all of which we will try again, if the patient can be kept quiet; but we are not here to consider the revolutionary theory of this Radical"

So they discharged the orderly. Labor had another fit that night and cut Doctor Conservita's throat.

—Bolton Hall, in *Life*.

## STATE AND MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP IN SWEDEN.

### II. THE TELEGRAPH SYSTEM.

For The Public.

The telegraph system of Sweden is operated in connection with the telephone system, but financially the two systems are independent of one another. Experience has proven that it is of advantage to conduct the various departments of public property as independent concerns; in fact, it may be properly said that each department stands in the same relation to the various other departments as would a private concern. Each is charged for services rendered, and each pays the same fees as would be required from any private person or firm. But it must be understood that at the same time the greatest possible cooperation exists between the various departments, which not only greatly reduces cost, but gives increased convenience to the public. Thus, for instance, in all smaller villages near the railroads, the postal service and the railroad service are always connected, so that one person at the same time fills the place of village postmaster and station master. He receives part of his compensation from the postal department, and part of it from the railroad department. Even in the case where the railroad is not operated by the government this arrangement has been successfully carried out to the satisfaction of all concerned.

The financial independence of each department mentioned above makes it possible to very closely estimate the paying qualities of each. It makes it possible to determine where improvements are necessary, and where rates can be still further reduced without impairing the departments' self-supporting qualities.

The public utilities owned or operated exclusively or partly by the national government are the telephone system, the telegraph system, the postal service (including parcel post and postal savings banks), the railroads (including express service), and such repair shops and factories as must necessarily be conducted in cooperation with the various departments above. But the government has never acquired any business that is of strictly private nature, nor has it ever established any state monopoly in any branch where competitive industry can be successfully left to itself.

The telegraph system, as well as all the other various departments, is conducted on the principle that it is to be not only self-supporting, but that within a certain number of years it is to pay for its construction. The Swedish government has given state ownership a fair trial, having operated telegraph lines for more than fifty years, and the venture has proven a complete success. The rates are low,

the service is all that could be expected, and there have always been surplus earnings every year for the last 45 years.

The money for the construction of public telegraph lines is advanced by the general state treasury, a certain time limit being prescribed, when the amount has to be all paid back with usual interest. Surplus earnings are either used in the construction of new lines or are turned over to the state treasury.

The main telegraph system of Sweden belonging to the government under the supervision of the telegraph department, is supplemented by a number of lines operated by the railways along the roads. Of course some of these lines are in fact also public property, in as much as all main railroads are public property. But as these lines are considered as an integral part of the railroad system, they are administered in connection with the railroad department. Private railroads also operate telegraph lines along their roads, all of which, however, are cooperating with the main system, owned by the state, and open to the public on the same conditions and at the same rates as the government's lines.

The length of the state owned cables (those only belonging to the telegraph department are here referred to) was at the beginning of the year 1900 not less than 5,500 miles; and the length of the wires was 16,500 miles. The length of all cables in the country was at the same time 9,000 miles; and of the wires, 28,500 miles.

The government constructed its first telegraph line in 1853, and in 1856 the administrative bureau, which takes care of and operates the public lines, was established. This bureau also regulates and has supervision over the lines which work in cooperation with the government's lines.

No complaints of any serious kind have ever been known to have been made against the public telegraph system, as owned and operated by the government; and the corruption that is often claimed would be the result of a system of government ownership is practically unknown to Sweden. But it must be remembered that the details have been worked out during a long period of years, and that publicity of results and accounts, contracts and agreements, to a great extent prevent and eliminate possibilities for corruption.

As to the rates charged, it must be remarked in the first place that rates are uniform all over the country, independent of distance, in the same manner as are postal rates in this country. The longest lines are about 1,000 miles, and the rate is \$0.0135 a word; however, a minimum rate is fixed at \$0.135 cents for all telegrams not exceeding ten words in length.

The financial outcome has, as mentioned before, always proven a success, and in 1899 the incomes exceeded the expenses by \$110,000.

The construction cost of the lines is, if anything, higher than in this country, the wire having to be imported, and the lines being constructed with extreme care. The operating expenses are naturally somewhat lower, the compensation paid to operators being less in proportion than here. This difference, however, by no means accounts for the difference in rates charged by private telegraph companies in the United States, and it could easily be admitted that the usual rates in this country could be cut in half

if the government owned and operated the lines, as it now does the postal service. Lower rates would also increase the amount of business, and thus make the proposition a still more favorable one. What other countries can do with success there ought to be no reason why the United States could not do, thereby decreasing instead of increasing the present corruption, and adding to the comfort and convenience of the citizens.

ERIK OBERG.

\* \* \*

## HUMAN KINDNESS IN WRECKED SAN FRANCISCO.

Ashton Stevens in San Francisco Examiner. Reprinted Here From the Coast Seamen's Journal of April 25, 1906.

In the wreck of San Francisco the courage of her people found expression in kindness. The minds of the survivors are yet a little numb. The picture fails to reveal itself as a whole; it comes to us detached, broken; the perspective is all awry. We are so close to it that vision seems to have been reversed and we are miles and miles removed. San Francisco is fighting her way back to her budding in the yet steaming ruins of Lower South-of-Market street; the resonant music of hammer on nails is heard near the Ferry building; already, before the smoke has cleared, the stimulus of reconstruction is in the air.

And fragments of the picture come back to the survivors, the reconstructors. It is only natural that that they should be very personal. Each man has a story in his breast, a raw, incomplete narrative of terror. That is the splash of red on the canvas, and concerns not so much man as the elements. That was revealed in a single shock, and at best imperfectly understood, for the sedentary intellect of the twentieth century is hardly equipped to cope with anything so direct, so uncomplicated, so unsubtle, so brutal. This modern intellect has less difficulty grasping the kindness of man for man.

Human conduct was put to a terrible test, and survived it. Out of my own experience I recall only kindness. None was so hard put as not to help another, even though the help went no farther than a word. Let me be more specific.

When the ceiling came down on the top floor of the Occidental Hotel we fled, with barely enough clothes for panic modesty. Among the absent articles were one pair of shoes. I barefooted it up Bush street towards Grant avenue, for the overhead trolley and telegraph wires in Montgomery and Kearny streets were falling. Near Kearny street an all-night cabman stood at his horse's head. He hailed me. His eyes glazed with terror, he said: "Let me drive your wife and you somewhere. It won't cost you a cent. You know me—honest, too bad, it won't cost you a cent! Let me drive you somewhere. Let me drive you to the cemetery."

That was kindness, and it was kindness as unconscious of ghastliness as of humor.

At Grant avenue we were joined by a stranger, completely clad save for a collar. My bare feet troubled him more than they did me.

"Here!" he said. "Here's a shoe store. Break the window and take a pair. You can pay for them later—if there is any later."

"Not yet," said I.

"I guess you're right. It might start the looting."

We were walking Grant avenue, making for Portland square. "Here," he cried suddenly, "there's a Jap store and the fellow's just opening it. Get a pair of slippers."

I started for the shop; my hand went mechanically for my pocket—it was empty. The stranger read my face.

"You forgot your money. Help yourself to mine."

Three gold twenties and a five-dollar gold piece were on his palm.

His thumb projected one of the twenties. He was "forcing" it as sleight-of-hand men "force" a card.

I took the \$5 piece, gave it to the Jap and put on a pair of upperless bath slippers. The Jap gave me change—\$4.65. He could not have been cooler had the earthquake been merely a Russian army. I turned to give the change to the stranger.

"Put it in your pocket," he said, "and I wish you'd take some more. It may come in handy this day."

"You don't know me," I said.

"You don't know me," he answered, "and there's no time for exchanging cards."

After five minutes of argument on my part the stranger gave me his name and address.

In that fragment of the picture his kindness is very vivid.

My next helpful brother is a Chinaman. We met him in Portsmouth square, where hundreds on hundreds of his countrymen were gathered. Of all of them, he alone wore the product of the American clothing store. I fancied that a cigarette might go with the tweeds. I was itching for a smoke, and asked him for one, and got it, and more than it.

"A pair of socks will warm your feet, and I've got another pair for the lady," said my Chinese stranger. "Come with me. It's only over the way to Sacramento street. I own the drug store next door to the Chinese doctor."

Yes, he was kind.

So was the gentle old lady that found a seat with us on a bench in the square and opened her telescope basket and gave to the lady of my itinerant household a pair of leather slippers. Those slippers are still in commission. They shall be precious souvenirs when the city is rich again, but just now they are as blessedly useful as my own shoes, which they were the means of restoring to their original owner.

We slept in another square, the Alamo, high over Hayes valley; and there, too, all was kindness.

"To-morrow will be a hard day for the poor," said a man that had banked \$15,000 the day before.

"For the poor!" laughed a big-hearted Irish cook that had escaped with a pillow-slip full of tinned beef. "For the poor!" she laughed, giving him a can of beef. "I'd like to know what the rich have got to be rich with."

Tom Ferguson dug me up next morning. "I don't know you," he said, without reproach, "but I kept the saloon at 719 Market, and I'm a friend of some friends of yours. How much money have you got?"

"A couple of dollars."

"Not enough. You'll be wanting to get your family over to Oakland, and you'll have to bribe a wagon or an automobile. Take this twenty. Oh, hell, don't worry about me. I stuck a thousand dol-

lars in my pocket when the place went. That was for my friends and their friends. That's all money's for just now."

Mr. Ferguson's profession is not listed very highly by the ladies of certain worthy societies, and it might bar him from membership in clubs where his presence is not as welcome as his wares; but to me (and I confess myself prejudiced), Tom Ferguson is better than the best he ever sold. He sold whisky, but he gave of the milk of human kindness.

\* \* \*

## RAILROAD DISCRIMINATIONS.

### THE REMEDY.

#### For The Public.

What shall we say of the remedy for railroad discriminations? The thing which is absolutely essential to business and commercial freedom, is a neutral or impartial carrier. The old turnpike served rich and poor alike; it paid no rebates; it had no favorites among individuals. It was not interested in building up one town at the expense of another. It carried the small dealer's cart as safely as it did the wagon of the merchant prince. We must have the railways on the same basis, so that there will be no more unfairness or favoritism than there is to-day in the postoffice; where all must buy stamps alike, for the weight of the matter which they send.

It seems very doubtful that a really neutral carrier can be obtained short of government ownership and possibly government operation. The reasons for this conclusion are many. The owners of railways are not in business solely to sell transportation to the people. They own mills, foundries and mines; they have manufacturing establishments, farms and vineyards. They own real estate in cities and towns; they are interested in trusts and combinations. When I speak of the owners of railroads, I mean those who direct their policies. If the owner of a railroad also owns a mill or factory or real estate along the line of his road, his financial interest leads him to discriminate in favor of the mill or factory or in favor of the town where his real estate is located. He makes and remakes the tariffs of the road with a view, not only to make dividends for the road, but also to make profits for him and his friends in their business ventures. Human nature, when left to itself, can bring no other result. Again, the owner of the railway is after dividends; there may still be competition between his line and others. He is approached by a large shipper, who asks him for a special low rate and promises him in return a certain number of carloads per week to be shipped over his line, a "bonanza" for his road. He gives a special rate and his road makes dividends. The large shipper, with this special favor, drives all his competitors out of business or persuades them by inexorable logic that it is best for them to sell out; and the large shipper becomes a trust. In some cases the railway owner finds that the tables are turned, the trust is now bigger than the railroad. It dictates to the railroad, and perhaps swallows up this and other roads and runs them to suit itself. How true this is, is seen in the extensive control to-day of railroads by the Standard Oil interests. Whether the big business enterprise absorbs the

railroad, or merely continues the first arrangement for large shipments in return for special rates, the unholy alliance between business and transportation is fatal to the life of free industry and commerce.

The railroads, although given the exclusive right to run the transportation system of the country, do not accept and fulfill the duty which goes with that right. They farm out a portion of the transportation business, not because they could not do it themselves, but for purposes best known to high finance. They abdicate an important part of the business of transportation to the express companies, which have thus far operated practically without control from any source, having been held not even subject to the Interstate Commerce Act. The railroads do not perform the complete duty of transportation of passengers, but farm out a part of the service to a private company which claims to be no carrier at all, but only an inn-keeper. I refer to the providing of facilities for sleep and rest by means of sleeping and parlor cars. The passenger has to deal with two companies, and is often perplexed to know which one is responsible for his grievances. This service is an integral part of transportation, and the prices charged and practices followed should be under as strict control as those of the railway. Many railroads farm out to a private company the furnishing of a necessary part of the transportation service for perishable goods, the furnishing of refrigerator cars and ice to go in them. The curious claim is made that this is not a part of transportation, but is a local service, and therefore the rates charged for it are not under the control of any public authority. Yet the railroad compels the shipper to buy his refrigeration of a particular company at a price limited only by what this company thinks the traffic will bear. The private company is at liberty to engage, and often does engage, in buying, shipping and selling these same perishable products which are transported for the public in its care. Here we have perhaps the acme of transportation injustice, producers being bound to entrust the products of their orchards and vineyards to a company which is not a carrier with any responsibility as such, but a mere interloper, which is either actually a competitor in the shipment and sale of these products, or may easily become so. When one merchant or manufacturer has to send his goods to market in the care of his competitor and pay an exorbitant price in addition, the end of that merchant or manufacturer can readily be seen, and the way for the forming of a gigantic trust is made easy. A merchant cannot trust another merchant to carry his goods to market or fix the price of carriage; he must have a neutral carrier in order to get fair treatment. It is serious enough to have a privately owned railroad, but when a separate and private carline is ingrafted upon a private railroad, confusion is worse confounded. The shipper and producer are powerless to prevent extortion when the service is rendered; they are in a state of constant terror for fear the service will be withdrawn; and the inevitable result is the formation of a trust which will in the end dictate the price paid for perishable products to producers, and the price paid by consumers, just as the beef trust now dictates what cattle raisers shall receive and what meat consumers shall pay. The operation of these private

carlines results in the payment of rebates to the carline company under the guise of an operation agreement, and it often results in the payment of rebates to individual shippers through the irresponsible carline.

Another device for the payment of rebates, one which proceeds so nearly under the forms of law that it is often impossible to detect it, is found in the so-called industrial railroad. A manufacturing concern may have a half mile of sidetrack and switching tracks entering its grounds, and perhaps also a switching engine. The manufacturing company is forbidden by law to take rebates or to have a rate lower than its competitors. The owners of the road, or their cousins or their aunts, may be interested in the factory. Some of the factory officers, together with their bookkeepers and clerks, organize a railroad company to operate this half mile of track, which is in reality nothing but a sidetrack. This new railroad company files a joint tariff in connection with the railroad proper, and in the division of the freight rate between the two roads, is given an allowance which is nothing more or less than a rebate on the shipments of the factory. This device, when too transparent, has been investigated by the Interstate Commerce Commission and denounced as a fraud and illegal. But in other cases the division of rates between the factory sidetrack and the genuine railroad might not give to the factory so much more than a fair switching charge as to be a clear fraud or call forth the condemnation of a commission or court; and yet the rebate might exist. For in close competition between rival factories, even a discrimination of a fraction of a cent per hundred pounds may mean the decay of one and the prosperity of the other.

In the case of the private car used by the railroad for the transportation of freight, the railroad company pays mileage to the company which owns the car. This varies from three-fourths of a cent to one cent per mile for the distance traveled by the car. We cannot deny that if the railroad is to use the car of another company, it should pay for the use of the car; but if that other company is engaged in shipping the very goods which are transported in these cars for itself and its rivals in business, then the payment of mileage which is a little too large to be fair compensation, will be in fact a rebate to this one shipper. The Interstate Commerce Commission or a court may inquire whether this mileage is only a fair compensation, but in the nature of the case it is impossible for any tribunal to fix this mileage so that it may not contain a small rebate.

It is such facts as these I have mentioned, together with the ingenuity of corporation managers and attorneys in inventing means of evading statutes, and the difficulty of obtaining a carrier that will not be a merchant or manufacturer at the same time that it is a carrier—it is such facts which have led me to say it is extremely doubtful if satisfactory conditions can be obtained without government ownership of the transportation system.

But while some might disagree as to the necessity or desirability of this remedy, there can scarcely be any difference of opinion among those who view the matter from a public standpoint, as to the necessity for strict and effective government regulation. The first thing to undertake is to separate the carrying



interests as much as possible from outside business. If the carrier cannot be absolutely neutral, that is, divested of all other interests except that of transportation, it should be made as neutral as possible. To this end the railway company should be made to perform the entire service of transportation over its road, and should be forbidden to hire a part of the necessary service or equipment from any other party, except a bona fide railway company, with which it may exchange cars. This would remove the entangling business alliances of the carriers, which arise from the farming out of part of their work to express companies, sleeping car companies and private car companies. The railway company and those having the controlling interest and management of it, should be forbidden to be interested in any business which has to employ that railroad. These are rather sweeping reforms, and they have not yet been made a part of the practical program of those who are working for better railroad regulation. But it is obvious that we can never have anything that approaches a neutral carrier, until these changes are made.

The government must have and use the means to prevent excessive rates levied upon the producing and consuming public. It must prevent discrimination between individuals and between places. The separation of the carrying business and those interested in it from other business, would largely remove the motive for discrimination. But even then, while the carrier himself may not be interested in the industries which use his road, his friends or relations may be, and he is likely to have favorites if left to himself. The law must, by positive regulation, prevent his being unfair to those whom he serves.

The Interstate Commerce Act and the commission created by it have been productive of much good; but the legislation stopped short of the point which was absolutely essential to make it effective. It has not given to the commission or any other tribunal the authority to say to the railroads: "Your present rate is excessive; henceforth, that rate shall be thus and so; your present rates or practices are discriminatory, henceforth they shall be thus and so." The proposition would seem to be nearly axiomatic, that without this power in some tribunal which will act from the public standpoint, the evils already mentioned cannot be remedied. The commission has the power to pass on rates and practices and condemn them as unreasonable and order the railroads to desist from them; but it cannot tell them what is reasonable and compel them to do it. This is the authority that is asked for; and this being the authority which is effective, we may expect the railroad baron to oppose this measure with all the force, cunning and sophistry at his command. This change is the kernel of the recommendations made by the President to Congress. The commission must be given power to prohibit too low rates as well as too high rates. In cases involving discrimination between places or commodities, the power to name a maximum rate is not sufficient. It is the relation, or differential, as it is called, between the two places or the two commodities, which is the important thing. The judgment of the commission must also go into effect soon after it is pronounced. This is a vital point, for the forte of railway attorneys is delay; and very often after the delay necessary

to take the case to the Supreme Court, the conditions have entirely changed and the occasion for the making of the order by the commission has passed. If the rate prescribed by the commission is at once put into effect, the court on appeal can see by a practical demonstration of the way the new rate works in practice, whether or not it is so low as to be unjust to the railroad. If the rate or practice prescribed by the commission is so unreasonable in its effect upon the railroad as to amount on the face of it to injustice, the federal courts have the right under the constitution, which no statute can either give or take away, to suspend the operation of the commission's decree until the question may be passed upon by the courts. The commission, however, is a public body, acting in the public interest no less than any of the courts, and its judgments should be presumed to be just until the contrary is shown. If the railroad is occasionally compelled to obey a decree that is finally set aside, this is only a partial offset to the injustice which shippers and the public endure long in silence before taking the trouble to make complaint.

It is impossible here to point out in detail the objections which are made to this proposed change and the answers to these objections. A few words, however, may be said concerning those who object. It is difficult to classify people correctly according to their interest. The railroads are clever enough to enlist on their side many persons whose direct interests would seem to be with the shippers. But every large shipper who is getting a rebate in one form or another, is opposed to effective regulation. Many shippers who do not get rebates, but get special favors of some sort, are likewise in line with the railroads on this question. A shipper who has, or whose friends or relations have, railway stocks or bonds, is very likely to be found with the railroads. And many shippers who get no special favors, but who fear hostility or discrimination against them in the future, allow themselves to be counted in favor of a policy which is contrary to their real interests. Many individual shippers and representatives of boards of trade and other commercial organizations, who hope to get for their localities better rates from the railroads, and who think these better rates, which they may be lawfully entitled to, can be more easily coaxed from the railroad baron if he is kept good natured, are induced, perhaps by judicious winks of the baron's eye, to keep quiet or even express a doubt as to the advisability of the proposed regulation. How completely the industries of a locality or of a State are under the benignant protection of the railroad baron is shown by a quotation from the last annual report of the secretary of the Grand Rapids Board of Trade, in which he says that the promotion of a certain man to a commanding position in the management of a certain railroad, "has already demonstrated the domination of a broader, more liberal and generous spirit toward the industrial centers of Michigan." The secretary continues by saying that the policy of another railway official, who is in immediate charge of the lines running through Michigan, "shows a clearer appreciation of the needs of Michigan cities, and all indications are favorable to Grand Rapids." What a commentary this official report to the Board of Trade is upon the industrial freedom of the people of Michigan.

Is it any wonder that when the people or the business men of a locality are hoping for a "generous spirit" toward their industries on the part of the railroad baron, they should be inclined to be influenced by the nods of the baron's head, in regard to their attitude toward legislation that affects the baron's financial interest? The present situation, as brought out by the discussion of rate regulation, shows plainly the baleful effects of mingling public functions with private business. With the railroad baron so strongly entrenched in power that the people of cities and States are looking to him for "generous treatment" instead of demanding of him their rights, it is utterly impossible to get a fair expression of opinion on proposed legislation. The master often persuades the slave that his slavery is good, or at least makes him say so and look pleasant while he is saying it.

Many of the objections against granting this power of fixing rates to the Interstate Commerce Commission are very far-fetched. It is sometimes seriously asserted that the commission would fix rates upon a mileage basis, compelling roads to charge strictly in proportion to distance, and would therefore prevent the movement of much traffic that now goes long distances. I have said that the commission now has power to pass upon reasonableness of rates. In exercising this power it has passed upon hundreds of cases involving this very question of relation of rates to distance, and in the eighteen years during which it has been deciding these cases, it has never committed itself in any way to the making of rates in all cases proportional to distance. The commission, with its extensive experience in investigating rates and practices in all parts of the country, and on all railroads, has become more experienced and competent than the traffic officials of any limited railroad or system could be; and, most important of all, it looks at all questions from a public point of view. It has been guided by very many of the principles which have already been worked out in the theory and practice of the railroads themselves, when it has found those principles to be consistent with the public good.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize further the fact that rate regulation affects every man, woman and child in the United States. Almost every article that we use has a transportation charge included in its price. We are taxed in this way many times more than we can possibly be taxed by the tariff. If the charge is unreasonable, it is confiscation under the forms of law. Every man, woman and child feels the unjust burdens laid upon him by the trusts, which a private and unregulated railroad has called into being. Every person, except those interested in railroads or their industrial allies, is interested in bringing back industrial freedom, in freeing American citizens from the unjust and unequal burdens of transportation, in allowing the American character to shake off the servile chains it has so long worn, and reassert its independence and manhood. The issue is strictly drawn. Effective regulation means greater industrial freedom. Continuation of the present ineffective regulation means industrial dependence and subjection.

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The Minister of Marine was all things to all men. Once it fell to him to select the warship which should go to the rescue of some missionaries who had become embroiled with the heathen they were saving.

"Send a converted cruiser," said his Excellency, with rare delicacy and tact.—Puck.

\* \* \*

"The trouble with father," said the gilded youth, "is that he has no idea of the value of money."

"You don't mean to imply that he is a spendthrift."  
 "Not at all. But he puts his money away and doesn't appear to have any appreciation of all the things he might buy with it."—Washington Star.

**BOOKS**

**VAIL'S SOCIALISM.'**

Principles of Scientific Socialism. By Charles H. Vail. Republished by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago; \$1.00.

The reader who ventures far on the sea of socialistic literature is reminded forcibly of what Macaulay said regarding the Catholic church's use of enthusiasts. Whereas, said the great essayist, the Anglican church has no place for the doubter of one of the thirty-nine articles, and drives him forth to establish a new sect, the Roman church finds a place somewhere in the affairs of men, in some part of the world, where, so long as he professes allegiance to the church, he may exercise to the full his irrepressible ardor in the service of man.

It matters not whether the teacher be a Marxian or a Fourierite, a materialist or an idealist, an opportunist or a determinist, whether he appeal to the authority of the Scriptures or the teaching of history, or whether he be an adherent of the scientific or of the utopian school, so long as he flies the banner of socialism he can find somewhere in that vast school of elusive thought a place for his ideals; and though he may find few or none to quote him as an authority, he may rest assured in his own mind that he is a socialist in good standing.

The author of Principles of Scientific Socialism is, however, something more than a zealot led by blind enthusiasm. Though his main force is expended in charging windmills, he nevertheless discovers some real robbers, and belabors them soundly. It would be rash indeed for one without the cult, a mere individualist, to say what is or is not socialism—much less good socialism,—but to the reader, and particularly the American reader, seeking a brief exposition of the tenets of socialism, this book will well repay perusal. For, whether it be due to the fact that the man himself is an American, or that he really believes in something—he prefixes "Rev." to his name,—he has a directness of purpose

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In the main Mr. Vail holds to the modern socialist idea of avoiding plans. Capitalism must be destroyed, and it seems safe to infer that the government is to own and operate the means for the production and distribution of wealth; but whether labor is to be paid according to product, or according to time, is left, together with the myriad details of everyday life, to the reader's imagination. Whether this careful avoidance of plans is due to an overweening desire to ape the methods in vogue at the universities, or to the fear of practical criticism, is a matter of doubt. Color might be lent to the latter charge by the instance where Mr. Vail does enter upon the practical and say that the officials or directors of the socialistic commonwealth will be chosen as the leaders are now selected by the labor unions. In view of recent scandals connected with rings in the labor movement this illustration is unfortunate.

As to the principles of political economy Mr. Vail occupies the recognized socialistic position. By treating of value instead of wealth as basic, and calling land "capital," he is able to avoid many of the stubborn facts in the problem. He sees for instance that competition among laborers tends to make them yield up to the capitalist the "surplus-value"; but he does not grasp the fact that competition among capitalists tends to sacrifice earnings to labor; and that the reason why one tendency is stronger than the other is due to the fact of monopoly, to the power of unjust laws that enable the capitalist to collect tribute in addition to interest. Having detected a ligature about one member of the body that restricts the circulation, our socialist author would put ligatures about all other members, instead of restoring the equilibrium by cutting the first one.

STOUGHTON COOLEY.

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\* \* \*

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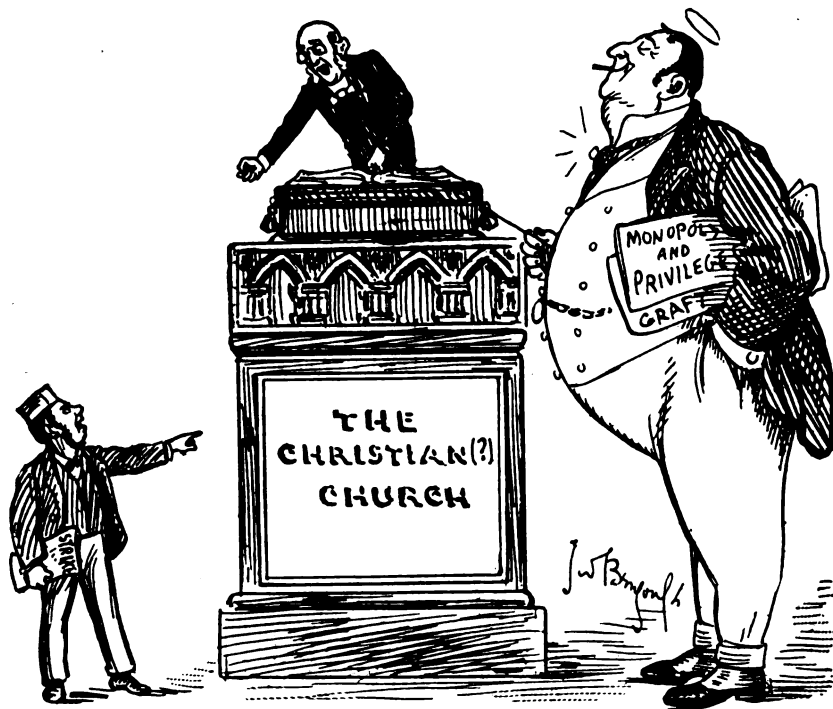
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## PERIODICALS

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Emma Goldman's magazine, *Mother Earth* (New York), of which the April number is the second, ought to be illiterate and wicked, in order to harmonize with vulgar notions about its publisher. Yet it is neither the one nor the other. While it advocates some things that many of us would oppose, we shall make our opposition more decent if not more effective if, instead of villifying Miss Goldman, we debate the merits of the questions she propounds.

McClure's for May makes an instructive mud-rake haul in another Col. Lumpkin story, and balances it off with an absurd labor-strike story by an author who evidently knows nothing about workmen, employers or the labor question. Carl Schurz's fine autobiography continues, and Burton J. Hendrick, author of the "Astor Fortune," begins a series of papers on "The Story of Life Insurance," opening with an extraordinarily lucid elementary explanation of life insurance principles and their perversion.

Under the title "Sky-Scraping Tariff Taxes," the Nation of April 5 has one of its occasional, enlightening editorials on our tariff law, showing its folly and absurdity. "There are twenty-one different commodities," says the writer, "on which there were collected in the last fiscal year duties equivalent to more than 125 per cent. ad valorem. There were fifty-seven instances of duties equivalent to over 100 per cent." It will be interesting to see how long the policy of "stand pat" can last in the face of onslaughts from without and within the sacred pale.—J. H. D.

Moody's Magazine for April, of which Byron W. Halt is the editor, follows a series of editorials on current topics of especial interest to the investing public, with John Moody's story of the Louisville and Nashville coup, and a notable symposium on currency, in which L. Carroll Root, Charles A. Conant, Wm. C. Cornwell, John DeWitt Warner and E. Benjamin Andrews are among the distinguished participants. Another valuable paper is Thomas Gibson's on Alabama's coal and iron industries, and an effective bit of controversial writing is supplied by Joseph Bondy. One humorous short story with a financial theme and really humorous gives emphasis to the intense sobriety of the rest of the magazine.

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