

The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

ALICE THACHER POST, Managing Editor

Vol. 1X.

Number 449.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1906.

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:

The Gamblers' Judgment	745
Newspaper Prognostications	745
Independent Newspapers	745
Elihu Root's Speech	745
"Strike-Breaking" in Politics	746
The Political Situation in Chicago.....	746
Borough Elections in London	746
Hereditarianism	746
Negro Honor and Army Disgrace.....	746
Charles E. Hughes	747
William Randolph Hearst	747

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

Cleveland Traction	749
Municipal Ownership in Canada	749

NEWS NARRATIVE:

The New York Election	750
Elections in Other States	750
The Next Congress	751
Traction Questions in Detroit	751
Advisory Initiative in Grand Rapids.....	751
The Referendum in Delaware	751
Adverse Vote on Statehood	751
The Oklahoma Constitutional Convention.....	751
Degradation of Negro Soldiers	751
A Temporary Settlement with the Utes.....	751
Politics in the Hawaiian Islands.....	752
British Politics	752
Reforms in France	753
News Notes	753
Press Opinions	754

RELATED THINGS:

The Killer (verse)	755
On Government	755
Low Railroad Rates a Practical Question (Irvine).....	756
Personal Property Taxation	756
Tolstoy's Revolution	756
Where'd Jim Hill Get It?.....	757
Land Booms and Reaction	757
The Resuscitation of Our Waterways.....	758
Heritage (Ingham) (verse)	759
Defects of Our Electoral College System (Pattison).....	759
What Cleveland is Doing for the Man Who is Down.....	761
The Muck-rake Man (Wright)	762

BOOKS:

According to His Light	763
The Lion and the Mouse	764
The Civic Advance	765
Chicago History	766
Books Received	766
Pamphlets	767
Periodicals	767

CARTOON:

Company for the Man Who "Takes No Interest in Politics"	766
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EDITORIAL

The Gamblers' Judgment.

Why the judgment of gamblers on election probabilities should be seriously considered is a mys-

tery. Yet when the betting was $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, or 3, 4, and even $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, against the election of Hearst, we all felt, if we did not say so, some of us joyfully and some of us sadly, that "that settled it." But behold! What is the relation between the actual result and even $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 on the chances?

* *

Newspaper Prognostications.

The value of preelection prophecies by newspapers is pretty well disproved by the New York election. Hearst's papers claimed a majority of 200,000 for Hearst. This was mere shouting, of course, and everybody so understood it. But the Herald professed to report the results of an actual canvass, and the Herald also was far afield. It would be well if from all this exploded pretense voters would learn to pay no heed to political prognostications, and to vote their honest sentiments regardless of predicted results.

* *

Independent Newspapers.

Two Chicago newspapers have in the past made much capital of their political independence—the Record-Herald and the Daily News. But at the election this week they refused to endorse any of the independent candidates for judicial office, although these candidates were notoriously better on the whole than the candidates of the two principal parties. They selected some Democratic and some Republican candidates and left out better judicial material which had been named by the independents. Their ostensible reason was that the Hearst papers were supporting the independents. The Hearst papers did support them, to the honor of those papers be it said; but they were nominated independently of Hearst, and but few of them were Hearst men. The true motive of the Record-Herald and the Daily News is not far to seek. These papers stand for "the best man," but the best man of "our set." The good faith politically of both is justly under a dark cloud of suspicion.

* *

Elihu Root's Speech.

It was almost inconceivable that Elihu Root's attack upon Hearst as the responsible assassin of McKinley should have had any effect adverse to Hearst. In all probability it helped him if it had any effect at all. Mr. Root paid a poor compliment to the intelligence of the straying rank and

file of his party when he malignantly tried to fetch them back with that kind of—well, the man in the street would call it “dope.”

* *

“Strike-Breaking” in Politics.

Queer things happen in the heat of election campaigns, amusing inconsistencies of opinion and action. Here is an instance: In times of labor strikes, particularly strikes that affect transportation, one James Farley, “strike breaker,” is lauded as a brave man by all good conservatives, all safe and sane supporters of “law and order.” He is the hero who stands up for “the right of the free man to work when and where he pleases,” the “martyr who defies the tyrannous power of labor unions,” and more such phrases. One might think that Mr. Farley should be rewarded for his heroism by an invitation to dinner at the White House at the very least. But in the New York campaign somebody raked up the news that Farley intended to vote for Hughes, and used it as an indication to labor voters of the kind of opposition Hearst was having. Then it was amusing indeed to see the very papers that had lauded Farley to the skies exclaim with horror at this “lie,” and repudiate Farley as if he were something to be ashamed of. They printed interviews with people who knew Farley, denying his allegiance to Hughes. The New York Herald crowed with triumph when it asserted that Farley had been heard to say he might vote for Hearst. In short, everything was done to prove that the good people who seemed ready to invite Farley to dinner because of his bravery, regarded his political allegiance as a discreditable burden. If Farley has any sense of humor, and being an Irishman he presumably has, he must have been much amused.

* *

The Political Situation in Chicago.

The defeat of the Democratic ticket in Cook county (the Chicago county) is not a defeat of the Democratic party. It is a defeat of the Sullivanian gas ring which had seized upon the party. This defeat was accomplished by the Independence League and the Hearst papers of Chicago, and ought to be a wholesome lesson to the Democrats of the city. The Democratic party can not be true to its principles and the democratic policy anywhere, when public franchises are at stake, if it is under the management of franchise grabbers. With the franchise grabbers out of authority in the party, Chicago is a Democratic city; with the franchise grabbers in authority in the Democratic party, the city will be and might as

well be Republican. The lesson for Chicago Democrats next spring may be read in the local election returns of this fall.

* *

Borough Elections in London.

Until better news is available than that which the cable brings, the significance of the borough elections in London will not be known. Our newspapers are making much of the result as a condemnation of the Progressives. This may be its true meaning. But we must remember that the borough system was devised by Salisbury, the Tory prime minister, for the express purpose of baffling the forward movement of the London County Council. The result may mean no more than that Salisbury was a good manager of bad politics and an efficient patron of grafting corporations.

* *

Hereditarianism.

It sounds good to learn that the hereditarians, those complacent aristocrats who account for their goodness and the wickedness of their neighbors by the blood of ancestors, are organizing to improve the race by improving its blood. They call their science “eugenics,” and they intend among other things to “devise methods of recording the values of the blood of individuals, families, peoples and races.” This is a great work. It will be done doubtless by the aid of scientific apparatus and processes; and in place of all the nonsense we now read regarding “superior” and “inferior” blood from statistics of personal conduct, we shall have scientific classifications based upon examinations of the blood itself. The blood of the Negro, of the white man, of the rich man, the poor man, the beggar man and the thief, will doubtless be differentiated scientifically, and the further development of the race mentally and spiritually as well as physically be thereby assured. The superiority of this mode of investigation is obvious. Records of personal conduct prove little or nothing as to the blood, because so many influences of environment enter in. Not so with the testimony of the blood itself. This may indeed become to sociology what the testimony of the rocks has been to cosmology, and we await these blood tests with interest.

* *

Negro Honor and Army Disgrace.

In degrading a whole Negro battalion in the army because some of its members were criminal and disorderly and some others refused to volunteer testimony against them, President Roosevelt

has done an unjust thing. We are not especially concerned about it, because the more the autocratic character of army life over private soldiers is disclosed and the less army degradation comes to be regarded as real degradation, the better. But here is an interesting case. Such members of the battalion as knew of the alleged crime could have been forced to testify as witnesses; but what the President demanded was that they should trot up to headquarters and volunteer tales which, if volunteered by one commissioned officer with reference to another not under his command, would have brought him into contempt. And because some members of the battalion who may have known did not tell, President Roosevelt dismisses the whole battalion in disgrace. These Negroes are to be congratulated upon being put out of the man-killing trade, but President Roosevelt is hardly to be congratulated upon his ideas of fair play as exemplified in this case.

* *

Charles E. Hughes.

Of the ability and personal cleanliness of the governor-elect of New York, Charles E. Hughes, we suppose that no one has had any serious question. It was said of him in the heat of the campaign that he was a corporation lawyer, and when he replied that he had not been employed by corporations except in particular cases, as with other clients, he was described as having been "a corporation lawyer by retail instead of wholesale." This was not a fair characterization. The term "corporation lawyer" in the opprobrious sense applies not to general practitioners who have corporations among their clients and do their work professionally; it applies to lawyers who sell themselves to corporations by the year for the purpose not merely of protecting them in their legal rights, as even a criminal may properly be protected in his legal rights, but of advising them in their policy of depredation, as a criminal might be advised in the commission of crime. Mr. Hughes does not appear to have been that kind of corporation lawyer. He has been accused also of abandoning his investigation into the insurance frauds at the point at which Cortelyou and Bliss, the Republican collectors of some of this insurance loot, were in jeopardy. In answer to that accusation it is urged that, without bad faith and bad professional practice, he could not have asked either of these men what they did with the money, the investigation being into the acts of the insurance companies and not into the disposition the receivers of their unlawful contributions made of the money. It is enough, perhaps, for us to say

that our opposition to the Hughes candidacy was not to Mr. Hughes personally, but to the Interests which his candidacy represented.

*

We did not believe, nor do we now believe, that any governor nominated and elected as Mr. Hughes has been, can successfully cope with the Interests that elected him. He is in the position of a moderate teetotaler nominated and elected by saloon interests. He could hardly command the confidence of the progressive democrats of any party, and he would invite destruction at the behest of the Interests of his own party, were he to adopt a policy in any wise seriously hostile to plutocracy. It may be that Mr. Hughes has the genius for giving successful political battle to the classes that have made him their political leader, but we must register a doubt. Nevertheless, that doubt is not final. Mr. Hughes is on record as distinguishing clearly between monopoly values and labor values in connection with public utilities. The opportunity is now open to him to give concrete and official expression to that talismanic difference. Should he do so he may kill plutocracy in its very temple. But whether he will do so remains to be seen. It is one thing for a man to lay down that distinction as a principle in a particular proceeding he is conducting as a lawyer; it is another thing for the same man to act upon it straightforwardly as a high public official against the allied financial interests that have put him in office and that control the nerve centers of his political party.

* * *

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST.

In his post-election address, the defeated candidate for Governor of New York, William Randolph Hearst, makes this declaration:

I am enlisted in this fight against the control of government by the trusts and corrupt corporations, and I will fight it out to the end. But I will serve in the lead or in the ranks, just exactly as the people desire and as earnestly and loyally in one place as in the other. The people have decided to retain the Republican party in power. I will make my fight in the ranks, therefore, and as a private citizen do my best to promote the interests of my fellow citizens.

Had Mr. Hearst acted upon that principle from the beginning of his public career, he would doubtless now be the governor-elect of New York, and the cause he has ably led in that State would be at this moment hailed as a triumphant instead of a defeated cause.

*

Mr. Hearst's fatal weakness was not what it is

described by his enemies to have been. It was not his "yellow" newspapers; if "yellow" means rottenness in public affairs, the Hearst papers are the least "yellow" among the great newspapers of New York, Chicago and San Francisco. It was not the personal dissipations and delinquencies of his earlier life; they now belong to a past which is buried beneath a wholesome family life, and only ghouls would dig them up. The fatal weakness in Mr. Hearst's campaign was his inability to rally the whole-hearted support of the men who profoundly believe in the progressive cause into the leadership of which he had sprung. Some of them refused altogether to support him, while most of those who did support him fell into line with much questioning and many misgivings. And the reason that the former dropped out of line and the latter were not whole-heartedly in line, was because they all felt, and justly felt, that Mr. Hearst was not working for a cause but was making a cause work for him.

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The evidence had been furnished by Mr. Hearst himself. From the moment that he conceived the possibility of becoming a Presidential candidate, he devoted all the power of his papers primarily to promoting that selfish candidacy by building up himself and knocking down possible competitors; and only secondarily (often not even secondarily) to promoting the cause he had nominally espoused. We have already told of this characteristic of the man (p. 627) with reference to some conditions ante-dating and to some post-dating his serious Presidential aspirations. The same characteristics governed him even down to the casting of the vote last Tuesday. In Illinois, for instance, where Bryan made a just and courageous fight against the Sullivan gas combine in the Democratic party, readers of the local Hearst papers would hardly have known that this was Bryan's fight at all; they would have thought it a Hearst fight, although the Hearst papers had in fact been but recently back of Sullivan and his combine. To Bryan's friends the attitude of the Hearst papers toward Bryan was of small concern in so far as Bryan's personal fortunes are concerned, but it was extremely significant as an indication of the character of Hearst's leadership. It was things like this that chilled progressive sentiment in New York. When progressive men were told that their candidate had thrust himself upon them, that his candidacy was for himself and his ambitions and not for the cause of progressive democracy, that he was a "man on horse-back" looming above the horizon of proletarian discontent, they were silent.

They had to be silent. There was nothing for them to say in reply. Not a single notable instance of impersonal devotion to their cause were they able to cite. Whether in politics, in religion, in education, in economics, in the philanthropic relief of distress, it was all the same. Mr. Hearst had pasted his own portrait on all those of his acts that might otherwise have been accounted impersonal or disinterested, and toward everything to which his portrait could not be attached he had turned a cold shoulder.

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When we speak of the progressive sentiment which Mr. Hearst failed to rally whole-heartedly, we make no allusion to the cambric-handkerchief reformers of which Mr. Richard Watson Gilder is a type. These reformers are never on the battle line and never will be. Whenever the fight grows hot and the heavy guns of plutocracy open fire, they find some good reason for going to the rear or over to the enemy. If the leader of the radical side toward which they have academic inclinations be a man of assailable personal character, like Hearst, they think it better in the interest of good morals to postpone the battle than to fight it under his leadership. If he be a man of unassailable personal character but "off" on the money question, like Bryan, then sound economics becomes their first consideration. If both his personal character and his economics are unassailable, as in the case of Henry George, then "society must be saved" against his "insane" followers who are so much more dangerous than their leader. And so it goes. Anything to escape the battle. Anything to keep the cambric-handkerchief neat and clean, no matter how foul the shirt bosom under the dickey may be. To these dilettanté warriors we are not alluding. They would have been against Hearst anyhow, since the Interests were against him. Our allusion is to the men who believe in progressive democracy and are willing to go down the firing line for it even if they don't like their general in command nor his tactics; to the men who seeing the foulness of plutocracy in politics, are willing to work at cleaning it out, though they soil their own reputations in the process, and to work elbow to elbow or face to back with men engaged in the same disagreeable but highly useful service—yes, and without inquiring too closely whether their leaders and associates in the work are doing it because it is foul or in spite of its being foul. These are the kind of men whose whole-hearted support would in all probability have elected Mr. Hearst. He did not get their support because they distrusted him. They feared he would selfishly

lead them into a blind alley and sacrifice their cause. They knew he had not done heretofore what he promises to do hereafter: "serve in the lead or in the ranks just exactly as the people desire and as earnestly and loyally in one place as the other."

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But it is not too late for Mr. Hearst to reform himself and his personal advisers. It is not too late for him to save his life by giving his life, to achieve leadership by indifference to leadership. Let him prove by a consistent policy in New York, in Chicago, in Boston, wherever he controls a center of influence, that in all sincerity he has now come to regard leadership as incidental to the people's cause, and their cause no longer as merely incidental to his own leadership. This will be an easy thing for him to do. And having done it, whether he becomes Governor of his State or President of the Republic will be of little consequence either to the people or to him. As a mere personal consideration, his fame will be greater and brighter and more enduring; even the political prize he has coveted and vainly reaches out for may fall into his lap, a testimonial rather than a prize. Personal considerations aside, he will have the satisfaction, infinitely more ennobling than personal honors, of having disinterestedly and for the good of all, given voice and might to the democratic thought of his countrymen.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

CLEVELAND TRACTION.

Cleveland, Nov. 5.—While the traction fight in Cleveland (pp. 702, 723, 726) is not yet at an end, the situation is so far advanced that there seems little danger of much longer delay of a complete victory for the city in this struggle which Mayor Johnson has led for nearly six years.

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Should the decision in a case now pending in the Supreme Court of the United States be in favor of the "Concon," the fight will go on; but if that decision is in favor of the city, the Cleveland monopoly must collapse as did the Chicago traction monopoly when it lost its 99-year case.

In the lower Federal courts, the "Concon" lost its case, Mayor Johnson being fully sustained. An appeal to the Supreme Court was taken, and there the case has rested awaiting its turn. Recently Mayor Johnson has proceeded to dispossess the "Concon" of its occupation of a street whereon its franchise had, under the decision of the lower Federal courts, completely expired. Thereupon the "Concon" applied for a restraining order, but it made out so strong a case of emergency that the Supreme Court not only granted the restraining order but advanced

the case, setting it down for the 8th for final argument.

This was not agreeable to the "Concon" people. They wanted the restraining order, but they also wanted delay. Contrary to their wishes, therefore, their whole contention must soon be so decided by the highest court of the land that if they lose they lose everything, and if they win they only win a chance to lose later on.

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Meanwhile the "Threefer" line is in operation. Two cars are making regular half-hour trips over about seven miles of street. The first car on its first trip had Mayor Johnson for motorman. This line is on ground that has been won by the city over the dead bodies of many a "Concon" injunction. It begins at the western limits of the city south of Detroit street, and turning north touches Detroit street about a mile from the Public Square. Here it is stopped by a "Concon" injunction (temporary) forbidding its use of 600 feet of Detroit street. When that injunction shall have been removed the line will be in complete operation from the southern limits to the Public Square; for, beyond the 600 feet in question, the street to the Square is "free territory."

Even as it is, these cars serve the needs of a considerable population for short distances. The average number of fares is about 60 each way, which at the 3-cent fare yields about \$3.60 per round trip. This is normal traffic, the period of curiosity having passed. The cars seat 48, and as empty seats are usually found throughout the trip, it is evident that a considerable number of the passengers get on and off—that is, take short rides. As to earning capacity, the cars are now yielding a net profit of from \$10 to \$15 a day each.

The "Concon" papers speak of this road as running "from nowhere to nowhere." The Cleveland Press retorts that they run "from the city limits to an injunction."

To facilitate payments of fare at 3 cents, aluminum car fare tickets are offered for sale and in change. They are round in shape, and as they have a hole in the middle they are used extensively as souvenir watch charms.

Construction of "Threefer" lines is in progress in other parts of the city, and new cars are coming in from the Eastern shops as fast as they can be made and shipped.

L. F. P.

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MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP IN CANADA.

Winnipeg, Manitoba, Oct. 27.—The influx of immigrants into Manitoba and the new Provinces to the west and north of it, with its resultant "boom" in land values, has had an unmistakable tendency to divert the thoughts of people here from a thorough consideration of public questions; and the zeal to make money from the rapidly increasing value of the land is the all-absorbing topic. But the increase in population makes more public utilities necessary, and the movement for public ownership being abroad, the tendency here is toward having these utilities publicly owned and operated. For example, the city of Winnipeg is now planning the construction of a power plant. This plant is to be built and operated by the

city; the electric energy is to be generated by water power some 80 miles from the city, and to be used in the city for private as well as public purposes. A publicly owned telephone system is under way for the whole Province of Manitoba, under the direction of the Provincial Government. In an announcement of the government's policy by Hon. J. H. Agnew, the Provincial treasurer, at the opening of the Icelandic Conservative Club on the 25th, the following was given as a brief history of the movement:

At the session of 1905 a number of companies applied to the legislature for charters to carry on the telephone business in the province of Manitoba. The private bills committee, to whom the matters were referred as usual, reported against the granting of the charters, and recommended that the government consider the question in the recess, and at the next session submit some scheme to the legislature looking to the establishment of municipal or government telephone systems.

During the year the Union of Manitoba Municipalities took the matter up and passed a resolution at a convention which they held in the city of Brandon stating that they would be glad to co-operate with the government in the establishment of the telephone system throughout the province, and that the long distance lines should be operated by the government, and the local exchanges by the municipality.

When the house met again a special committee composed of members of both sides of the house was appointed, and this committee went very fully and thoroughly into the whole question, examining experts not only in Canada, but in the United States, and afterwards introduced a series of resolutions which were adopted by the legislature without a dissenting voice, and subsequently measures based on these resolutions were passed unanimously. The result of this movement is that the government proposes to own and operate the long distance lines, and the different municipalities throughout the province are given power to establish, own and operate the different local exchanges.

Mr. Agnew then made an extended argument in favor of the policy of municipal ownership, and in replying to criticisms he said:

One criticism of the government policy which has been most strongly insisted upon is that after the municipalities vote in favor of the system the matter is then entirely in the hands of the council, and the people have no further control. But it must be considered that if it were otherwise, and the plebiscite were taken of each separate municipality at a different time, that an opportunity would thus be afforded for the Bell Telephone Company to marshal its whole enormous influence on each municipal election as it occurred, and thus give it a much better opportunity to defeat the government ownership principle than it could possibly have under the present plan. Besides, the matter is not entirely left to the council. The government proposes to guarantee the bonds of the municipality, and before they will be accepted to oversee the plan suggested by the municipality, and I do not suppose that the government would care to undertake the guarantee of the bonds unless the conditions of the municipality, and the plan proposed by the municipality, would be a safe and feasible plan.

The government proposes to place the question in the hands of the municipalities at the next municipal elections.

PAUL M. CLEMENS.

* * *

"O, James!" exclaimed Mrs. Sittle, "do let's move to the country and keep cows, so we can have nice fresh beef tea every morning!"—Cleveland Leader,

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, November 7.

The New York Election.

Of all the elections on the 6th the most important as well as the most exciting and spectacular was the contest between William Randolph Hearst (Democratic and Independence League) and Charles E. Hughes (Republican) for the governorship of the State of New York. Mr. Hearst carried every borough in greater New York, even Brooklyn where he was opposed by the Democratic leader, Patrick McCarren, his plurality being 76,956. The vote by boroughs was as follows:

Boroughs.	Hughes.	Hearst.
Manhattan and Bronx	134,228	197,540
Brooklyn	106,348	111,141
Queens	14,162	22,221
Richmond	6,518	7,310

Totals 261,256 338,212
Hearst's plurality, 76,956.

Hearst also carried Buffalo by a narrow margin, but lost the county, Erie, by 1,832; and his large majority in greater New York was more than overcome beyond the city, the net result in the whole State being a plurality of about 60,000 for Mr. Hughes. The remainder of the Republican State ticket appears, however, to have been defeated.

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Elections in Other States.

Returns from other States are not in all cases fully reported. In Kansas (p. 349) both parties claim the governorship. California (p. 584) also is in doubt. North Dakota (p. 442) elects the Republican ticket. It is possible that Gov. Cummins (Rep.) is defeated in Iowa (p. 442). Gov. Johnson (Dem.) is re-elected in Minnesota (p. 539), although the remainder of the Democratic State ticket loses. Nebraska (p. 489) is carried by the Republicans. Wisconsin (p. 609) elects the Republican candidate for governor. Gov. Gooding of Idaho (p. 442) is defeated. South Dakota (p. 228) is carried by the Republicans, and Missouri (p. 421) by the Democrats. Ohio (p. 584) and Michigan (p. 442) are heavily Republican, and the Democrats and Lincoln Republicans (p. 349) are defeated in Pennsylvania. In Rhode Island (p. 678) James H. Higgins (Dem.) is elected governor. Gov. Guild (Rep.) defeats John B. Moran (Dem.) in Massachusetts (p. 654). New Hampshire (p. 584) goes Republican, as does Connecticut (p. 608). Montana, Utah (p. 609), and Colorado (p. 608) all go Republican. Illinois (p. 635) went Republican by over 100,000 for State

treasurer. The Socialist vote in Chicago is reported as 27,120, an increase of 6,822 over the vote of 18,298 a year ago for president of the board of sanitary trustees.

* *

The Next Congress.

Returns from the Congressional elections are incomplete, but a Republican majority in the House, though greatly reduced, is assured. McCleary (Rep.) of Minnesota and Babcock (Rep.) of Wisconsin are defeated for re-election. Robert Baker (Dem.) of Brooklyn (p. 721) is also defeated. So are ex-Gov. Garvin (Dem.) of Rhode Island (pp. 678, 721), and Frank T. Buchanan (Dem.) of Chicago (p. 721). Warren Worth Bailey (Ind.) of Johnstown, Pa. (p. 721), F. F. Ingram (Dem.) of Detroit (p. 722), and Frank Stephens (Dem.) of Philadelphia (p. 722). James T. McDermott (Dem.) of Chicago (pp. 306, 722) was elected, and Henry T. Rainey of the 28th Illinois district was re-elected. Notwithstanding the efforts of organized labor to defeat Speaker Cannon (p. 490) for re-election from the 18th Illinois district, he was re-elected by the usual majority only slightly reduced.

* *

Traction Questions in Detroit.

Probably the most important municipal election of all that were held on the 6th was that at Detroit (p. 726), in which Mayor Codd (Rep.) and Wm. L. Thompson (Dem.) were the mayoralty contestants. The issue was over the granting of a blanket franchise to the traction companies. Codd stood for it and Thompson against it, and the campaign was a fierce one. Thompson is elected and the franchise is defeated.

* *

Advisory Initiative in Grand Rapids.

Under the advisory referendum and initiative which prevails in Grand Rapids, Mich., a petition for a charter amendment to secure non-partisan municipal elections was adopted on the 6th by a popular vote of 8,865 to 3,350. This amendment would abolish party primaries at city elections, would place candidates on primary ballots by petition and with no party designation, and would allow only the two highest candidates at the primary to be voted for at the election.

* *

The Referendum in Delaware.

A referendum proposed by the legislature of Delaware more than a year ago (p. 165) was adopted at the election on the 6th. Although a very slight advance in the direction of the referendum idea, it is an opening wedge. John Z. White of Chicago has spoken for this referendum several times in Delaware, notably during the recent campaign.

* *

Adverse Vote on Statehood.

While New Mexico gives a vote of about 6,000 for joint Statehood with Arizona (p. 561), Arizona votes it down by a majority of 16,000.

* *

The Oklahoma Constitutional Convention.

Oklahoma and the Indian Territory are reported to have elected an overwhelming Democratic major-

ity to the forthcoming constitutional Convention (p. 514) for the new State.

* *

Degradation of Negro Soldiers.

An extraordinary army order was promulgated by President Roosevelt on the 6th. It was based upon the disorderly and criminal acts of Negro soldiers of the 25th infantry regiment of the regular army who in August last riotously fired upon peaceable citizens at Brownsville, Tex. Gen. Garlington made a report on the matter in which he recommended that—

orders be issued as soon as practicable discharging, without honor, every man in companies B, C and D of the Twenty-fifth Infantry serving at Fort Brown, Tex., on the night of Aug. 13, 1906, and forever debarring them from re-enlisting in the army or navy of the United States, as well as from employment in any civil capacity under the government. In making this recommendation I recognize the fact that a number of men who have no direct knowledge as to the identity of the men of the Twenty-fifth Infantry who actually fired the shots on the night of the 13th of August, 1906, will incur this extreme penalty. It has been established by careful investigation beyond reasonable doubt that the firing into the houses of the citizens of Brownsville while the inhabitants thereof were pursuing their peaceful vocations or sleeping, and by which one citizen was killed and the chief of police so seriously wounded that he lost an arm, was done by enlisted men of the Twenty-fifth Infantry belonging to the battalion stationed at Fort Brown. After due opportunity and notice the enlisted men of the Twenty-fifth Infantry have failed to tell all that it is reasonable to believe they know concerning the shooting. If they had done so, if they had been willing to relate all the circumstances preliminary to the trouble, it is extremely probable that a clew sufficiently definite would have been disclosed. They appear to stand together in a determination to resist the detection of the guilty; therefore they should stand together when the penalty falls. A forceful lesson should be given to the army at large, and especially to the non-commissioned officers, that their duty does not cease upon the drill ground, with the calling of the company rolls, making check inspections and other duty of formal character, but that their responsibilities of office accompany them everywhere and at all times; that it is their duty to become thoroughly acquainted with the individual members of their respective units, to know their characteristics, to be able at all times to gauge their temper, in order to discover the beginning of discontent or mutinous intentions, and to anticipate any organized act of disorder; that they must notify their officers at once of any such conditions.

President Roosevelt directs that Gen. Garlington's recommendation be complied with.

* *

A Temporary Settlement with the Utes.

Compared with the old Indian wars the maneuverings and counterings of the Utes and the United States cavalry troops out in Wyoming (p. 730) read like the plot of a merry little opera. On the 31st the troopers captured 50 Ute ponies and were driving them away, when 100 Utes, fully armed, surrounded them and stampered the ponies with pistol shots and warwhoops. The troops accidentally killed five of the ponies, but the Indians got away with all the rest. The soldiers did not fire at the Indians as the Indians greatly outnumbered them. Why the Indians did not fire at the soldiers is not

stated. On the 1st a band of Indians of about the same size as the other captured a wagon loaded with 3,000 pounds of flour and supplies intended for the Tenth and Sixth cavalry troops. The driver was held up at the point of a rifle while the entire load was sacked, after which he was allowed to proceed with his empty wagon. The soldiers had to go on short rations. James J. Callahan, a ranchman of Arvada, Wyoming (p. 730), on his way East to see the Dartmouth-Princeton football game, reported at St. Paul that his old college mate at Dartmouth, Billie Bird's Eye, son of Chief Kannapap, was one of the leaders of the Utes. Billie Bird's Eye had given him two good seats for the football game, since he could not get away to use them himself.

*

On the 3d a temporary settlement with the tribe was effected. They are to be taken back to their reservation in Utah, after a stay at Fort Meade, South Dakota. And the question of giving them new hunting grounds is to be settled later. Chiefs Red Cap and Black Whiskers are to go to Washington to confer with the President relative to their grievances. The President has approved of the arrangements, and has promised to give the chiefs a hearing on his return from Panama.

*

A sympathetic comment on the Indian news of the past fortnight appeared in the form of a letter published in the Chicago Chronicle of the 3d, and written by the son of a Potawatamy chief living in Michigan. We give it exactly as printed, composed as it was by a man of alien tongue, though with a heart not very different from that of the white man:

I read in your paper today about the bloodless fite with the Utes, 100 injuns surround the U. S. cavalry who had got 100 of their ponies, and by shooting and making a big noise warhooping they got back all their ponies but 5, which them troops killed from getting away. You say injuns did not fire at them soldiers and that them soldiers did not tack them Utes as injuns were more than soldiers men and that them soldiers tell they tink them Utes will fite with little cause. Now, let me tells you I have bin wid them Utes and if white army aint careful all of men will get scalp—so them the sky fall down. Them Utes are starvng—they can't live on sand alone. When injun gets starved in one place he hunts anoder, so white men do—so them Utes be doing and so wood you and so wood I if we were in their places. It is too bad. No good man will chase a starvng deer and I can't see why a great army should hunt them poor starvng Utes. I want to read in your paper of an awful battle and that them Utes may get around the white army and kill all of men.

F. WESS,

Son of Chief Wess, Potawatamy.

Hartford, Mich., Nov. 1.

* *

Politics in the Hawaiian Islands.

There comes by mail from the Territory of Hawaii, the Democratic platform of that Territory, adopted in convention September 24, 1906. Some of its declarations are of peculiar importance and national interest. The principal ones of this character we report in full:

We again declare the policy of the Republican party in this Territory, whereby large areas of land and valuable water rights are still being alienated from the

public domain for the sole use of corporations or persons already possessed of large tracts of land and privileges, a positive menace to the upbuilding of an untrammelled electorate in these islands. . . . We believe the system of taxation in vogue in this Territory is increasingly iniquitous and burdensome, unscientific and expensive in its application. . . . We favor limiting sources of taxation to land values, and a graduated income tax, believing these to be the simplest of application and least expensive in collection, while they tax industry in ratio as it is benefited. . . . We pledge our candidates for the legislature to the enactment of a Direct Primary law, the Initiative and Referendum including the "Recall" and such other legislation as may be needed to put the quietus on "graft" and the "machine" in this Territory.

* *

British Politics.

That the House of Lords has precipitated a crisis in its own history (p. 731) becomes increasingly evident. A dispatch of the 3d thus concretely states the issue under discussion: "The Education bill as proposed by the Commons abolishes religious instruction in the public elementary schools; the amendment voted by the Lords makes such instruction compulsory during a certain number of hours each week." But of course the bare fact of the obstruction offered by the Lords to the execution of the popular will, is the issue which produces the crisis. Mr. David Lloyd-George, Member of Parliament, speaking at Spalding on the 31st, declared that it was absolutely intolerable that the House of Lords should override the decisions of the people at the last election. The government was determined to persevere with the bill. The people had outgrown the old system of catechisms and the old teachings that they were to be humble and lowly before their betters, and would no longer be content with lessons in class humility.

*

The triennial London Borough Council elections occurred on the 1st, and resulted in victory for the "Municipal Reformers," formerly called "Moderates," over the more radical "Progressives." The former won 1,011 seats to the latter's 351. Some misunderstanding of this contest seems to obtain on this side of the Atlantic. The London Government Act of 1899 was passed by a Tory administration as a hostile move against the wonderful democratic development of the London County Council. By this act the county was divided into 28 Boroughs, to each of which was given a mayor, aldermen and councillors. In conjunction with the County Council this naturally produced divided and overlapping jurisdictions, resulting in extravagant administration, and in friction with the central body. A common policy is of course impossible. Moreover, as the London Speaker points out, such a metropolis of small Londons is the ideal place for the operation of private companies handling public utilities. And here we have the key to the situation. The private companies, as well as other conservative interests, have supported the Municipal Reformers at this election; and the Speaker asserts that they are already working hard to secure at the County Council elections next March the election of Councillors pledged to oppose the County Council scheme, already before

Parliament, for a municipally owned electric supply for all London. It may be added that the Municipal Reformers raised the old cry of "Reduce the Rates," but they were silent as to the means that might be adopted to achieve that very desirable end. The Progressives, on the other hand, advocated the further extension of the equalization principle, and their ultimate ideal is one rate for all London. They also advocate the taxation of land values as a means of rate relief, a proposal which the Municipal Reformers have either opposed or endeavored to postpone.

+ +

Reforms in France.

A radical program has been expected from the new Premier, M. Georges Clemenceau (pp 703, 732). Such advanced steps as the purchase of railroads and mines by the state, have been mentioned as possibilities. Parliament assembled on the 5th, and the Premier presented his program, which, though it did not include the above-mentioned possibilities, did include—

- The application of the law separating church and state.
- The realization of workmen's pensions, the extension of the law governing labor unions and the reform of the mining laws.
- The introduction of a democratic spirit in the army by the reduction of the term of service to two years.
- The suppression of courts martial.
- Relief of the wine growers.
- A progressive income tax.

The Premier declared that the ministry intended to keep the foreign policy of France as it was, and purposed in domestic affairs to definitely instal a democratic government. A motion approving the program was carried by the great majority of 395 to 96.

NEWS NOTES

—Having been given by the Grand Jury a censure of the Chicago Tribune for libeling him, when he asked an indictment (pp. 723, 729), Mayor Dunne has brought a libel suit against the Tribune for \$100,000 damages.

—Preparations for the elections to the Russian Douma are reported as advancing rapidly. The registration lists are much shorter than those of the last election, owing to the exclusion of thousands of voters under the government's ruling in October (p. 704).

—Commander Robert E. Peary has telegraphed from Labrador that in his recent dash toward the North Pole he succeeded in reaching 87 degrees, 6 minutes, of north latitude, which is 34 miles nearer to the Pole than any other explorer has advanced—at least, than any who has lived to tell the tale.

—The International Wireless Telegraph Conference which has been sitting in Berlin during October (p. 656), signed an agreement on the 3rd as to rules of inter-communication between the different systems. The term "radio-telegraphy" was selected as the one to be used officially for this new method of communication.

—Judge Joseph E. Gary died on the 31st at the age of 85. He was distinguished as the judge who presided at the so-called "anarchist" trials at Chicago

in 1887, which resulted in the hanging of some of the accused and the imprisonment of the others. Gov. Altgeld pardoned the survivors on the ground that they had been unfairly tried and falsely convicted.

—The Secretary of the Single Tax Information Bureau (134 Clarkson St., Brooklyn) reports that for several months past their principal work has been to send literature to the subscribers to Tom Watson's Magazine, which had taken strong ground against the Single Tax proposition. Quarterly receipts had been \$91.97, with expenditures, \$83.83, leaving a balance of \$8.14.

—Captain Roald Amundsen, first navigator of the famous, long sought North West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and explorer of the north magnetic pole region, was entertained in Chicago between the second and the 5th by the Chicago Geographical society, the Norwegian National society, and other bodies. Captain Amundsen is on his way from San Francisco to Norway.

—The speech of Professor John W. Burgess, Theodore Roosevelt Professor at the University of Berlin, in which the Monroe doctrine and the protective tariff were declared alike obsolete, as reported last week (p. 728), has aroused great indignation among the Americans in Berlin, according to the dispatches. In the meantime the German government is distributing thousands of copies of the speech, describing it as official.

—Mme. Curie, associated with her husband, the late Professor Pierre Curie (p. 80) in the discovery of radium, inaugurated her lectureship at the college of the Sorbonne of the University of Paris (p. 206) on the 5th. Press dispatches state that: "Her lectures will be on radio activity, expounding the theory that matter is not reducible to atoms but to forms of electricity. In other words, matter, as it is understood, is nonexistent; only force exists."

—Jean Jacques Rousseau, in his own day called "the virtuous citizen of Geneva," and by later generations, including our own, regarded as a poser and a hypocrite, is being rehabilitated as to character, according to correspondence of the Chicago Tribune. Mrs. Frederika Macdonald, "long recognized as an authority on the France of Voltaire and Rousseau," has discovered that the odious characterization of Rousseau in the posthumous work called "Madam d'Epinay's Memoirs," is an interpolation arranged in accordance with notes drawn up by Rousseau's two chief defamers, which notes are preserved with the original manuscripts of the Memoirs in the Paris archives. This interpolation took the place of a suppressed story of an evidently wholly different character. Apparently the personal character of the great democrat is vindicated.

—The engineer appointed by Secretary Taft to report upon the facts as to power development at Niagara has joined with the American members of the International Waterways Commission in a recommendation to permit the admission of 160,000 electrical horse-power from the Canadian side. The result of favorable action by Secretary Taft on this recommendation would be to abstract from the Niagara River above the Falls an amount of water equal in flow, in connection with the quantity now being

diverted on the American side, to a rapidly running river nearly a half-mile wide and eighteen feet deep! It is urged that such a withdrawal of water may not interfere with the "preservation of Niagara Falls in all their beauty and majesty"; but no sane person would suggest that the withdrawal of so vast a volume of water can fail to work a great injury to the noble cataract. The hearing which is to decide this matter, ostensibly for the three years of the life of the Act of June 28, but probably for all time owing to the difficulty of recovering privileges once given, will take place November 12, 1906, at the office of the Secretary of War, in Washington. American citizens who believe that these majestic falls belong in all their integrity and volume to all the people of the United States, under no circumstances to be alienated to power-producing monopolies without full national referendum vote, are urged to write immediately to that effect to the Hon. William H. Taft, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

PRESS OPINIONS

THE CHRONICLE TALKS IN ITS SLEEP.

Chicago Chronicle (Rep.), November 6.—It is not the traction company that charges the most fare that makes the most money. The reduction of the car fare from 5 cents to 3 cents in Cleveland has produced such an increase in the travel that the street cars are almost wrecked. Traction companies would do well to ponder the words of Solomon: "There is that scattereth and yet increaseth and there is that withholdeth more than is meet and it tendeth to poverty." The probability is that the less car fare a company might charge the more money it would make.

* *

SPENDING VS. GETTING.

Chicago Chronicle (Rep.), Oct. 27.—The Arena club of the Young Men's Christian association in Mr. Rockefeller's home city of Cleveland has reached the conclusion after debate that a millionaire can not be an honest man. The general opinion of the club is that a man ceases to be honest when he accumulates more money than he needs for a modest living unless he uses the surplus for the benefit of his fellow men. It does not seem to have been disputed that a man could accumulate a million or more honestly. If a man can do that it is not quite clear why he should cease to be honest after he has accumulated it. It would seem that the temptations to dishonesty were greater in the getting than in the mere possessing of the riches.

* *

THE RADICAL CLEMENCEAU PROGRAMME.

Chicago Record-Herald, November 7.—"Peace and social-democratic reform" sums up the declaration just made to the French parliament by the new premier, Clemenceau. His programme is described as the most advanced ever put forward in Europe, but in reality it contains no new departures. It is an accentuation of the respective programmes of his predecessors. . . . The Clemenceau cabinet as a whole is neither socialist nor anti-socialist. It is practical, opportunist, progressive. It deals with facts and needs, not with abstract doctrines. It realizes that the growing claims of labor and the masses demand earnest attention and that the existing social order requires mending and improving in various directions. It will endeavor to do what is necessary and feasible without much regard to party names and party shibboleths.

THE FUNDAMENTAL REASON FOR MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Nov. 5.—In giving his reasons for favoring municipal ownership of public utilities to a Detroit audience, Tom L. Johnson, mayor of Cleveland, said that municipal ownership in itself is not the end that he has in view so much as the freeing of municipal government from predatory influences. . . . It is notorious that the private ownership of public utilities more than any one other thing has been the cause and source of municipal corruption. Clean politics and honest government in municipalities is unthinkable, so long as these great interests are dependent for their profits upon the favor of municipal governments.

* *

A NATIVE VIEW OF THE "NATIVE QUESTION" IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Izwi Labantu (Voice of the People), (East London, S. Africa), September 25.—Let the natives use those remnants of constitutional government now existing to improve themselves. They have some friends, thank God. But it would be idle to expect any substantial help from the home government. The white man has his hands full already. They may be thankful if further restrictions are not made on their present rights later on. The solution of the native question will lie chiefly with the natives themselves. They must rid themselves of the idle worthless class. They must learn like other races to organize associations for their own defense, and to be up and doing in education, etc., in the same way as the Europeans do, and to talk less of grievances against the white man and more of honest and sustained efforts of their own, otherwise by conjuring up grievances and neglecting to use those blessings which the Almighty has placed in their way for self-improvement and progress they may be swept by the artillery of retribution.

* *

IDEALS FOR THE TRANSVAAL.

The Manchester (Eng.) Guardian, Oct. 17.—Englishmen will be impressed by the sanity and the breadth of the Transvaal National Association's manifesto. It is generally admitted that the future of the Transvaal and of South Africa hangs upon the issue of the approaching elections. The first Legislature will have it in its power to determine not only the economic future of the country but whether its politics shall be devoted to the perpetuation of suicidal racial strife or to the development of the moral and material welfare of a united nation. The Progressives, the disciples of the masters of Lord Milner, stand for the policy of race domination and the open wound; Het Volk, or the Dutch, are desirous to co-operate, but would inevitably be driven by the triumph of the Progressives to the contrary extreme. The National Association has been formed by the moderate men who realize that the elimination of the race question is the first and most indispensable condition of a healthy Transvaal. The aim it sets before it is the making "of a nation—a white nation, yet neither English nor Dutch, but South African—fit to take its place beside the Canadian and Australian nations," and yielding true and loyal allegiance to the Empire. This it proposes to do by making the line of cleavage for parties depend upon differences of view on domestic affairs, and it publishes a program excellently designed to gain the support of all electors of either race who are attracted by a comprehensive and vigorous forward policy.

* *

THE BURGESS SPEECH IN BERLIN.

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (ind.), Nov. 1.—If men like Prof. John W. Burgess of Columbia University continue to hold forth as he did Saturday in the Roosevelt chair of American history and institutions at Berlin University, the President will wish his name had never

been attached to it. Here is a part of Dr. Burgess's introductory address which did not get into the regular dispatches, but comes by way of a special to the New York Times. The lecturer was speaking of the high tariff policy and the Monroe doctrine: "Our politicians have not the slightest idea that both theories are almost antiquated, that the transformation of European states and their constitutions, and the assumption by the United States of world power, have by now almost made both theories senseless. Ambassadors and foreign office secretaries are not allowed to discuss such subjects, but a Roosevelt professor may without fear say openly that, in his opinion, the time for high protection is past, and that the best interests of the world would be fostered by large Teutonic emigration to South America and the settlement of that region by persons feeling and fulfilling the demands of civilization." And this large German emigration to South America was urged in full knowledge of the fact that it already constitutes the chief present influence for the subversion of the Monroe doctrine. Was it at just this point that Emperor William rose and led the cheers for President Roosevelt?

* *

SAN FRANCISCO'S FIRST GUEST FROM THE "NORTHWEST PASSAGE."

Coast Seamen's Journal (San Francisco), October 24.—The Norwegian sloop Gjoa now lies at Mission street bulkhead. . . . The arrival of that vessel signals the completion of a voyage said to be the most important, from a historical and scientific point of view, since the voyage of Columbus in 1492. Certainly the Gjoa is the first vessel to arrive in these waters from Europe without rounding one or other of the great capes. The gallant little craft left her home port some three years ago, and here she is, a living, breathing proof of the existence of navigable water around the northern extremity of the American continent! This latter fact has long been suspected, but has never before been demonstrated. For centuries the Northwest Passage has been the dream, the hope and the grave of the world's boldest spirits. A list of the men who have sought a route from the Atlantic to the Pacific, north about, reads like a geography of the Arctic and Polar regions. Hudson, Baffin, Barrow, Cook, Franklin, Parry, Mackenzie, Davis, Frobisher, and all the rest, are names immortalized in history and forever familiar in the mouths of all seamen. Today another name is added to the glorious roll, that of Roald Amundsen, whose priceless privilege it is to have vindicated the theories and realized the dreams of his numerous predecessors.

* *

WILLIAM MARION REEDY ON ELBERT HUBBARD.

The St. Louis Mirror (ind.), Oct. 26.—The Fra says that because Trusts economize energies they are good things, but he blinks the fact that Trusts are evil because they monopolize, engross and forestall opportunity through privilege which, as privilege, is a theft of the rights of others, individual or communal. . . . Doubtless the Hubbard dogmas will put men in the way of being captains of industry, with a liking for books in limp bindings, with a list toward doing things for the masses, and all that sort of thing. But it won't get the people their rights. It will, on the contrary, fix their minds on getting there, maugre other people's rights. In short, the Fra teaches get-there-ism tinctured with charity-out-of-hand, but innocent of all consideration of natural justice. And without justice we may have no thing truly to be called love. Many folk misconceive Elbert Hubbard as a leader of the radicals. That is he not. He is a great conservator of conservatism, and under the soft seeming glove of sympathy and help, he conceals the steel hand and despotic and tyrannic argument of the "Ueber-

mensch" of Nietzsche. Probe Hubbard and you'll find that he is the ablest and cunningest of the upholders of the Things Which Are. Put his altruism to the test of analysis and you will discover that following him you will land in the camp of the Rockefellers, the Carnegies and their sort. That's where most people want to get, and they follow Hubbard as once they followed Samuel Smiles. No wonder he's successful—this Hubbard. He is the Great Seducer under his false banner of revolt. And that is no lie. His philosophy professes to lead men and women out of bondage, only to take them a long way around and land them plumpety-plump in submission to the idols and ideals of the market place—or even the non-ideals of the "ergastulum." We are onto him natheless, though he beguile us with jest and jape unto laughter.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE KILLER.

A thousand miles, from east to west,
I journeyed, on relentless quest.

I met him in the solitude
As he his shaggy way pursued.

He swung his head in dazed surprise;
My bullet crashed betwixt his eyes.

I took from him his great domain,
Connecting turquoise sky with plain.

Aye, canyon, crest, and pinion shade;
The bowdlered pass, the valleyed glade;—

All this from his possession tore,
And set my heel, a conqueror!

I stripped his skin for my renown,
Before my fireplace laid it down.

Within four narrow walls 'tis spread,
That eye may gloat, and foot may tread.

A hero I, in wide belief;
I know that I am but a thief.

—Edwin L. Sabin in Lippincott's Magazine.

* * *

ON GOVERNMENT.

Translated "from the Greek" by Bolton Hall for Life.

Plato, having laid a brick in the path, stood aside to see what might befall; the first man who stumbled over it said nothing, but went his way. "There," said the Philosopher, "is a Conservative Citizen, the backbone of our Institutions!"

The next one fell on his face, and railed upon the Tetrarch, but he also left the brick, and went on his way. "That is a Good Government man," said Plato. "He will one day found a Goo-Goo Club!"

The third also broke his shins, and, having called upon Pluto, removed the brick from the path.

"That man," said Plato, "is a Reformer; he believes in doing 'ye nexte Thinge.'" Then Plato replaced the brick in the path.

But a certain man came along and when he had stubbed his toe, he took up the brick and hurled it at the Philosopher. "That," said Plato, as he dodged the brick, "is an Anarchist; he is dangerous to the Government."

(But he was not; he was only a Nihilist.)

LOW RAILROAD RATES A PRACTICAL QUESTION.

For The Public.

It has always been a puzzle to me why railroad companies and other monopolies seem to prefer a large income from high charges against customers, to much larger incomes from low charges that receive greater patronage.

Some years ago the roads cut rates from the Missouri river to the Pacific down to ten dollars via San Diego, Los Angeles, San Francisco, with five dollars for the return. At the same time they exacted twenty dollars extra, to be returned. (This to prevent passengers for half-way and Utah from taking advantage of the low rates.) I went across three times. About every day from Kansas City, Atchison, Omaha and Topeka there left twenty carloads of sixty persons each, two engines, conductors, etc., in proportion. It could not have cost over two hundred dollars to take the train through. Twenty cars, sixty passengers each, equals twelve thousand dollars at ten, six thousand dollars at five dollars per head. Freights were in same proportion. Never did roads make so much. Yet they said it was ruin. I got to studying over it.

Pullman started his cars with great difficulty. But it paid enormously—cars cost a large sum. I took train at Omaha for Chicago, paid the railroad company eighteen dollars, paid Pullman five, two of which he paid the company for hauling us. The railroad got twenty dollars for hauling me, Pullman three. You know how rich he became.

A little company began to furnish a poor kind of passenger car with beds, etc., very common for us common people, to go from the Missouri river to the Pacific. They charged six dollars per head and less for a family, and divided with the railroad of course. It paid so well that the railroads grew jealous and took it from the little company to run it themselves. Three dollars across the continent from the Missouri river paid. At the same time they exacted three cents per mile, or from sixty to eighty dollars!

Consider all this. You know it must be true if you reflect. How could the little ride companies get so rich? and Pullman richer?

An engineer once ran a newspaper, entitled "Across Continent for One Dollar," and proved it would pay enormously. He had helped build and operate railroads, so he knew what he was talking about.

CLARKE IRVINE.

* * *

PERSONAL PROPERTY TAXATION.

From the New York Times of October 21, 1906.

Gov. Stokes recently made William J. Devereux, Secretary of the Democratic State Committee, a member of the Monmouth County Tax Equalization Board. In a letter which reached the Governor today he tells of some of his troubles in fixing true values upon the Summer show places of New Yorkers at Long Branch and neighboring coast resorts.

"Our greatest trouble comes, Governor," says the letter, "from the show places or freak properties of the millionaires summering at Long Branch, Spring

Lake, Elberon, and Deal Beach. For instance, one of the Guggenheims has a pretty, glass-enclosed labyrinth on a portion of his estate at Elberon. Thus far, I confess with shame, I have been unable to ascertain the value of a down-to-the-minute Monmouth County shore-front labyrinth.

"I asked a wiseacre friend of mine to put a fair price on a twentieth century labyrinth, and he replied that he never ate any of it.

"I next tackled Dominic Ballard of Ocean Grove. To him I put the question. 'Labyrinths! Labyrinths! I am a trifle rusty, brother, on church discipline,' he replied, 'but I don't think Methodists are forbidden to play the new game, providing, of course, there is no gambling attached to it.'

"Now, Governor, if they have any old sort of labyrinth down in Millville, for mercy's sake please quote me a price for one, so we can fix up the Guggenheims' assessment p. d. q.

"Down at Spring Lake, Marquis Martin Maloney has a famous show place containing a replica of the world-famous Grotto at Lourdes. Now, Governor, I'm on the job when it comes to beer gardens, but I'm a Mugwump if I know anything about the value of a Grotto a la Lourdes. If you ever owned one, put me wise as to its worth.

"The Marquis also has a very elaborate iron fence around his estate. You, Governor, no doubt, have built and repaired many fences in your political career, so please give me a line on their value—for taxing purposes, I mean.

"Another fellow has a hot-air plant underneath a portion of his garden for forcing tiger lilies to bloom outdoors in Winter. They tell me the plant—the iron pipes, I mean, not the flowers—cost \$30,000 to install. What amount should we assess him for his tiger lily hobby?

"Then up at Kildysart, the Summer home of the late Daniel O'Day, at Deal Beach, a small fortune was spent in laying out an Italian Sunken Garden. It's nothing, as you probably know, but a hole in the ground. How are we to get at the intrinsic value of a big, open air hole?"

* * *

TOLSTOY'S REVOLUTION.

From the Chicago Examiner and American of October 21, 1906.

To a French journalist friend who visited him at Yasnaja Poljana the other day, Count Leo Tolstoy spoke of the Russian revolution in the following words:

"I have my own ideas of this revolution. I know very well that it has become the fashion to consider me an old chatterbox. But what can I do?

"I cannot say that I am wrong when I know that I am right.

"The whole situation is very simple. What is the cause of the disease from which Russia is suffering and from which some, but not I, think she will die? It is because there is no real power, no authority, here any longer.

"There are two kinds of authority—one which is founded on violence, and which is immoral and bad, and another is based on the will of the free citizens.

"Here in Russia we have at the present time

neither one nor the other, and I for one am convinced that a nation cannot exist without recognizing some authority.

"The proper authority, or government, is possible only when you have union and co-operation, moral or religious, the word does not matter. But who shall give us this?—the Anarchists, the Socialists? Their negative criticism may be just, but what they intend to put in place of what they endeavor to tear down is miserable and not founded on reason and justice. The eight-hour day, for instance. What if it suits me to work fifteen hours to-day and one hour to-morrow?

"But why worry about the future? Let us let the future take care of itself and only look at the present.

"Two measures are necessary to the happiness of Russia—all land must be given to the peasants who work it, and we must have the Single Tax as advocated by Henry George, one of the greatest men that ever lived.

"Then the whole labor question will be solved. The young country people will then no longer leave the fields, where life is natural, simple and healthy, to go to work in the miserable, joyless factories.

"Civilization, or rather what we call civilization, will not suffer when people shall at last come to see that nine-tenths of what is manufactured is worthless.

"These are foolish, Utopian thoughts, I am told. Yes, in England perhaps, where only one man in a hundred is a peasant, these thoughts can be realized.

"Let us make our revolution as it suits us. Your foreign cooking recipes do not teach me one penny's worth—I am a Russian and I want Russian dishes."

* * *

WHERE'D JIM HILL GET IT?

From the *St. Louis Mirror* of October 25, 1906.

What is believed to be the largest transaction in the history of this country was the sale of approximately 750,000,000 tons of iron ore on October 6 to the United States Steel Corporation by President Hill of the Great Northern Railroad Company. It was said that the deal was accomplished by five men in two hours' time at the New York office of the Steel Trust. This is interesting. Who gave Jim Hill his title to that iron ore? What right had he to that wealth of the earth?

Does it actually belong to anyone—this wealth—until some one by labor has dug it out for the use of mankind? Does it not actually belong to all the people? Should not all the people have the benefit of that natural wealth in the land? Should not the value of it be taxed into the public treasury as the value of a natural resource, leaving to whomsoever might develop the field all the profit that might hereafter accrue from the working? Who made this wealth? Not Jim Hill. Did he buy it? No: he bought only the right to keep it out of the possession of others until such time as increased demand for such wealth might enhance the value of the product. And now he turns it over to the United States Steel Corporation in order that that corporation may keep the field out of occupancy and productivity lest its output under the working of others should prevent

that corporation from keeping up the profits on the restricted output of the other iron fields under their control.

If this vast field were taxed to its full value, not only as mere land but as land covering and containing iron ore, think you that it could be held out of use at any profit? Not at all. Either the field would be worked by others or the occupants of other fields would reduce their prices on the product of those other fields. If a tax on the value of the iron lands were levied heavy enough to make it necessary either to work the fields or quit holding them, wouldn't there be 750,000,000 tons of free iron ore threatening the profits of the existing and now worked fields? There would. Would not that materially weaken the Steel Trust? You bet it would. That ore value belongs to the people so far as it is ore land. All values coming to those who might bring it into the service of the public would rightly belong to such servitors of the public. But as it is, the value goes to enhance the value of other iron fields, simply by keeping this field out of use. This iron is used by non-use to put up the price of other iron and steel. The public's property is used as an engine to plunder the public by means of high prices.

This tremendous transaction is a beautiful example of the evil that is wrought by our failure to get, by taxation of land values, the benefit for the public of the values of the public's own possessions. The forestallers of the land and the engrossers thereby of the land products are the vampires draining the body politic of its public wealth. Why not drive these vampires away by a trial of the Single Tax?

* * *

LAND BOOMS AND REACTION.

An Editorial from the *Springfield (Mass.) Weekly Republican* of October 11, 1906.

The conclusion is reached by the *New York Journal of Commerce*, after talks with real estate men and bankers, that the land boom which extends over the country is the wildest ever known, not excepting even the craze of 1873. This has an important bearing upon the question of our general and extraordinary business prosperity and its duration: for it is well known that land speculation usually marks the culminating point of boom periods. Henry George, indeed, held the view that land booms are the cause of panics and succeeding depression, and presented it with impressive force and argument.

The speculation in land about Greater New York has been of especially marked intensity—the initial causes being the rapid growth of the city, the great immigration, the overflow of population into suburban districts and the tunneling projects of the Pennsylvania railroad. It has been most overdone on Long Island and in the districts north of the Harlem river. Unimproved land on Long Island, for example, has trebled in price within a few months. Millions of dollars have been withdrawn from savings banks by poor people to invest in lots which in most cases must be carried for years before they can be turned to productive account. In the month of July alone \$2,000,000 was taken from the Bowery savings bank for this use. The upshot of the matter for most of these people will be the loss of the property through mortgage foreclosure or sacrifice

sale on account of inability to carry the burden. Meantime there is involved a great lockup of funds in non-productive investment, which largely explains the disastrous effects of land speculation upon industrial prosperity.

Some of the savings bank men talk very plainly about the situation. Thus J. Harsen Rhoades of the Greenwich bank says:

It is to be as it always has been—history will repeat itself. Land is the last thing to rise and the last thing to fall. It has risen and it will remain in a semi-dormant state, except at a few special points of business activity, until the day of liquidation arrives, which is sure to come when the conditions are ripe for it. We have been blessed with enormous crops. The country has undoubtedly grown very rich—very rich—and as long as those conditions exist and business keeps good, the masses will be employed. But when the time comes that they will not be employed, when they are paying high rents and not able to get high wages, then we will see a good deal of suffering. The first poor crop season will bring it about. After this phenomenal cycle of prosperity the reaction will be very severe.

It may be questioned whether a recurrence of poor crops will be needed to bring about reaction. When credit becomes over-extended, when people and corporations run heavily into debt, when capital becomes unduly committed to non-productive investments at highly inflated values, it does not necessarily require poor crops to start a break. Banking or other failures of magnitude enough to shake general confidence in the situation, and thus start a panic, can grow out of the collapse of a real estate or other speculation, and the losses of many poor investors, as well as out of bad crops. And it is noteworthy in this connection that the panic of 1873 came on the heels of bounteous harvests, the wheat production being a record-breaker and the corn production nearly so, following a heavy yield in 1872.

The encouraging fact about this land speculation around New York is that it has already spent its force. The tight money market is what called a halt, and banks as well are becoming alarmed and refusing to lend money to finance new suburban schemes. It is a tardy check to a dangerous tendency.

* * *

THE RESUSCITATION OF OUR WATERWAYS.

Portions of an Article by Richard Lloyd Jones, Published in Collier's for August 18, 1906.

During the past four years engineers have been busily engaged measuring widths, depths, charting, changing channels, calculating the resisting force of shale-rocked and soft-loam banks along the upper Mississippi, and they have found that the judicious expenditure of the cost of but three battleships will wing-dam a channel adequate to accommodate heavy freighting from St. Paul to New Orleans. The very dams that make this unlocked channel possible arrest sufficient water to give milling power to a hundred manufacturing cities each of upward of a hundred thousand people along the way. . . . Between the broad current of the Saskatchewan and the headwaters of the Mississippi lies the richest wheat belt in the world. It would cost infinitely less than the amount Congress proposes to expend on Panama to

gridiron this great productive country, both in Canada and the States, with a Mars-like system of navigable inland waterways, binding the Great Lakes to Hudson Bay, and the Saskatchewan to the Missouri, by which, irrespective of flag, the treasures of a continent would find release and the interests of a homogeneous people would receive their due promotion. .

Referring to the influence upon railroad rates, which such waterways are destined to have, Governor Cummins of Iowa said: "When every man who can summon enough capital to build a boat may become one of the common carriers of the country; when it is full from end to end and from shore to shore with our commerce, crossing, as it does, every important Western railway system, and cutting these great arteries that pass from east to west, and paralleling those from north to south, I believe the solution of traffic adjustment will be vastly easier than now."

Ex-Governor Van Sant of Minnesota has said: "I can see this river in the future laden with commerce—the greatest waterway in the known world. Why? Because it is the people's; its right of way belongs to them, and it's going to govern the commerce of our country."

But! to all this propaganda for river resuscitation the railroads enter a strong fighting legislative demur. The slogan of the Ohio River Improvement Association, "Dam the Ohio river from Pittsburg to Cairo," is spoken with a profane, rather than a patriotic, accent when uttered by railroad tongues. The railroads that are stocked and bonded three, four, and sometimes five times their cost must, of course, make the people pay tribute, in order that there may be dividends and interest returns upon their watered stock. What the people of the river States propose to do is to throw this water into the rivers where it belongs. . . .

Our statesmen are schooled in the thoughts of war. It is quite as essential that we prepare for peace. With a population only twenty times as great as during our Revolutionary War, when our independence was seriously endangered, we are now spending two hundred times as much on national defense, with no possible danger of war except as we may invite it through conquest.

Canada, with no army or navy, is spending her energies in building up a great agricultural empire and alluring Americans by the hundred thousands to her hospitable fields, while we build battleships and buy gold braid for shoulder decorations, neglecting the while the improvement of those things which might make every Canadian immigrant delighted to stay at home.

For the money we have spent on the Philippines we could have built for the farmers a splendid system of good roads—we could have completed two ship canals across Panama, or we could have channeled the Mississippi river so deep that every city on its banks, from St. Paul to New Orleans, could be a seaport town. But in lieu of any one of these stupendous home advantages, we bartered our booty for an archipelago of trouble on the plea that it was a higher duty to promote the interests of a semi-savage people seven thousand miles from our nearest shore than to enhance our own prosperity and the happiness of our homes.

HERITAGE.

For The Public.

A common card with a picture,
And the name of my far-off boy;
It seems but the merest trifle
To have flooded my heart with joy.

A view of the grand old ocean
With the line of its curving beach;
A row of cottages, stretching
Far southward as vision can reach.

The breezy name in the corner
I chose, when he lay on my breast,
Wrapt in the infantile sweetness
That flows from the fountain of rest.

I proudly hoped it would mingle
With the names of our good and great,—
His life be free from the worries
That hauntingly followed my fate.

In the tide of its fuller current
The best of my being would flow,
The hours of my restless longing
No need for his nature to know.

We stood on that beach together
When the years of his youth had flown;
Each in its turn had been laden
With burdens that hampered my own.

With eyes on an outbound vessel,
And his froward feet in the spray,
He stood, with a silent longing
To be sailing away, away.

Alas, for my own born-rover,
By circumstance chained to a spot;
The hardship missed from my journey
Had fallen to the strong man's lot.

His shapely hands had been hardened
While his heart grew brave and soft,
And my own poor best and highest
In his grasp had been held aloft.

He had wronged no helpless brother,
He had failed to grow worldly-wise;
But wisdom past worldly scheming
Looked afar from his deep-set eyes.

I felt how little it mattered
That his name should be only heard
As that of a humble helper,
And a gladdening household word.

If much of his mental nature
Had been left asleep and adream,
'Twas a birthright never bartered,
That a future might well redeem.

My heart had no room for grieving
Over hopes that had come to naught,
Since even out of their ruins,
Not a slave, but a MAN was wrought.

D. H. INGHAM.

* * *

DEFECTS OF OUR ELECTORAL COLLEGE SYSTEM.

For The Public.

The original purpose of the framers of the Constitution in adopting the electoral plan was to remove the election of the chief executive from the direct vote of the unintelligent masses. It was their intention that the electors should be free and unbiased men whose judgment as to the best qualified man for

President would be superior to that of the whole people. Needless to say, this purpose has failed completely. Under the present plan of pledged electors the people decide, as surely as if they voted directly, who the President shall be, unless their verdict be defeated, as has happened, by the cumbersome and unequal method of choosing electors. Only the first President was elected by other than party-pledged electors. This failure might have been expected, for the electoral plan is quite contrary to the democratic spirit of our institutions. If there be any argument against the will of the people deciding who shall execute the laws of the country, the same will apply with equal force against the people having a direct voice in choosing those who make our laws; and if it be dangerous for them to participate directly in national government, it is difficult to see wherein it is less dangerous for them to participate directly in State government. Nor does it seem that they would be any better able to choose competent electors than a competent President.

The provision of the Constitution leaving the method of choosing electors entirely to each State has given rise to some very different modes of procedure, and caused considerable inequality of power between the voters of one State and those of another. Four different methods have been tried, and three of these have been in use in different States at one and the same time. At first in a number of the States the legislature chose the electors. South Carolina continued this method down to 1868. Colorado, at the first election after her admission, not having time to provide for an election by the people, chose her electors by vote of the legislature. This method was sometimes by joint ballot, sometimes by concurrent vote of the two branches of the legislature. The district plan was followed in more than one-third of the States as late as 1828. Michigan adopted the same plan in 1891, but gave it up after one trial. At present in all the States the electors are chosen by the people of the State, voting by general ticket. In this way each voter votes for all the electors to which his State is entitled, and the electoral vote of the State goes as a whole to the candidate who carries the State even by ever so meager a plurality. Here arise two serious defects of the system.

First: The will of the majority of the people of the nation may be defeated by a very small plurality in one or a few of the States which control a large electoral vote. A very large majority in one State may be overcome by a very small majority in another. One example will make this plain. In the election of 1892 Cleveland received in New York and Pennsylvania 1,107,132 votes, and in the same States Harrison received 1,125,361 votes. This was a majority of 18,300 for Harrison. Yet Cleveland received four more electoral votes from the two States than Harrison. The election of Hayes in 1876, and Harrison in 1888, demonstrate the possibility of the popular majority being for one candidate, and the electoral majority for the other. Cleveland in 1884 received the thirty-six electoral votes of New York by a majority of 1100 votes. This turned the election. Thus 1100 votes out of 10,000,000 determined an election and a change of less than 600 votes would have given the election to the other party.

Second: Another serious injustice which results

from the right of each voter to vote for all the electors to which his State is entitled is the unequal power which exists between the individual voter in the larger States and the individual voter in the smaller States. Thus each voter in New York has a voice in determining who thirty-nine of the Presidential electors shall be, while each voter in Wyoming can vote for only three, in this way giving a vote in New York thirteen times the power of a vote in any one of the seven smaller States. In 1834, when a change of 600 votes in New York would have taken thirty-six electoral votes from one party and given them to the other, a similar change in Montana would have transferred only three electoral votes. It is manifestly unfair that six hundred men in New York should have so enormously much more power than six hundred men in the smaller State.

*

But there is still another inequality of electoral power between the citizens of the small States and those of the larger States; and contrary enough, it operates in favor of the people of the smaller States.

While the voter of the larger State possesses greater power than the voter of the smaller State by being able to vote for a greater number of electors, yet each voter of the smaller State has a greater proportional representation in the Electoral College than has the voter in the larger State. This fact arises from the method of apportionment which allows two senatorial electors in addition to those to which the State is entitled on the basis of population. In one of the small States whose population entitles it to but one Representative in Congress, the addition will be in the ratio of two to one, while in New York it will be in the ratio of two to thirty-seven; or, to state the matter in another way, the two senatorial electors will increase the representation of the people of the smaller State in the Electoral College two hundred per cent., while the representation of the people of the larger State will be increased less than six per cent. As a State stands lower in order of population, its proportional representation in the Electoral College is greater and the power of each voter is increased. For it must be remembered that the senatorial electors do not represent the State as a State, any more than do the other electors, being chosen not by the legislature as are the Senators, but by direct vote of the people. The point may be illustrated as follows: The State of Nevada with a population of 42,335 (census of 1900 according to which Representatives were last apportioned), has three electors, being one for each 14,111 of population. New York with a population of 7,268,012, has thirty-nine electors, being one for each 186,359 of population. It will thus be seen that one person in Nevada has the same representation in the Electoral College that thirteen persons in New York have. In the same way it may be shown that the six smaller States that have only one Representative each in Congress have the same representation for 55,636 persons in the body which chooses our President that the six larger States have for 180,531 persons, a ratio of over one to three.

While we have discussed what are perhaps the greatest errors of our Electoral System, there are still several minor defects which space permits us only to mention.

It has been urged that the long period of four months between the vote of the people and the inauguration of a new President is a source of grave danger. It is true that an outgoing administration might do much contrary to the expressed will of the people; and at a critical period of affairs, national or international, a vigorous opposition to the sanctioned policy of the incoming administration might beget for it a much more embarrassing situation than did the inaction of the last four slow-dragging months of Buchanan's administration. There is also good ground for the objection that a majority should not be required to elect. If there be a multiplicity of electoral tickets there will be more or less chance of the election going to the House of Representatives—a contingency that should be reduced to the minimum for reasons hereinafter given. Besides this, there seems more justice in allowing the greater number of people to have the choice of President than that he should be chosen by one of the lesser factions, through an indirect system. A popular plurality requirement would accomplish this result, but as it now is, not even a popular majority is an assurance of election. As a matter of history, nine out of nineteen Presidents elected since the beginning, in 1824, of the present system of popular election of electors, have been elected by less than a majority of the popular vote. Still another objection to the electoral plan is that the voter has no choice between the candidates for Vice-President, or else no choice between the candidates for President, since the same body of electors choose both.

Practically, however, this is of little moment. A more serious objection to the system is the method of counting the electoral votes. Notwithstanding the act of 1887, Congress is still the judge of the returns finally sent in. Trouble over the returns began with Massachusetts in 1805, and the returns have nine times since been the cause of more or less friction between the branches of Congress, finally culminating in the memorable Hayes-Tilden contest of 1877. The electors of Wisconsin in 1857 assembled and voted on a day different from that provided by law. The question as to whether a certain State belonged to the Union at the time of election came up with regard to Indiana in 1817, Missouri in 1821, and Georgia in 1869. If a partisan Congress must decide these and similar questions there is certain to be dissatisfaction and bitterness of feeling. Of course it will be answered that there must be a court with authority for final decision, but the force of the argument lies in the fact that the danger might be minimized if the system could be so changed that the entire vote of the State would not be involved. If the election of President goes to the House of Representatives he will be chosen by a strictly party vote. This may result in the choice of a President representing a policy opposed to that of the popular plurality, as in the case of J. Q. Adams in 1824. It may also give us a President and Vice-President of different parties as were Adams and Calhoun.

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Last but not least in the evils of our

electoral system is the opportunity it offers for political corruption. If, as has been shown, a vote in New York is thirteen times as powerful as a vote in Montana, then a vote in New York is worth thirteen times as much as a vote in Montana to the purchaser of votes. A change of a few hundred votes in the "pivotal States" would give the election to the other party, since the entire electoral vote of a State is carried by even the smallest popular plurality. It was pointed out that a change of 600 votes in New York in 1884 would have elected Blaine President; then how immensely more valuable to either party were the 600 votes in New York than 600 votes in any of the smaller States. The course of a Presidential campaign shows how each party throws all its force, legitimate or otherwise, into the larger doubtful States.

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Since, as a great British writer says, "the presidential electors have become a mere cog-wheel in the machine, a mere contrivance for giving effect to the decision of the people," is it not time to get rid of the useless cog-wheel, and avoid the friction and jumping of cogs? Is it not time to dispense with the "mere contrivance," and escape its attendant evils?

C. E. PATTISON.

+ + +

WHAT CLEVELAND IS DOING FOR THE MAN WHO IS DOWN.

Rev. Harris R. Cooley, Member of the Board of Public Service for the City of Cleveland, in the Cleveland Press of Oct. 23, 1906.

During the year another cottage and a school house have been added to the boys' home at Hudson. We will have accommodations for 120 boys. The gymnasium is being furnished. When all the building construction is completed a manual training department will be started.

During the coming year, if funds can be secured, we hope to establish a home for girls.

Two additional farms have been purchased, giving us now 1,700 acres at Warrensville. As the fundamental principle of our movement is to return to the natural life of the country, it is essential that as large an area as possible be provided for the thousands who will in the future become residents of the colony. About 40 of our old men from the infirmary are living at the colony, and our experience with them has given us great confidence in the plan.

The plans of our new infirmary village at the farm colony consist of a quadrangle built about a service court. Facing upon this court are to be a boiler house, laundry, bakery, bathrooms and kitchen. The cottages are to radiate from each corner of this quadrangle, giving the effect of a country village. This is to be situated on a high ridge 600 feet above the city and looking out upon the lake 10 miles distant. One hundred and fifty thousand dollars are in hand for this work. A start on the buildings will be made at the earliest moment in the Spring.

Next year all of the inmates of the infirmary can become residents of the farm colony. This will provide for the unfortunate ones happier surroundings

in which to spend the declining years of their lives. It will also prove a great benefit to all the people of Cleveland, by giving to them the consciousness of dealing more fairly and generously with the aged poor and the crippled who are in our midst.

The temporary tuberculosis sanitarium at the farm colony has been completed with accommodations for over 100 patients. The sanitarium was constructed with reference to the outdoor treatment, which has proved so successful. Three lean-tos have been provided for the accommodation of 60 of the patients, who spend their days and nights practically out of doors. A new building is now being constructed which will provide a sun room, to be used also as a recreation room and an auditorium for the residents of this group.

During the coming year it is hoped to start the building of a permanent tuberculosis sanitarium on the summit of a high ridge which overlooks miles of the surrounding country.

From 50 to 70 of our trusties from the house of correction have been kept at the farm of correction, which is a part of our farm colony. Two large buildings have been erected, the first of the permanent group of the house of correction buildings at the farm. These buildings, known as the trusties' lodge, will accommodate 160 men. This group of correction buildings will be located on an ideal site a mile from the other villages.

During the Winter we hope to relieve the congested condition of the city house of correction by removing a part of the population to the trusties' lodge. Our experience with the prisoners at the farm gives us greater confidence in the successful working out of the plan to use many prisoners in road making and farming and at other outdoor employment.

The plan for the coming year is to build a permanent, modern house of correction on the farm, so that the old workhouse in the city can be abandoned. We hope to see prisoners sentenced directly to the farm of correction.

The night school at the house of correction has been continued under the direction of our parole officer. A parole matron has been appointed to give to the women, if possible, the opportunities which have worked successfully with the men.

The Brotherhood is an organization of former prisoners at the house of correction, whose purpose it is to help men when they are released. It finds them employment and then provides them with food and shelter until their pay day. It furnishes to these men an opportunity to work, to live and to help some other fellow who is down.

During the year the Brotherhood moved into a temporary home and purchased on credit equipment for a kitchen, dining room and dormitory. These have been paid for and are now the property of the Brotherhood. Aside from the use of the building rent free, the home is self-sustaining.

Over 200 men have been helped, and these men have paid into the home for their support more than \$4,000, which they have earned by honest labor in the shops and factories of our city. It is hoped to establish this home in some permanent quarters.

The plan for the coming year is to establish a contagious disease hospital. The growth of the city and

the lack of such accommodations in other hospitals render it important. Patients with diphtheria, scarlet fever and other contagious diseases will be received.

Special improvements have been planned for Harvard Grove cemetery and also for the new Highland Park cemetery. At the Highland Park cemetery, which adjoins our farm colony, the trustees from our house of correction have worked at road making.

We feel confident that numbers of our prison population can be used to great advantage in the construction of the roads and drives in this new cemetery and on the farm colony.

* * *

THE MUCK-RAKE MAN.

For The Public.

Oh, Muck-rake man!
 How ever can
 You on with your foul work go!
 You surely don't know
 That "Teddy" says "No!"
 That such work is under his ban.
 Then away with your rake!
 It is all a mistake
 Such foulness to ever disturb!
 Just hurrah for the "Trusts,"
 For rule us they must;
 And all protest we quickly should curb.

For each poor rich man
 Must do all that he can
 To keep the wolf from his door!
 And 'tis cruel to lay
 A stone in his way.
 So we'll hear of your muck-rake, no more!
 We'll hear of your muck-rake no more!

SARAH MARTYN WRIGHT.

* * *

Groundler: "Is Flew's airship up to his expectations?"

Dustlee: "Yes, up to his revised expectations."
 G. T. E.

* * *

Doubtless there are some men who claim that they do not care how New York goes and would not stay awake three minutes to get the returns, just as there were men who claimed that they did not care whether or not the White Sox won the championship of their league or which team won the world pennant. Some people would claim anything just to be different.—Chicago Daily News of Nov. 6.

* * *

Anxious Depositor—"Is my money perfectly safe in your bank?"

Bank President—"Certainly. I'll prove it to you. 'Here, Mr. Jones (to cashier), have you been away lately?' 'No.' 'Are you going away soon?' 'No.' (Turning to depositor) There, are you satisfied now?"

Depositor—"Perfectly so. Here's another thousand for deposit."—Toledo Blade.

* * *

Friday the Threecer was all any one at the [Cleveland] city hall could talk about. Commenting on Mayor Tom's work as motorman, they recalled an-

Publishers' Column

The Public

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

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Published weekly by The Public Publishing Company, First National Bank Building, Chicago, Ill.

Entered at the Chicago, Illinois, Postoffice as second class matter.

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Quarterly25
Single copies05
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other time when Mayor Tom motored a street car. "It was when he owned the old Brooklyn line, years ago," they said. "It was a cold Winter's morning and Tom had ordered out his private car to hurry him to the union station. When it came the motor-man was half frozen. Johnson shoved him inside the car to warm himself and took his place in the vestibule."—Cleveland Press of Nov. 2.

BOOKS

ACCORDING TO HIS LIGHT.

In the Last Degree. By Edwin Arnold Brenholtz. The Ariel Press: Westwood, Mass.

The Voice of Equality. By Edwin Arnold Brenholtz. Boston: Richard G. Badger.

The Recording Angel. By Edwin Arnold Brenholtz. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co.

There is no question that these books—named in the order of publication—merit a larger, fuller consideration than the merely human taster and tester of books is competent to give in limited space on limited time. The soul of the author is very evidently in his work and his sincerity and earnestness commend him to the warmest sympathies of the critic, even when the critic may possibly pass judgment on his methods. The love of justice, the passion for equality, the yearning for comradeship in the highest uses of life, are all forcibly expressed in this trio of books which are honestly commended to the notice of the leisurely reader.

"In the Last Degree" is a collection of stories, poems and dramas which the author prefaces with this dedicatory foreword:

To You:

My Lover, let me have my way
And intersperse—there Prose, here Play.
A foolish Fantasy you say—
Shall folly not then have its day?
With wisdom we are turning gray—
Be kind, not cold, nor harbor Nay.

"The Voice of Equality" is a stirring poem, or succession of poems, after the measure of Walt Whitman (but sometimes falling short), which contain both invocation and prophecy that invite thoughtful reading. The last title—"According to Your Faith"—covers these striking lines:

According!
How terrible the task God sets us here!
How delicately poised these scales that yield us more or less—
According to ourselves.

According!
O the fearful word to face!
Forever I have cried to God, "Give me according to thy love."

But God—incarnate in the justice of my soul—replies:
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We must refrain from further quotation. The poem should be read in its entirety to appreciate its "equality."

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The Socialists are a set of idealist fools. The mass of the people in this and all lands are, and ever have been, totally unfit for the ballot and I can buy it for twenty-five cents a head per vote from millions of them and reason the majority into using it my way in a fifteen minutes' talk. The people are unfit for popular government. They have had none of it in this or any land for lo! these many years—and that is why things have gone as well as they have. We allow them to change a President once in so often, but there have been enough vacancies on the Supreme Court bench during the last twenty years to place that body forever in my control. O, no, I do not buy them. Not at all. But I recommended some of them because I knew their sentiments and the rest I endorsed after I found out where they stood between the rich and the workers. And you want to remember they are there for life. Old Tom Jefferson was eminently sane when he said that the liberty of this people would find its grave in the federal judiciary,—or words to that effect. And that's the way we have escaped giving this people a despotism like that of the Czar of Russia, which is all that any people are fit for. Some are born to rule, some to serve, and the day may come—it may be very close at hand—when we will drop the mask, enthroned our ruler and have done with foolishness.

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The day when man may walk abroad on this fair earth made doubly fair, and not be cursed by once confronting cruel sights or sounds.

The day my faith foreshadowed long before,

The day to which my title now is clear,

And yours the same

According to your faith.

A. L. M.

* * *

THE LION AND THE MOUSE.

The Lion and the Mouse. By Charles Klein. A story of American life novelized from the play by Arthur Hornblow. Illustrated by Stuart Travis. Published by G. W. Dillingham Company, New York.

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W. H. STACKPOLE.

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THE CIVIC ADVANCE.

A Decade of Civic Development. By Charles Zueblin, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1905.

What have our American cities been doing in the last ten years? What progress? Not industrially, nor politically, nor even economically—but simply materially? How do they look as compared with ten years ago? Incidentally we may dwell on the spirit which has brought about results. But our point of view is very matter-of-fact and simple. How about the house-keeping of it all? Streets well-paved, drained and lighted? Public buildings beautiful as well as comfortable? Is there play-room? Are our cities pleasanter, more healthful dwelling-places than formerly? To all of these questions Mr. Zueblin cheerfully answers "Yes;" and proceeds to cite innumerable instances of method and result. He calls our attention to the general demand for unity and completeness of plan for each city's future. Harrisburg and Washington are shining examples. Em-

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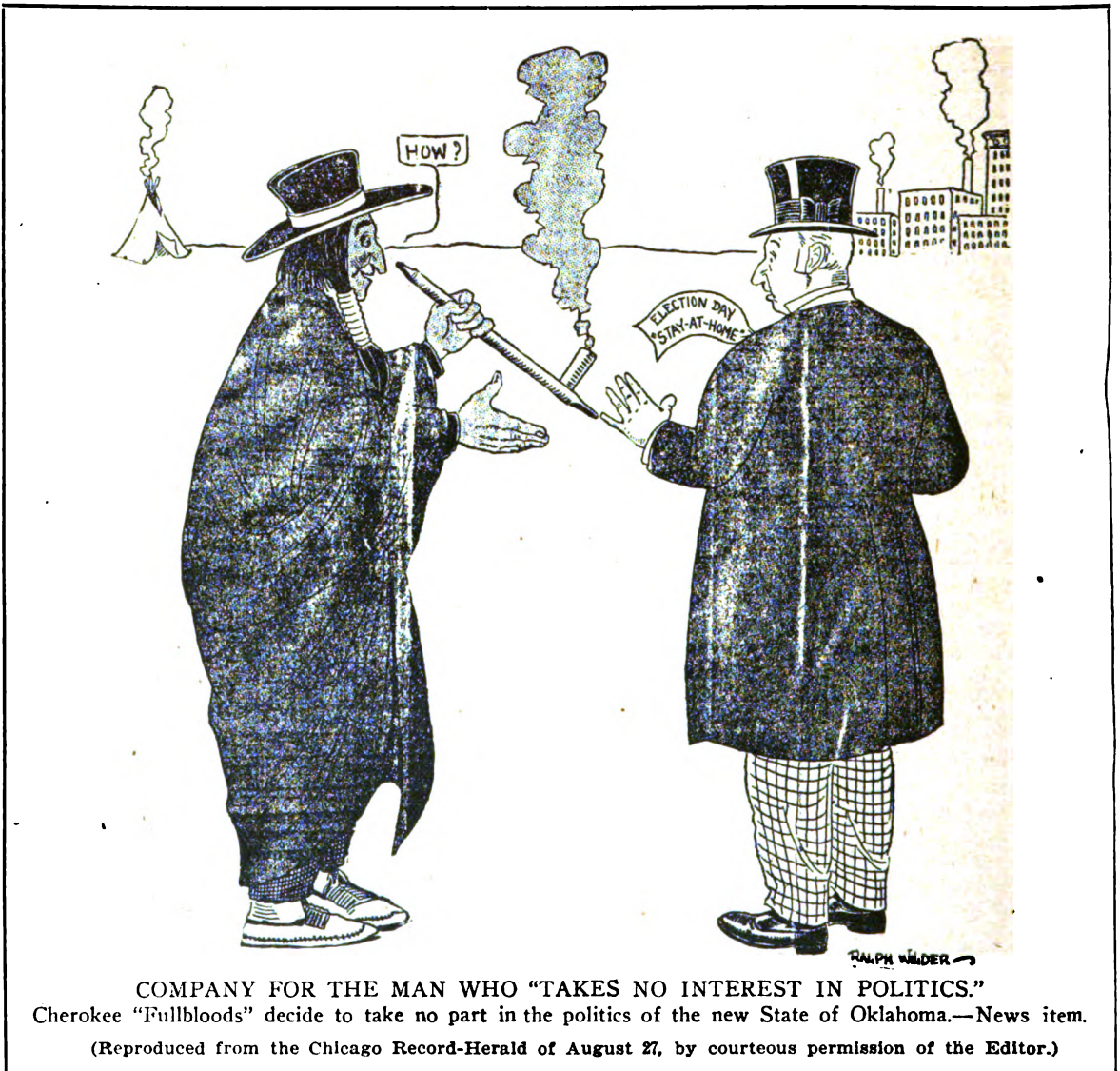
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 Cherokee "Fullbloods" decide to take no part in the politics of the new State of Oklahoma.—News item.
 (Reproduced from the Chicago Record-Herald of August 27, by courteous permission of the Editor.)

phasis is also laid on the great results of the Columbian Exposition as a living picture of how aesthetic a model city might be.

We might be critical if we wished. We could confess that several times when our author lost his feeling for style in his enthusiasm over quantity of good things, we were reminded of the Catalogue of Ships. But it would be a most despondent man who as he closed the book would not rise up to work for his town.

ANGELINE LOESCH.

+ + +

CHICAGO HISTORY.

Chicago Past and Present. By S. R. Winchell. Published by A. Flanagan Company, Chicago.

This book professes to be only a manual, and its size is so small and its scope so wide that it could not well be more. It deals in outline with the history, government, officials, etc., of Chicago, and

somewhat with the government of larger civic units, even with the national government. Only accuracy and convenient arrangement can be demanded of such a book, and in those particulars this little volume seems to be unexceptionable.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—White Fang. By Jack London, author of "The Call of the Wild," "The Sea Wolf," etc. Published by the Macmillan Company, New York and London. Price \$1.50.

—Fork and Spade Husbandry. 51 Pounds a year from Two Acres of Land. By John Sillett (The Suffolk Draper). Cottage Farm Series. No. 2. Published by A. C. Fifield, 44 Fleet St., London, 1906. Price Six pence net.

—The Bishops as Legislators. A Record of the Speeches and Votes of the Bishops in the House of Lords during the Nineteenth Century. By Joseph Clayton. With a Preface by Rev. Stewart D. Headlam. Published by A.

C. Fifield, 44 Fleet St., London, 1906. Price, wrappers, 1 shilling net; cloth gilt, 2 shillings net.

—Humane Education. A plea for a humane and ethical system of Elementary Education. By Rev. A. M. Mitchell, M. A., Vicar of Burton Wood, Lancs. Published by Arthur C. Fifield, 44 Fleet Street, London. Price Three pence net.

—Readings in Descriptive and Historical Sociology. Edited by Franklin H. Giddings, Ph. D., LL. D., Professor of Sociology and the History of Civilization in Columbia University; author of "The Principles of Sociology," "Inductive Sociology," "Democracy and Empire," etc. Published by the Macmillan Company of New York and London. Price \$1.00.

PAMPHLETS

Original Historical Documents.

A collection of the Old South Leaflets (published by the Directors of the Old South Work, Old South Meeting House, Boston) would make a valuable addition to any small library. "The Settlement of Jamestown," for instance; "New Netherland in 1640," by David Peterson de Vries, (extracts from his notes); the Articles of New England Confederation; William Penn's description of Pennsylvania, "The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina," all original documents, are favorable pamphlets to the cursory reader of history.

PERIODICALS

Two articles on "The Tragedy at Atlanta," one from the point of view of the whites, by John Temple Graves, and the other from the point of view of the Negroes, by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, appear in the November World To-Day. A. T. P.

+

Still another magazine is announced from Atlanta, Ga.—"The Race Question and Southern Symposium." Its function is stated to be the discussion of the "race issue dispassionately from the viewpoint of the Southern white man." It is to "stand, editorially, for the imperious but magnanimous Anglo-Saxon." A. T. P.

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The November American Review of Reviews furnishes the text of Secretary Root's now famous Rio Janeiro speech (p. 417) as authorized by Mr. Root himself. It also contains a portrait and brief account of Dr. Hermann Schumacher, who is now lecturing at Columbia University, New York, as the first incumbent of the Kaiser Wilhelm professorship of German history and institutions, as Professor Burgess is lecturing in Berlin in the like Theodore Roosevelt professorship (p. 728). Dr. Schumacher is a specialist on transportation and banking. The Review of Reviews makes a feature of portraits, and in this number we find a picture of a strong, sweet-faced old woman—a woman who has evidently profoundly drunk of the bitter and the sweet of life. It is Mrs. Jefferson Davis. A. T. P.

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