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EDITORIAL

Congressional Candidates of the Right Type.

At the election next week several Congressional candidates will be voted for whose democratic Democracy makes their election extremely desirable at this time of political stress and change. Robert Baker of New York is at the head of the

list. He has had experience in the House; he has proved his singlemindedness in office, and demonstrated at heavy cost that he has the full courage of his convictions; and through his alert and able services and his successful assault upon the railroad-pass abuse, he has won national distinction for disinterested devotion to the public welfare. He has won the Democratic nomination at the primaries against the opposition of "Boss" McCarren; he has been nominated also by the Independence League, although the League refused its support to every other Democratic candidate in Brooklyn, and he is endorsed by the Prohibition party. His chances of election, notwithstanding that his district is heavily Republican, are regarded as more than favorable.

✦

Next in importance to Congressman Baker we should place ex-Gov. Lucius F. C. Garvin of the second district of Rhode Island. In naming Gov. Garvin as second, we intend no invidious personal distinction. Our allusion is only to the fact that he has not seen service in Congress. But he is a thorough Democrat in the generic sense, his personal qualities are of the highest order, and the ability as well as the disinterestedness of his public service has been proved by an experience of 18 years in both houses of the Rhode Island legislature and of two terms in the gubernatorial chair. He would adorn as well as help to purify the national House of Representatives.

✦

Owing to the nomination by the Democrats of the nineteenth district of Pennsylvania of a brevet-Republican (p. 434), Warren Worth Bailey has been put forward as an independent candidate. Mr. Bailey has won his way to recognition far beyond the confines of his home State by the publication of a daily paper, the Johnstown Democrat, which may fairly be mentioned with the Springfield Republican as among the few really good newspapers of the country. While a Democratic party paper editorially, the Johnstown Democrat has never shrunk from its responsibility as a leader in democratic Democracy. Neither will its editor if elected to Congress.

✦

The traction issue in Detroit, an account of which appears in Editorial Correspondence in another column, is at such heat that the courageous

campaign for Congress of Frederick F. Ingram (p. 507) against the odds of 8,000 Republican majority is overshadowed in the newspaper reports. Mr. Ingram is a manufacturer in Detroit, whose Democracy is so democratic that it yields neither to the demands of predatory business interests nor the domination of political bosses. He is making an aggressive campaign, in which he is spreading democratic ideas of the kind that take root and bear fruit abundantly when they fall upon good ground. His presence in Congress would add greatly to the force of the coterie of genuine democrats who are likely to be elected next week.

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In Philadelphia Frank Stephens, the single tax leader there for many years, has been nominated for Congress by the Democrats of the second Pennsylvania district. The fact of his nomination by regular Democrats of Philadelphia is almost equal to positive proof that there is no chance of his election. But in this case, as it often happens in others, the little tin gods may have made one of their little mistakes. At any rate Mr. Stephens is a man of power and direct purpose. His loyalty to principle would make him seem in Congress like fresh air in a charnel house.

*

Another Congressional candidate who belongs in the group we are indicating is Frank J. Buchanan (pp. 434, 506) of the Seventh Illinois, a Chicago district. Mr. Buchanan was president of the Structural Iron Workers' International Union at the time of the struggle to rid that organization of the methods of Sam Parks, and was himself the successful leader in that struggle. Mr. Buchanan also is a democratic Democrat.

*

Other Congressional candidates of the same type are James K. McGuire, for three years Mayor of Syracuse, New York, who runs in the Syracuse district, and Charles L. Young and James T. McDermott of Chicago.

* *

Election in Chicago.

Some of the candidates on the Democratic ticket in Chicago are good men, and some were nominated fairly at the primaries—men like G. Charles Griffiths, for instance, the candidate for superintendent of county schools, and Hiram T. Gilbert, candidate for chief justice of the municipal courts. Among these are men who have rendered excellent special service—men like

Aldermen Dever, Werno, and Zimmer. No citizen will make a personal mistake by voting for these men. But the general situation seems such as to demand, what in ordinary circumstances might not be the best thing—a straight vote. The Republican ticket, despite some good men upon it, represents nothing whatever but greed for official power to be used for despotic ends. The Democratic ticket, notwithstanding its quota of some good men, represents nothing but copartnership relations with all that is worst in the Republican party. If there were a more liberal ballot law in Illinois, the Independence League could and doubtless would have endorsed the best men otherwise nominated, and by placing their names in the Independence League column on the ballot would have minimized "straight" voting. But the "bosses' law of Illinois forbids the printing of the same name in more than one column on the ballot. Under these circumstances the best way for the individual voter to condemn both corrupt parties and their tricky ballot law is by voting the ticket of the Independence League.

* *

The New York Campaign.

As the New York campaign has progressed, the fact that Hearst is unanimously opposed by the very worst classes in the community has become more and more evident. Many genuine Democrats also are opposing him, and for good reasons. Many cambric handkerchief goo-goos oppose him for dainty reasons. But the more vigorous and united opposition comes from the great sharks. Name any rich man who preys upon his fellow men, from Dunkirk to Riverhead, and without further inquiry you may class him with the Hughes crowd. That ought to be enough. No matter what one may think of Hearst, there is little room for choice between the crowd he is leading and the one that is pushing Hughes. Judge Grosscup was nearer right than usual when he said that Hearst and Hughes stand for the same things, but the followers of both believe that Hearst will do them and Hughes won't. It may be that the Hearst following will go down in defeat next Tuesday. Should that be the result, it will be less of a rebuke to Hearst than to the forward movement he personifies at this moment in New York; less a victory for Hughes than for the parasites who surround him.

* *

Woman Suffrage in New York.

The straw votes of the Harlem Equal Rights League of New York (vol. viii. p. 485), to be

taken again this Fall as described in Editorial Correspondence in another column, is an experiment well worth copying throughout the country, and we commend it to the favorable consideration of women citizens. While it may seem upon the surface like merely playing at voting, yet a succession of large votes by women through this method would speedily break down some of the most effective objections to the extension of legal suffrage to women.

* *

Secretary Shaw's Delusion.

Mr. Hearst may or may not be a Jefferson Democrat and a Lincoln Republican, but when Secretary Shaw, criticizing his claims to that double allegiance, says a man "might as well claim to be a John Wesley Arminian, and a John Knox Calvinist," Mr. Shaw shows that he knows more of obsolete theologies than of American politics. For nothing in American history is clearer than that Abraham Lincoln himself claimed again and again to be a Jefferson Democrat. In fact, the Republican party of the '50's was less a creation than a restoration. It restored the Jeffersonian principles of which the Democratic party had been divested by the slave power, pretty much as the Republican party has since been divested of its Jeffersonian principles by the money power.

* *

Is There Another Law for the Rich?

It is frequently said by working men that there is one law for them and another for the rich. This attitude of mind is deplored by leading newspapers. But unfortunately significant instances are not scarce. A recent one is that of the treatment of the Chicago Tribune last week by the grand jury. The Tribune had accused Mayor Dunne of packing the school board with boodlers. This was either true, or it was a wicked libel, for which any editor or publisher without riches or position would have been promptly indicted. But when the complaint was made against the Tribune, the grand jury wanted the Tribune to come forward with its witnesses, something unusual at best and seldom if ever done when poor men are complained of. The Tribune went into the grand jury room with witnesses and tried to prove the truth of its libelous charge. In this it failed utterly. Did the grand jury then indict the Tribune? Not at all. It censured the Tribune. Criminal indictments for the poor upon a mere prima facie case; only censures for the rich even when flagrant crime is proved and the defense breaks down: is this the rule, or has an exception been made in favor of the Chicago Tribune?

Corrupt Journalism.

The exposure of the respectable Cleveland newspapers by the Press of that city, mentioned in our Cleveland correspondence this week, is one of the most significant of all the exposures of grafting by so called decent men and papers that has yet occurred. Our correspondent explains the circumstances, and here is the contract which the Cleveland Press has unearthed:

The Hollenden. Thompson & Fox, Managers. Cleveland, October 15, 1906. The "Volnost," Mr. K. F. Tuma: This shall be your order to run the advertising of the Cleveland Electric Railway in your daily issues to the extent of one column of space, or its equivalent, in editorial matter, from Tuesday, Oct. 16, until otherwise instructed—for which the Cleveland Electric Railway agrees to pay you at the rate of \$6.00 (six dollars) per column, or thirty-six dollars (\$36.00) per week for six issues. The Cleveland Electric Railway, By W. K. Cochrane, Advertising Contractor.

The "Volnost," with which this contract was made, is a daily newspaper of Cleveland printed in the Bohemian language. W. H. Cochrane, whose signature is attached, is a "publicity" man imported by the monopoly traction people to write articles to be inserted in the Cleveland newspapers for pay. It would be well for newspaper readers everywhere to ask themselves, when interests of the Interests are at stake, how much of what they read in their favorite newspaper is "run" in its daily issue, "to the extent of one column of space or its equivalent in editorial matter," at so many dollars per column. Several important Cleveland papers, notably the Plain Dealer and the Leader, have been "running" pay matter like that bargained for above, but their contracts have not yet been disclosed to the public.

* * *

THE POLITICAL ISSUE OF TO-DAY

Whenever two political forces, the one conservative and lacking ability to realize that the world is always moving onward, the other progressive and in every contingency alert to the demands of the day—whenever two such forces come face to face, representatives of the former always charge those of the latter with inconsistency. Nor is this charge necessarily insincere. To the conservative mind the progressive spirit is always inconsistent, because the details of the reform demanded to-day are not the details of the reform necessary, or conceived to have been necessary, yesterday. And beyond details, the conservative mind cannot see. That the spirit, the essence of the reform movement, is the same to-day as yesterday, it does not comprehend. Therefore the charge of incon-

sistency may be offered in good faith, may be perfectly sincere, and still be false.

✱

Such a condition we are facing to-day in American politics. And while we admit that there are exceptions, exceptions the existence of which we on the one hand rejoice to find and on the other hand deplore to meet with, we may as well recognize from the outset that the Republican party as a whole represents the conservative and often reactionary force, the Democratic party the liberal and progressive force. The reactionary Republican, knowing no other policy or principle than "standing pat," will naturally accuse the progressive party of inconsistency, of changing the issues, when it substitutes for the issue of imperialism that of control of the trusts and public ownership of public utilities. But the substance of the issue is not changed, even if the form is.

The substance of the issue is the same as that on which Lincoln was elected President. It is the realization of the rights of man. This issue may indeed take different forms at different times, but it is the same issue.

At present the greatest danger to free institutions and to true and genuine progress is suspected to lie in the enormous power of the few who control transportation facilities in this country. In fact, this danger is conceived to be greater than that of great monopolistic industrial combinations, inasmuch as those combinations could not possibly exert so great an influence if it were not for their ability to control the transportation monopoly. For this reason the progressive element in the Democratic party has proclaimed government ownership of railroads to be an issue in the political field.

There are two reasons why this issue is likely to become the paramount issue in the near future. In the first place, those in favor of the measure will realize its supreme importance and exert themselves to bring it to the front. In the second place, its opponents will try to make use of this issue, on account of its comparative unpopularity in certain circles, to bring about the defeat of the party in favor of it, much in the same way that the free silver question was made the paramount issue in a campaign where it in fact would have only occupied a secondary place had it not been for its apparent vulnerability. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that not only public ownership of railroads, but public ownership of all public utilities will within a short time become the one important issue in American politics.

This issue will most probably cause a revolution in party organization. For, while we probably shall retain the names of our great political parties unchanged, there will be a great number of dissenters on each side. The radical element in the Republican party will recognize its position, and the plutocratic faction in the Democratic party will find itself forced to seek other and more congenial quarters. Not till then can there be a truly sincere fight on the issue before the people.

It is not for us to say what the outcome of this fight will be, nor what the exact details of the issue are to be. But it is the duty of every true citizen, whether he be in favor of radical measures or not, to clearly define the issue at hand, to take nothing for granted unless it be based on evidences of experience or probability when carefully analyzed; and, above all, to retain his right of judgment in spite of all the "facts" and "semi-facts" which the opponents of the rights of the people will amply provide him with.

There is no need of asserting, not even to the most conservative, that the transportation companies have at times proven to possess an undue amount of power, and that they have used this power in opposition to the best interests of the Republic. But the railroads themselves are prone to tell us that such abuses are easily stifled by government control. Indeed, the advocates of government control have succeeded in persuading otherwise sensible and intelligent men that the interests of the country at large will be fully satisfied if the railroads are controlled by the government, it being of course optional with the railroads to arrange matters so that the government may be controlled by them.

Wherever government control has been tried it has been more of a failure than a success. And it is natural that such should be the case, for government control is a half-hearted proposition, without any logical foundation in itself. The railroads are either private enterprises, in which case the government has no right to mix itself up with their private business management; or they are public enterprises, in which case their operation for private gains and ends is inconsistent with all conceptions of governmental functions. It has never been possible to conduct successfully private and public business in common. A distinct line must be drawn between the two functions. And if we recognize the necessity of government control, we may as well be true to ourselves and admit the necessity of government ownership as well.

The political problems which have hitherto confronted America have usually been such as have not as yet been duplicated in the same form in the old world. This country has been left to itself and to its own experience and judgment in solving many a great problem in the past. In doing so, and in solving many of these problems in a manner creditable to the spirit of a young nation, a self-reliance has been developed, praiseworthy in itself, but liable to subtle dangers. For it has developed overconfidence in everything American, and created a public opinion which holds that we have nothing to learn from foreign nations; yes, that we have nothing to learn from history itself. In facing the issue of government ownership of public utilities, however, America is not compelled to work out this problem for herself. Here is a case where the past and present experiences of the most successful of European nations may be recorded. America, while having to work out the details for herself, can safely avail herself of the general solution as offered in the policies of the governments of any continental country in northern Europe. Proud as we may be of the past record and the achievements of this country, we should not be too proud to learn from our sister nations when they have a lesson to teach.

The lesson they teach is plain and simple. Not only does the experience of such countries as Germany, Sweden and Switzerland tell the story of the possibilities of public ownership, in some cases after an experience of more than half a century, but the present developments in Italy, where the government is now taking over some of the greatest of the private road systems, and in France and Great Britain, where the question of public ownership is becoming more and more pointed after a confessed attempt at government control—all these developments are indicative of what we can realize ourselves by a more painful experience than our present, if we do not profit by the experience of others.

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It is not possible in limited space to treat this issue in its details, nor is it necessary. If only at first we realize that it is an issue of utmost importance, the general discussion that will follow will give an opportunity for all the details to appear. But one objection to government ownership offered by those who disbelieve in American honesty in public affairs should be met at every step. It is claimed that public ownership would be a failure because public officials would not perform their duties honestly. This claim is an insult to every true American. It is an insult to the highest

conception of American manhood, and as such it should be met. Should we, as Americans, admit that as honest men could not be found among us as can be found among the individuals of our sister nations? Should we be so forgetful of the highest ideals of true citizenship as to be able to make such a statement without shame? Whenever Americans as a nation lose their faith in American honesty, then the word American will be meaningless. For the American nation is founded on conceptions of freedom, justice and honesty, and whenever these attributes shall be lost sight of the greatness of America and Americans will be a thing of the past, and the prophecy of half a century ago that republican government would prove to be a failure will come true.

But this prophecy shall never come true. Americans still have faith in American honesty, whatever may be the opinions of a few who have lost sight of the high ideals of Americanism. And although some of the leaders may prove faithless, the people shall learn to follow the right path. The issue before us is not the only one with which we must grapple, but at present it is the one calling for the closest attention of every true citizen; and step by step we shall, if united, establish an America where justice and sanity rule, and from which inequity shall disappear.

ERIK OBERG.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN NEW YORK.

New York City, Oct. 27, 1906.—The women of New York City are going to vote at the State election to be held next week. The opportunity to do so will be given them by the Harlem Equal Rights League, which will open a polling place for women at the Savigny, 2034 Fifth Ave., near 125th St., from 11 a. m. to 5 p. m., Tuesday, Nov. 6. The League invites all women who are native or naturalized citizens, residents of the State for one year, and of the counties within the limits of Greater New York for four months, to come and vote for their candidates on that day.

Our State election is being fought out over such issues as the trusts and their increasing encroachments upon the rights of the individual, a fair count of the ballot, and the labor question. Naturally women as well as men are interested in all these questions, have opinions upon them, and have a right to have their opinions counted. But under our present undemocratic State suffrage law we are supposed to be represented at the polls, on that day sacred to mankind, by our husbands, our fathers or any other man around the house. Political questions being so confused, and purposely confused as they are at present, small wonder it is that the dear man marches up to the polls and marches down again without thinking once as to how or for whom

the light of his eyes and the joy of his heart, the queen of his flat and the mother of his children, would vote. And so on election day the women are, as Henry James might say, "beautifully left."

Now these are the women we want to reach. Some women see fit to work for the Republican and Democratic parties in their clubs. But the Harlem League does not believe in working for politicians, no matter how good their platform may otherwise be, who will not work for woman suffrage. It does believe in women registering their approval or disapproval of officials and their public policy at the ballot box, and it trusts that every woman living in New York City, who reads this, will come out that day and vote. If they have realized the true meaning of their disfranchisement in a representative government, we think they will.

MAUD MALONE.

* * *

THE NEW YORK ELECTION.

New York, Oct. 30.—Hearst, in my opinion, is far from being an ideal candidate and is unreliable; but he does stand for something, while Hughes stands for nothing, and most of us here are supporting Hearst.

Hughes has behind him every monopoly-loving, reactionary force in the city and State, every newspaper but Hearst's own, and every consecrated humbug and hypocrite. It is almost impossible to avoid loving Hearst for the enemies he has made. Never before in the history of the State has such a vindictive, mendacious campaign been made against any man or ticket.

The situation was well portrayed in The Public's article on Hearst. The fact is that no matter how much we may like or dislike Hearst, we are compelled to support him. As to his chances of election, that is mere guesswork. Money is being used like water on the labor fakirs, with the result of many apparent desertions from the Hearst standard. But the Hearst managers assert that the labor fakirs have no following and control no votes but their own.

Both sides are claiming victory by large majorities, but of course that is only a bit of customary electioneering. Hearst is undoubtedly strong in New York City, and some of our friends who have toured the State (notably Alfred J. Boulton), say that the indications are for a landslide to Hearst.

However the election may go, there is no doubt that Hearst has stirred up the dry bones so that they have become living men. Never before has there been so much interest in economic discussion.

Hearst is telling the people in his speeches that if the campaign fails, he will go right on with the fight notwithstanding, and carry on a succession of campaigns until he wins.

L. T.

* * *

THE DETROIT ELECTION.

Detroit, Mich., Oct. 27.—A great struggle is going on in Detroit for a new franchise for the Detroit United Railway. Detroit has 187 miles of street car tracks. These have been built under various franchises, running from three to nineteen years; but the heart of the system occupying the main streets and carrying the great bulk of the passenger traffic, expires in three years. For a new franchise, running eighteen

years, the D. U. R. offers fares for two and a half cents five hours in the day—three hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon—and six tickets for twenty-five cents the other nineteen hours, all with universal transfers.

Opposed to the proposed franchise are two classes: those who want municipal ownership, and those who demand three cent fares at all hours, with universal transfers. The D. U. R. has put in operation its proposed rates of fare, so that the public can see how it feels to be carried for two and a half cents, but those who want a three cent fare all day are not satisfied, and demand that the company also give the public a taste of three cent fares.

The company is spending thousands of dollars "educating the public" into granting a new franchise, but at the present writing it looks as if the proposition will lose, as it is being shown that the proposed rates will enable the company to pay six per cent. interest on \$20,000,000 of watered stock, the roads being bonded for \$30,000,000 while costing only \$10,000,000. Last year the company carried 87,000,000 passengers at an average cost (its own figures) of 3.58 cents each. The general belief is that the cost has been padded; the receipts of the road from other sources, such as freighting, have been suppressed, and as the company carried 10,000 cars of freight last year, there is a general curiosity as to the profits of this business.

If the franchise proposition carries at the November election it knocks out the present three cent lines which carried nearly 30,000,000 passengers last year, and ties up the city until 1924. The proposed franchise apparently provides for public ownership in 1924, but it is coupled with other propositions that render it inoperative.

The fact of the matter is the D. U. R. is practically offering a bribe of two and a half cent fares five hours in the day for the purpose of getting a franchise that Tom L. Johnson says is worth at least \$15,000,000 anyway, and that enables the corporation to charge five cents for a single fare.

Codd, Republican, is running for mayor and supporting the proposition, while Thompson, Democrat, is in opposition. So fierce is the fight over this question that the congressional battle, where F. F. Ingram is running in the First district, is being lost sight of. And his election would be worth more to Detroit than the election of any other candidate for any other office. He is making a good fight, but has a majority of 8,000 to overcome. Denby, smooth and politic, and a lieutenant of Cannon, is his opponent.

JUDSON GRENELL.

* * *

CLEVELAND TRACTION.

Cleveland, Oct. 27, 1906.—The traction fight which has been waged in Cleveland for the past five years seems to be nearing the end, with a complete victory for the people.

The Cleveland Electric, generally known here as the "Con Con," operates 235 miles of street railway. This, together with the rolling stock, power house and car barns, is valued by street car railway experts at \$12,000,000, and is represented by bond issues to that amount. The stock of the company, which is

entirely water and is now selling at 63, has a face value of \$23,340,000. To protect this water the company has maintained a vigorous fight for the past ten years for an extension of franchise. To prevent this, Mayor Johnson five years ago laid the foundation for competing lines on which the rate of fare should not be over three cents. To balk Mayor Johnson the late Senator Hanna took so drastic a measure as to tear down the municipal government of Cleveland. During the past three and a half years the fight has continued without abatement. It is now terrifically intensified by the appearance of the rolling stock for the new company, which is generally spoken of here as the "Three-fer." These cars will probably be in operation before this article goes into print, as the first are due here on the 30th.

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A brief history of what is now going on here may be told in complete detail by the recital of a few facts.

On the 9th day of September, 1903, four months after the new municipal government of Cleveland had been in operation, the Council, acting on the advice of Mayor Johnson, granted to Albert E. Green the right to construct a three cent fare line on Denison avenue. This thoroughfare is three miles long, extending east and west on the outskirts of the city. On the 21st day of the following December the City Council granted to the Forest City Railway Co., as successors to Albert E. Green, the right to extend northward on Fulton Road the Denison avenue grant. This covered a distance of two miles, and brought the tracks to Detroit street, not far from the tracks owned by the city and located on what is called the Viaduct, the same being an elevated roadway over the Cuyahoga valley connecting the east and west sides of the city. The tracks of the "Con Con" on Superior street, which is at the eastern approach of the Viaduct, are known as "free territory," and go to the Public Square, which is the heart of the city. "Free territory" consists of those parts of streets where franchises have been granted in the past but the city has reserved the right to grant other lines the use of the tracks and wires on such terms as the old company and the new may agree upon; in the event of a disagreement the Council to fix the terms and conditions for the joint use thereof.

Shortly after the granting of the extension on Fulton Road the "Con Con" commenced through alleged taxpayers many law suits. Temporary injunctions were granted in each and every instance. The battle in the courts was then on. The last of these injunctions, numbering an even dozen, were dismissed by the Ohio Supreme Court during the close of the term last June. Legal obstructions having been removed, Mayor Johnson became very active in order to protect the people from future aggressions by traction interests. He was instrumental in having the Municipal Traction Co. organized. This company has but five stockholders, who are also directors of the company. The Municipal Traction Co. has leased the property of the Forest City Railway Co. The lease provides that the stock which was sold to the people of Cleveland at ninety cents on the dollar should never pay more than six per cent. per annum. The Municipal Traction Co. will therefore operate this

property in the interests of the street car patrons of Cleveland. It has so arranged matters that in case of the death of a member his estate is prohibited from making any claim against the company. When the State finally empowers the city to own and operate a street car system this company will transfer its property to the city at cost of reproduction, less depreciation, plus ten per cent.

Immediately following the sale of stock, active work in track building was inaugurated, and today fourteen miles of rails are down, overhead construction completed, and power houses in readiness to operate the line up to the last point of contention, which is at the intersection of Detroit street and Fulton road. It has always been believed that this 650 feet of track on Detroit street from Fulton Road to the Viaduct was "free territory." This the "Con Con" denies. A temporary restraining order issued against the "Three-fer" has been issued. The case will be heard on its merits and possibly will be decided within the next week.

*

Sixteen months ago Judge Robert Taylor of the United States Court for the Northern District of Ohio, held that the "Con Con's" franchise on Central and Quincy avenues had expired on March 22, 1905. The Council has in the meantime granted to the "Three-fer" the right to operate on these two routes, which extend eastward from the Public Square. These two streets are reached by traversing the free territory tracks in the down town portion of the city. A gang of workmen commenced tearing up Brownell street on the 23rd to make this connection. Two injunctions were immediately granted. As soon as these are determined, which will undoubtedly be done in the course of a few days in favor of the city, the work will proceed. The two injunctions are respectively Numbers 25 and 26 and like the other 24, are considered by the friends of the "Three-fer" as merely "fakes" brought to delay and hinder the "Three-fer" and confuse the public. The "Three-fers" will commence tearing up the track and replace the same with rails of their own. Whether the "Con Con" will have all its track torn out and thrown in the gutter as junk or agree to sell its roadbed to the "Three-fer," remains to be seen.

On the 26th at one p. m., the Chief of Police, under orders from Director of Public Works Springborn, ordered the stoppage of "Con Con" cars on the expired grant on Erie street, which is part of the Central-Quincy route. This stretch of track is about one thousand feet long, and is used by three lines for looping the evening cars other than the regulars, being known as "trippers." Notwithstanding the fact that the "Con Con" knew of the city's intention at 1:30 o'clock, no effort was made to notify the employes; in fact the officers of the "Con Con" were not satisfied with the confusion which was sure to result from its employes not receiving proper orders, but they added to this confusion by bringing out all of their old cars and a number of their summer cars. This caused an almost inextricable blockade, for in Cleveland all main arteries converge at the Public Square, which means that 800 "Con Con" cars were obliged to go backward and forward, up and down wrong tracks, in order to enable the men to get the cars out of the Square. The officers of

the company were responsible for this chaotic condition, and they left the motormen and conductors to bring order out of the chaos they had produced. Thousands of people were thus inconvenienced and exasperated.

*

The Cleveland Press, whose owner, E. W. Scripps, has jointly with Mayor Johnson guaranteed the stock of the Forest City Railway Co., on the 27th reproduced a contract in facsimile between the "Con Con" and a newspaper here which provides not only for display space but for editorial matter. The entire press of the city, with the exception of the Press and the Waechter and Anzeiger, have been running their daily bulletins, which occupy about three columns of space. Up to date 94 of these bulletins have been published. It is possible that Hearst's much denounced "yellow" papers would sell advertising space to public utility corporations, but it is not likely that the editorial columns would therefore ignore outrages committed upon the public as these highly respectable Cleveland papers have done.

The Press charges that the publicity department of the "Con Con" has imported a man to conduct it who had charge of the publicity department of the steam railway companies which fought President Roosevelt's rate bill.

*

"Con Con" stock that sold for 85 twenty months ago, is now quoted at 63. From now on it will continue to go lower until all the water is squeezed out, and then nothing will remain but the bonds. The "Con Con" will never secure another franchise for the reason that the Municipal Traction Co. stands ready to take over its franchises as fast as they expire, with grants that may be revoked at will.

*

Thus Mayor Johnson is giving to the people all the benefits of municipal ownership of street railways without the danger of that direct ownership which many good people fear. He is doing more than this; he is setting an example to all other municipalities that find themselves in the same situation as Cleveland. What he was prevented from doing directly he has achieved indirectly. This means not only the solution of the street railway problem, but also that of gas, of water, of light and of all kindred public services.

Mayor Johnson has pulled the fangs of monopoly by preventing stock jobbery. He has devised a scheme whereby public utilities will henceforth be run for the public good, and not for private gain. By his method the influence of the people who prevent good municipal government will be nullified. The city will know itself, and the dream of the enthusiast will soon be realized, the hope of the fundamental Democrat attained, and the way blazed for complete industrial freedom.

D. S. LUTHER.

* * *
 Little beds of flowers,
 Little coats of paint,
 Make a pleasant cottage
 Out of one that ain't.

—Unknown.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

Week ending Wednesday, October 31.

Denial and Affirmation of the Monroe Doctrine.

The courses of the Theodore Roosevelt professorship of American History at the University of Berlin were opened on the 27th, in the presence of the Emperor, by the first incumbent of the chair, Professor John W. Burgess, of Columbia University, New York. On a later date Professor Burgess was to begin the development of his especial subject, "The Constitution and Constitutional History of the United States." On this first occasion he confined himself to reading a letter from the President of the United States to himself, authorizing most friendly greetings to the University, and to delivering a short address in German on somewhat general subjects. This address was promptly printed on the University press, and was widely circulated in official and scholastic circles. The following two paragraphs immediately attracted attention, and were cabled to this country:

In my first meeting with the President after my appointment to this professorship it pleased him to address me as an ambassador of peace, friendship and civilization. He gave proof through this that he recognized and appreciated the great idea which his majesty, the highly gifted and magnanimous German Emperor, gave to the world Jan. 1, 1906. It is the opinion of the President, it is the opinion of my countrymen in general, that this idea is the most pregnant that has come forth in our time, and that it gives evidence of the great sense of culture and extraordinary political wisdom of its mighty author.

The execution of this idea makes it possible to subject questions of the highest importance, which can scarcely be touched upon in a diplomatic way, to the most fundamental examination and the most friendly consideration. There are, for example, two doctrines in the policy of the United States which are regarded as almost holy doctrines, the discussion of which may not even be proposed by a foreign power without risk of awakening hostility in the United States. These are the high protective tariff theory and the Monroe doctrine. Our politicians do not appear to have the least notion that both of these doctrines are almost obsolete, and that the reconstruction of European states and their constitutions, and the acceptance by the United States itself of its position as a world power, have made them both nearly senseless.

*

What appears to be a repudiation of the position of Professor Burgess on the Monroe doctrine appeared in an Associated Press dispatch from Washington under date of the 30th, which reported that:

At the White House today it was said that Professor Burgess is simply a private citizen, holding no official

position from this government. His observation regarding the Monroe doctrine, it was said, was simply an expression of his own personal views, which are diametrically opposite to those held by the administration and the American people.

* *

The Coming Elections.

Congressional elections everywhere, and State elections in several of the States, will occur on the 6th. In Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Iowa, Rhode Island, Idaho and New York the campaigns are exciting. The Idaho election turns upon labor sentiment, and in New York the local contest is between Hearst and Hughes.

* *

New York Politics.

By a decision of the Appellate division of the Supreme Court at New York on the 26th, 73 candidates of the Independence League, nominated by petition, were excluded from the official ballot. They were the candidates for Congress, State senate and assembly. In consequence, it being too late to file new petitions, the only candidates in the Independence League column on the official ballot would have been those for State and judicial offices, but for the reversal of the above decision. The flaw in the petitions held to be fatal consisted in the fact that the signatures for each Congressional candidate were on the same petition with the signatures for the senatorial and assembly candidates in his Congressional district. The lower court held that a separate petition for each candidate is necessary. This decision was a novelty, the Independence League having followed the established practice, and Seth Low having been elected Mayor upon precisely such nominating petitions. The decision noted above was immediately brought to a hearing before the Court of Appeals, the highest court of the State, which, on the 30th, reversed the decision of the lower court.

*

Reports of the possibilities in the New York election indicate that the supporters of Mr. Hughes are doubtful of results. While the betting is something more than 2 to 1 in his favor, the Republican newspaper reports from the country as well as the city tell of unexpected tendencies toward Hearst. Straw ballots on a large scale by the New York Herald show a slight advantage to Hughes in the city, while the World shows a slight advantage to Hearst.

* *

Newspapers and Education in Chicago.

Mayor Dunne's demand upon the grand jury at Chicago for an indictment of the Chicago Tribune for denouncing him as having appointed "boodlers" on the Board of Education (p. 677) came before that body last week. The Mayor appeared and gave his testimony. The Tribune staff was then sent for, and, according to their reports they produced evidence of alleged professional misconduct as a lawyer on the part of one of Mayor Dunne's appointees; but when this appointee appeared at the grand jury room prepared to exonerate himself from the charge and offered to do so, the grand jury refused to hear him. After this singular proceeding, that body filed a presentment exonerating Mayor Dunne and censuring

the Tribune. Mayor Dunne commented upon this on the 29th in the Chicago Examiner as follows:

The action of the grand jury in this case simply confirms the opinion that is widespread in this community that there is one law for the rich and powerful and another for the poor and weak. The Tribune and its editor are powerful and wealthy, much of their wealth being derived from a most scandalous and inequitable lease of public school property under which the Tribune occupies the present building and pays less than the sum of \$15,000 a year net to the Board of Education, which owns the fee, while the total revenue collected by the Tribune from its other tenants of the building has been modestly computed at over \$360,000 per annum. When it is haled before the grand jury upon indisputable proof, it is "censured"; but if a few laboring men engage in a strike, within thirty days a grand jury meets and indicts them for conspiracy, etc., etc. The grand jurors, as selected in recent years, have been selected from the wealthy and privileged classes. When any interests involving the rich and powerful are at stake they have for many years been ranged on the side of the rich and powerful and against the laboring man and the poor and weak. The grand jury has outlived its usefulness. It should go. The statutes provide for its abolition. Some of the best lawyers at this bar have advocated its extinction. Place the whole responsibility of charging a man with crime in the State's Attorney's hands. Let him act by complaint or information, instead of indictment. Thus will responsibility be centered upon one public official, who must perform his duty or take the consequences. Then will men who are guilty of crime be charged with crime and not merely "censured." To the public I will state that the animus behind the attacks of the Tribune upon me arises out of the fact that it has been for some years past endeavoring to obtain a lease of the property adjoining the Tribune Building on the south from the Board of Education, and I have placed honest men and women on that board who are protecting and will protect the rights of the people and will vote against further leases of the character of that now held by the Tribune.

* *

Development in Public School Affairs in Chicago.

The educational controversies that are common throughout the country, over questions of school management—whether it shall be despotic and dictatorial along "business" lines, or democratic and educational—are localized and at fever heat in the Chicago school system (vol. iv, 696; v, 499, 503, 673; vi, 372, 761; vii, 321, 328; viii, 146, 154, 177, 195, 339, 345; ix, 346, 347, 386, 387, 399, 673, 676, 698). This controversy is mixed up with a kindred though collateral controversy over the aggressions upon the school system of large financial interests, a controversy which also has its roots sunk deep in the purely educational controversy wherever the latter is agitated.

*

Mayor Dunne has made two sets of appointments to the Chicago school board. The Board consists of 21 members, one-third of whom go out of office each year. His appointments therefore aggregate 14. Of these, three were reappointments, and only one of the reappointees is in sympathy with the Democratic side of the controversy. As at least two of the new appointees are doubtful on that question, the so-called Democratic side has but a bare majority on the Board. Mayor Dunne has been charged by ultra-Protestants with filling the Board with Catholics.

He has in fact not appointed a single Catholic except by reappointment of appointees of Mayor Harrison or as substitutes for Mayor Harrison's Catholic appointees.

*

Since Mayor Dunne's appointments the Board has taken action, outside of routine, in only two important particulars, and this is not yet final. Through a sub-committee it has presented a report on the methods (p. 766) of admitting teachers to the service, of advancing them functionally and in pay, of recording their competency, and of dismissing them. This report is to be publicly discussed on the 31st. The Board has also refused to pass to higher salaries about 136 teachers alleged to have earned the salary advance under the rules. While the proper committee had under consideration the question of fact as to whether this salary advance should be allowed, Trustee R. A. White moved in the Board on the 24th the immediate advancement of the teachers in question. His motion was made on the basis of a list without certifying documents, and was defeated by 11 votes to 8. The investigating committee subsequently reported that in only six of the 136 cases, were the records sufficiently complete to warrant custodians of a trust fund in allowing the salary advances upon the basis of such records.

*

Throughout the period of work upon these matters, several of the local papers, notably the Tribune, the Record-Herald and the Daily News, have made sensational and in the main discolored and false reports, calculated to create a public misapprehension of the work and purposes of the Board. The motive for this strenuous and continuous misrepresentation is not well known, but is suspected to be connected with certain peculiar property interests of great magnitude, the value of which it is feared Mayor Dunne's appointees may disturb.

* *

Condition of Mrs. Eddy.

Sensational statements were published on the 28th to the effect that Mrs. Mary Baker Glover Eddy, founder of the Christian Science church, suffers from cancer and is in a dying condition, and that owing to her enfeeblement she is personated in her carriage daily by a friend, in order that the facts about her condition may not become public. This report was promptly denied from Concord, N. H., where Mrs. Eddy lives. One of the persons denying it was Charles R. Corning, Mayor of Concord, who called upon her in the afternoon of the same day. Her secretary, Calvin A. Frye, also denied the report, saying that Mrs. Eddy is "in excellent health and has no cancer or any chronic or organic or functional disease." Later newspaper reports describe her as going out in her carriage in person.

* *

The Passing of the Salton Sea.

On the 24th the waters of the Colorado river at the southeastern corner of California were turned back into their old channel, thereby checking the further creation of what has been called the Salton sea. Two years ago the Colorado river broke

through its banks which were being tampered with for irrigation purposes, and began rapidly to fill up the Salton "sink," an ancient lake bed much below sea level. Several times the Southern Pacific had to remove its tracks, meanwhile making desperate efforts to control the advancing floods. The cost of the work now believed to have met with success, is put at \$1,000,000. In the meantime meteorological observations recorded while this apparent disaster has been in the process of being retrieved, seem to indicate that the calamity may after all have been a climatic blessing, and that it may not be desirable to let the new sea revert into a desert. It is asserted that since the Salton sea has made its appearance the rainfall in the contiguous regions has greatly increased and big crops have been raised without irrigation. It is held by those who report these phenomena that if the sea could be permitted to remain, millions of dollars could be saved that would otherwise be expended in reclaiming arid lands by irrigation. A dispatch to the Chicago Chronicle says:

It is the theory of those who believe that the apparent change of climatic conditions in the southwest is due to the Salton Sea, that before the advent of that body of water moisture-laden clouds from the Pacific ocean were unable to get across the great expanse of desert because of the terrific heat from the parched and blistering sand. This made the region to the east of the desert arid and unfit for agricultural development. Occasionally in the winter season clouds would get across the desert and rains would occur in the arid region. Since the thousands of square miles of desert are now covered with a sea 10 to 120 feet deep the moisture-laden clouds are able to pass into the formerly arid region of Arizona, New Mexico and western Texas, and abundant rains are the result.

* *

The Starved Out Utes.

The band of Ute Indians who have been making their way northward through the State of Wyoming, having trouble in their progress with farmers and ranchmen (p. 705), on the 30th were encamped in the hills near Arvada in northeastern Wyoming, where United States troops were closing in on them. The Indians, though committing depredations, are said by some of the old Indian fighters to be peaceable enough, but they insist that under no circumstances will they return to their reservation in Utah, as they say they would starve there. They claim the valley of the Powder River, which runs north through northeastern Wyoming and Montana into the Yellowstone, and they insist that the "White Father" must give it to them as a hunting ground. They also assert that at any cost they are going to visit the Northern Cheyennes, whose reservation is about 75 miles north in Montana. The settlers in the Powder River valley are alarmed, and are removing their families to safer localities.

* *

Municipal Upheaval in San Francisco.

Dispatches of the week from the Pacific coast tell of proceedings on the part of District Attorney Langdon and his assistant, Mr. Heney, to investigate official corruption in San Francisco. Mayor Schmitz is absent in Europe, and on the 26th Acting Mayor Gallagher suspended District Attorney Langdon and appointed Abraham Ruef in his place. Mr. Ruef has

been the political manager of Mayor Schmitz and is reputed to have made a fortune corruptly in politics. The courts restrained him from taking possession of the district attorney's office. The dispatches are hysterical, and there is some significance in one of them of the 29th to the Chicago Record-Herald. It states that "at a secret meeting of the board of supervisors, the night before, it was decided to form an organization 'to champion the cause of justice and fair play, refute the slanders of corporations and millionaires,' and resist attacks on the union labor administration." The reported uprising may be genuine and there are reasons to believe it is so, but the dispatches have a good deal of the flavor of editorial manufacture. It is only reasonable, therefore, to suspend opinion for better information.

* *

The Japanese Incident.

The question of the segregation of the Japanese children in the San Francisco public schools (p. 704), is being investigated, and a calmer view of the situation is said to obtain in Japan. On the 26th President Roosevelt deputed Mr. Victor Metcalf, of the Department of Commerce and Labor, to go to San Francisco and examine into the status of the affair; and in the meantime, on the 27th the following dispatch was sent by the State Department to the American ambassador at Tokio:

Troubles are so entirely local and confined to San Francisco that this government was not aware of their existence until the publication in our newspapers of what had happened in Tokio. The best information we have been able to obtain indicates that there is nothing even in San Francisco but an ordinary local labor controversy excited by the abnormal conditions resulting there from the earthquake and fire. This does not seem to have gone beyond irresponsible agitation, to which no attention can be paid by this government or should be by the people of Japan. The trouble about schools appears to have arisen from the fact that the schools which the Japanese had attended were destroyed at the time of the earthquake and have not been replaced. You may assure the government of Japan in most positive terms that the government of the United States will not for a moment entertain the idea of any treatment toward the Japanese people other than that accorded to the people of the most friendly European nation, and that there is no reason to suppose that the people of the United States desire our government to take any different course.

On the 29th the Secretary of State received word from the ambassador that the American message, given to the press by the Japanese government, had been received with satisfaction by the Japanese people, and had had a very quieting effect.

* *

Persia's New National Assembly.

The newly established National Council of Persia (pp. 560, 709), according to India, of London, was opened on Sunday, September 9, in the presence of the diplomatic body. The deputies, with Sanieh ed Dowleh, who had been chosen president ad interim, assembled in the inner court of the Palace, and were welcomed by the Shah from a window on the first floor. Nizam el Mulk, Minister of Justice, read the Royal Speech, which, in very appropriate terms, declared the National Council opened, and expressed

the hope that the new assembly might be productive of good results for the country and the nation. It is expected that a considerable time will be required for the provincial members to reach the capital.

* *

Russia.

The Universities of St. Petersburg and Kazan, two of the most important in Russia, were closed on the 29th by order of their faculties on account of the violation by students of the regulation that open political meetings should not be held within the college precincts. It was later decided to reopen the University of St. Petersburg on the 31st (p. 704).

*

Full religious freedom was granted by the Emperor on the 29th to the sect known as the "Old Believers," numbering several million of the most prosperous and industrious class of Russia. Similar liberty is also granted to other "dissenters," with the exception of one minor sect. It is estimated that the ukase affects the religious worship of 12,000,000-subjects altogether.

* *

The British House of Lords in the Balance.

Parliament has got quickly to work (p. 704). On the 29th the first vote in committee of the House of Lords on the crucial education bill (p. 441), which before adjournment passed its third reading in the Commons, resulted adversely to the Government by a majority of 200. This opposition was expected, and in anticipation of it the old question—always becoming more insistent—of the obstructionist character of the Lords, has been once more under discussion. On the 8th the able Daily Post and Mercury of Liverpool had urged coercion in this frank language:

A good issue should be chosen at a good time. The Liberal Government should stake everything on abasing the Upper House, ad hoc or generally—generally for choice. A great and salutary change would then either be accomplished or be definitely set aside by a Tory reaction, which would make the Peers in esse as well as in posse dictators for another dark period of history. Even this would be better than for an unprecedentedly great and unanimous Liberal House of Commons to work in fetters, chronically reduced to futility in everything it undertook. No Liberal Parliament must ever be fatuous again. This Parliament might be beaten, but it must fight. It must fight promptly on occasion. It must pick up the glove. Would it be beaten? Great factors to the contrary are the composition, the spirit, the uncompromising resolution, of the present House of Commons. There has never been such a House since 1832, and it even excels that of 1832 because so much more representative of the actual nation, and because the potentiality of the Upper House, as against it, has been so much more definitely challenged. What was done in 1832 by warning could be done in 1907 in action; and if the nation which has returned this House of Commons stands by it, 1907 will not be satisfied with a victory on one issue such as contented 1832, but will effect a constitutional change such as will obviate in future the inconvenience and liability to tumultuous revolution which attend the operation of the present working, under Liberal Governments, of the two branches of the Legislature.

When one meets Liberal members of the present House of Commons, one finds that they converse in the spirit of this article. They are ready, if not spilling,

for a fight. They say they will "stand no nonsense." Would the electorate stand any nonsense? Of course everything depends on that. By succession, through the Duke of Wellington (in his later political form); Lord Salisbury (who received the doctrine of accommodation in writing from the duke, and himself modernized it into present-day diction); and Lord Lansdowne (who last week expressly recited it in an important speech)—the rule has been settled that after an express reference to the people in a general election the House of Lords should no longer resist. Let us suppose that the nation has passed into a frame of political mind, and developed a political character, which would secure its returning again the Parliament which it returned before. The only question which would then remain would be whether this reference back to the people should be inconveniently on each measure rejected or mangled, or conveniently upon some automatic principle of Lower House insistence. If the principles and practice of Liberal Government are to be re-established and advanced in a businesslike way upon a businesslike basis, the latter course will be adopted. That is to say, at the next hitch—whether it come on Education, or Taff Vale, or on whatever else may occasion a deadlock—Parliament should not merely pass the measure the Lower House demands, but establish such forms as would render it impossible for the Peers thereafter on any measure to frustrate the declared will of the represented people.

NEWS NOTES

—More fighting with the Pulajanes (p. 586) is reported from the Island of Samar in the Philippines.

—The second Hague peace conference (p. 635), according to reports from London, will be called for next Easter.

—The French cabinet on the 30th approved a measure providing for abolition of capital punishment (p. 444). The dispatches state that this means that at the coming session of Parliament a law will be enacted to that effect.

—A beautiful Chicago is the ideal which the Merchants' club of this city is formulating plans for. Mr. D. H. Burnham who has prepared plans for Washington, Manila and San Francisco, will have general supervision of the work.

—Wm. J. Bryan continued his speaking tour through Indiana (p. 705) and Ohio last week, and then back to Iowa and into Nebraska. He speaks at Lincoln on the 3rd on "Dreams," in reply to Senator Beveridge who at Lincoln called him a "dreamer."

—The Trans-Alaska Siberian Railway company was incorporated in New Jersey on the 24th, with an authorized capital of \$6,000,000. Its purpose is to connect America with Asia, and thereby with Europe and Africa, by an all-rail route, tunneling under Behring straits.

—The Chicago traction ordinance proposed by the traction interests in execution of Mayor Dunne's traction plan (p. 703) was submitted on the 25th by the new company—the Chicago City Railways Company. It is under examination by Mayor Dunne and his special traction counsel, Walter L. Fisher.

—The Circuit Court at Toledo on the 26th upheld the decision of Judge Kinkade of the Common Pleas Court in the sentences he gave Reuben Lemon,

Rollin Beard and Joseph Miller, convicted of conspiracy in restraint of trade in the sale of ice (p. 300), which cases were tried last summer.

—The first test case in Ohio of the Federal eight-hour day law ended in a victory for the law. After being out fifteen minutes on the 26th the jury in the United States Court found the Sheridan-Kirk Contracting Company guilty of having violated the law in the construction of the big Ohio river dam at Fernbank.

—Ibsen's "Pillars of Society," given last year in Chicago by the Hull-House Dramatic Association at Hull-House Theatre, is to be repeated at the same place on Nov. 7, 9 and 10: (Reserved seats 50 cents.) The sociological value of such a play is greatly enhanced when it is rendered as a labor of love by performers who are saturated with its spirit.

—Three great vestibule electric cars on Sunday afternoon, Oct. 28, plunged from the high trestle spanning an arm of the sea between Atlantic City and the mainland, and were submerged in 30 feet of water. The passengers were Sunday excursionists, mostly from Philadelphia. Fifty-one bodies have been recovered, and at least two more persons are known to have perished.

—An ancient human skull has been recently dug up a little north of Omaha, which is declared by Professor Fairfield Osborn of Columbia University to be that of the most primitive man yet discovered with the exception of what is known as the Neanderthal man found in Germany. The difference shown by measurements of the two skulls, according to Professor Osborn, shows that the latter was a mere animal, while the Nebraska skull is that of a thinking man, although of the lowest order.

—The New South Wales Single Tax league celebrated the Henry George anniversary by a banquet in Sydney, Sept. 4. The speech of the evening was delivered by the Premier of New South Wales, Mr. Carruthers, who among his concluding remarks said that they ought to congratulate themselves on the fact that their ideas, which were unpopular years ago, were now being received with acclamation. He still retained his old sympathy with the organization, he said; and he was doing his best, step by step, to embody those sound principles on the statute books of the State.

—"Back on the Right Side of the Bay, and Back to Stay," is the legend in big letters on a big banner that the San Francisco Star has hung all across the side of its new press building in San Francisco (pp. 99, 106, 435). The Star with justifiable jubilation announces that though it is but six short months since the great fire, "to-day The Star press occupies more than 5,000 square feet of floor in a solid iron building erected expressly for its use, with linotypes, the finest cylinder and job presses, types and other printers' supplies, that money could purchase. Every department is crowded with work and night shift succeeds day shift that we may keep pace with multiplied orders. Best of all, everywhere about us are the signs of our neighbors' equal prosperity."

* * *

When Mr. Moody was asked by the reporter, "You tell what action was decided upon by you?"

the President concerning further prosecution of the Standard Oil Company?" his first reply was: "I could, but I won't." He went off, and then came back with a second reply: "Mr. Jones, I realize that I spoke to you in rather rude manner a few minutes ago and I've come back to tell you that I am sorry I did so. What I should have said in response to your question was that I could tell you something about our future policy with regard to the Standard Oil cases, but that I am not yet ready to discuss that subject for publication."

PRESS OPINIONS

THE WOMAN VOTE.

The Springfield Republican (Ind.), Oct. 25.—Out in Colorado this year the women have become the doubtful and determining factor in the State election. Instead of following their husbands in old-party directions they exhibit an independence which is puzzling the politicians.

* *

THE ESSENCE OF A TRUE VOTE.

Economy (Solon, Ia.), Oct. 25.—Whether you vote with one party or another is a secondary consideration, but to cast your vote intelligently for the men or party of your own choice is the essential part of your act. Neither the fear nor the favor of any man or party should influence any voter in the exercise of this act of American citizenship.

* *

LIMITATIONS TO CITIZENSHIP.

The St. Louis Mirror, Oct. 25.—A Denver judge named Palmer has announced that he will refuse to naturalize any applicant for citizenship who is a socialist or in sympathy with socialism. Why not refuse citizenship to Swedenborgians, spiritualists, believers in transubstantiation, Christian Science, or other people who believe things that most other people do not believe? Why not deny the ballot to red-haired, or hare-lipped, or cross-eyed men, or men who whistle rag time tunes in the halls of office buildings? Men who can wag their ears, or who have six toes on a foot, should also be shut out.

* *

THEY BLINK THE "G. O. P."

Cleveland Waechter und Anzeiger (Dem.), Oct. 25. (Translated for The Public.)—Has the voter not been impressed by the fact that Republican speakers when they are speaking to him, always talk only of Roosevelt, instead of the Republican party? Wherever one may look in the present campaign, here in Ohio as elsewhere, one may observe this singular phenomenon. What is the reason? Have the voters tried to think it out? The reason is this: The "Grand Old Party of moral ideas" does not dare to come before the people on its record. Its "record" even in the last congress, was so adverse to the interests of the people that it must carefully avoid speaking of it. Its attitude and its acts, that is the ticklish thing about the matter, are not Roosevelt's attitude and acts. Its attitude and acts are in direct opposition to his; in fact, Roosevelt could not have held to his program except for Democratic help.

* *

A SOCIALIST PAPER TO CAPITALIST PAPERS.

Chicago Daily Socialist, Oct. 25.—You have had lots of fun with Socialism. Haven't you? You have ridiculed it, you have lied about it. Controlling the organs of publicity you have denied publicity to it. You have taken up all the fantastic theories you could find, labeled them

"Socialism" and proceeded to demolish them. You have insisted that the interests of capital and labor were identical and bewailed the lack of patriotism of the agitator, who would array class against class. And you knew all the time (in the language of your sporting editor) that such talk from you was "bunk." Didn't you? Did your pressmen ever go on strike, or your stereotypers, or your compositors, or your carriers? Were your interests identical with theirs? Did you ever try to prevent a union from forming in your office? Why, if your interests were identical? You all represent capitalism. You all want the system to go on, whereby a few idlers or capitalists live in immense luxury and power, while the great mass of working people, whose labor produces all the wealth in the country, must content themselves with inferiority at all times, bare comfort in good times and not even that in bad times. You are for this system, but we are against it. We now offer you a chance to show why, from the standpoint of the working class, social and industrial democracy would not be better than the present social and industrial system. Mind the condition, from the standpoint of the working class. We are not going to try to prove that social and industrial democracy would be better than the present social and industrial system for the capitalists. We do not care whether it would or not. Now, you, who have been having so much fun with socialism by lying about it, come forward. Socialism will have some fun with you by telling the truth about the throne of mammon before which you are courtiers. You would better take this chance to crush us. We're alone in the daily field now, but in two years we shall have half a dozen comrades, and in ten years half a hundred. We're extremely anxious to hear from you, soon.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

WHEN WILT THOU SAVE THE PEOPLE?

Hymn by Ebenezer Elliott, 1831.

When wilt Thou save the people?

O God of mercy, when?

Not kings and lords, but nations!

Not thrones and crowns, but men!

Flowers of Thy heart, O God, are they;

Let them not pass, like weeds, away,

Their heritage a sunless day.

God save the people!

Shall crime bring crime forever,

Strength aiding still the strong?

Is it Thy will, O Father,

That man shall toll for wrong?

No! say Thy mountains; No! Thy skies;

Man's clouded sun shall brightly rise,

And songs ascend instead of sighs.

God save the people!

When wilt Thou save the people?

O God of mercy, when?

The people, Lord, the people,

Not thrones and crowns, but men!

God save the people; let them share

Childhood and love with angels fair;

From sin and bondage and despair,

God save the people!

* * *

THE INDIANS ARE NOT DYING OUT.

A popular impression prevails that the Indians are dying out. Those who have given the subject study

believe there are more Indians to-day in the United States than there were when Columbus landed.

The Indians were never populous. They were too much at war. They roamed the prairies and hunted through the forests, but they never had local habitations and were never many in one spot.

The first actual census of the Indians was taken seventy years ago. At that time there were found to be 253,464. Prior to that time everything had been by guess.

Beginning with the count of 1830 the official reports of Indian population are as follows: In 1860, at the beginning of the civil war, there were 254,200. Twenty years later, in 1880, there were 256,127. In 1900 there were 272,023. To-day, by count of the Indian agents on the reservations of the country, there are 284,000 Indians.

The Indian is not dying out, and there is no reason why he should. The government has pursued a policy, mistaken in many respects, but yet calculated to give the Indian a chance in the race of civilized life, and the Indian is showing considerable aptitude. The Indians of the new State of Oklahoma are intelligent and wealthy, and they will be heard from in national affairs.—The Mobile Register.

* * *

THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

There are two sharply contrasted theories of government. On one theory the people are subjects; on the other they are sovereigns. The drift of history is in the direction of democracy. Aristocracy in Europe is making its last great stand in Russia. But it is doomed. It is out of joint with the times. It is under the ban of Christianity.

Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you; but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant.

Democracy with a little "d" is applied Christianity.

The aim of aristocracy is dominion. The aim of democracy is service. Aristocracy regards the people as servants and their rulers as masters. With democracy the people are masters and they have servants but no rulers. It is remarkable that in those days when the Caesars were masters of the world there should have been one democrat to challenge their right to rule and to proclaim the doctrine of democracy—that those who are elevated to office should be servants and not masters of the people.

This democrat perished on Golgotha Hill. But that was not the end of his truth. To-day the most progressive nations of earth are those which have most fully recognized his truth.

The great excellence of our own Republic consists in this, that it was founded on this Christian theory of service. It is the greatest experiment in democracy that the world has ever witnessed.

The theory is sound to the core. But the application of the theory is not perfect. The machinery is defective. It needs overhauling. There has been improvement in everything else. Why should there not be improvement in the art of government?

We would not be content with the stage coach of our fathers. We have substituted the harvester

for their cradle, the cotton mill for their loom. We can improve upon the governmental machine which they devised. We can not improve upon the theory. But we can give to that theory a more consistent application. Our Republic is confronted by serious evils. These are not the faults of democracy. They are due to the elements of aristocracy which have survived in our present scheme of government. The strain of recent years has shown us the weak places in this machine of government, and we must remodel it if it is to do the work our fathers expected of it.

The problem is to make our government more directly answerable to the people, so that every quality of rulership shall disappear, and our officials shall be, not only in name but in very truth, the servants of the people.

Without doubt the Swiss Republic has hit upon the device which is needed to keep representative government from becoming misrepresentative. The referendum and the initiative are imperative safeguards.

If those who would be first among us are to be our servants and not our rulers, it is necessary that we should have the power to make them do our will.

HERBERT S. BIGELOW.

* * *

MAYOR JOHNSON'S WAY.

An Editorial on "Traction in Cleveland," Published in the Chicago Daily News of October 29, 1906.

Mayor Johnson expects to have street cars operating soon in Cleveland in accordance with a plan similar in its general outline to that put forth some time ago by Mayor Dunne under the name of the "contract" plan. When he first took office Mayor Johnson tried to bring in a competing company to operate on the straight three-cent fare basis. Injunction proceedings interfered with the work of construction to such an extent that little progress was made until the principal litigation was terminated, about a year ago. Fourteen miles of track have now been laid and twenty-four cars have been purchased and will soon be carrying passengers for three-cent fares unless some unexpected obstacle develops.

The Ohio law does not permit municipilization of street railways, so that course as a possible immediate solution was out of the question. Mayor Johnson wanted the old street railway company to lease its property to a holding company, to be composed of public-spirited citizens who, while managing the lines as virtual trustees for the public, should have no share in the profits of operation except that they should receive reasonable salaries. These trustees were to take care of the outstanding bonds of the old company and pay to the stockholders five per cent. on \$85 for each share of stock; that is, Johnson agreed to use his influence with the Council and the people to get them to accept a proposition for a lease on that basis. The price fixed for the stock was practically its selling price on the market. To secure the company against default in payments, the Council was to pass a security franchise, running for twenty years and giving the company, in case of foreclosure, the right to charge a five-cent fare during

period. This proposition the company refused to accept.

Mayor Johnson then conceived the idea of applying his holding-company plan to the three-cent fare lines, then in process of construction. A corporation was organized under the name of the Municipal Traction Company, one of the directors of which is A. B. du Pont, who is helping to value Chicago traction properties for the city. This company has taken a lease of the three-cent fare lines, soon to begin operation, and will have the actual management of them. All profits in excess of a fixed dividend rate of six per cent. are to be used in making improvements and paying for the property. The city will have the right to take over the plant at any time after securing the necessary enabling authority from the State Legislature.

A few months ago the old company offered to make a franchise settlement with the city. It asked for a blanket twenty-year renewal, and offered in return to sell seven tickets for 25 cents, good for use at any time. The cash fare was to be five cents. In its detailed features this ordinance was objectionable for several reasons. The company wanted the ordinance submitted to a referendum vote this fall. Mayor Johnson said he favored a referendum, but on condition that it was broad enough to settle the question decisively for or against the old company, and that the company would agree to be bound by the referendum. This the company refused to do.

It is the plan of Mayor Johnson to make the three-cent fare lines the nucleus of a larger system which will displace the old company as fast as its grants expire.

* * *

AN IMPORTANT CAMPAIGN ISSUE.

A remarkable situation has developed in the congressional campaign. In 174 congressional districts the Republican nominees oppose the re-establishment of a direct vote in the people for public questions, and the Democratic opponents champion it. For the first time since the War of the Revolution the question of self-government is actually a live issue and can easily become paramount. If in one-third of these districts the majority rule cause prevails, the next House will be Democratic.

The issue has been raised by the questioning of candidates by the National Federation for People's Rule, representing organized farmers and business interests, with the questions endorsed by the American Federation of Labor and the Labor Representation Committee of the American Federation of Labor.

Heretofore the difficulty in each congressional campaign has been to bring forward the national issues demanded by the organizations that do not make the nominations or party platforms—organizations demanding the termination of machine rule and the re-establishment of self-government. That problem has been solved. All the nominees have been questioned, and each one notified that a refusal to reply in ten days would be a negative to the questions and would be so reported to the newspapers and non-partisan organizations.

The questions to candidates this year are as follows:

If the electors will select you to represent them, will

you faithfully work and vote for the immediate enactment of a statute to establish a system of direct voting on public questions through—

(1) The Advisory Initiative, to apply to questions of interstate commerce, civil service, immigration, trial by jury or any modification of the law of injunction, eight-hour day in government contract work, and the submission of constitutional amendments for the initiative and referendum, election of United States Senators by the people, and election of fourth-class postmasters by the patrons of each office; and

(2) The Advisory Referendum, to apply to laws of Congress and measures passed by either House? (Suggestions for said systems are set forth in the accompanying bill.)

This program for a direct vote on public questions is not new in principle, being merely a return to the essential features of the system that existed previous to the rise of the convention some eighty years ago. The voters used to instruct at will and by direct vote. This they did at town meetings in rural New England, and elsewhere through mass meetings. And, besides, the candidates for Congress were pledged by districts instead of by machine-rule and State and national conventions, as is now the case.

The Federalist party opposed the use of this direct-vote system, and were at once ousted from power, and their odious Alien and Sedition laws were repealed. The party died nationally in 1817, since which time no one in public life has openly opposed majority rule until the questioning of candidates was instituted in recent years. Last year in Ohio, for example, there was a demand by the non-partisan forces for the election of a legislature that would submit a constitutional amendment for the termination of machine rule, in other words, for the initiative and referendum. The Democrats declared for it in their State platform, and when the nominees of the parties were questioned the Democrats pledged, while most of the Republicans refused. The attitude of candidates was published in the papers. When the voters went into the booths the intelligent and open-minded ones scratched the autocratic Republicans, and wrote in the names of pledged Democrats; and this was done so extensively that the Democratic representation in the State Senate was increased from 4 to 19—an increase of 475 per cent. In the House the percentage of gain was nearly as great. The Democrats had a tie vote in the Senate, and two-thirds were pledged to submit the constitutional amendment. Anything like this gain in national affairs this year will give the Democrats a big majority in the national House.

The Southern Democrats as well as the Northern ones are kindly disposed to the majority rule cause. It is declared for in the national platform and in strong terms; it was the main plank in Jefferson's platform; and since the death of the autocratic Federalist party no one in public life has openly opposed it, as has been pointed out. Although the Democratic nominees in the South are nearly all as good as elected, twenty-four have signed the pledge to work and vote for the immediate re-establishment of a national direct-vote system for the eight topics above mentioned.

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY.

ERNEST CROSBY ON HEARST.

A Letter to the New York Times, Published in the Times of October 28, 1906.

Many of the reasons given by Mr. Hearst's opponents for his rejection remind me of an old familiar story. When some scandalmongers informed President Lincoln that Gen. Grant was drinking too much whisky he asked them to find out the brand for him, so that he might supply it to the other Generals. It is undoubtedly true that if Grant had been all that Hearst is said to be ten times over, neither Lincoln nor any other Northerner would for that reason have gone over to the Southern side, however beautiful the domestic life of Gen. Lee had been shown to be in comparison.

The fact is now, as it was then, that there is an issue which overshadows the leaders on either side. There is a world-wide movement in operation today taking various forms in different places, but having everywhere one fundamental characteristic—namely, that it starts from the assumption that the economic game of life is not being played "fair," and that it is necessary to assure equal opportunities for all in that game. Its object is the abolition of special privilege and tribute-exacting monopoly. It does not question the right of merit to its full reward, but it condemns the speculative and aleatory concomitants of the private usurpation of all kinds of unearned increment, based on monopoly, which have turned the business world into a glorified Monte Carlo, inflating the rewards of success infinitely beyond deserts and placing a premium upon fraud, chicanery, and greed.

Does this issue enter into the present campaign in New York State, and on which side is Mr. Hughes, and on which is his adversary? I think there can be only one answer to these queries. The question of corporate monopoly is presented to the voter in New York this year much more clearly than it has ever been presented before, and Mr. Hearst is the assailant, and Mr. Hughes, from the very necessity of the case, the defender. There are no holders of special privileges in the United States who are not on the side of Mr. Hughes, and Mr. Hughes has not uttered a word in this campaign which can cause them uneasiness. On the other hand, they are all frightened out of their wits at the mere mention of Mr. Hearst's name, and, be it noticed, he has threatened them with nothing but the enforcement of the law.

They have good reason to fear their own laws. Every time the probe has been inserted (in the insurance companies, in the railways, in Standard Oil, in the Beef Trust) the rottenness of the business system has been uncovered, judged even by its own low standards of decency. I confess I should like to see Mr. Hearst get "at" them. I should like to see him safely ensconced in their Richmond, and I have no more doubt than they have of his sincerity. Their enmity is the best proof that he is not insincere. And on this point I have a little private information.

A gentleman who has been closely associated with Mr. Hearst and is not supporting him in this campaign—a man of unquestioned integrity—has assured me that there can be no doubt whatever of the sincerity of the candidate of the Independence League in his democratic professions. Ten years ago, he

added, Mr. Hearst told an intimate friend that he intended to start a cheap paper in New York and to secure the largest circulation possible for it, in order that he might spread these democratic views of his. This programme he has carried out with marvelous perseverance and success, and he was elected Mayor of New York last year on a mere personal ticket—a stupendous performance.

Mr. Hearst's "whisky" may be a most deplorable thing, but it does not seem to be inconsistent with phenomenal ability, and I cannot help feeling for it some of the leniency which Lincoln accorded to the favorite beverage of Gen. Grant. Hearst's faults, too, have been grossly exaggerated. The Journal is not half so bad a paper as it is painted, and in some respects its tone is higher than that of most other dailies. Mr. Hearst's corporations bear no resemblance to those which are a danger to the Commonwealth, for they are not based on special privilege and lay tribute upon no public necessity.

Then, as Mr. Hearst's faults have been magnified, those of Mr. Hughes have been altogether overlooked. He is a corporation lawyer who attacked a particular corporation because he was retained to do so. If he had been retained on the other side he would have defended it with equal enthusiasm. As soon as the investigation led into the coffers of the Republican party he was called off, and this nomination looks very much like his reward. That he differs in any essential respect from Mr. Higgins, Mr. Odell, and Mr. Black, et id omne genus, there is not the slightest reason for supposing, and there is not a word in his speeches which shows that he has any insight whatever into the real problems which confront the world. Mr. Ivins meant business last year, but of course he has been set aside, for he would have been a thorn in the side of monopoly. It is possible that if Mr. Hughes edited a newspaper it would be less yellow than Mr. Hearst's, but we are not to vote for editors. We are to vote for a policy for the State of New York, and I shall take special pleasure in casting my ballot for the candidate of the Independence League.

ERNEST H. CROSBY.

October 24, 1906.

* * *

WHO MADE HEARST POSSIBLE?

A Letter Written by the Rev. R. Heber Newton, D.D., Under Date of October 20, to the New York Times.

As Published in the Times of October 23, 1906.

Mr. Gilder's letter in yesterday's Times concerning Mr. Hearst forms very pathetic reading. His distress is one which hosts of our citizens are sharing. All that he says seems to me, for one, undoubtedly true. And it is said with dignity and self-restraint—which is more than can be affirmed of much of the present denunciation of Mr. Hearst. Despite the hysteria into which grave journals are now falling—as they have fallen more than once in times past when the pillars of society have seemed to shake, from the days of that famous campaign of the great-hearted and pure-souled reformer Henry George—despite this hysteria, the bulk of the charges against Mr. Hearst which these papers make are also too sadly true.

All that Collier's Weekly, in its four articles on

"Hearstism," affirms is equally correct—in this case calmly and judicially affirmed. Mr. Brisbane and his fellow-Aarons and Hurs who are upholding the hands of our modern Moses—not alas! in his prayers—notwithstanding the public opinion concerning their chief, are pretty nearly accurate, it is to be feared.

And yet—

Is there not a little unconscious unreality in this overrighteous objugation of Hearst? Is he the only sinner in our Jerusalem? Have our model journals and our respectable citizens been alert to condemn in the bud the evils which they now denounce in the flower? The World is now arrayed virtuously against the proprietor of The American—its too smart pupil. The Herald holds its skirts daintly away from any contaminating touch from this abhorrent journalist—The Herald which for a generation has publicly conducted the vilest advertising business in its column of "Personals," a business which no other journal has seriously attacked, which the Society for the Suppression of Vice has never disturbed, which the Society for the Prevention of Crime has apparently never discovered, which all prosecuting attorneys, Mr. Jerome included, have allowed to carry on its "trade in the souls of men" undisturbed, and which it was left for the proprietor of The American alone to hale to the courts and thus stop, at least for the time. Is Mr. Hearst the first to organize a personally conducted tour to the White House? Are there not a goodly number of distinguished and reputable public men booming themselves now systematically for the Presidency? Have not occupants of Cabinet positions, of the White House itself, used their positions to capture the coveted prize of the politician? Is the use of money novel in such campaigns? Was not the nomination and election of the amiable Mr. McKinley notoriously secured by the "business methods" of Mark Hanna? Has not the old-time ideal of the office seeking the man been long outgrown by our progressive people?

How seriously have our family papers, our honorable public men, and our good citizens set themselves to ban such abhorrent degradation in journalism and politics? Why, then, this spasm of injured innocence over a man who simply goes one better on so many of our successful journals and politicians? Let us give even the devil his due. As our Puritan forebears would have phrased it, perhaps Mr. Hearst has been "raised up" to give us an object lesson in the issues of the tendencies that have been working in our midst. Are we not ourselves responsible for "Hearstism"?

And yet—again.

There could be no danger such as is now threatening us, there would be no shaking in their boots on the part of safe and sane citizens were it only a case of a blatant demagogue stirring up discontent among the ignorant. It is an insult to the American people to suppose them capable of being led by such a demagogue, had he done nothing for them, did he represent only imaginary grievances, ranting merely in "loose talk about social wrongs," as Mr. Hughes has unfortunately characterized his speeches—thereby making votes for Hearst.

He has made good for the wage-workers, as they at least believe. He has gotten things done for them. He has scored victories over the trusts, in some instances unaided. Granted that his motives

were purely selfish—what does that count, they say? What other paper has done so much for labor? What other public man has achieved such practical results? This is the way the wage-workers reason.

Others than wage-workers are reasoning in what seems to the world politic this unreasoning way.

There has been no more severe arraignment of Mr. Hearst, or none withal more judicious in tone, than that which The Times copied a few days ago from The Public of Chicago. And yet The Public, in closing that editorial, advised its radical friends to vote for Mr. Hearst in words which deserve the sober consideration of all conservative citizens; words which, since The Times apparently forgot to quote them, I ask the privilege of citing, in part at least.

We are in the midst of a great popular revolt against the power and the depredations of privilege. We must choose between reaction and progress. It would be nicer, of course, if progressive issues were clear cut and the candidates of progressive movements hewed to the line of principle. But things human never shape themselves nor allow themselves to be shaped so neatly. Popular uprisings are always in a good deal of a muddle. In no party and under no leadership at such times can all progressive voters find statements of principles to which they can wholly assent, or leaders whom they can heartily follow. The best they can do is to support the party, however dubious its declarations, and the candidates, however objectionable they and their methods may be, that go approximately in the direction of progress instead of the other way.

And what is the test of this when the fury of the struggle is on? There may be many tests, but there is one which never fails. It may be inferred from the answer to the question, On which side are the intelligent adversaries of progress gathering? If we turn our backs upon the direction in which they go, we shall probably be turning our faces in the direction in which we ought to go.

By that test the course of the progressive voter in New York is plain. Though many genuine progressives oppose Hearst's election, no reactionaries favor it. Though the progressives be not all for him, the reactionaries are all against him. Unless, therefore, the progressive voters of New York are determined to vote against the progressive movement until angels come down to lead it, they belong at this election in the ranks of the followers of Hearst.

This may be all a grave mistake—but it is the mistake of a most high-minded citizen, the peer of Mr. Gilder in lofty public spirit and unselfish service to his country. And it is a mistake which I must suspect is going to be made by a host of citizens who are not "laborers."

I do not attempt to add a word to the expostulation which Mr. Gilder so strongly makes against such action. I simply want to point the moral of it all, at a time when the daily deepening scare of society may reinforce that moral.

The gravity of the social situation—the reality and seriousness of the "menace of privilege"—cannot be questioned. It is alike moral and philanthropic—if one may put asunder those whom God hath joined together. It is on the one hand the corruption which is eating out the fibre of our business world, as disclosed in the awful revelations of the past year; and, on the other hand, the deep distress, the sickening misery which lies below our fair upper crust of society, the inevitable deposit of a competitive

civilization—as that infinitely pathetic book of Mr. Robert Hunter, "Poverty," should alone suffice to show to the happy myriads who having eyes to see, see not. What Mark Hanna is reported to have said of Mr. Rockefeller is true of our people as a whole—"money-mad." We are now reaping the fruits of this money-madness in the indignant revolt which is growing so fast and so strong against things as they are.

This is the mounting wave on the crest of which Hearst has thrown himself, skillfully; whose deep ground swell is now bearing him on so portentously. It was this deep sea striving which a year ago rolled up that stupendous vote, so nearly landing him in the Mayoralty. And this, although he fought both parties with an extemporized organization, and with every paper in the city save his own against him. It is this which is now surging him on so perilously near the Governorship of the Empire State.

Will our safe and sane citizens ponder this state of affairs seriously with a pondering which shall bring forth fruits meet for repentance?

Arguments about Mr. Hearst's character are largely lost on a public feeling such as is now roused. When a man is angry, and wants to hit out hard, he does not stop to ask whether the club he finds at hand is made of teak wood, inlaid with ivory, or only a gnarled and knotted bit of common hickory. When a man is angry and wants to make himself heard he will be apt to use any trumpet he can lay his hands on, whether made of gold or of the brassiest brass.

Had our safe and sane citizens been awake to the seriousness of the situation they would not have left their misguided fellow-citizens to such a Hobson's choice as they now have. Mr. Hughes is, without doubt, a fine representative of the moral protest against our saturnalia of graft; and because of this he deserves election. But he in no wise represents the philanthropic protest against the social wrongs of our predatory wealth. In so far as I for one know his career he seems blind to the deep damnation of our triumphant democracy. The Republican Party in our State has no leader who is alive to the economic issue. It has blocked the way of the insurance reform which Mr. Hughes so gallantly led just as far as it dared. Its bosses accept him to save them from a Waterloo.

The party at large is equally unworthy of the crisis. The Outlook lately characterized it as "the party of construction." Rather should it have said "the party of obstruction." All that Congress has done for reform of late has been forced upon it by the strong will of one man. And that man its leaders have done all they could to bind hand and foot, cursing him heartily the while, until they needed re-election—when they fall back on "Roosevelt the issue" to save them from that hell of the politician, defeat.

The present danger of "Hearstism" is in an era of good times. What will be that danger—with Hearst or with some other kindred demagogue—in the bad times that will surely come again? "If these things be done in the green tree, what will be done in the dry?"

Will our safe and sane citizens be scared enough

Publishers' Column

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now to set themselves to the task of leading the forces of a just discontent away from the dangerous channels of a social revolution into the still waters of an orderly, peaceful, and honorable solution?

* * *

AT THE CLUB.

For The Public.

'Tis years ago, but I can still recall
The small, low-ceilinged room where oft had met
A score or so good fellows, one and all
Imbued with vim and vigor, and all set,
Not on the trifling vanities of youth,
Time-wasting pleasures which the thoughtless dub
Their highest aim; ah, no, they sought for Truth—
Down at the Club.

When mighty issues swayed the minds of those
Chief in the councils of our land, and whence,
From hall and chamber, tempest-like, arose
The soul-inspiring bursts of eloquence
Which moulded thought and wond'rous love displayed—
Nightly, amid the loud and fierce hub-bub,
These legislative scenes were there portrayed—
Down at the Club.

That there was shown, 'twere idle to assert,
The cultured tone which Art alone imparts,
But minds there were, keen, vigorous and alert,
And words impassioned, straight from honest hearts
Upheld the Right, disdained the tyrant's thrall,
And fused with hope Toll's weak and wav'ring grub;
Pure honest purpose filled the hearts of all—
Down at the Club.

The years are fled, the gallant souls dispersed,
To face the varied calls of busy life,
But, certain this—while man with want be cursed
Their place is foremost in the ceaseless strife;
To lift the weak, to fight the cruel strong,
All undeterred by Fortune's hardest rub;
Their's still the spirit which fought social wrong—
Down at the Club.

J. T. Mc.

* * *

Mamma: "Johnny, I do wish you would make less noise in the early morning. You always wake me up and I prefer to wake up naturally."

Johnny: "Well, isn't it natural for folks to wake up when they hear a noise?"—Chicago Daily News.

* * *

Just an illustration of the power of letters upon public men. We were passing a reform measure about seventeen years ago in Washington. I approached Senator Joe Blackburn of Kentucky, and spoke of the matter. "O, yes," he exclaimed, "my State is all stirred up; I have had twenty letters from Kentucky about it." He thought the whole State of Kentucky was in a state of eruption and excitement because twenty people had written him for something else than offices and appropriations.
—Wilbur F. Crafts.

* * *

Here is an effective piece of dramatic criticism, said to have been printed in a rural paper in Indiana. A raw company on the "kerosene circuit" played "Hamlet," and the next day the editor wrote: "Mr. Soandso and his company played 'Hamlet' in the town hall last night. It was a great social event and all the elite of our fair village attended. There has

Special Notice to the Progressive Men & Women of Chicago
DINNER ON NOVEMBER 2

The Single Taxers of Chicago and their friends will dine at the Washington Restaurant, N. W. Cor. Wabash Avenue and Adams Street, Chicago, on the evening of Friday, November 2nd, at 6 o'clock. The dinner will be table d'hôte, price 50 cents the plate.

On this occasion Mr. Raymond Robins, of the Northwestern University Settlement, will address those present on "Opportunity." All interested are invited.

This is one of a series of informal dinners occurring regularly on the first Friday evening of each month. For particulars communicate with the committee at 1202 Ashland Block, Chicago. Telephone Central 925.

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CONFESSIONS OF A DRONE

by Patterson, a book by London and one by Sinclair, with other socialist literature, in all 228 pages, mailed for 10c, provided The Public is mentioned.

Charles H. Kerr & Co., 264 Kinzie Street, Chicago

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By **LOUIS F. POST**
Reprinted from The Public of March 10, 1906

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THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY
First National Bank Building, Chicago

THE SINGLE TAX By **George A. Briggs**

An address before the Elkhart Society of the New Church,
18mo, paper, 66 pages, 10 cents, postpaid.

The Public Publishing Co., First National Bank Building, Chicago

been a long discussion as to whether Bacon or Shakespeare wrote the play, commonly attributed to Shakespeare. It can be easily settled now. Let the graves of the two writers be opened. The one who turned over last night is the author."—

—New York Tribune.

BOOKS

AN ARGUMENT FOR TO-DAY.

Night and Morning. By Katrina Trask. London: John Lane, The Bodley Head. New York: John Lane Company, 1907.

In this, her latest book, Mrs. Trask gives us a poetic rendering of the scriptural story of the woman taken in adultery, showing the psychic side of a temptation usually considered from a grosser point of view.

The poem breathes the atmosphere of the Orient, and its descriptions are vivid pictures of scenes transpiring in both "the Syrian Night" and "Sun-Crowned Morning" of Jerusalem. The character of Miriam, the unhappy wife of Eleazar, the stern Pharisee, is sketched with the sympathetic hand of an artist who suggests the gleam of living light underneath the shadow lying upon the foreground of the picture.

The heart of the woman, outraged by the profanity of a false and loveless marriage, is predisposed by its own hunger to respond to the passionate wooing of "Leonidas, the brave imperious Greek," who in "a garden of deliciousness" urges the world-old argument of sex desire. After weak protests from the unilluminated soul of the woman reaching blindly for light, she is silenced by the subtle Greek's wily quotation of the example of King David and Bathsheba, and she yields to the man's sophistries in these words:

"Leonidas, my love, thou hast prevailed.
Love is of God and hath its own commands
Above the stony tablets of the Law:
Its warrant is immutable; and life
Were folled in its high purpose to forego
Fulfillment of Omnipotent decree
Writ clear by God on tablets of the heart."

We pass the tragedy of "The Middle Watch," and come to "Morning," the crowning section of the poem.

Here we find Miriam, with proud self-justification, walking behind the Scribes and Pharisees on her way to judgment and to death.

Her wimple torn away,
Her hair in pity veiled her nakedness
Where ruthless men had clutched and rent her robe.
Footsore and weary she had journeyed far—
For they had taken her beyond the gates
Between the passing of the night and dawn.
No halting tremor in her frame betrayed
Her weariness, her desolate degree;
Proudly she walked, defiant, beautiful,
Deaf to the taunting jeers and mockery
Flung by the men and women in her face.

The analysis of the sinner's thought and emotion under this terrible ordeal is too fine and keen to be mutilated by partial quotation from the story which should be considered as a whole. But we follow

More Admissions About "The Confessions"

New press comments about Hon. Frederic C. Howe's new book, *THE CONFESSIONS OF A MONOPOLIST*.

This is a strong story. As explained in the preface, it is a composite story; a story that might fit a dozen or more men in the U. S. Senate. When confession is necessary or desirable it is a good idea to let the other fellow do the confessing; it eliminates the personal factor and prevents the suppression of the most interesting portions of the narrative. Political management is well described, and the conscientious attitude maintained throughout the book by the man who has no conscience is exceptionally well drawn and true to life.

The purchase of the book will be likely to prove a good investment to any of that large class of people who, sooner or later, may be tempted to deal in speculative stocks; as well as interesting to the "lamb" who have been shorn. Chapter seven, in which the monopolist is "shorn with the lambs," and chapter eight, in which he returns to New York and recoups his losses, are well worth the price of the book.

It is clearly shown that the few who sell when others buy and who buy when others sell, gain what the many lose; and that dealing in stocks is not a game of chance. For all except a few who buy and sell quickly, there is no chance to win. These chapters will interest many who are not interested in what the book is written to teach.

Incidentally, and perhaps unintentionally, is shown the hopeless character of the contest waged by the poor and honest classes against the power of unscrupulous wealth. Here, too, the element of chance seems to be eliminated. Not that it should be so; but so it seems to be.

Honesty is recognized and indirectly commended by the monopolist, who has it not; who turns its advocates down and sends them into obscurity. This is also true to life. The story is interesting without considering what it is designed to teach.—C. C. Millard in *The Liberal Review, Chicago*.

A book that deserves to be read by all who are interested in a study and solution of the monopoly problem.—*The Commoner, Lincoln, Neb.*

The Confessions of a Monopolist.
By Hon. Frederic C. Howe. 12mo,
cloth, 170 pages. \$1.00 (postage 8c.)

The Public Publishing Company
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her and her accusers up to the great Corinthian Gate of the Court where sat the Judge who was expected to pronounce her doom.

A sudden silence on the rabble fell,
The Pharisees and Scribes—who made vain boast
That in their righteousness they heeded none—
Stopped in their path, and checked their speech to hear.

All at once, as the wondrous voice of the master sounded in her ears Miriam divined that here she would find righteous judgment, and her hands were outstretched in supplication while her lips parted with an appealing cry.

The Master still spoke on, nor ceased His word,
He only turned His face on Miriam and looked upon her.

The wonderful penetrating eyes of Christ touched the soul of the woman even more deeply than the voice had done.

As wonder-awed she gazed
Her fierce defiance slowly ebbed—and died—
Her bitterness, her wrath, like demons ran,
And left her emptied of her former self.
Silent, as Temple pillars carven fair
With pomegranates, she stood like one stone-bound.

Then on a sudden, tremors seized her frame.
Her eyes were veiled with mist of weeping tears.
Behold! as with the coming of new life
The unborn babe stirs in the womb, softly
At first, so softly, deep in Miriam
Her spirit stirred, and all her being thrilled.
Not knowing what it meant nor whence it came.
She waited—wondering—and lo! her soul
Sprang to its stature, quickened, born again,
Spirit from spirit, conscious of new life,
And of the dower of immortality.

From that moment what mattered life or death?
She knew a love that was higher than law. The law touched but the surface of her sin. In breaking the law she had eaten the ashes of dead sea apples. But Love remained, the mighty spiritual force by which she might have saved both her lover and herself from the ignominious fall which had brought them under the fatal spell of an illusive joy which was a deeper bondage than that from which she had thought to flee.

Alone, they two are standing in the Court,
He, the immaculate sin-conquering Christ,
And she, the sinner, taken in her sin.

Prostrate before the presence of the Christ
Low cowers Miriam to meet her doom,
And as she trembling waits to hear the dread
Anathema, He speaks—

"Neither do I
Condemn thee—Go—and sin no more."

We have all piously recited the lesson of the Master's words in this old Gospel story which is here presented afresh with the divining power of a sympathetic imagination that unveils the subtle, sinuous approach of the serpent of temptation.

But what does it all matter if we modern scribes and pharisees still pitilessly stone our erring Miriam, while we smile upon her satisfied partner in the stolen sin, and leave him, as the scribes and pharisees of old left the brave imperious Leonidas, to pass, unscathed by rebuke and condemnation, in quest of other Miriams for us to stone?
A. L. M.

JUST ISSUED

ORGANIZED DEMOCRACY

By

ALBERT STICKNEY

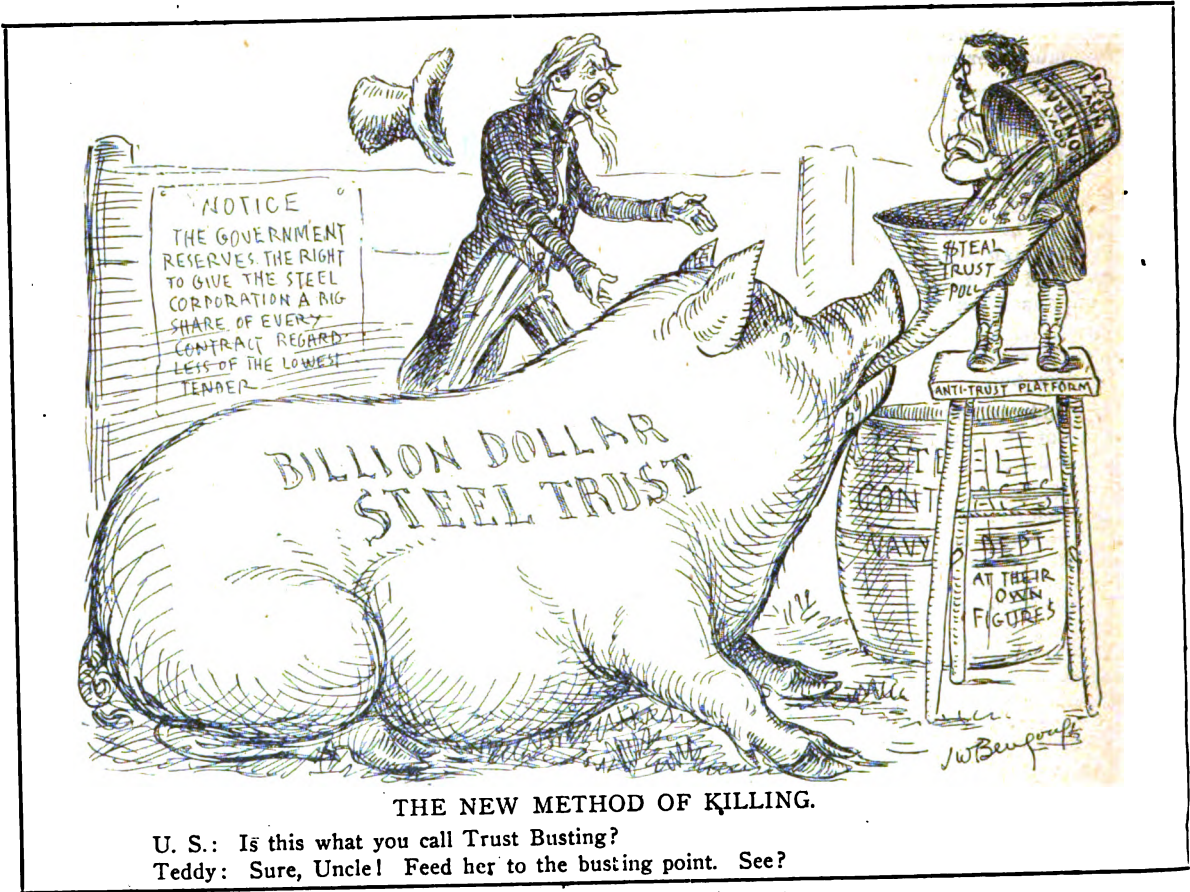
An important political argument, clearly expressed and based on the belief that the best results cannot be secured in a democracy if public officials are chosen for fixed terms; that administration heads, from the President to the lowest foreman, must have absolute power to choose and discharge subordinates; and that the secret ballot should be abolished and a return made to the town-meeting system. The author contends that Americans are free in name only, and are practically slaves to "the machine."

He divides his study as follows: 1. Machine Politics; 2. Organized Democracy; 3. The Cost of Machine Politics; 4. The Necessity of Reorganization; 5. General Review. His view of our present condition is that "party government" with us to-day means nothing more nor less than government by the election machine. Government by the election machine means government by money, and we have achieved not democracy, but plutocracy. Mr. Stickney, however, is by no means pessimistic, but offers some very suggestive and definite ideas for reform.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Romance of John Bainbridge. By Henry George, Jr., author of "The Menace of Privilege" and "The Life of Henry George." New York and London: The Macmillans. Sold by The Public Publishing Co., Chicago. Price \$1.50, postpaid.

PAMPHLETS

Heber Newton's Religion.

In an address before the New York State Conference of Religion at Schenectady last May, now in pamphlet form, the Rev. Dr. R. Heber Newton eloquently and in neighborly spirit outlined the limits of religious fellowship. They do not coincide with ecclesiasticism. "Wherever, then, I find a man living the Golden Rule, walking in the Spirit, loving God and loving man, dealing justly, showing mercy and walking humbly before God, visiting the fatherless and widows in their affliction, keeping himself unspotted from the world; wherever I find a man thus living, ethically and spiritually, there I find a religious man, there I recognize the presence of religion, and there I feel the bonds of a man, the including limits of religious fellowship." Dr. Newton's confidence in the still small voice is itself an inspiration:

"No matter how most orthodox pastors caution you, no matter what most learned professors instruct you, trust the religion within you in fellowshiping with the truly religious everywhere in 'the freedom of the faith.'" And this faith Dr. Newton has sanely lived.

+

Direct Legislation.

The Arena's "Primer of Direct Legislation" (The Arena, Trenton and Boston, sold by The Public Publishing Co., Chicago. Price 10 cents, postpaid), a product of the pens of many experts on this subject, is a pamphlet the present importance of which may be readily inferred from the title. Most of us know what the Referendum is, and within narrow limits even the narrowest reactionaries welcome it. They regard it as especially valuable in holding bond issues in check. But the Initiative is not so familiar to voters generally, and it is a veritable black beast in politics to the reactionaries. Both are explained in this pamphlet, as are also the Recall, Proportional Representation, the Absolute Majority and the Direct Primary methods.

PERIODICALS

The Kindergarten Magazine has been carried from Chicago to New York, and combined—Heaven save

the mark!—with the Pedagogical Digest (59 West 96th St., New York). The October number furnishes some most affecting details from the hells of child labor.
A. T. P.

✦

Watson's Magazine having passed out of the hands of Mr. Thomas E. Watson (p. 695), it is now reported from Atlanta that Mr. Watson is to start a new magazine in that city, to be known as the Monthly Jeffersonian. Atlanta also promises us another new monthly, to be edited by Joel Chandler Harris and to be called Uncle Remus' Magazine.
A. T. P.

✦

The Chautauquan in its new form is a dainty magazine of small page size, beautifully put into print. One could wish that it would open more readily, but it is not alone in its stiff-backedness. The illustrated article on "The Ancestry of the English Theatre" in the October number is a good type of many which are well adapted to illustrate subjects that our young people are learning about in their high schools. (The Chautauqua Press, Chautauqua, N. Y.)
A. T. P.

✦

Plans are under way for the publication in New York of a monthly magazine for the blind, the first to be published in America, and the second periodical of its kind in the world. It is to be distributed free to all blind persons in the United States. The great cost of this publication—far greater than the cost of a similar magazine for seeing people—will be born by Mrs. William Ziegler. Press reports state that the magazine will contain news of the day, short stories reprinted by permission from leading periodicals, and contributions from blind readers themselves. Letters from inmates of State blind schools all over the country, telling of the work being done by them, will be one of the features.
A. T. P.

✦

The Filipino Students' Magazine, official organ of the Filipino students in America, has been started at Berkeley, California. Articles appear in both English and Spanish. To news and sympathetic and informative articles are added considerations of the Philippine problem. We find this incident in its pages, translated from the Manila El Renacimiento of July 9th last:

The following dialogue occurred, it is said, between a school ma'am and a Filipino pupil in one of the public schools in Lipa, Batangas, P. I.:

Maestra—Why did the old Filipinos not constitute one nation?

Pupil—Not even now can it be said that we constitute a nation, because a nation has her own independence.

Maestra—Don't you think that you have now your independence?

Pupil—We have the individual independence, but not the national.

Maestra—Yes, a Filipino citizen is as free as an American.

Pupil—In theory, but not so in the practice.

Here the maestra rang the bell. The little pupil thinks that the maestra only wanted to know whether the Filipino kids had an idea of that sacred word "Independence."

A. T. P.

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The Prophet of San Francisco

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With an Introduction by HENRY GEORGE, Jr.

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