

# The Public

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## EDITORIAL

### "Business."

The art of getting something for nothing without giving the getter away.

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### Chicago's New Lord and Master.

E. H. Harriman is the man. So says the Chicago Tribune, the organ of the local interests. "He is already in control of the subway," says the Tribune, "and is reaching out for the electric

lighting and the telephone privileges of the city." The Tribune, which would doubtless throw the school system into the bargain as "lanniappe" is of course delighted.

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### Subsidies.

The plunderhunger of the "business" interests and their Republican coadjutors, is enormous and insistent beyond parallel. When "business" interests want to go into business, their first demand is for a subsidy out of the public treasury. Here, for illustration, is Secretary Root's speech at Kansas City on the 20th. Steamship lines being needed between this country and South America, he asks for a subsidy. Farmers are never given a subsidy. Workingmen are allowed no subsidy. Storekeepers are not subsidized. But big capitalists—they must have subsidies or they can't live. Without genuine business ability, this class seem unable to make any enterprise pay unless they have a special privilege from government giving them monopoly power over the people, or a subsidy out of the government treasury which depends upon taxing the people. When they are not legalized thieves, they are arrogant beggars. Abolish the protective tariff between this country and South America, and steamship lines would be making money before a subsidy bill could pass to third reading. But there's the rub! The protective tariff is itself a subsidy, only in another form.

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### A Magazine of Fundamental Democracy.

The Times Magazine, published at New York, which has just come before the public as the successor to the Twentieth Century Home, announces its intention to "stand for fundamental democracy," and to make for itself a place as "an organ of expression for the earnest, intelligent and fearless minds of this and other lands." The December number not only gives high promise in this direction, but also in the direction of a thoroughly readable periodical. A remarkably attractive innovation is the illustration of the editorials with sketchy colored pictures which catch the spirit of the editorial thought. The editorials themselves take first place in the magazine, and are worth it both for their wholesome substance and their pleasing form.

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In declaring that the Times Magazine is for

individualism, the first editorial strikes a true note: "That which commonly goes by the name of individualism in this country," it says, "is too often a transparent and a most iniquitous fraud. It is a compound of muddled thinking, greed and graft, which amounts in practice to individualism for a privileged class. Real individualism is democratic. It is the individualism of a fair chance and fair play for every natural person born into the world. Fraudulent individualism is the bastard offspring of economic privilege in alliance with political corruption. Real individualism will get its chance only when we see that economic privilege must be abolished, and political corruption fought to the last ditch, and seeing, gird up our loins for the struggle." And then the whole matter is summed up with a demand for "individualism for all of us and not for the privileged few." This analysis is perfect. The much vaunted "individualism" of the Interests is the individualism of piracy, and it is this that has given true individualism a bad name among people who mean better than they know.

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The fiction of this number of the magazine is entertaining, among the contributors in that class being Jack London, Basil King, Zona Gale and Broughton Brandenburg. Upton Sinclair describes his colony experiment with a deft literary touch, and Alfred Henry Lewis tells the story of Tammany Hall. What promises to be both a novel and an instructive production is the "Natural History of American Morals," by Franklin H. Giddings, professor of sociology and the history of civilization in Columbia University, the first installment of which is a delightful bit of serious-minded writing in the light magazine style. Among the other contributions is a paper by Luke Grant, one of the best newspaper reporters who make a specialty of labor subjects. Mr. Grant's summary of the effect of the injunction in labor disputes is the most complete we have seen, and absolutely judicial. It is brief enough to quote in full:

It has benefited the employer by giving men hired to fill the places of strikers a greater sense of security, so that fewer of them have been induced to leave their employment.

It has lessened the respect of the average workingman for the courts, and tended to embitter him against the judicial branch of our government.

It has failed as a preventive of violence in strikes, but has, more than any other weapon used in industrial disputes, engendered class hatred.

It has cost both employers and labor unions a vast amount of money, although the expense to the union

has been reduced in recent years, because few unions now contest the issuance of an injunction.

It has forced the American Federation of Labor into the political arena, the effects of which on the political future of the country cannot at this time be foretold.

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According to its announcement, the Times Magazine intends to cover the whole field of democratic interest and to look into all the byways of autocracy. This draws it into the public school controversy, of which it justly says: "By sheer force of the universal tendency to follow lines of least resistance, our centralized school system has more and more developed the characteristics of a department store business; teachers have become a class of intellectual hired help; principals are foremen; superintendents are little more than heads of departments." A magazine of this broad democracy is needed, and we believe the Times Magazine will meet the demand. Most of our magazine literature is inspired by currents of thought generated in plutocratic clubs and aristocratic drawing rooms, and the rest is more or less shackled by counting room fears. A magazine that will supply periodical literature of as high a grade and interesting a character as is supplied by the other magazines, and yet always ring true to the democratic key note, ought to have a warm welcome alike in Great Britain, in Australia, and here at home; and such a magazine, of the highest order of excellence, there is every reason to believe from a perusal of the first number the Times Magazine is destined to be.

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#### A Curious Suggestion.

Readers of the Auburn (N. Y.) Citizen must have been surprised to see in that paper of the 14th, in a criticism of the people of San Francisco for excluding Japanese children from the schools, the remark that "a social or ethical question should not be allowed to interfere with the great efforts making to hold and extend the trade and prosperity of the United States." If, as is probably the fact, the printer has turned "ethnic" into "ethical," the remark is comprehensible; but we should think the Auburn Citizen the last paper to subordinate material prosperity to ethical questions.

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#### A Monometallic Problem.

When Bryan made his bimetallic campaign, the monometallists pictured the public dangers of a debased currency, and therefore, as they said, they opposed silver coinage. They were told in reply

that what really concerned them so much was not any danger to the public, but depreciation of the government bonds they held and the consequent dangers to their own pockets. It was added that if gold became plentiful they would want to make diamonds, or some other valuable and scarce product, the standard of value. Sure enough, this prediction is coming true. The world is experiencing a "price inflation," says the Chicago Chronicle, the gold organ of the West in 1896, "due to an enormous increase in the supply of gold," and "it would be fortunate if the output of that metal from the mines could be greatly reduced"!

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### Special Assessments.

The principle of special assessments for street improvement, is curiously twisted by the real estate interests that wish to make private profit out of public improvement. As one of them expresses the distorted idea, "where a street has once been improved, especially where the property owners have shared the expense, no further charge for repaving or repairing should be laid against the abutting property." Why not? One has only to consider the financial effect of street improvements upon abutting property to realize that in fairness the abutting owners ought to pay for both improvement and repairs. If the street improvement be not made, the abutting property does not increase as much in value; if the improvement be not kept in repair, the abutting property declines in value. To the extent, therefore, of the value that street improvements confer upon it, abutting property should in fairness pay for both improvements and repairs.

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### Investing in Municipal Growth.

Backed by Hearst's Boston American, the Boston Y. M. C. A. has opened a class in real estate investment for the special benefit of the wage earning class. To excite enthusiasm, startling examples of increase in site values in consequence of the growth of the city are described. Among these we find such jumps in value as \$249,300 in 1905, from \$61,100 in 1885; and \$345,200 in 1905, from \$86,800 in 1895. It is good work, this which the Y. M. C. A. of Boston is doing in educating young men in the principles of site value advances; but when it is remembered that these advances are caused by the people of the city as a communal mass, is it not queer work for the Y. M. C. A. to be at—the work of stimulating investment in these chances for personal gain instead of exciting opposition to the robbery of the city of

the value of its growth for purely selfish ends? But a Y. M. C. A., like every other organized charity, can be no better than the financiers who foot its bills.

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### Independent Candidates.

A correspondent of the New York World, A. C. Pleydell, offers a criticism of independent candidates at elections which should make a certain type of reformer ponder. Mr. Pleydell refers to the public disappointment over the curious conduct of Mr. Jerome, who was elected district attorney of New York as an independent. "Independent voting," writes Mr. Pleydell, "which consists in rejecting an unfit candidate is the only safeguard against bossism. But voting for independent and irresponsible candidates, for men instead of an organization representing definite principles, is out of harmony with our theory of responsible government, and unless we are willing to adopt the 'recall from office' must lead to disappointment if not disaster." That is an exceptionally pointed statement of a profound political truth. Independent candidates in office are, as a rule, like independent logs in a stream. If there are enough of them to do anything, the only thing they can do is to make a "jam," and if there are not enough they only drift.

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### Labor Federation and Union League Club.

The Chicago Federation of Labor and the Chicago Union League Club are now pitted against each other over the question of financial despotism versus democracy in the public school system. At first the Interests tried the experiment of raising an "A. P. A." or anti-Catholic crusade against the school board. But the sensational Methodist preacher who had this angle of the agitation in hand was so indiscreet as to get caught at it. Consequently the anti-Catholic part of the agitation has been dropped as dangerous, and an anti-Labor agitation is substituted. The whole thing emanates from the private dining rooms of the Union League Club, where the traction interests, the telephone and electric-lighting interests, and all the other big, selfish and sordid interests are accustomed through representatives to foregather; and now the Federation of Labor, aware of the true source and meaning of the malignant attacks upon the "Dunne school board," has accepted the challenge of the Interests. The proceedings of this Federation on the 18th are equivalent to an assurance that the political programme of the Union League Club and its satellites and hangers on, an

important part of which consists in maligning the unapproachable members of the school board, will be very seriously disarranged.

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#### How "Business Men" Do It.

From certain quarters there has been a persistent demand for "business men" on the Chicago school board. The cry is of the same kind and comes from like sources as in all other cities where business graft is in danger from radical "cranks" and "freaks." But Chicago has been favored with an opportunity to scrutinize the "business man" on the board. For in 1905 Chicago had a "business man's" school board and a "business man" president. The re-valuation of school lands under ground lease was to be made at that time, and the school board and the lessees appointed appraisers. While the appraisers were engaged in the performance of this duty the "business" president of the board hired them to do some special work for the board. It was the same as if two persons had appointed three lawyers to arbitrate a dispute, and while they were engaged in the arbitration one of the parties had employed them to try a case for him. From that moment the appraisers ceased to be in legal contemplation impartial. A radical "crank" or "freak" would have been likely to know it, for radical "cranks" and "freaks" are sensitive to the principles of fair play. But the "business man" president of the board was not thus sensitive, and in consequence the courts have declared the appraisal under the lease to be null and void. One of the results is the deprivation of an already financially starved school system, possibly for months to come, of hundreds of thousands of dollars.

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#### Raids Upon the Chicago School Fund.

Raids upon public school funds by "business" interests are probably common wherever there is a school fund to be raided; but in Chicago these raids have been especially bold and the plunder rich. Tax dodging by big public service corporations is common in Chicago as elsewhere, but the Chicago schools are peculiar in having had a large landed estate of their own. The United States gave to Illinois certain sections of land for educational purposes sixty years or more ago, and Illinois gave one of these sections to Chicago for the same purposes. This rich endowment consisted of a square mile in the heart of the city. But the "business" interests quickly divided up most of it among themselves, and the educational system got less than \$40,000 for it. Some remains, however, and through trades a few other pieces of

land, also in the heart of the city, have come into the possession of the school system. All this land is regarded as fair game by the predatory "business" interests; and perennially these "business interests," combining with "business men's" school boards, have been trying to "take it over" in substance if not in form.

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Here is an outline of the facts: In 1885 certain ground leases were made for 100 years, with provisions for readjusting the ground rent every ten years. The first revaluation occurred in 1895. At about that time the Chicago Tribune, with its own lawyer a member of the school board and active in the matter, effected a combination of "business interests," whereby the "business" man's board of the time, made to this combination an outrageous concession. It struck out the revaluation clause from the leases held by the members of the combination, and did it for a grossly inadequate consideration. For rentals that were only fair for the decennial period of 1895 to 1905, it gave to these conspirators against the interests of the school children of Chicago some of the richest graft that ever went from a pliant public body to a private interest. It turned leases having 90 years to run with ten year readjustments of ground rent, into leases for 90 years on the valuations of a period of great business depression and without revaluations. This transaction may be legally binding. That remains to be seen. It may be that the Tribune's lawyer on the school board at the time was too shrewd to have left an opening for legal attack. But legal or not, there is no room for doubt, even upon the bare face of the record, as to its moral quality. One school trustee, be it said, strenuously fought the grab, and under the most hopeless and menacing circumstances. He was not a "business man," but for his honesty would fall into the Tribune's category of "cranks" and "freaks." For his intelligent and courageous opposition to the Tribune's grab, and the indictment he recorded against the conspiracy, his service on the board ought to be always remembered with gratitude. His name is Joseph W. Errant.

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Relative to this "business" assault upon the financial rights of the school children of Chicago, the Chicago Tribune is impudent enough to say editorially that "the public does not care much whether the Tribune pays sufficient ground rent or not." We suspect that the Tribune is mistaken in this, and that in fact the people of Chicago

care very much whether it is paying into the school fund sufficient ground rent, and that they very especially care whether it has managed by hook and by crook to procure such an alteration of its ground lease as to reduce its rental obligations for 90 years to an absurdly inadequate sum. We can agree with the Tribune, however, when it says it "made a grave mistake and threw away a great opportunity in 1867"; for it "could then, instead of leasing school land, have bought at a comparatively low price almost any other corner in the business district," and "if it had done that it would now have a large estate in fee simple in the down town district," and "would have had to pay no rent, and the value of its real estate would constantly have been advancing," so that "the increase in value would in itself have been a fortune." That was indeed a grave mistake on the Tribune's part. But it does not follow that the Tribune ought to be allowed to repair its grave mistake out of the increasing value of the estate of the school children, as it is doing. Unfortunately for the public good, Chicago, like other cities, does permit private interests to profit by the advancing values which the whole community attaches by its growth to particular sites. This is institutional and cannot at present be rectified. But these profits go only to persons who do not make the "grave mistake" of throwing away opportunities to buy chances in the profits of community growth. Persons who throw away such opportunities ought to bear up under the consequences of their "grave mistakes," and not try to play a "sneak" game on the school children by stealthily taking away from them the advancing values of their estate.

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#### Called to Account.

Lee Meriwether of St. Louis has done excellent public service not only as an agitator against the villainous performances of the Interests in St. Louis politics, but also in holding their malignant newspapers to account. In 1901 and 1902 he ably led the municipal ownership and equal taxation movement in St. Louis. This brought him plump against the financial and political corruptionists of that city. Although elected mayor beyond all reasonable question he was brazenly counted out. And because he did not surrender to the Interests, their organ, the St. Louis Republic, began a campaign of virulent abuse. It called him "crank," "socialist," "anarchist," etc., and when it found that these epithets didn't hurt, it accused him of trafficking in nominations and playing his followers false. Then Mr. Meriwether

sued the St. Louis Republic for libel. In two cases he has been forced to two trials each and he has obtained four verdicts. One of these verdicts, for \$10,000, is now pending in the Supreme Court of the State; another, for \$4,500 and costs, the St. Louis Republic has paid with its check for \$4,914.75, dated the 19th of October last.

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Mr. Meriwether is to be congratulated on his pluck and on his success. And he is to be commended for giving that publicity to the matter which the St. Louis Republic withholds. In advising the public of his legal battle and triumph, Mr. Meriwether pertinently writes: "Of the 100,000 persons who read the libels none will ever know from anything in the columns of the St. Louis Republic that it was convicted four times in open court of publishing foul slanders. The Republic seeks to keep the public ignorant of the outcome of these suits; not even in its news reports did it contain the slightest announcement of the court's ruling; the rulings in all the cases except mine were duly announced in the Republic, but the fact that on that same day the Court of Appeals decided a libel suit in my favor was carefully suppressed. The press must not be muzzled; it must have the fullest freedom of criticism, even of condemnation. But no newspaper has a right because it dislikes a man's political or economical opinions, to vilify that man and falsely accuse him of doing dishonorable things. I know it is bad taste to obtrude one's private affairs upon the public, but in a sense these libel suits are not private. I believe it should be widely known that no matter how rich, how powerful a newspaper is, it may still be punished if it steals away a man's good name. And so believing, it seems not inappropriate to make known by this letter the result of my four years' legal battle for justice and vindication."

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### IS THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE A SINGLE TAX CONVERT?

The Chicago Tribune said, in a recent editorial:

The Tribune company made a grave mistake and threw away a great opportunity in 1867. It could then, instead of leasing school land, have bought at a comparatively low price almost any other corner in the business district. If it had done that it would now have a large estate in fee simple in the downtown district. It would have had to pay no rent, and the value of its real estate would constantly have been advancing. The increase in value would in itself have been a fortune.

If the Tribune is capable of "recognizing the

truth when it meets it in the road," it will perceive that the above, from its own pen, is a strong argument in favor of the single tax plan of taxation.

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Had the Tribune had the opportunity to buy and had it bought the school land in 1867 which it now holds on lease, it would have had to pay no ground rent thence evermore. And in addition, it would now be in possession of a fortune which is owned by the public. It could have retained forever the nearly \$50,000 which it now pays annually to the public, and all increases of value besides.

Think of the significance of this. The Tribune pays annually to the public nearly \$50,000 rent on a little patch of ground 120 feet by 144 feet! And that is less than private owners are obtaining for other corner lots in the vicinity.

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Every man, woman and child in Chicago is a joint owner and beneficiary of this \$50,000 a year. What if the public had retained possession of all the land in Chicago? Then all the people of Chicago—the poor equally with the rich—would have been to-day in possession of a prodigious fortune the income from which would have endowed every individual citizen with a degree of affluence far beyond anything that the majority can hope for in their wildest dreams for the future.

It would be interesting to know what is the sum total of ground rent annually paid in the city, and also the aggregate paid in wages. If ground rent equals wages, then the application of the single tax would benefit the wage men of Chicago equal to a one hundred per cent. advance in wages!

If the average wage rate is two dollars per day, then the single tax would increase wages to four dollars per day.

And the economic conditions of such advance in the income of the wage men would prevent any consequent advance in the prices that they pay for the things they consume. It would be a clear, net gain, of which they could not be deprived except by outright theft.

Now, in the case of the Chicago Tribune, it confesses—or rather asserts—that if it had bought in 1867 it would now have had a fortune in the unearned increase in value of the land—a fortune which it now does not possess, and which it does not claim. Had it bought the land with borrowed money, it could have paid principal and

interest and taxes, with greatly less than it has paid to the public in rent, and would to-day have been in possession of a fortune worth much more than \$50,000 a year, and rapidly increasing in value. And this vast fortune it would have secured, not by giving value to the public for value received, but solely by going through the legal form of securing title to the land. That is, by paying cash down for the value of the site in 1867, it would have secured scot free all the enormously increasing value since.

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This increasing value is not earned by the private holder of title to the land. No school of economists claims that it is. The implication from the Tribune's declaration is that it would have possessed, without earning it.

What are a man's earnings? Are they not, clearly, what he produces?

Or to change the form: Does not a man earn what he produces? If so, then surely it cannot be claimed that a man produces what he does not earn.

It follows then that the owner of unearned increment possesses something which he has not produced.

But since it exists, it has been produced.

By whom, then, if not by the possessor?

Why, by the general public, of course.

And the single tax would distribute to the general public that which it produces—the so-called "unearned increment" in land values. And that, too (as has been shown above) without taking anything from the possessor of land, but merely by withholding from him that which rightly belongs to the public.

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Why do the landlords and land speculators oppose the single tax?

Precisely because it is just. It would prevent them from securing what they do not earn. It would enrich the masses, whom the present system of taxation impoverishes.

EDWARD HOWELL PUTNAM.

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The only person who has ever adopted an adequate punishment for tax dodging, according to a report from one of our correspondents, is an ingenious tax collector of a thriving town in the state of Missouri. He says a certain Missouri newspaper quotes from that functionary this luminous notice:

"All persons are hereby notified to pay their dog tax by April 1; otherwise they will be killed."

—Case and Comment

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

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Week ending Wednesday, Nov. 21, 1906.

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### Currency Reform.

A plan for currency reform, sanctioned by a commission representing the American Bankers' Association and the New York Chamber of Commerce, was given out for publication at Washington on the 15th, tentatively. It recommends that—

1. Any national bank having been actively doing business for one year and having a surplus fund equal to 20 per cent. of its capital shall have authority to issue credit notes as follows, subject to the rules and regulations to be determined by the comptroller of the currency: (A). An amount equal to 40 per cent. of its bond secured circulation, subject to a tax at the rate of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum upon the average amount outstanding. Provided, that if at any time in the future the present proportion of the total outstanding unmatured United States bonds to the total capitalization of all going national banks shall diminish, then the authorized issue of credit notes shall be increased to a correspondingly greater percentage of its bond secured notes. (B). A further amount equal to  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of its capital, subject to a tax at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum upon the average amount outstanding in excess of the amount first mentioned. The total of credit notes and bond secured notes shall not exceed the capital.

2. The same reserves shall be carried against credit notes as are now required by law to be carried against deposits.

3. The taxes provided upon credit notes shall be paid in gold to the treasurer of the United States, and shall constitute a guaranty fund for the redemption of notes of failed banks and for the payment of the expenses of printing and the cost of redemption. In order that the guaranty fund may be ample from the beginning any bank making application to take out credit notes for issue shall deposit with the treasurer of the United States in gold an amount equal to 5 per cent. thereof. The unused portion of this initial payment shall be an asset of the contributing banks, respectively, and shall be refunded from time to time when this may be done without reducing the guaranty fund below an amount equal to 5 per cent. of the credit notes taken out.

4. The comptroller of the currency shall designate numerous redemption cities conveniently located in the various parts of the country. Through the agency of the banks in such cities adequate facilities shall be provided for active daily redemption of credit notes.

5. The provisions of existing law limiting the retirement of bond-secured notes to \$3,000,000 per month shall be repealed.

6. All public moneys above a reasonable working balance, from whatever source derived, shall be currently deposited from day to day in national banks without requiring collateral security or special guaranty therefor, but in no case shall the balance carried with any bank exceed 50 per cent. of the capital thereof. All banks receiving such public moneys on deposit shall pay into the

United States treasury interest thereon at the rate of 2 per cent. per annum.

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### The American Federation of Labor.

In the convention of the American Federation of Labor at Minneapolis (p. 777), at the session of the 14th, a project for uniting organized laborers with farmers was introduced. Nine delegates for the American Society of Equity, a farmers' union, headed by N. C. Crowley, State organizer for Wisconsin, attended the convention and solicited co-operation in eliminating middle men. The convention appointed a committee of nine to confer. This committee reported on the 15th and its report was adopted by the convention. It provided for mutual assistance by requiring local unions and city central bodies, when called upon by the representatives of the farmers' organization, to appoint committees to co-operate with them in the effort to promote the demand for union labeled products, and provided for an interchange of delegates between the trade unions and the farmers' organization both in national and State conventions.

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The first charter ever granted to a national organization composed exclusively of government employes was issued by the convention at the session of the 17th to the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, of which Edward B. Goltra, of Chicago, is president.

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On the 20th the question of political action was debated. The committee on officers' report had recommended the approval by the convention of all that was done by the executive committee in the recent campaign in its attempt to defeat candidates opposed to labor interests. It also recommended independent political action, but not an independent political party. An amendment, supported by the Socialist delegates, called for a referendum on the following questions: (1) Shall the political policy of the American Federation of Labor be continued? (2) Shall an independent political party be formed? After a long and spirited debate this amendment was defeated and the committee's resolution adopted by a large majority.

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### The National Congress on Uniform Divorce Laws.

The Congress on Uniform Divorce Laws, meeting in deferred session in Philadelphia on the 13th (p. 776) to consider a bill drafted by its committee appointed last March, ended its work on the 14th, after adopting with but few changes the bill proposed by the committee. The committee will remain in existence in order to use its efforts to induce the different States to adopt the bill, thereby obtaining as far as possible uniform divorce laws throughout the United States.

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Press dispatches contain condensations of some of the important sections of the bill, as follows:

No. 4. Covers the causes for divorce from bed and board. They are adultery, bigamy at the suit of injured party to first marriage, conviction and sentence of two years for crime, extreme cruelty on the part of husband or wife to such an extent as to endanger life of either or

render cohabitation unsafe, willful desertion for two years, habitual drunkenness for a like period, and hopeless insanity of the husband.

No. 5. Provides that no decree shall be granted if suit has been brought by collusion, or if plaintiff procured or connived at offense charged, condoned it or has been guilty of adultery not condoned.

No. 6. Relates to jurisdiction to be acquired by personal service in actions for annulment or divorce, and is aimed to minimize migratory divorces; also that hearings and trials must be public and had before a court and not before a master or referee.

It was also stated in the dispatches that the most radical action which the committee proposed was the incorporation of a provision requiring judges to turn over evidence in suits to prosecuting attorneys for action against the parties to the divorce for the crime or offense on which the decree was granted. This was defeated.

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#### Advance of the People's Rule Movement.

A remarkable summary of the advance of the movement to restore people's rule is published by the National Federation for People's Rule, of which George H. Shibley is president. It appears in the bulletin of the Federation issued from Washington on the 17th, which asserts:

In the recent election five States voted for some form of the initiative and referendum, or elected a majority in the legislature pledged to such a system; while nationally 104 members of the next House are pledged. The States are Massachusetts, Maine, Delaware, Montana and Oklahoma. Possibly Michigan may be added. Previous to this, six other States had adopted the direct-vote system or the voters had declared for it. These States are Oregon, South Dakota, Illinois, Ohio, Utah and Texas. Nevada has the referendum. The advisory referendum vote in Delaware instructing the legislature to establish the advisory initiative and advisory referendum was carried 8 to 1. In Massachusetts the House and Senate are pledged to establish the advisory initiative and advisory referendum. Twenty-five of the forty State senators are pledged to it, with a practically unanimous vote in sight in the House. In the two preceding legislatures the House passed a measure which was defeated in the Senate. In Oklahoma it is said that much more than a majority of the delegates elected to the constitutional convention, which assembles November 20th, are pledged to incorporate in the proposed system of government, the initiative, referendum and recall. Details of the vote in Montana on a constitutional amendment for the initiative and referendum have not been received at the Washington, D. C., headquarters of the referendum movement. Up in Maine both the leading parties have pledged to submit a constitutional amendment for the initiative and referendum. In nearly every instance where the direct-vote system for public questions has been declared for, the moving cause has been the organizations that do not nominate for office—Referendum Leagues, Labor Unions and Granges. The method employed has been the questioning of candidates. This has raised the issue and most of the leading candidates have pledged or were defeated. In cities, too, this non-partisan system and the pledging of the aldermanic candidates for the advisory initiative and advisory referendum have restored the people's power in local affairs. Belleville, Ill., was thus emancipated from machine rule this year. Buffalo, N. Y., has possessed the system for two years, and Detroit, Mich., for four years. Winnetka, Ill., where the system originated, has used the advisory referendum for ten years. The only difference between the initiative and referendum and the advisory system of that

name is that the vote under the initiative and referendum is legally binding, while under the advisory system the vote is morally binding. The moral obligation is completely effective, however, for the legislative candidates while up for office are pledged in writing to obey the will of their constituents when expressed by referendum vote. The establishment of the advisory system is much easier than the securing of a constitutional amendment, and it leads to constitutional changes. For these reasons Massachusetts and Delaware have made their start against machine rule by instructing for the advisory initiative and advisory referendum. Illinois has the advisory initiative, and nationally 104 members of the next House are pledged to the advisory initiative and advisory referendum. The national program, however, limits the system at the start to eight legislative topics, namely, inter-State commerce, civil service, immigration, trial by jury or any modification of the law of injunction, eight-hour day in government contract work, and the submission of constitutional amendments for the initiative and referendum, election of United States senators by the people, and election of fourth-class postmasters by the patrons of each office. This national movement has been brought to its present stage through the combined efforts of Referendum Leagues, the American Federation of Labor, and State Granges in sixteen States. It is expected that this Fall the National Grange will join the movement, also the National Farmers' Union. Organization of additional Referendum Leagues is planned. The argument that is advanced for the national system is that its establishment will banish machine rule and restore majority rule; in other words, will restore the government to the form in which it existed in the days of Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe. At that time the voters instructed at will at town meetings in rural New England, and elsewhere at mass meetings. Furthermore, the candidates for the State legislature and for the national House were pledged by districts and not by machine-rule State and national conventions.

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#### Referendum at Fort Wayne.

One of the local election results (p. 776) of general interest was the adoption by referendum at Fort Wayne, Indiana, of a proposition to establish a municipal electric lighting plant. The city administration, of which Mayor Wm. J. Hosey is the head, stood for the proposition and secured its submission to referendum at the general election. An especially interesting and significant phase of the matter is the fact that approximately every qualified voter voted on the question, the total referendum vote being nearly 100 more than the total Democratic and Republican vote in the city for secretary of state, the office at the head of the ticket. It amounted to 11,171; and of this aggregate 8,996 voted for municipalization and only 2,175 against it.

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#### The Standard Oil Trust.

Legal proceedings against the Standard Oil trust are accumulating. On the 14th at Findlay, Ohio, indictments under the State law were presented by the grand jury against John D. Rockefeller and others; and bench warrants for the arrest of the accused were issued. They have since given bail, some of them appearing in person. Mr. Rockefeller was allowed to appear by attorney.

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On the 15th equity suits were begun by the United States at St. Louis against the Standard Oil Company



and seventy dependent concerns. John D. Rockefeller and several of his associates are made parties to the suit. A decree is asked declaring these combinations unlawful, enjoining them from restraining trade and making a monopoly, and forbidding the payment by the subsidiary concerns of dividends to the parent company.

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#### Prosecutions of Officials in San Francisco.

Five indictments were found by the grand jury in San Francisco (p. 730) on the 15th against Mayor Schmitz and his legal adviser, Abe Ruef, for extortion. The indictments charge that on different occasions Ruef and Schmitz compelled the payment of sums ranging from \$1,000 to \$1,175 from each of several restaurant men who wanted protection for their resorts. The grand jury made its report before Judge Murasky, and bail was fixed on each indictment at \$10,000. Ruef was taken into custody and was released upon depositing \$50,000. Mayor Schmitz was on the Atlantic en route to New York where a warrant was sent to await his arrival. Indictments have been found also against other officials charged with participation in the alleged policy of extortion.

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#### The President at Panama.

President Roosevelt debarked at Colon, State of Panama, early on the 15th (p. 777), and visited that city, and the city of Panama on the Pacific side of the isthmus. He also thoroughly inspected the Isthmian canal, the objective point of his journey, and expressed satisfaction with the methods employed and the status of the work. During the President's visit at the isthmus the rainfall was exceptionally heavy, which enabled him the better to grasp the difficulties of the situation. He left on the evening of the 17th, again in the Louisiana, for Porto Rico, where he arrived on the morning of the 21st.

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#### Cuba Restless.

As was to be expected, Cuba is not altogether satisfied with her status under an American provisional government (p. 678). It is reported that on the one hand the Liberal leaders (who were in sympathy with the insurgents) are clamoring that the Moderates (ex-President Palma's party) be ousted from office, to be replaced by Liberals; and that on the other hand there is a demand for an American protectorate pure and simple, as a permanency, which is of course the antithesis of the platform of the Liberals—Cuba for Cubans only. It is said that 8,000 signatures have been obtained in Havana to the following demand for such a protectorate:

We desire that the Platt amendment shall be a more effective guarantee than heretofore it has been of the wealth, good government, and liberties of the Cuban people. We wish that the political disturbances that have hurt the credit of Cuba shall not be repeated, and with this object, although it is our wish that from the president down to the last employe, the government shall be Cuban and that the form of government of a democratic and independent people shall be preserved, we desire also that the United States exercise a general administrative supervision.

#### The Woman Suffrage Agitation in England.

Late in October and early in November cable dispatches from England reported the invasion of the House of Commons by a band of woman suffragists, nicknamed in the press "suffragettes," who insisted upon being heard by the legislators, a majority of whom had made pre-election pledges to the cause, but had ignored the subject since their election. The reports asserted undignified, violent and hysterical behavior on the part of the women, and left a painful impression, as well as a confused idea of what had happened. As mail advices come to hand, however, the painful impression is removed, or is deflected to other quarters. We now learn that some of the leaders in the movement for woman suffrage believed that the time had come for a positive and determined demand for the suffrage. On the 23rd of October, in the lobby of the House, when denied attention, they cried over and over: "Liberty!" and "Votes for Women!" Driven out of the House they continued their demonstration in the streets, and were finally arrested, charged with using language calculated to lead to a breach of the peace. As they refused to give assurances that they would keep the peace for six months, eleven of them were sent to prison for two months, at first receiving the treatment, including the dress, accorded to felons. In response to a question in the House, from Keir Hardie, on October 31, Mr. Herbert Gladstone announced that after that date the women would be treated as first class misdemeanants. Two of them have since been released on account of ill health. Among these women are university graduates, and members of boards of guardians, school boards, and so on; also Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, daughter of Richard Cobden, of whom an American friend says: "Why, she is one of the gentlest and sweetest women in the world, and has one of the most beautiful homes in England." The situation seems to have aroused an increasing indignation. Bernard Shaw and George Meredith are among the writers of protesting letters to the Times.

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#### France Struggles Again with Her Church and State Problem.

The taking of inventories of church property as belonging to the state, under the church and state separation law, was resumed on the 20th (vol. viii, pp. 748, 764). The work was discontinued last Spring after 65,000 inventories had been made, owing to resistance and disorders. In resuming the undertaking the government has intended to proceed with tact and discretion, and under broad interpretations of the law (p. 587), but the procedure seems to have met with as fierce resistance as before from both the Roman Catholic clergy and their congregations. Everywhere conflicts took place between the people and the troops, resulting in the wounding of participants on both sides. Sulphur fumes were used in two places to repulse the soldiery, and barbed wire with chairs as a barricade in another place. Doors were battered down, and firemen's ladders were resorted to, in others. In some cases the troops were repulsed and the inventories deferred.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—Good, large, perfect lemons are being raised near Bussey, Iowa, by Mrs. B. T. Little.

—Brussels made a great popular demonstration in favor of compulsory education on the 18th. This has never before been insisted upon in Belgium.

—The Trans-Mississippi Commercial Congress met at Kansas City on the 20th. Secretary Root was the principal speaker at the banquet the night before.

—An election of members of the new Russian Douma (p. 777) from St. Petersburg was held on the 16th, and resulted in a majority for the "right," or conservatives.

—Earthquakes were reported from Kingston, Jamaica, on the 14th, from Santa Fe, New Mexico, on the 15th, and from Argentina, South America, on the 18th (p. 777).

—England is aroused over a soap trust, organized by the Levers, and including eleven other firms. Trusts are not unknown in Great Britain, but they are not so plentiful as with us.

—A bomb was exploded in the huge church of St. Peter's, Rome, on the 18th, during services. There were no fatalities though great excitement prevailed. The perpetrators of the crime were not discovered.

—Miss Nora Stanton Blatch, granddaughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, has been appointed a member of the New York city's staff of civil engineers in charge of the \$161,000,000 Catskill water supply system.

—Two thousand New York cloakmakers have threatened to go on strike in order to force their employers to introduce sewing machines driven by electric power in place of the old, wearing foot-power machines.

—The German emperor has refused the appeal of the Archbishop of Posen, that the Polish children be given their religious instruction in the public schools of German Poland, in their mother tongue, a demand for which the children have been on strike (p. 705).

—The Peruvian congress has authorized the imposition of an export duty of 50 per cent. on the difference between the intrinsic value of silver coins, and their legal value. As a result, according to the reports, the financial crisis caused by the increase in the price of silver in Peru appears to be passing.

—The Rev. Algernon S. Crapsey has been condemned to suspension from the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal church for heretical teachings, as a result of a decision of the ecclesiastical court of review to which he appealed his case (p. 252), after his first trial in the lower ecclesiastical court (pp. 106, 158).

—The American Sugar Refining Company, known as the "sugar trust," was found guilty in the rebating case on the 20th by a jury in the United States Circuit Court at New York. The charge was the accepting of \$26,000 rebates from the New York Central Railroad. The railroad was recently (p. 703)

found guilty of having granted these rebates and was fined \$108,000.

—The Gulf to the Lakes Deep Water Ways Association was formed in St. Louis on the 16th. The proposed deep water way is to extend from the Chicago drainage canal through the valleys of the Desplaines and Illinois rivers to the Mississippi river at Grafton, Ill., and thence down the Mississippi to St. Louis, and is to have a minimum depth of fourteen feet throughout.

—As a result of competition between rival lines passengers were being carried free of charge, on the 18th, on the river packets between Wheeling and Parkersburg, West Virginia, and yet both lines were reported as yielding a greater revenue than ever before. This was accounted for by the gain in the revenue derived from the charges for staterooms and meals by reason of the greater traffic.

—Milwaukee has granted the Milwaukee Northern Company, which is building an electric line from the north to the city, a franchise on the condition that it give a 3-cent fare from Lindwurm farm into the city. The Milwaukee Street Railway Company was a competitor for the franchise, but the Milwaukee Northern won by agreeing to the low fare proposition. It also guaranteed to have its road in operation within one year.

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### CHICAGO TRACTION.

Chicago Record Herald (ind. Rep.), November 18.—Is it not about time for a final and definite determination of the question whether any peaceful settlement is possible with those who now control the street railways of Chicago? Is it not time for the committee on local transportation to get down to business? Is it not time to stop this running back and forth between Chicago and New York, over the details of a settlement, all of which were squarely raised or necessarily implied in the Werner letter and the outline ordinance, both of which were publicly and definitely accepted by the authorized representatives of the companies nearly six months ago? If it is to be peace, let it be peace at once. If it is to be war, let it be war quickly. The patience of Chicago is being rapidly exhausted.

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### TAXATION IN MISSOURI.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (ind.), November 8.—Tax reform is to be an issue in Missouri in a very short time. Governor Folk is in favor of a tax system that will reach all the things that should be assessed and leave out the things that should not be assessed. He is in favor of home rule in taxation and he has appointed a Tax Commission that inclines to the same view. What the lines are upon which tax reform shall proceed here, having been successfully followed elsewhere, are indicated in the article by Mr. Lawson Purdy, the tax expert, which we print elsewhere. Tax-payers, individual and incorporate, should be interested in proposals that affect them so directly. They should study the logic of Mr. Purdy, for it is the logic, in the main, that will enforce the suggestions of the Tax Commission and stamp the message upon taxation that Governor Folk will submit to the Legislature with a view to securing an amendment to the constitution that will rationalize taxation in Missouri.

#### THE HAND OF THE TRUSTS IN THE LONDON BOROUGH ELECTIONS (p. 752).

The Pioneer (London, Eng.), November 9.—We see, behind our local opponents, the Woolwich Moderates, the force of the astute, powerful, and greedy capitalist trusts of London. It was not to capture the Borough Councils chiefly that all the corruptible London press has been used in a great campaign of falsehood, to vilify the Labor and Progressive parties of London. The trusts aim through the Borough Councils at the County Council. See what a prize the Electric Trust is contending for. Holding Newcastle in its grip, it extorts an ever-increasing profit already reaching £74,000 per annum. If Newcastle yields so much London surely can be made to yield £740,000 per annum, with the further prospect that in a few years no up-to-date business will be able to exist, except by good will of the trust. London must be saved. We in Woolwich must do our part.

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#### STANDING FOR THE RED AND BLACK BRETHREN.

The United Mine Workers' Journal (lab.), November 8.—The Journal is proud to say that in nearly every case that the coal miners stood by their guns and will have a voice in the next Congress and in several of the State legislatures. In the new State of Oklahoma the miners will have the framing of the organic law which will guide the ship of state in the future. In this happy state of affairs the Indians and Negroes stood manfully behind the coal miners.

The Journal would implore our members to stand resolutely for the rights and privileges of our red and black brethren. That it shall be imbedded in the constitution, so that no corrupt or venal courts can "construe" these people out of their rights and privileges in the manner that has obtained in South Carolina and Mississippi. Upon Peter Hanraty, for whom these red and black brethren have stood so firmly, has devolved the solemn duty to see that no trickster or corporation attorney can take any advantage of their guilelessness, candor and ingenuousness, and in all confidence The Journal reposes faith in him to see that justice is done to the red and black man.

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#### THE CHICAGO SCHOOL QUESTION.

Chicago Daily Socialist (Soc.), November 15.—It must have struck thousands of citizens as rather ridiculous that the press and the pulpit and a large portion of the population should be stirred up over the question of how the teachers should be examined and promoted. Perhaps few of those who wondered ever realized that this whole discussion was but smoke to conceal the real issue. It is safe to say that the Tribune and the Daily News and the Record Herald, and the other strenuous champions of the public schools are perfectly willing that the teachers should be permitted to be selected for promotion by pulling straws or saying "eeney, meeney, miney mo, you're it," if there was not something else troubling them. The deadly sin of the Teachers' Federation is not that it is opposed to an autocratic system of promotional examinations. But it committed an almost unpardonable offense when it unearthed several hundred thousand dollars' worth of back taxes and made some of our highly virtuous citizens "dig up" the money they had illegally and dishonestly withheld from these schools for which they are now professing so much love. Another terrible breach of law and order was committed when the Teachers' Federation exposed some of the methods by which previous school boards had leased school lands to some of these same newspapers. While these sins could never have been forgiven, they might have sometime been forgotten, if the Teachers' Federation had not affiliated with the organized labor movement of Chicago. Here the fatal step had been taken across the gulf of the class struggle. This was treason to the great god mammon. It was

leading aid and comfort to the enemy of exploitation and greed and capitalism.

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#### LAWSON PURDY AND NEW YORK TAXATION.

New York Evening World (Dem.), November 14.—For the first time a tax expert is at the head of the City Tax Department. Builders, lawyers, saloonkeepers, politicians, real estate agents and men of other occupations have succeeded one another in charge of the assessment of property values, which is the basis of the city's revenue. The new president of the Tax Board, Lawson Purdy, really knows something about the principles and the practice of taxation, its history and its results, its incidence and its fallacies. . . . What is meant by the incidence of taxation is that the final consumer pays the tax, and not the landlord or the storekeeper. The only tax that the landlord pays which he cannot shift to the tenant is the tax on ground rents. Every other tax is shifted and its burden falls on the ultimate consumer. Mr. Purdy has it in his power to alter the incidence of taxation so that the mass of the people shall pay less and the great landlords shall pay more, so that the small consumers shall be less heavily laden and the great corporations shall assume their rightful burden. Especially in real estate assessments should Mr. Purdy intelligently obey the law. The value of real estate is based on the income it would bring when improved to the best advantage. For agricultural purposes land in New York City is not worth as much an acre as a square foot of Broadway or Wall street now sells for. The high price is not based on its value unimproved or with old buildings, but when utilized to the most profit. Utilizing all of New York City to the best advantage would give every one a comfortable home, with ample space for all the office buildings, stores and improved factories that an intelligent system of taxation would permit profitably to be built. For the lots which Trinity Church owns on main west side thoroughfares to be assessed at half of an east side tenement-house lot makes east side rents higher and penalizes improvement. For the Fifth avenue palaces to be assessed at 60 per cent. of their value and a factory to be assessed at its full value, to that extent checks industry and diminishes employment. New York has never had the tax laws intelligently and fully enforced. Their fountain head has been muddled by assessors ignorant at best, subject to influence almost always and at times venal. Mr. Purdy has a great opportunity to do a vast amount of good by exercising to the utmost with intelligent honesty the powers conferred upon him by the tax law.

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#### BRYAN'S LEADERSHIP.

Springfield Republican (Ind.)—Mr. Bryan is therefore to find himself placed in the position of undisputed leadership of the Democratic party. If he is not himself the next Presidential candidate of his party he will name the one who will be. The defeat of Hearst, without the defeat of the general cause for which he stood, constitutes a vote of confidence in and a renewed commission of leadership to Bryan, and no small part of Hearst's defeat grew out of his poorly-concealed ambition to use an election to the governorship to push aside from the party generalship a far stronger and a better and safer man. The menace of Hearst meantime has made Bryan, by mere force of personal contrasts, appear fairly tolerable, if not even "safe and sane," to thousands of conservative Democrats who have before regarded him as almost a Catiline or a Jack Cade; and so it may be said that the elections have not only confirmed his renewed leadership of the Democratic party, but very considerably enlarged his following within the old bounds of that party

## RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

### THE DIGNITY OF LABOR.

For The Public.

The master of a trade may proudly sing:  
"I am a power on the earth, and earn  
The right to call myself a man. I turn  
The wheel of progress, and I feel a king  
Among the useless drones. The shame and sting  
Of charity I know not, for I learn  
To use my gifts. The highest plane I yearn  
To reach, to merit all that life may bring."

"Who earns not, steals his dinner," thus the old  
Proverb runs. We may labor with the heart,  
If not with hand and brain. In every part  
The world is full of agony untold,  
That cannot be assuaged by all the gold  
Of earth; and yet a kindness done may start  
The tears that soothe all pain—may pluck the dart  
From festered wound, which else might keep its hold.

All honor to the brown and skillful hand,  
The swell of muscle, and the nerve like steel,  
That conquers obstacles, that turns the wheel  
Of progress round. They cultivate the land,  
And build the mighty temples, vast and grand;  
They labor for the good and common weal  
Of all mankind, and bear the royal seal  
Of mighty Labor's independent hand!

HENRY COYLE.

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### THE FARMERS' INTEREST IN AN ELAS- TIC TAX SYSTEM.

Portions of an Address Delivered by Lawson Purdy of New  
York, Before the Commercial Club of St. Louis,  
October 20, 1906.

It is often assumed that the taxation of personal property under the general property tax is in the interest of the farmer. So far as intangible property is concerned the tax is theoretically indefensible, and the practical results show that the farmer has nothing to gain from such taxation. It is frequently stated that the farmer's property chiefly consists of land, and that improvements on land and movable property form a smaller proportion of his property than of the property situated in cities. This assertion is contrary to common observation of social growth, and to the facts disclosed by assessment rolls.

When a country is first settled land has no value. The property of the first settlers consists of such movable things as they bring with them. The net property to appear consists of improvements made upon the land, such as houses, barns, fences and the improvement of the land for cultivation. Such communities still exist, and the value of their land is a small part of their aggregate property. As the density of population increases the value of land relatively increases, until we reach the condition of the City of New York, where in the sections in which land is most valuable improvements are not worth more than half as much as the land. There is one residence section of New York, less than three square miles in area, in which the land value alone, exclusive of the buildings, exceeds in value the as-

essed value of all the real estate, buildings included, in the whole State of Kentucky. In two other sections in the business district, which does not include the financial center, the value of the land alone exceeds the entire real estate assessment of the State of Missouri. These two sections are less than six square miles in area. The assessed value of the land exclusive of improvements is \$919,000,000, and the real estate assessment is \$1,291,000,000.

The value of movable personal property bears some relation to the value of buildings, and it is obvious that as land grows more valuable the movable property on it is worth less in proportion. These deductions are all emphasized by the assessment rolls of States which have the general property tax. In Ohio, Illinois, Kentucky and Missouri, personal property is a larger share of the property taxed in the country than in the cities. The Missouri assessment rolls for 1903, the latest I could obtain, confirm this statement. There are only four large cities in the State, and the effect of the personal property taxation is shown by a comparison between the city counties and the remainder of the State, and between the city of St. Louis and one of the rural counties. In the four city counties personal property amounts to less than 20 per cent. of the total assessed value of real and personal property, while in the remainder of the State it amounts to 29 per cent. In St. Louis personal property amounts to 20 per cent., and in the rural county of Camden it amounts to 35 per cent. of the total. Camden County is an exceedingly good illustration of the way the taxation of personal property affects the farmers. The assessed value of the property in the county is \$2,003,040. Of this amount 35 per cent. is personal property, and two-thirds of this personal property by value consists of live stock; that is, over one-fifth of the entire taxable value of Camden County is live stock. Under a severe listing system it is absolutely impossible for farmers to avoid paying taxes on their live stock, and the result is that farmers, as a class, pay vastly more in taxes than they ought to pay. The effect of this upon the cities is indirect, but none the less extremely harmful. The farming industry is discouraged, and country boys are driven to the cities, where their competition reduces the wages of those who are city born.

Such being the facts, it should be easy to convince the rural population that they have everything to gain and nothing to lose by new methods of raising State revenue.

Six years ago the New York Tax Reform Association devised a plan for raising State revenue, which at the same time would obviate the necessity for levying a State tax on all property as assessed by local officials, or of imposing any more special taxes on selected subjects. By this plan so much revenue as the State should require in excess of the revenue produced by the special taxes then in force would be apportioned to the several counties of the State in proportion to the revenue raised by each county and by all the taxing districts within it. Then the counties were to be left free to raise that amount of State revenue under the general laws of the State by taxing only such subjects as they should select. After a consideration of the matter for six months, the Committee on Taxation of the New York Chamber of Commerce unanimously reported in favor of

this plan, and the report was unanimously approved by the Chamber. In their report the committee pointed out that the tendency of the legislature to derive revenue from special taxes for State purposes, and to rely on this revenue exclusively, would take away from taxpayers that interest in State expenditure and State taxation, which is present when taxation is direct; that it would tend to promote extravagance; that it would throw the burden of State expenditures upon the urban political divisions; that it would deprive the political divisions of the State of subjects of taxation. It was also shown at that time that the various business interests of the State would always be in danger of being singled out as subjects for special taxation for the increasing needs of the State.

The plan of apportionment indorsed by the Chamber of Commerce was not adopted, and all these prophecies have been fulfilled.

Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman of Columbia University, who is regarded as the leading authority on taxation in the United States, and who for many years has advocated the divorce of State from local taxation and the raising of a large part of the revenue for State purposes by special taxes, wrote a review of recent tax legislation in New York for the Review of Reviews of July, 1905. After pointing out that a system of state revenue which depended exclusively on special taxes is inelastic and objectionable from other points of view, he said:

This is an unfortunate state of affairs, and will, if persisted in, lead to ultimate disaster. Every modern system of taxation must possess the element of elasticity. There is one scheme that has been suggested by the New York Tax Reform Association in New York and Ohio, and which has been put in partial operation in the State of Oregon, which would bring about this result. This is a method of apportioning the State tax and granting local option in determining the subjects of local taxation. It rests upon the idea that the necessary revenues may be derived by making each locality contribute to the State revenues in proportion to its own expenditures. The scheme possesses four advantages: First, it would provide elasticity, as did the old system; second, it would tend to keep down State expenditures, because each locality would be interested in the control of State finance—an interest which is now fast being lost; third, it would tend to keep down local expenditures; and fourth, it would enable each locality to raise its revenues in any way that seemed best to it, and would put a stop to the conflicts between country and city. If the rural districts desired to maintain the personal property tax, they could do so; if the large cities desired to substitute something else, they would be equally free to follow their bent.

The Local Option or Home Rule bill proposed by the New York Tax Reform Association was carefully drafted to avoid conflicting laws. It provided simply that the appropriate authorities of any county might exempt from taxation any class of property. It did not permit the separate counties to make any new law for the taxation of any property; all they could do was to remove a class of property from the taxing power.

Any one familiar with the actual practice of assessors in any State, could readily foresee what would happen if such power of exemption were granted to local homogeneous communities, for in every State to-day such local option is to a large extent exercised in fact, without the sanction of

law. Instances of this will probably occur to everyone. I knew of a case in the State of New York where the assessors by a formal vote resolved not to assess any personal property at all. In some rural counties live stock is never assessed. I was told the other day that in Chicago there is practically no attempt to assess the shares of stock of foreign corporations in the hands of individual holders. The outrage of such an assessment is recognized and the law deliberately nullified. Doubtless such practice is common in the State of Missouri. With legal local option there would soon be legal exemption of classes of property which to-day are seldom assessed, and gradually all intangible property would be exempted, and such other exemptions of movable property would be made as experience should demonstrate would be for the welfare of the community.

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## A NEGRO WHO IS THINKING.

For The Public.

The following conversation took place on Friday of last week between myself and a Negro bootblack who has a little stand on the South Side. He is a middle aged man with a fine head and an intelligent face and the pronounced dialect of the Southern-raised Negro. The incident is interesting as indicating that our colored brethren are responding to the influences of the moral awakening to economic wrongs now so manifest in our land!

I had just looked over the morning paper and was folding it to put into my pocket when Rastus broke in with:

"Ah see dey is gettin' aftah dat Stan'ard Oil bunch mighty hahd."

"That's true, how do you like it?"

"Suits me all right, sah. Ah doan like no trust nohow."

"Why?"

"Cause dey done put de price of everythin' so high a man kaht ha'dly live on what he makes."

"Guess you've got a kick coming, my friend, for your race has always voted for the party that is owned and controlled by the trusts."

"Ah know we has, but Ah ain't wid 'em no moah."

"Well, they're trying to even up by putting a colored man on the bench."

"Doan you b'lieve it; dat man nebber will get on de bench. Dey put him on de ticket to get our votes; now dey'se gwine to count him out."

"Anyway, Uncle, you ought to be glad you're free."

"Yes; but Ah ain't free. Co'se Ah's free to stay heah so long as Ah pays mah rent. So is a Chinaman, or so would Ah be in China if Ah paid de rent dere. Ah's free to buy what Ah needs if Ah pays de trust prices. Ah done told a white labor man this mornin' dat he was no mo' free den mah grandfather, who was sold on de block."

"Uncle, I see you're doing some thinking. What do you think of President Roosevelt's action in discharging the colored troops for failing to inform on the wrongdoers in their companies?"

"Ah doan think no colored man has any business hirin' out to de gov'ment to shoot down de po' working men who may be strikin' fo' better pay, an dat's what dey'se in the ahmy fo'; but at de same time

Ah doubts if de President would discha'ge white sojers fo' de same reason."

Rastus seemed quite gloomy over the prospect of any improvement in the future. To see how he would take it I gave him a brief outline of the power of taxation of land values to break up trusts, raise wages, lower rents, cheapen commodities, etc. He listened very attentively and declared "it was perfectly cl'ar dat's de bes' and easiest way to make bettah times."

CARLOS LUJAN.

\* \* \*

## WHAT THE PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE PARTY STANDS FOR.

### A Letter from a New Adherent to the Party.

Mr. Erving Winslow, Secretary Anti-Imperialist League, Boston, Mass.

Dear Sir:—I received your esteemed letter of the 20th of July last, by the receipt of which I feel greatly honored, inclosing the manifesto of the Independence Party constituted in Manila, and to which you call my attention. I thank you very much indeed for the interest you take in our political situation, an interest which cannot but awaken in the bosom of the Philippine nation a feeling of gratitude and veneration.

I will state that in spite of my letter sent you on the 23rd of March last, I now belong to the Independence group, and consider it an honor to do so, and that every good Filipino should so consider it.

I say this, because without doubt you will be surprised that after having avowed evolutionary ideals (those of the Federal party, which look to improved economic conditions before Independence) in mine of the 23rd of March, I should now, on the 7th of September, nineteen hundred and six, belong to the Independence Party. This may appear to betray a lack of consistency on my part, which might cause you to form a rather unfavorable opinion of me, and I therefore consider it necessary to explain to you the motive which has induced me to change my political creed.

Formerly I believed, and I still believe that the Philippine Nation is essentially capable of being an independent nation and that with more reason than many other people that have long enjoyed such a precious liberty, because our nation united innate qualities of docility and love for good order as can be seen from the history of the two revolutions it has passed through, during which not one-hundredth part of the disorders and crimes have occurred which usually mark revolutions among nations called civilized.

If love for good order and morality are qualities which especially characterize nations predestined to be great in history, then, my dear sir, the Philippines are surely called to become in time a great nation.

To prove my assertion you only have to remember how few police officers are necessary to maintain good order here in towns of as many as ten to fifteen thousand inhabitants. There are towns in this province which have not more than four police officers whose only weapon is their baton, and yet good order in these places is not disturbed.

But even with these favorable conditions I had been

of the opinion that the moment had not actually come yet for assuming that heavy burden which must accompany the attainment of the supreme and constant aspiration of all nations.

Our great necessities on one hand, our limited resources on the other, and the critical situation which the Philippine Archipelago is passing through in general, had convinced me that in order to be able to maintain our independence we lacked the economic basis that is the cornerstone on which the prosperity and happiness of a nation repose.

Entertaining this idea I had found no other solution than a wise, although short evolution, so as to allow the people time to recover from its prostration and to avail itself of the school of experience, just as the fruit forms and ripens while still hanging from the tree.

But unexpected circumstances which I need not enlarge upon here, have convinced me that the death of our cherished and universal aspirations would result from this evolutionary process.

Above all, my dear sir, I have convinced myself that the protective system which prevails in the United States is incompatible with the economic progress of our country.

I have convinced myself that beneath another flag, which is not that of our nation, our agriculture, our commerce and our business cannot flourish because no country, however noble and unselfish it may be, will ever consent that its protegee ever should become an economic nightmare in its path.

This would be an unpardonable don-quistism, and in this century of prose and money Don Quixote is an anachronism. I also have convinced myself that the idiosyncrasy and the character of a nation requires much time and much work if it is to be reformed, and in the meanwhile there must be a condition of paralysis and anxiety such as would be impossible for our people for any length of time.

To aspire to independence by means of evolution is to try to form a nation after the pattern of another, and this is a long and difficult process, if not an utterly impossible one. I have also convinced myself that those who speak of the incapacity of the Philippine Nation confound that which is essential with that which is purely accidental. While some among us advocate evolution as a means for instructing and educating the people, in fact the only thing that we need is that protection from without which guarantees our nationality, so as to avoid the danger of international ambition, because as regards social and moral education, we have as much of it as many European nations. The proof is found in the criminal statistics of the country.

We have money enough to maintain a better and less expensive government than that very costly one which is trying to make the people what the government wants it to be, and not to make itself what the people want and expect, dictating laws one day which the next day are cancelled and changed in a thousand places and in a thousand ways, so that justice is converted into a mere babel.

Believe me, dear sir, that even our ephemeral government at Malolos showed no such incapacity. This is due to the fact that he who governs the house does not belong to the house, and everybody knows the old Spanish proverb: "The fool is wiser in his own house than the wise man in his neighbor's."

Secondly. The study of the complex machinery of the government has impressed upon me the fact that it is without precedent in any part of the world, since it is not colonial nor autonomous, not colonial because it has some features of autonomy, and not autonomous because it has so much of the colonial about it.

I have learned to recognize the discriminations so undeserved by the Philippine nation; the play of the pawns and the shuffling of persons on the pretext of economizing, where the Filipino is always the loser; the painful spectacle of the reversal of the instructions of the lamented McKinley that a government of Filipinos assisted by Americans was to be established; the indigestible medley of laws which only seem to have been made with the deliberate purpose of denying the requirements of the country and which far from raising the people from its prostration, are depressing it more and more; painful evidence of a misery which increases from day to day everywhere, and which will stifle the voice and extinguish the liberty of the people.

All this, my dear sir, has convinced me that without independence we never can become prosperous and happy; has convinced me that if we are to wait until the fruit ripens on the tree and is then taken off, sweet and fragrant, as I sanguinely predicted in my letter of the 23rd of March last, we are in danger of only finding the wretched remains the ravens may have left.

To-day the fruit is palatable, provided we only profit thereby; to-morrow it may be too late and we shall not have tears enough to decry our misfortune, and woe to our sons' children and the children of our children! Clearly we can see that every day that passes renders the foreigners more and more masters of our trade and industry. Agriculture, far from advancing, goes back; instead of being converted into a government of the people, our government becomes more autocratic; every liberal concession is hemmed in by a thousand restrictions in its administration; favoritism runs rampant. Under an arbitrary power public opinion has lost all influence, as if we were not a nation, but rather a flock of sheep. Such things preclude the possibility of national happiness and progress. In this manner it is impossible to continue unless we are to lose all pride as citizens. Those who are in power neither see nor care to see; but the people which must always endure, hears and feels! Such are, in short, my dear sir, the causes that have induced me to radically change my creed.

It is a human privilege to err, and it is a proof of wisdom to abandon errors, and I therefore have affiliated myself with faith and conviction with our new political party which has just appeared in the arena with so much enthusiasm, welcomed by the body to which you belong; and these are the causes that now make me look upon evolution with horror.

Now that I have explained the motives which caused me to change my convictions, it only remains to add that the immense majority of the Philippine people belong to the Independence Party. The Government Party—that is the evolutionists—counts but few among its adherents, and those are mostly people that live off the budget or expect to live off it. Perhaps there are some members of this party that still believe sincerely in the ideals that they maintain, but most of them are acting either under

political duress or for selfish reasons, not inspired by any patriotic motive, but only by hopes of personal advantage from the present government. In the next presidential elections in the United States may the cause of justice and liberty triumph!

Having confidence in the American nation that adheres with unselfish love to its wise constitution and its provisions, bequeathed to them by their forefathers, we hope to secure in a short time our independence by means of an international neutralization, while bonds of love and gratitude may unite us to the noble nation of the United States.

Please accept for yourself and your associates the expression of the highest esteem and the blessing of a people which will never cease to admire your sentiments of humanity and justice.

Most respectfully yours,

[Signed] JOAQUIN V. y FORTICH.

Bacalod, Negros Occidental, P. I., Sept. 7, 1906.

\* \* \*

## THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CHURCH FOR THE SPIRIT OF GRAFT.

Portions of an Address Delivered by the Rev. John Whitehead Before the Ohio New-Church Association at Indianapolis, September, 1906.

The suggestion that any responsibility for the existence of graft rests on the church may seem absurd, and even repugnant to our sensibilities. Yet in these days the church is not so surrounded with sanctity that it is free from rational investigation. We are accustomed to think of the church as the medium by which the life of heaven is implanted in the hearts of men. This idea and that of graft are so incongruous that it seems impossible for them to exist together in the same body. . . .

But the church as the bearer of a divine message is one thing, and as an organization of imperfect and fallible men it is another thing. The church as composed of men partakes of their fallible and imperfect nature. Their ends and purposes affect and direct its movements. Their ambitions and aspirations affect its actions, and their opinions even bias and pervert its teachings and doctrines. The dignitaries of the church have the same feelings and passions as other men. They have their ambitions, the love of power and authority, the intolerance of opposition, the desire for wealth, and the susceptibility to flattery which other men in humbler walks of life feel. These feelings natural to all men oftentimes lead even high officials of the church to commit wrong and do evil. The church has not been free from acts of cruel oppression and despotism, of extortion and wrong, of greed and graft. What has been in the past existed because human nature is the same in all men, in priest and minister, in general and statesman, in the business man and workman. None are immune from the tendency to evil, and the germs of graft may find congenial soil in the heart of the members of the church as well as in the rest of the community.

The holiness of the ministerial office, the subtle influences of ceremonies, the splendor of rituals, the pomp of high position and the influence of religious sentiments may be used by designing men as tools to accomplish base designs that are far removed

from the spirit of the Divine Master. The claim of regeneration, the appearance of sanctity in minister or priest, his solicitousness for the salvation of souls, and the fact that there have been many noble men throughout the history of the church, all tend to secure the confidence of men. This sometimes enables designing men to accomplish ends embodying the very spirit of graft. This hidden subtle spirit may be the more dangerous because covered over by a holy external cloak, like "a wolf in sheep's clothing." . . .

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The expressive term "graft" is used in the sense of parasitism. A parasite feeds on the substance of another, taking something from it, but giving nothing in return. In a true form of society, of industrial activity, of governmental usefulness, or any other form of productive energy, every person adds something to the value of the product. Such a person should receive compensation in return for value produced. In industrial lines every workman, foreman, and employer fits into the machinery of production, and the profit is divided among them according to some recognized custom or principle. Each contributes from his capital, intelligence, skill, or labor to the total result. When persons are injected into the system who contribute nothing to the increase in value, and yet receive a portion of the profits, they are grafters. They add nothing from their energy and skill, but take something from the net result. The reward to each useful member of the body is then less than it otherwise would be. It is evident that all the useful members of the industry suffer when useless members are admitted. Not only do they suffer by receiving a smaller proportion of the profits, but they suffer from the disturbance of order in the body. If an idle workman receives the same compensation as an industrious one discontent arises among the good workmen, because they see the injustice in the system. Discontent soon introduces disorder into the whole body. The disturbance produced by a mosquito is not proportional to the quantity of blood extracted; the annoyance and the poison are added irritants. So the measure of the industrial evil is not gauged by the quantity of money extracted by grafters from the earnings of others; there are added poisons in the form of discontent and the desire of following the evil example. Graft begets the desire to graft. The same principle applies to every form of human activity whether industrial, governmental, or intellectual. The usefulness of the product of human activity should be the measure of the reward received by the producer. An idle, useless member should receive nothing. An injurious member who produces evil, disorder and disturbance, should be lopped off. The body of the community is better off without him, even as the human body is better without parasites. There are plagues of lice spiritual, as well as that which infested the Egyptians.

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When anyone produces something useful to his fellow men, he has a just right to receive compensation therefor. This reward for value produced supports him in his usefulness, and provides for its continuance. If the church produces something of

real value in the development of human life and happiness, justice requires that it should receive compensation in return. In this respect the church does not differ from any other profession or industry. The minister, author, lawyer, statesman, merchant, and workman stand on the same platform of just compensation for useful service rendered to the community. It is not true either spiritually or naturally that salvation is free. Nothing is free in the sense that a benefit received does not require a reciprocal acknowledgment thereof. There are no beggars in heaven, nor are there bargain counters in the kingdom of God. The services of priests or ministers stand precisely on the same footing as other services. Their use must be supported by contributions from some source. Even the income from invested funds comes from the community at large. It is taken, like all other incomes, from the total product of the entire community. If any portion of this product is given for the support of useless members, it is a graft on the rest of the body which suffers as a consequence. There is total amount of profit in the year out of which the whole population is supported. This profit is the result of all the useful energy expended during that time, and is the reward due to that energy. What the useless members draw from that total profit is a graft on the rest, because they take something which they have not earned. Such graft is found in every form of human activity. The great problem is to discover and eliminate these grafters from the body of society, even as the useless parts are eliminated from the body by the purificatory organs.

We must not conclude that every man in the community should add in a direct way some gross material value to the useful products. There are many useful employments that give life, vitality, pleasure, and delight to human life, though they are not visibly material. Among these are intellectual pursuits, amusements, recreations, and among the highest those which cultivate the religious sentiments and feelings. These, like the invisible soul in the body, enter into and vitalize the energies displayed by many in the more material planes of life.

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Like every other human activity, the church should give to the community some useful element benefiting those whom it serves. What is the nature of this benefit? and how can we discriminate good from evil in this plane of human life? These may perhaps be seen clearly when viewed in the light of history. The uses of the church may be divided into two distinct classes:

First, that of worship, which leads into some relationship to God. Second, that of life, leading into some relationship to the neighbor. The two things implanted in human hearts by these uses of the church are love to God, and love of the neighbor.

These constitute the very heart of religion. They are the means by which we may test the usefulness of the religious activities and life. . . .

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But if the spirit of graft still lingers in the church, how can it cleanse the body of the community? If the spirit is corrupt, how can the body be purified? Christ said, "Cleanse first the inside of the cup and



platter that the outside may be clean also." The church, not only in its teaching, but in the lives of its members, must be an exemplar of purity; otherwise anything which it may say in regard to the prevailing corruption will be discredited. We must remember that the church claims for its converts the purification of regeneration; that in its members the spirit of the world has been supplanted by the spirit of heaven. If this doctrine be true, its members should be in the forefront of every movement for the purification of humanity. This is indeed frequently the case; but do we not often see the grafter in the pew, and the minister afraid to disturb him by any specific teaching against the evils that are eating out the heart of society? Are not many of the chief offenders respectable members of the church and prominent in its councils?

This condition exists not in any one denomination of Christians, but in all. Ministers are very often afraid to preach against the evils of which their own members are guilty. Under such conditions how can they help to purify the community at large? When any investigation exposes corruption in business or politics, do we not find many of the guilty parties to be members of the church? . . . The preaching against these prevailing evils is oftentimes choked in its utterance by the weakness of the minister, or by the opposition of the pew crying, "Preach unto us smooth things." Must not the church begin by first purifying itself through a strong preaching of the truth, condemning the corrupt influences prevailing in the world? If the church becomes purified, the world will soon feel its regenerating influence. . . .

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Do men at this day consider that their religion has any relation to their life in business, politics, or society? We often hear it said that men cannot succeed in business if they apply the principles of Christianity to it. Is not this equivalent to saying that many professing Christians use unprincipled methods in business? If this is the case what kind of regeneration and newness of life did they attain to when they were converted? Do not many Christians separate the idea of religion from the idea of business? Men prominent in the church organize stock companies and sell watered stock, knowing that no dividends will ever be paid on it. They seek or give rebates against the law. They violate the laws of the State and the nation as well as the laws of God; and if prosecuted they use every technicality to delay or circumvent justice. They are shocked if lesser criminals do not receive swift punishment; but if their own interests are threatened they seek swift punishment of their adversaries. These breeders of contempt for the law always expect its full powers to be used in securing to them the full enjoyment of their ill-gotten gains.

The common mode of viewing salvation seems to regard it more as a method of escaping the consequences of sin, than as salvation from sin itself. The murderer in the electric chair is assured of salvation, but his victim, sent suddenly into eternity, goes to perdition. Men go through the throes of conversion and confession, and have their sins forgiven; but politics and business are as corrupt as

before. Christianity has no relationship to this part of life, if we judge from the results in the practical life of the world. . . . It sometimes even appears as if the various bodies of the Christian church had lost sight of the great end and purpose of its existence, namely, the reformation of the life of its members. . . . But, "by their fruits shall ye know them."

\* \* \*

### ON THE LADDER.

See the men who are on the ladder:  
How grim they look and how hard they try;  
How they have to strain for each little gain,  
How eager they are to be getting high.

See the men who are on the ladder,  
Climbing away as the moments go,  
Each watching to get a chance to set  
His heel on the hand of the man below.

—S. E. Kiser, in Chicago Record-Herald.

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## BOOKS

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### THE LITERARY CAREER OF ERNEST CROSBY.



A literary career of growing interest and value is that of Ernest Crosby, whose new book, "Golden Rule Jones, Mayor of Toledo," has just come from the press (cloth, 50 cents, postpaid; paper, 25 cents, postpaid). This charming little story of a lovable man is an excellent example of Mr. Crosby's style, and will well serve as an introduction to this author for those who do not yet know him. Such persons will find after reading one of his books, that they will be wishing to read all the others.

Mr. Crosby's books have sprung quite naturally and spontaneously from the incidents of his varied and useful life. He was born in New York, November 4th, 1856, the son of the Rev. Dr. Howard Cros-

by, the much beloved pastor of the Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church of that city. He received his academic training at Mohegan Lake School, graduated in academics from the University of New York with first honors in 1876, and in law from the Columbia College Law School at New York in 1878. After practicing law in the city of New York in a conventional way for nearly ten years, Mr. Crosby, who had taken a very active interest in rescuing city and state politics from the control of corrupt professional politicians, was elected to a seat in the lower house of the New York legislature. Here he held the responsible post of chairman of the committee on cities. He served with ability and was twice re-elected. The activities and possibilities of this legislative career, however, did not permanently attract him. In 1889 he was nominated by President Harrison for the position of judge of the international court in Egypt, and upon his appointment to this post by the Khedive of Egypt, he accepted.

For nearly five years Judge Crosby sat upon the bench of the international court at Alexandria. This court was one of four mixed tribunals for the adjudication of the rights of foreigners in Egypt, and its jurisdiction extended over civil disputes between foreigners and also between natives and foreigners. The proceedings in these courts are conducted in French and Italian, and Judge Crosby, a fine linguist, used both of these languages interchangeably in performing his judicial duties. He found his life and duties at Alexandria of great interest and educational value. His appointment was for life, and he might still be serving upon this Egyptian bench, instead of helping to lead modern thought toward higher ideals of civilization, but for one event, of little apparent moment at the time, but large in its results. He accidentally fell upon a copy of one of Tolstoy's books and casually read it.

This book changed the whole course of Mr. Crosby's life. It made him a democrat, where he had been an aristocrat. It moved him to reflect, instead of letting others reflect for him. It made him a vegetarian. It led him to hold the essential culture of good character and good will as far more worthy than the superficial refinement of merely intellectual culture. It made him revolt at military ideals. His former respect for "the big stick" gave way to a constantly growing respect for peaceful human brotherhood and association. He resigned his office in 1894 and returned to the United States, but on his way home turned aside for a visit to Tolstoy at his country home in Russia. His acquaintance with Tolstoy, made at this time, has continued and has ripened into a very close friendship. Tolstoy urged him, at this first visit, to lose no time upon his return to the United States in making the acquaintance of Henry George, whom Tolstoy declared to be one of the greatest of Americans. Mr. Crosby promptly acted upon this suggestion, having already been impressed by the practical character of George's remedies for social disorders, and he has ever since been an advocate of the Single Tax.

Early in the nineties Mr. Crosby became a founder and was elected first president of the New York Social Reform Club. His life since that time has been principally devoted to social reform work in various directions, in part by speaking and lecturing, in

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riting and in part by organization efforts. a lawyer by profession, he has retired from ctice. He has delivered a great many lec- great variety of subjects throughout the ates and Canada, dealing especially with elating to social reform. He was presi- e New York Anti-Imperialist League from 05.

by's first book was "Plain Talk in Psalm le," published in London in 1898, and in l States in 1899 (cloth, \$1.50; by mail, r, 40 cents; by mail, 44 cents). This con- ly of rhymeless verse in the form made Walt Whitman, arraigning the injustices and prophesying an era of peace and fel- The force and candor of the book attract- ideal of attention, not only in America and out in other countries. Count Tolstoy , "I like the book very much. Some of -the choice is difficult because all are very ll have translated into Russian and pubd- he used an extract from the book as a a chapter in his recent manifesto against ink Yourselves" (paper, 10 cents, post- rnsion, the distinguished Norwegian nov- of it, "Your book is always on my table. e admirer of it." While "Plain Talk" is of Whitman, Mr. Crosby did not con- itate that poet. His model was, in fact, whose "Paroles d'un Croyant,"\* put it ead to write his first parable, "The ich lay in his desk for months unused ppropriate current event led him to send Conservator, in which it was published. ver have been succeeded by a second t had not been widely reprinted in the ouraged by this, he wrote "The Old, Old ich met with a similar reception, and st of the books rapidly followed.

ctions of the same character succeeded , namely, "Swords and Plowshares," ed in 1902 (cloth, \$1.20; by mail, \$1.29), ast," published in 1905 (cloth, 75 cents; cents). Both of these books were simultaneously in Great Britain and the es. The former is devoted in large part und forcible denunciation of war and the and to idyllic pictures of farm life. In oks ordinary rhyme and rhythm are to long the other verse, but whenever the ight is at its deepest he finds the un- or of Lamennais and Whitman most least two German translators have pub- lions from these books. Herr Slegmund erlin has been particularly happy in his ations, which read about as well as the l have appeared in many of the best als in Germany, including "Jugend" of elt am Montag" of Berlin, etc. Fugitive also been translated for French and Fin- als. Herr Pinner is preparing a Ger-

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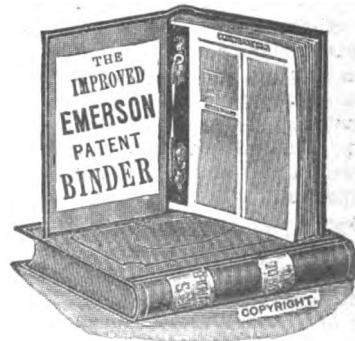
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man collection of these pieces for publication at Berlin.

"Broad-Cast" is made up of new chants and songs of labor, life and freedom. It contains the same message as the former book, delivered with equal power. In the year of its publication, 1905, Mr. Crosby was made chairman of the executive committee of the New York organization of the Friends of Russian Freedom.

"Swords and Ploughshares" was called forth by the Cuban, Philippine and Boer wars, and the same conflicts are responsible for the appearance of "Captain Jinks, Hero" (cloth, illustrated, \$1.50 postpaid), a keen satire upon the recent wars in which America has engaged, including the Chinese campaign. This book is the best known of Mr. Crosby's works and has met with both wide approval and severe condemnation. The South African News of Cape Town assures us in a long review that "there is not a dull page in the book"; and the New York Mail and Express declares that "the author has added to our literature a notable work of satire, which, whether right or wrong, must appeal to all endowed with the national sense of humor"; while the New York Evening Post asserts that he "has only succeeded in making himself ridiculous." Application has been made by a Viennese daily, having perhaps the largest circulation in Austria, to print a translation of "Captain Jinks" as a feuilleton; and one chapter of it has been translated for the French review, "Humanité Nouvelle." This absorbing book has had the effect of turning the thoughts of more than one boy away from the glamor and glory of war.

Mr. Crosby's other books are chiefly the result of his activity as a lecturer. As an admirer and personal friend of Count Tolstoy he has been naturally invited from time to time to address audiences on the subject of the Russian reformer, and from this two little volumes have developed, "Tolstoy and His Message" (cloth, 50 cents; by mail, 54 cents), and "Tolstoy as a Schoolmaster" (cloth, 50 cents; by mail, 53 cents), of which nearly five thousand copies each have been circulated. They are not lectures, either in form or spirit, but embody the results of the studies made for the lectures. The former is a concise and sympathetic account of the life, character and philosophy of Tolstoy. The latter is an essay on education and punishment, giving an account of Tolstoy's early experiments at school-teaching, based upon the principle of allowing the children to do pretty much as they pleased. This seems like rather anarchistic doctrine, but the book has been translated into Russian and published at Moscow, and a certificate on the reverse of the title page shows that the book has passed the ordeal of the Russian censorship. An Italian translation is also ready for the press and a part of the book has appeared in French and Spanish.

Likewise, Mr. Crosby's very original book on William Lloyd Garrison, "Garrison the Non-Resistant," (cloth, 50 cents; by mail, 55 cents), and his short, intimate and charming sketch, "Golden Rule Jones, Mayor of Toledo," which has just appeared (cloth, 50 cents, postpaid; paper, 25 cents, postpaid), are the permanent records, reshaped and rewritten, of what in embryo were originally lectures and addresses.

## BARGAINS IN BOOKS FOR THE HOLIDAYS

We publish in this issue a remarkably interesting series of special holiday offers in books. The offers are excellent bargains, made to encourage the giving of books as presents, and are good only until January 1, 1907.

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ILLUSTRATED BY DAN. BEARD

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"DEAR SIR: My twelve-year-old son, much interested in military matters, was following the newspaper accounts of the subjection of the Filipinos with avidity and enthusiasm, played soldier with his companions, uniformed and with fife and drum, or spent his spare time reading popular war and Indian story books designed for boys, until 'Captain Jinks, Hero,' came in his way.

"He reread the book a second time, and, after asking me a few questions seemingly suggested to his mind by Captain Jink's adventures, he recommended the book to some of his martial young friends and lost further interest in his military amusements. The boys dropped out one by one until finally there was none left to represent war in our neighborhood.

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the Non-Resistant" was issued in connection of the centenary of the birth of William Garrison, in December, 1905. This book is a clear and well written sketch of the career of the greatest of the Abolitionists, but its real contribution is to point the moral of his life and to emphasize the non-resistant philosophy which underlay his struggles and self-sacrificing labors. The sketch of the Golden Rule Jones" is a remarkably fascinating study of a strange but very lovable character, who only appeared in American business and life, somewhat in the manner of the messiah in the well known play, and left a powerful and uplifting influence as the monument of his short career, the very rare career of actually applying the Golden Rule. This sketch was originally in "The Craftsman," and was later revised, with the consent of the editor of the magazine, by The Public Publishing Company, Chicago. This company is the original publisher of the two last mentioned titles, and has now gathered for sale all of Mr. Crosby's books. It should be added that the book on Edward Cardward Carpenter, Poet and Prophet," paper, (postpaid) did not grow out of lectures. It was written with the sole object of making better known in America a writer whom Mr. Crosby considered one of the greatest of living English-speaking authors of our times.

The following are the works of Ernest Crosby. As he is actively engaged in lecturing and writing, it is probable that the list will gradually increase.

J. G. P.

\* \* \*

### OLD MONOPOLY PATENTS.

Old Patents of Monopoly. By William Hyde Witherell, D., Instructor in Political Economy of Harvard University. Published by Houghton, Mifflin and Company, Boston and New York. Price \$1.50 net. You could realize that there is indeed nothing new under the sun, we should read this book and be convinced that the era of trusts in which we live is but a subtle reproduction of the monopoly in England, which preceded the present. The only marked difference is the amount of the profit we get in that era than in our own, of the element of governmental privilege.

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such that this sounds like an explanation of our own time. We find today that all business combination, concentration, monopoly, or what not, controls the production of commodities. It was the same in Elizabethan times. But then the concentration was made

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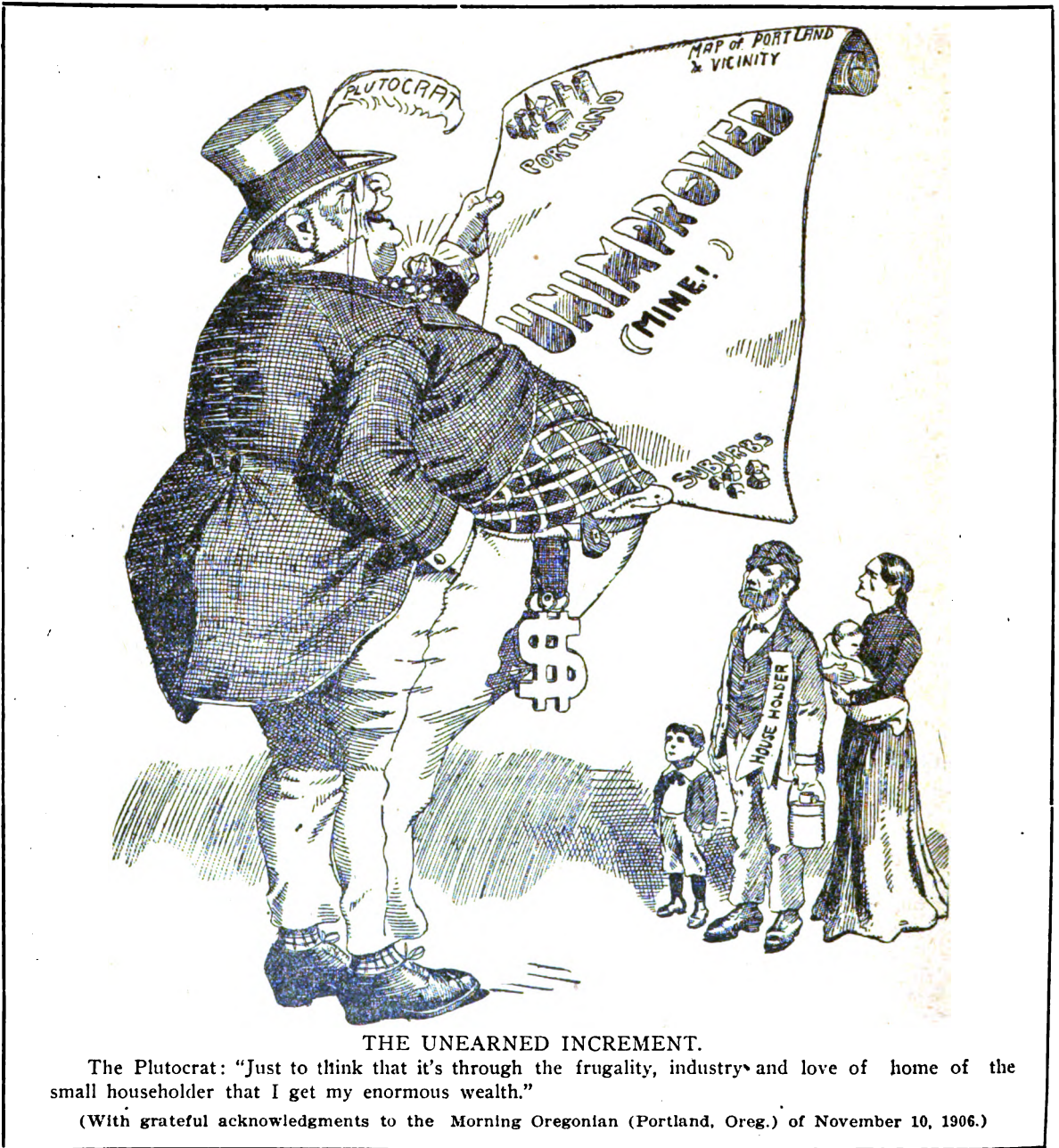
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possible by direct patents creating exclusive rights to manufacture specified commodities, whereas now the concentration is made possible by grants or franchises controlling the sources of the raw material (as coal mines, iron mines, etc.), and the channels of distribution, such as railway lines and terminals.

Dr. Price has done a good work of great modern value in writing this book. Even the appendices are interesting. They consist of reproductions of monopoly grants, and illustrate with much force the old, old practice of getting something for nothing by government favor.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Physical Basis of Mind and Morals. By M. H. Fitch. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, 1906.

—What's So and What Isn't. By John M. Work. Third Edition. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, 1906.

—Social and Philosophical Studies. By Paul Lafargue. Translated by Chas. H. Kerr. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, 1906.

—Philosophical Essays. By Joseph Dietzgen. Trans-

lated by M. Beer and Th. Rothstein. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. 1906.

—*Morality and the Perfect Life.* A Republication of a lecture by the late Henry James. Published by the New-Church Educational Association, Elkhart, Ind. 1906. Price, cloth, 50 cents; paper, 25 cents.

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## PAMPHLETS

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### The Coming Forward of the Farmer.

One of the most hopeful pamphlets we have recently seen is the official address of C. B. Kegley as Master of the Washington State Grange, delivered at Spokane in June. This address is especially encouraging in its observations on taxation, the study of the fundamental principles of which it urges upon the members of the Grange. Here is a particularly significant remark: "If the tax on alcohol has fostered the oil monopoly, may we not find on investigation that other monopolies are fostered by other taxes?" It is interesting to note that this influential State Grange has endorsed municipal control of public utilities and direct legislation. This action ought to give the friends of these measures in the State of Washington an excellent opportunity to organize for the accomplishment of immediate results.

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## PERIODICALS

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The London Speaker has been conducting an essay competition, with cash prizes, on "How should a Liberal Government deal with the House of Lords?"  
A. T. P.

+

The December number of the American Magazine opens with the first installment of "The Tariff in Our Times," by Ida M. Tarbell. It is well illustrated with contemporaneous portraits. No other of the well known members of the staff contributes except "Mr. Dooley," but Clara Morris gives an account of her first after-dinner speech, and a Southern woman writes really "out of the heart," but unmistakably from the head too, on the race antagonism at the South.

+

The North American Review in its issue of November 16, lives up to its promise of good things every two weeks. Mark Twain opens the number with more extracts from his autobiography, still using his little daughter Susy's biography of her father as a text for his buoyant comments. "The New Spirit in India," and "Political Corruption in England," are two of the more serious papers of this issue. In the increasingly interesting Editor's Diary, Mr. Harvey continues his advocacy of Woman Suffrage and announces that the Review will soon begin an Esperanto section, devoted to the learning of the language, and later, the publication of articles in that language from time to time. This course was determined upon after a thorough investigation had disclosed a most amazing and widespread interest in the new universal language.

A. L.

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—*The Public.*

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