

The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

ALICE THACHER POST, Managing Editor

Vol. IX.

Number 444.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1906.

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:

A Personal Editorial	625
The Cuban Situation	626
The New York Democratic Platform	626
The Process of Disinheritance.....	626
The Decline and Fall of the Lawyer.....	627
The Hearst Campaign in New York.....	627

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

The Interests in Mexico (Butterfield).....	630
--	-----

NEWS NARRATIVE:

The Nomination of William Randolph Hearst.....	631
The Nomination of "Anti-Pass" Baker.....	632
League of American Municipalities.....	632
Traction Progress in Cleveland	632
The Southern Hurricane	632
Cuba Under a Provisional Government.....	633
All Quiet in Mexico	634
Russia Quleter	634
News Notes	635
Press Opinions	636

RELATED THINGS:

The Little Christian (verse)	637
Uncle Sam's Letters to John Bull	637
The Riot at Fairview, and What Caused It (Biggles).....	637
The Influence of Taxation on the Prosperity of Cities (Purdy)	639

BOOKS:

Heredity	645
Books Received	646
Pamphlets	646
Periodicals	647

CARTOON:

The Boy Who "Does Things" (Bengough).....	646
---	-----

EDITORIAL

A Personal Editorial.

An editorial attack by the Chicago Tribune of last Sunday, directly upon Mayor Johnson of Cleveland and indirectly upon the editor of The Public, necessitates a personal statement, something in which The Public seldom indulges. The editor of The Public was appointed last Summer by Mayor Dunne as a member of the Chicago school board. The duties of this position are very exacting, demanding a great deal of time and much energy, and the office carries with it no compensation whatever. Inasmuch as editorial duties on The Public are also very exacting, the editor of The Public would of necessity have declined Mayor Dunne's offer of the school board

appointment, had not Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland, an intimate personal friend of the editor of The Public for nearly twenty years, and a director of The Public Publishing Company, consented to reimburse the company for such extra editorial assistance and accommodations as might be necessary to relieve the editor of some of the exacting detail work. As neither this company nor Mr. Johnson has any pecuniary or other selfish interest in the school affairs of Chicago, the proposed arrangement was made, and the editor of The Public is now devoting a large proportion of his time and energy to the school interests of Chicago. It is upon these facts that the Chicago Tribune of Sunday bases its attack, professing to assume that Mayor Johnson is "paying for the privilege of having" on the Chicago school board "a personal representative."

+

Anyone who knows of the financial relations of the Chicago Tribune with Chicago school boards of the not very remote past, needs no intimation of the animus of the Tribune in this matter. That is a subject, however, which may not be discussed to any advantage here and now. It is enough to say that Tom L. Johnson has not, and has never had, a representative on the Chicago school board. If The Chicago Tribune could say as much of its own relations with Chicago school boards, and stand cross-examination, one might safely conclude that its painfully laborious attack upon Mayor Johnson would never have been made. Let us hope that the Tribune may yet have an opportunity, not merely in maliciously twisted editorials but in legal proceedings, to make its interests in this particular quite clear.

+

Of the relation of the editor of The Public to the school board, let us say as from him that his object in assuming the laborious duties and accepting the heavy responsibilities of this unremunerative but highly useful public office, is three fold: first, to perform all the duties of the office without fear of any one or favor to any one; second, to try to change a despotic "business man's" educational policy to one that is democratic—to change a policy that makes automatic marionettes of teachers to one that recognizes their human dignity and value as the real educational guardians of the school children; third, to try to find

out the cause of the financial starvation to which the Chicago public schools have been subjected for years, and if possible to apply the right remedy. It may be added for him that he intends to pursue this policy in every particular, no matter what boodling interests, whether "respectable" or not, may be hurt or incensed thereby.

* * *

The Cuban Situation.

Although we believe that the lardrones in Republican politics originally intended to annex Cuba for the revenue there is in it, and that the recent invasion of the Cuban republic with American troops was probably designed to effect that purpose ultimately and is likely to succeed, we nevertheless hope that public opinion, while watchful of events as they develop, will suspend judgment on the action of the Roosevelt administration in this respect until evidence of that nefarious purpose on its part becomes clearer than at present. There is apparently a divided opinion in the President's official household. Mr. Root has declared for maintaining Cuban independence, and Mr. Taft's Cuban proclamation at least expresses opposition to the lardrone policy for which Senator Beveridge and a horde of Republican newspapers are clamoring. Should this prove to be the genuine attitude of the administration, those members of Mr. Roosevelt's cabinet who stand for it should be encouraged. For the influences in their party against maintaining Cuban independence are powerful, and the financial interests to be subserved by the lardrone policy have infinite and subtle ramifications.

* * *

The New York Democratic Platform.

In some respects a better expression of fundamental democracy could not be found than that of the Democratic platform on which William Randolph Hearst has been nominated for governor of New York. What, for example, could be better than this quotation from its first plank: "The whole democratic principle is embraced in the injunction laid on the first man, that in the sweat of their brows he and all his posterity must eat their bread"? Or this: "We affirm it to be as much the supreme duty of government to prevent any man from taking by violence, fraudulent device, or legislative favor one dollar, or its equivalent, produced by the labor of another man, as it is to protect every man in the enjoyment of all the property, however extensive, produced by his own labor"? And of a piece with these quotations

from the first plank is this from the seventh: "The very essence of despotism is to vest in the state absolute control of all industry and therefore ownership of all its products, while the essence of democracy is to confirm in every man the right to dispose of his own labor and possess in peace everything produced by it." Different expressions of the same sound principle, these declarations would be most inspiring if there were a reasonable assurance that they are not uttered as mere platitudes to catch the well-meaning but unwary voter.

*

It is rather disturbing to one's confidence, however, to find in the same platform the following awkward, false, and absurd application of the general principles noted above: "Every proposal that a municipality assume operation of all public utilities and reduce rates to persons using them, regardless of what the service may actually cost, is an attempt to force some men to bear the expenses of others; because where the outlay for operation exceeds earnings the deficit must be made up by taxation, and this would be socialistic and therefore hostile to justice and subversive of democratic government." This is awkward, because it twists a sound principle for the justification of an illegitimate purpose. It is false, because the maintenance of public utilities is a governmental function, and there is obviously no relation between the cost of and the charge for executing governmental functions. It is absurd, because it would place the Democratic party in an attitude of hostility to public schools, to free highways, to courts of justice, and to fire departments and police departments; for with reference to all these public utilities "the outlay for operation exceeds earnings" and "the deficit must be made up by taxation," a condition which, according to the platform, makes these institutions "socialistic and therefore hostile to justice and subversive of democratic government"! Did the Democratic party of New York intend to take a stand in opposition to free schools, free streets, free justice, and free fire and police departments? Whether that was its intention or not, that is what it has done.

* * *

The Process of Disinheritance.

We are told by land speculators that "the last and greatest of American land booms is now on, from northwest Canada to southwest Texas." This has an ominous sound when we recall the significant fact that in the history of our country great land booms have been the culminating phe-

nomena of "good times" and the immediate precursors of business disasters and long drawn out industrial depressions. But the same speculative advertisers' message carries all unconsciously a still more sinister warning: "This mighty tide of landless men seeking the manless land is sweeping westward like a billowy sea and pouring through the mountain passes to settle the vast regions beyond." A grand figure that, of the westward march of the race. But listen further: "Land is rising rapidly everywhere in this country, and this final grand advance will not stop until the level of European land prices is reached; there will never be another crop of cheap land; hereafter the man born landless will die landless." Comment could not heighten the color that makes that brilliant picture grewsome. What a picture it is of keener individual misery and deeper social degradation yet to come!

* * *

The Decline and Fall of the Lawyer.

John H. Wigmore, a distinguished law professor, justly rebukes his professional brethren for their abandonment of public spirit, by declaring that their feet "have been in the trough of clientage while public professional calls of duty have gone unheeded." The descent of the American bar as a whole within the past forty years, from the highest plane of devotion to public interests to the lowest depths of cent-per-cent commercialism, is one of the saddest facts of our time.

* * *

THE HEARST CAMPAIGN IN NEW YORK.

In the whole history of American politics it would probably be impossible to parallel the case of William Randolph Hearst as candidate for governor of the State of New York. Self-sought and self-secured, his nomination is the highest kind of tribute to his political acumen and skill.

If any other man in the United States could have accomplished a result so improbable when it was undertaken, he is not yet known to political fame. And not only was the achievement improbable, but the methods by which it was accomplished would have been described three months before as altogether impracticable.

*

In saying this, we do not ignore the strong political position in which Mr. Hearst was placed by the municipal election in the city of New York a year ago. He had come to the front as a

volunteer to lead a bolting movement against that natural affiliation of predatory interests that makes puppets of both political parties, and which the Hearst papers so aptly call "the plunderbund." To all appearances his leadership on this occasion was disinterested. There was little prospect of a successful outcome, and nothing apparently but a hopelessly losing cause to fight for; yet he responded to a call for leadership, and made the fight not only devotedly and vigorously but with such success that he was almost awarded the office of mayor and is generally conceded to have been entitled to it. It was withheld from him, however, by the parties in power. He did not even get a legal hearing upon the evidence of fraud he offered to produce. This excited a degree of personal interest and sympathy which would have assured his election as mayor if again a candidate; and that interest and sympathy extended over the State, creating a sentiment which, together with the growing resentment at the Republican party over the notorious exposures of politico-business graft, seemed to assure his election as governor if nominated by the Democratic party.

This nomination, however, was apparently beyond his reach; but in the most original and amazing manner he reached out for it, and now it is his.

The method Mr. Hearst adopted to accomplish his purpose turned upon the organization of a third party. Abandoning as merely local and ephemeral the Municipal Ownership League, under the banner of which he had run for mayor, he organized the Independence League of the State. While the spine and marrow of this organization consists of Mr. Hearst himself and his personal employes, it is composed on the whole of a lusty body of genuinely disinterested and thoughtful citizens of progressive tendencies, heretofore affiliated some of them with one of the old parties and some with the other. All of them are honestly resentful of old party methods and sincerely determined to build up a new party to put both the old parties down and overwhelm the "plunderbund."

*

When this new party, the Independence League, met in State convention, Mr. Hearst's employes had long been active in promoting the election of Hearst delegates to the Democratic convention. It was evident that a nomination by that convention was contemplated by Hearst himself; and that he had either made or accepted overtures from Mr. Murphy (whose political prestige was

on the wane and with it his profitable contracts) to secure the support of Tammany Hall, no political observer any longer doubts, his subsequent verbal fling at Murphy to the contrary notwithstanding. Yet Mr. Hearst heartily acceded to the demands of his enthusiastic third party followers to make no fusion. Under these circumstances the Independence League nominated him for governor; and, firmly set against fusion, they defiantly filled out the rest of the ticket, partly with Democrats and partly with Republicans.

That defiance was to Mr. Hearst like burning the bridges behind him if he were still hopeful of the Democratic nomination. The Democratic party could not be expected to swallow whole a third party ticket composed partly of Republicans; and no third party as hopeful as the Independence League could be expected to tolerate the withdrawal of any of their chosen candidates, in favor of the ticket of one of the old parties with which their convention had voted to decline a fusion. With the nomination of a full ticket by the Independence League, all possibility of fusion seemed at an end.

But fusion has nevertheless been made. Those who have to define it may give it another name, but the new name does not alter the thing itself. Contrary to all rational predictions, the Democratic party has nominated Hearst and his Democratic associate candidates of the Independence League, while his Republican associates have withdrawn in favor of the Democratic nominees of the Democratic convention. At the election, therefore, two Hearst tickets will appear upon the official ballot—the Democratic ticket nominated by convention, and the ticket of the Independence League nominated by petition. They will be one ticket under two names, for on both the nominees are identical. Such a brilliant outcome of such apparently impracticable political maneuvering is enough to make the heads of politicians of all parties swim with amazement. That an old and powerful party should yield to such tactics was in itself unheard of; that a vigorous new party should yield was a thing undreamed of.

+

But the fact of Hearst's nomination rather than the amazing manner of it is what now concerns the citizens of New York.

With characteristic shrewdness the Republicans have nominated the one man, in Mr. Hughes, whose spectacular work in the insurance investigation commends him to the uninformed reform element of New York as a reformer. No matter if

he did go so far and no farther, just far enough to expose one clique of respectable miscreants and not another; no matter if in his official action he would be so hampered, after the manner of Roosevelt's, as to make him unable to more than play at ridding the body politic of its worst parasitical growths; nevertheless, he wears the toga of reform, and his name is one for the Republican party to conjure with. Between this man, therefore, and Mr. Hearst, the voters of New York must make their choice.

There are many difficulties in the way of this choice, to men who see in Mr. Hughes at the best a stalking horse for plutocracy, yet recognize in Mr. Hearst a political self-seeker who, though he often leads good causes, seldom if ever prefers his cause to himself.

The weakness of Mr. Hearst in this respect must be conceded. He has done work and good work for causes in which we are all interested. Without his aid the municipal ownership movement in Chicago, for instance, would have been killed off long ago. But it has become notorious that he never works faithfully for a cause, whether philanthropic or political, unless his own portrait is stamped upon it. Whatever tends to promote his own ambitions he helps; but whatever promises no reward of that kind he is apt to wither with neglect or to kill by direct attack. If he wants a man, he reaches out for him and puts him into his pocket if the man consents; if the man does not consent, he knocks him out of the way and goes on to the next one he wants.

When James G. Maguire was the Democratic candidate for governor of California, Mr. Hearst compassed his defeat because he could not use him for personal purposes. He did the same thing and for the same reason with Franklin K. Lane when Mr. Lane was the Democratic candidate for governor of California. Yet both Mr. Maguire and Mr. Lane stood for the same causes for which Mr. Hearst professed to stand.

In New York, after vigorously promoting the organization of the labor movement in local politics, which had Henry George for its standard bearer as candidate for mayor, the Hearst papers abandoned the movement at the point of its highest effectiveness. Going over to the support of Tammany Hall in that contest, these papers made a virulent onslaught upon Mr. George for no other apparent reason than that Mr. George's popularity might cross the path of Mr. Hearst's personal ambitions.

In Chicago his help in the election of Mayor Dunne in the municipal ownership campaign was

indispensable and generously and effectively given; but since Mayor Dunne's refusal to be a Hearst bond-servant in politics and official administration, though he has recognized Mr. Hearst's reasonable claims, perhaps too generously, Mr. Hearst's newspapers have been silent when their help was most needed and obstructive when opportunity offered; and this to the extent even of jeopardizing the municipal ownership policy.

Ambitious of the Presidency, Mr. Hearst has displayed the narrowest of dispositions toward men whom he has thought of as competitors. When Tom L. Johnson as candidate for governor of Ohio was fighting in that State the same predatory interests which he himself professes to be fighting in New York, his papers were silent lest peradventure Johnson might cross his Presidential path. When Bryan was given a farewell reception at Chicago a year ago, the Hearst papers were short of space for reporting the event; and this was true also of his San Francisco paper with reference to Bryan's farewell reception there. As Mr. Bryan's name, speeches and doings are liberally enough reported in the general press, neither he nor his friends have had any necessity for complaining of the Hearst papers. But the fact that these papers are studiously silent or curt about Bryan discloses an interesting angle in Mr. Hearst's disposition toward public men of his own party and leaders in his own avowed causes, whom he regards as political competitors.

And as he has no compunction about pushing aside men of importance who stand for causes for which he also professes to stand, but who refuse to enter his personal service or who seem to be in his way, neither has he any delicacy about bargaining for personal ends with corrupt politicians who resist the causes he advocates but for ends of their own are willing to promote his personal ambitions. Two years ago, for instance, he was in political partnership with Roger C. Sullivan for Hearst delegates from Illinois to the national convention, and lest he might lose his delegates he was content to let Sullivan disgrace the party with mob domination and gavel rule. And at the present moment he is apparently committed in New York by bargain with Tammany Hall, which he stood ready to fight if it had denied him its support, to restore that office-brokerage association to political life in the local politics of Manhattan.

In these circumstances it is no wonder that many men who believe in the things for which Mr. Hearst professes to stand hesitate to support him at the polls.

If the question before the progressive voters

of New York were Hearst's personality and nothing more, we should recoil from advising a single voter to support him. But that is not the only question nor the most important one.

Under our election methods it is impossible to vote against Hearst without voting against the rising anti-plutocratic movement of which in the State of New York at the coming election he, whether worthily or unworthily, is the candidatorial representative. In his victory, that movement would be regarded as having advanced; in his defeat it would be regarded as having receded. Unfortunate enough it may be that he has secured the place of nominal leadership; but more unfortunate still would it be if on account of his leadership the movement itself should be deserted by its friends.

If elected governor, Mr. Hearst could be depended upon to perform the duties of the office as well at least as they have been performed from the day of Governor Hill (Democrat) to the day of Governor Higgins (Republican). Nor is there any reason to fear that he would be treacherous to the dominant principles to which he professes allegiance. He has neither the incentive nor the disposition to betray them for money; and he could not betray them to promote his ambitions, for all hope for his ambitions would be paralyzed by his official and notorious betrayal of his principal cause. Something may be gained by his election; much might be lost by his defeat.

+

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

And what is the test of this when the fury of the struggle is on? There may be many tests, but there is one which never fails. It may be inferred from the answer to the question, On which side are the intelligent adversaries of progress gather-

ing? If we turn our backs upon the direction in which they go, we shall probably be turning our faces in the direction in which we ought to go.

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

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE "INTERESTS" IN MEXICO.

Cullacan, Sinaloa, Mexico, September 7.—It may seem venturesome even to assume the possibility of war between the United States and Mexico. But forewarned is forearmed. Nothing will be lost and something for international peace and national independence may be gained, if the people on both sides of the line are watchful and thoughtful.

+

Public opinion in the United States has taken a course so decidedly hostile to monopoly in all forms, that the captains of the great privilege-holding corporations can have no reasonable hope that under ordinary circumstances they or their money can carry the national election of 1908. But to consider that a peaceable surrender by them of their present power is likely, is to be quite overconfident. At no time in the history of the United States, and seldom in any other country, have the holders of great wealth and privilege yielded without a war.

The plutocrats of the United States, in 1846, provoked an unjust war for the double purpose of despoiling Mexico of a great slave-holding territory, while diverting public attention from the slavery question then being agitated. So in 1895, did the newer interests of monopoly foment the Cuban revolution against Spain, providing the Cubans with money and weapons, while the plutocratic newspapers fairly breathed the spirit of intervention. We do not even know who it was that destroyed the battleship *Maine* at Havana, and thus brought on a war which all efforts until then had failed to precipitate, and which brought subject colonies into the control of the Interests, besides, most important, helping to tide over the election of 1900.

The habit of sacrificing nations to themselves is nearly universal among privileged classes threatened with equality. The war in South Africa was fought to acquire a rich subject territory, and save the Jingo power in England. The war in Asia had two objects: to conquer new subject territory, and to save the autocracy of Russia. These wars failed of their greatest objects—the killing of the discontented, and the diverting of public attention from the nation's real enemies. Yet such wars are repeated again and again, and even now the plutocrats of the

United States intend that their nation shall go to war.

+

For years they have visibly been casting about for some suitable country with which to war. Germany offered, but such a nation cannot be despoiled, even if vanquished; Morocco, Venezuela, Santo Domingo, China and Colombia have all been looked over with war in view within three years. But no nation answers the requirements so well as Mexico.

Mexico is contiguous territory. Its government is anti-plutocratic. Above all, while not able to withstand the United States, it can put up a real fight, one that will keep the United States busy until after 1908. Meanwhile, the Interests could run things as they please; could buy high per cent. bonds, and could sell embalmed beef to both sides. Afterward, two exhausted nations would be at their mercy: one to be despoiled of Sonora, and the other of its public rights.

+

In a long contest, Mr. Rockefeller has been fairly beaten by President Diaz. Rockefeller's efforts to dominate Mexico have always been met by maneuvers which left him where he began—with the same powers as others have. When Mr. Rockefeller's railroad (the Central) tried to buy the national system, the government bought in ahead of him; when he spoke of acquiring the Mexican oil wells, President Diaz advocated, in a published interview, that they be nationalized. When Mr. Rockefeller contracted to buy the whole oil output, the government proposed to buy his junk line, the Central. At different times, corners and trusts have been established, each time to collapse at the prompt removal of the tariff on the article cornered. And now Mr. Rockefeller is keeping very quiet in Mexico. His feelings, or rather those of his dummies, are very much hurt; and they will not again attempt to do business in such a country as Mexico. Capital will withdraw from the country, we are told, frightened away by the hostile attitude of the unappreciative people and government.

+

Every natural human right is as well guaranteed in Mexico as in the United States, and the vast riches of Mexico are open to all the world. The man in New York has only to ask for what he wants that is Mexico's, and it is his almost for the asking; he need never even see the country in all his life. The sons of the country are not preferred to the man or woman of any land. But the man who takes more than he needs was not even thought of in the simple calculation; and when he appeared on the scene, it was to meet the disapproving watchfulness of an alert government. At every turn the great monopolist, elsewhere always victorious, was quietly checkmated by the man who has never made a million dollars, but has made a nation prosperous and happy. But the Interests never give up; they will not relinquish their intention of dominating Mexico. There also must they resort to war, if they are to accomplish their purpose.

+

They have stirred up rumors of revolution, a thing

that for thirty years has been of the past. Probably the riots at the copper camp of Cananea last June were of their making; for the lives of their countrymen are nothing to them, and the copper trust is fully capable of having committed that double treason. Very likely the present insurrection in Cuba, like those fomented in Venezuela by the asphalt trust, comes about through their machinations. How quickly comes the talk of intervention! Did not just such a revolution once take place at Panama?

+

In spite of all the rumors, there is no country so tranquil as Mexico. Not a single one of the great powers of Europe is in a state of internal peace so well cemented as that of Mexico, unless we count Great Britain and Germany as exceptions. Yet Mexico has practically no standing army. There are only about 25,000 men. But present indications seem to point this way: that if at any time it should be possible to stir up some kind of a revolution in Mexico, or even a pretended revolution, the trusts of the United States may be depended upon to do it. If possible, the revolution will be "anti-foreign," and hiring ruffians, the riff-raff of the cities, will be hired with oily money to murder a few American citizens (no matter about them, of course), and stir up as big a disturbance as they can. Of course, this will be considered ground for an immediate invasion from the United States, and thus will follow a war that will not terminate until North America is depleted of brave men. But, no matter for the fallen independence of one nation, or the forgotten republic of the other; no matter for the lost men and broken homes; no matter—to the interests—for the thousands who die upon parching battlefields defending the lost flags.

+

If there are men in Mexico so low as to answer the call for treason which floats across the river, then we may expect that within one or two years some disturbances will be arranged to take place which may be so magnified as to serve as a pretext for intervention. But if there are men in either country who guess the truth, and love freedom, they will not fail to keep a vigilant watch, and give warning of all that may occur; and with them, the peace and liberties of America will be safe.

BUELL BUTTERFIELD.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

Week ending Wednesday, October 3.

The Nomination of William Randolph Hearst.

Strictly in accordance with expectations earlier in the day (pp. 607-08), the Democratic convention of

New York, in session at Buffalo, nominated at a late hour in the evening of the 26th, William Randolph Hearst for governor, Mr. Hearst being the gubernatorial candidate already of the Independence League. The candidates against Mr. Hearst were Congressman William Sulzer, whose vote was 124, and John A. Dix, whose vote was 17. Mr. Hearst's vote was 309, and he was declared the nominee on the first ballot. In consequence of the unit rule, he received the entire vote of New York county, under the leadership of Tammany Hall.

+

Two other candidates of the Independence League were nominated with Mr. Hearst: Lewis Stuyvesant Chanler for lieutenant governor, and John S. Whalen for secretary of state. For the remainder of the ticket the convention named regular party Democrats instead of Independent League candidates. They were Martin H. Glynn for comptroller, instead of C. H. W. Auel; Julius Hauser for state treasurer, instead of George A. Fuller; William S. Jackson for attorney general, instead of John Ford; and Frederick W. Skene for state engineer and surveyor, instead of Frank L. Getman. But on the 29th (Messrs. Auel, Fuller, Ford and Getman having meanwhile resigned from the League ticket) the executive committee of the Independence League substituted for theirs the names of the Democratic candidates—Messrs. Glynn, Hauser, Jackson, and Skene. In doing so this committee adopted the following resolution:

The Independence League convention met on September 11 and received a communication from Democrats stating that the rank and file of the Democratic party, which believe in the purpose of the Independence League, would undoubtedly have control of their convention and would desire to co-operate with the Independence League in its efforts to restore the action of the government to the principles of Jefferson and Lincoln. The Independence League proceeded with its nominations, but declared by resolution a willingness to co-operate with Democrats if the Democratic masses should succeed in securing control of their convention in the interests of good government. The Democratic convention assembled on September 25 and conspicuously repudiated corporation influences and agents that had hitherto controlled its politics and its actions. The Democratic convention nominated for the first places on its ticket the candidates of the Independence League. Under such circumstances, and with these guarantees of good faith, the executive committee of the Independence League is prepared to carry out the instructions of its convention and make common cause with the Democratic party in the interest of good government.

It was thereupon decided by the committee that it proceed to nominate by petition William Randolph Hearst for governor, Lewis Stuyvesant Chanler for lieutenant governor, John S. Whalen for secretary of state, Martin H. Glynn for comptroller, Julius Hauser for treasurer, Frank W. Skene for engineer and surveyor, and William S. Jackson for attorney general, as the candidates of the Independence League. There will consequently be at the New York election this fall two State tickets bearing the same names,—the Democratic and the Independence League. Should the latter poll 10,000 votes it will become a legally recognized political party of the State.

Two immense ratification meetings have been held since the Hearst nomination, one in Madison Square Garden, New York, and the other in Brooklyn. At the former John DeWitt Warner presided, and Mr. Hearst made an extended speech in which he outlined his views. On the tariff question he declared his belief "that the protective principle is valuable in itself, but has been unreasonably extended and outrageously abused;" and "in protection for infant industries" and "protection for American labor." On the subject of government ownership he laid down this principle: "I do not believe in private ownership of public property nor in public ownership of private property. I believe in public ownership of public utilities." At the Brooklyn meeting on the 30th, presided over by Charles Frederic Adams, after Mr. Hearst had denounced District Attorney Jerome and others, a man in the audience shouted, "How about Murphy?" which raised cries of "Put him out!" But Mr. Hearst, whose speech had been interrupted, responded: "Don't pay any more attention to him than I pay to Murphy. I've said right along that I didn't care whether Murphy was for me or not; I am not for Murphy. And I repeat it now—I'll conduct this campaign according to my own honest convictions, and if I'm elected governor I'll conduct the affairs of the State according to my own honest convictions."

+

Reports of Democratic defections are numerous. District Attorney Jerome has volunteered to stump the State for the Republicans. The Morning Herald and the Union and Advertiser of Rochester, Democratic papers, have bolted the nomination; and so have the New York Times, the World and the Evening Post, and the Brooklyn Eagle, besides papers in the interior of the State. When William J. Bryan who had gone from Memphis (p. 609) to Kansas City and thence to Oklahoma, where he spoke to an immense audience on the 27th, was informed of Mr. Hearst's nomination he said: "I am much gratified at the nomination of Mr. Hearst, because I feel that he will make not only a strong race for the election, but also a good governor after his election." At Oklahoma that day Mr. Bryan was reported to have told a friend that he would not only support Mr. Hearst in his public utterances and privately as much as possible, but he would, if requested, go to New York and make speeches in his favor.

+ +

The Nomination of "Anti-Pass" Baker.

Robert Baker (p. 530), whose term in Congress won him the nickname of "Anti-Pass" Baker, because he alone openly fought the pass-bribery of the railroads until it had been killed, was unanimously renominated on the 2d by the Democratic convention of his district, the same district from which he was elected four years ago and defeated two years ago.

+ +

League of American Municipalities.

The meeting at Chicago on the 26th of the League of American Municipalities (p. 610) composed of municipal officials, was one of the most successful in the ten years' history of the League. The principal features were a paper on Taxation by Lawson

Purdy of New York, which is reproduced in this issue of The Public, an address by Jane Addams in behalf of municipal suffrage for women, and a debate between Prof. Frank Parsons, president of the Boston Municipal Ownership League, and Prof. Roberts of the University of Denver, on the subject of municipal ownership. It was Prof. Roberts' contention that public ownership of public utilities involves the principle of socialism, while Prof. Parsons took the ground that public property and functions should not be put in private hands to be used for private profit; that public property and functions should be managed in the public interest; and that if they are made the subject of private ownership they will be managed in private interest.

+

The place selected for the next meeting was Norfolk, Va., and Mayor Dunne of Chicago was elected president for the coming year.

+ +

Traction Progress in Cleveland.

The details of the traction contest in Cleveland (p. 609) are so complicated that it is difficult to follow them. The substance of it all, however, is that franchises to the 3-cent fare company for four lines have been granted, making altogether about forty miles of single track franchises, and the beginning of operation is very near at hand. "With each new grant and with each rail laid," writes a correspondent, "the street railway question comes nearer to a final settlement in accordance with Mayor Johnson's plans for immediate cheap fare and ultimate municipal ownership."

+ +

The Southern Hurricane.

A fearful hurricane struck the Gulf States on Wednesday, the 26th, and raged for three days, producing widespread devastation and large loss of life. The city of Pensacola, in Florida, was almost demolished. Sixty big steamships in the harbor were wrecked or driven on shore. Huge ships are described as being driven through houses a block from the water front. The dead are estimated at 25, and the property loss estimated at \$5,000,000. The city of Mobile, in Alabama, also suffered very severely. Wharves and docks were destroyed, and every church and countless homes damaged or altogether wrecked. One hundred and twenty-five persons, at least, are supposed to have perished, and the property loss is put at from \$2,500,000 to \$4,000,000. The low-lying coasts both east and west from the two large cities suffered as severely, some of the smaller towns and villages being entirely wiped out. The full tale of the dead will never be known.

+

The whole west shore of Mobile Bay was entirely devastated. The east shore did not suffer so severely. At Fairhope, which is on the east shore, many buildings were badly damaged by wind and water, and some were wrecked. Two-thirds of their valued wharf was swept away. An old gentleman, the Rev. Silas Lawrence, was seriously bruised by the blowing away of his house, but no one was killed.

Cuba Under a Provisional Government.

The Cuban Congress met in special session on the 28th, pursuant to President Palma's call, and received the resignations of the President, the Vice-President and the members of the cabinet. President Palma's resignation was as follows:

To Congress: The condition to which public order has been reduced since the intillation of armed rebellion in the province of Pinar del Rio, and the fact that there is now in operation in this capital an American commission, said to be one of peace, and representing the government of Washington, and that in consequence the executive has practically lost all authority while the rebels continue in arms and in a threatening attitude, and the writer, on the other hand, desiring sincerely and ardently that the country return to its natural state of order and tranquillity, and as it is absolutely impossible to accept the conditions which the said commission proposes as the only means of terminating the rebellion, I have resolved, considering it to be patriotic and decorous, to present formally to Congress, and in irrevocable form, my resignation from the Presidency of the Republic, to which office I was elected by the citizens and the vote of the electoral college May 16 last. Trusting this will be at once accepted, I extend my thanks to both legislative bodies, to whom I offer this testimony of my highest consideration.

A congressional committee failed to shake the President's determination to abandon his office, and at a night session, attended by only four members, the Congress dissolved.

+

On the following day Secretary Taft issued the following proclamation of intervention:

To the People of Cuba: The failure of Congress to act on the irrevocable resignation of the President of the Republic of Cuba or to elect a successor leaves the country without a government at a time when great disorder prevails and requires that, pursuant to the request of Mr. Palma, the necessary steps be taken in the name and by the authority of the President of the United States to restore order and protect life and property in the island of Cuba and the islands and keys adjacent thereto, and for this purpose to establish therein a provisional government.

The provisional government hereby established will be maintained only long enough to restore order, peace and public confidence by direction of and in the name of the President of the United States, and then to hold such elections as may be necessary to determine on those persons upon whom the permanent government of the Republic should be devolved.

In so far as is consistent with the nature of a provisional government established under the authority of the United States this will be a Cuban government, conforming with the constitution of Cuba. The Cuban flag will be hoisted as usual over the government buildings of the island; all the executive departments and provincial and municipal governments, including that of the city of Havana, will continue to be administered as under the Cuban Republic; the courts will continue to administer justice, and all the laws not in their nature inapplicable by reason of the temporary and emergent character of the government will be in force.

President Roosevelt has been most anxious to bring about peace under the constitutional government of Cuba, and he made every endeavor to avoid the present step. Longer delay, however, would be dangerous in view of the resignation of the cabinet.

Until further notice the heads of all the departments of the central government will report to me for instructions, including General Alexandro Rodriguez, in com-

mand of the Rural Guards and other regular government forces, and General Carlos Roloff, treasurer of Cuba.

Until further notice the civil governors and alcaldes will also report to me for instructions.

I ask all citizens and residents of Cuba to assist me in the work of restoring order, tranquillity and public confidence.

WM. H. TAFT,

Secretary of War of the United States,
Provisional Governor of Cuba.

Havana, September 29, 1906.

The proclamation, with its recognition of the Cuban Republic and the Cuban flag, seems to have been received with satisfaction, and business, somewhat interrupted by warlike uncertainties, has begun to take on its usual character. The insurgent generals Guerra and Asbert have aided General Funston's disarmament commission in endeavoring to bring about a full laying down of arms. Marines have been landed from the United States warships, and troops have been mobilized in the United States to be rushed to Cuba to maintain order. On the 2nd the late President, Thomas Estrada Palma, left Havana with his family, for Matanzas, where he is to remain for a few days, going later to his old home at Bayamo, in Santiago province. On the same day President Roosevelt selected Charles E. Magoon, until recently governor of the Canal Zone in Panama, to be Provisional Governor in Cuba until the Cubans shall have reestablished their government. Brigadier-General Frederic E. Funston has been put in command of the American troops on the island. On the 29th Senor Don Gonsale de Quesada, minister of Cuba to the United States, tendered his resignation to the Provisional Government. Efforts have since been made from Washington to induce him to resume his office.

+

According to a special correspondent, Thomas G. Alvord, writing under date of the 1st to the Chicago Record-Herald, permanent American rule of Cuba is the object of a league which has just been started by the foreign residents of the island. They seek to force annexation or a protectorate, and believe they can obtain for one proposition or the other the vote of enough Cubans of property to enable them to carry out their purpose if they can get the matter to a vote. The league will urge the Provisional Government to allow the submission to the people at the next election of these three propositions:

1. Shall Cuba remain under purely native government?
2. Shall the island be annexed to the United States?
3. Shall a government under the protection of the United States be established?

The correspondent says that it is said that persons with property interests will vote for one of the last two propositions, and will influence so many native votes that one of the two will be carried. He continues:

This, of course, means that all foreign residents shall be allowed a vote on the propositions, which they are now prevented from doing by law. It is urged that with the provisional government it is possible so to order, as many of its acts have to be legalized by the next Congress. It is held also that under the following words of Mr. Taft's proclamation opportunity was left to hand over the country to the Americans in just this way:

"And then to hold such elections as may be necessary

to determine those persons upon whom the permanent government of the Republic should be devolved."

It was, in fact, this phrase that gave the organizers of the league the idea of what may grow into a very important and far-reaching political movement.

✦

A staff correspondent of the Chicago Tribune, John Callan O'Laughlin, wrote from Washington on the 1st, that Mr. Root, the Secretary of State, who has just arrived from his journey through South America, is very strongly opposed to any policy which may lead to the annexation of Cuba. According to this report, Mr. Root's position is that—

the United States stands in an extremely awkward position before Pan-America. The countries of the southern continent remember what Mr. Root said to them—that the United States did not seek an inch of Latin American territory—and now they are stared in the face by the fact of the American occupation of Cuba. They never believed the United States was actuated by altruistic motives alone in going to war with Spain. They were surprised by the American evacuation of Cuba, but their distrust was revived by the policy of President Roosevelt in setting the government of Panama upon its legs at the expense of the Republic of Colombia. American fiscal intervention in Santo Domingo added to their suspicion. Secretary Root spoke convincingly to them of American unselfishness and now he wants to make his word good. He came back to Washington assured that the government of Colombia would negotiate treaties with the United States and Panama, a step it has refused, up to this time, to take in spite of the earnest appeals of this country. The negotiation of these treaties will be begun when Senor Enrique Cortez, the new minister of Colombia to Washington, arrives here. In arranging a settlement of all the questions with Colombia and between Colombia and Panama, Mr. Root believes he will show South America that the United States has acted and is still acting in perfect good faith.

But according to the same correspondent, Mr. Root's view is not that of other members of the cabinet.

✦

A foreign explanation of the causes of the war, may possibly have truth in it. The Paris *Matin* of the 1st says that Palma destroyed the independence of Cuba because he feared black supremacy. The real exercise of liberty would give power to the black and mulatto majority, and the terror of a regime of blacks provoked the electoral frauds with the revolution as a consequence. It adds:

Between the acceptance of an honest election, which would transfer the power from the whites to blacks, and the loss of independence, Palma has not hesitated. He has sacrificed the independence of his country, but he has obtained the protection of American forces against the exactions of the blacks, which he feared above all.

✦ ✦

All Quiet in Mexico.

From time to time during the summer prophecies of impending uprisings in Mexico have found their way into the daily press, coming from the City of Mexico, and from various points in the United States. The June labor riots at the Cananea copper mines in the State of Sonora, owned by Americans (p. 225), seem to have been the only actual outbreak during this time. The threatened uprisings were described in July dispatches as being anti-

foreign in sentiment, and as including plans for a great labor strike, and for massacres of foreigners, both to begin September 16, the Mexican Independence Day. Nothing violent seems to have occurred on that day. On the 27th a band of smuggling outlaws made an attack on the town of Jimenez, near the Texan border, and captured it, only to be routed later by Mexican troops. The affair is not regarded as serious. In regard to the "fake" character of the prophesied uprisings the Washington Post has intelligently said:

Able editorials have appeared in a number of leading American papers, gravely discussing the prospects of a Mexican Boxer uprising. The depth and persistence of American ignorance of all things Mexican is one of the marvels of the century. It seems to be impossible to lift the veil that shrouds the mysterious land south of the Rio Grande. To the average American, Mexico is the land of manana, cigarettes, guitars and sudden assassinations, and apparently he prefers that no modern sunlight should be permitted to dispel the romantic moonshine with which he envelops the country. There is no more danger of an "uprising" of Mexicans against foreigners than there is danger of an uprising of Americans in New York against the foreign horde. Americans are more welcome in Mexico than Mexicans in the United States and they are less subject to molestation. Mexicans of all classes are possessed of better manners toward the foreigner than are displayed by the average American.

✦ ✦

Russia Quieter.

The government's arrangements for the sale of lands to the peasantry are practically complete (p. 560). On the 30th regulations were made public under which the sale of 11,000,000 dectiatines of land in European Russia will begin immediately. The local agrarian commissions, which are composed of delegates elected by the peasants, the land owners and the zemstvos and of representatives of the government, will act as intermediaries in determining the value of the land and fixing the conditions of sale. They are charged also with arrangements for emigration. The acreage in eastern Russia and on the Siberian steppes surrendered by the Emperor, will be sold on easy terms. The price is less than \$2 an acre, and payments are spread over fifty years.

✦

The ban upon meetings of the Constitutional Democrats in St. Petersburg and Moscow having been removed (p. 610), a peaceful advance is hoped for. On the 1st the central committee of the "Cadets," as they are called, met in St. Petersburg. The position of Professor Milukoff in the party was at once recognized by his election to the presidency of the assembly. The general congress of the Constitutional Democrats, appointed for the 6th at Helsinki in Finland (p. 610), may after all be permitted to meet in St. Petersburg.

✦

Press dispatches from St. Petersburg, under date of the 2nd, state that several newspapers have published editorial articles on the events at Atlanta, Ga., comparing them with the anti-Jewish massacres in Russia. The *Novoe Vremya* expresses the hope that the United States now will cease to attribute the

Russian excesses to official provocation, instead of admitting that they are the result of natural racial animosity.

NEWS NOTES

—The Illinois State Conference of Charities will be held in Chicago from October 24 to 26, inclusive.

—Sir William Treloar was elected on the 29th Lord Mayor of London in succession to Walter Vaughan Morgan.

—M. M. Crane, formerly attorney general of Texas, has challenged Senator Bailey (p. 603) to debate the senatorial question.

—Joseph F. Smith, president of the Mormon Church, was arrested at Salt Lake City on the 1st and held for trial on a charge of polygamy.

—The United Irish League met at Philadelphia on the 1st. One of the distinguished attendants is T. P. O'Connor, M. P., who arrived in New York on the 29th.

—A long distance balloon race from France northward across the English channel was won on the 1st by Lieutenant Frank P. Lahm, the representative from the United States.

—The Colby faction of the Republican party in New Jersey, which recently made great headway against the Republican machine (p. 204), was badly beaten at the Republican primaries last week.

—Miss Anna Nicholes, secretary of the Illinois Woman's Trade Union League, has been substituted for Mrs. Clara P. Bourland on the Democratic ticket of Illinois (p. 514) for university trustee.

—A great canal in northern Italy, draining the provinces of Mantua and Regglo, and discharging into the Po, has just been completed. Six thousand men have been at work for five years upon it.

—The Japanese Naval Department has decided upon the improvement of the Japanese navy, the expansion to cover a period of eight years. The parliament is asked to vote \$135,000,000 for the purpose.

—A slight earthquake shock was reported in France on the 20th, and on the 27th the island of Porto Rico received a series of heavy shocks. No serious harm was done, but the people were greatly terrified.

—The Danish parliament was opened on the first by King Frederick in person. According to the press dispatches the King announced that steps would be taken to meet the wishes of Iceland regarding the reform of its constitution (p. 605).

—The highest mountain in North America, Mount McKinley, in Central Alaska, 20,464 ft. in height, has been ascended to the summit for the first time. The feat was performed by Dr. Frederick A. Cook, of Brooklyn, who had attempted it several times before and failed.

—A dispatch from Rome on the 1st states that the convocation of the second peace conference at The Hague is being urged by Great Britain and also by Russia, the latter wishing to show that the internal situation in that country is again becoming

normal and that, in any case, it does not affect her foreign policy.

—Francis H. Warren, editor of The Detroit Infermer, a weekly paper devoted to the interests of the colored people, and himself a Negro, has been nominated in Detroit on the Democratic ticket for the legislature. Two reputable Negro lawyers, who sought nomination for the legislature on the Republican ticket, were turned down.

—Harry Orchard, the self-confessed murderer of Governor Steunenberg, upon whose testimony the State of Idaho is depending to convict Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, the officials of the Western Federation of Miners (p. 349), has become a raving maniac under the strain of the "sweat box," to which he has been subjected for almost a year.

—The Grand Lama of Tashi Lhumpo, in Thibet, is to have an automobile—an eighty horse power car. Neither cart roads nor carts are known in the neighborhood of Tashi Lhumpo, and the motor will be the first wheeled vehicle the natives have seen. The Tashi Lama will have a road made from his monastery to Cyantse, where there is a new British road.

—The Viceroy of India, Lord Minto, received on the 1st from the most influential body of Mohammedans that has ever approached the British government in India, an address setting forth the grievances and aspirations of the Mohammedans of India, and especially their claim for a fair share in any modified system of representation that might be contemplated.

—Elihu Root, United States Secretary of State (p. 611), has completed his South American tour. He reached Washington on the 30th, and is reported as expressing much gratification at the honor accorded him as a representative of the United States wherever he went in South America, and as greatly impressed by the industrial awakening in that continent.

—A national purity conference under the auspices of the National Purity Federation will be held at Chicago on the 9th, 10th and 11th, at Lincoln Center (p. 443). An interesting feature will be an address in the afternoon of the 10th by Theodore Schroeder, attorney for the Free Speech League of New York, and one in the evening of the same day by Anthony Comstock.

—The German Social Democratic convention in session at Mannheim (p. 610), on the 28th, unanimously adopted resolutions expressing sympathy with the Russian revolutionists. The convention has decided to summon an international socialist workingman's congress, to meet at Stuttgart next autumn for the purpose of demonstrating the solidarity of the socialists throughout the world.

—On the morning of September 28th, the last day of the dreadful hurricane in the Southern States, Mr. Asa C. Staples "blew into" Fairhope, situated on Mobile Bay in the midst of the storm district. He immediately applied for two lots on Fels avenue. "Aren't you scared out?" asked the almost breathless inhabitants. "No," said the indomitable big gentleman, "I came to Fairhope because she demonstrates Single Tax principles. I am going to build

a house. If this kind of weather continues I'll build an ark!"

—A charter from the American Federation of Labor has been issued to the members of the Chicago Firemen's Association, and on the 30th the association affiliated with the Chicago Federation of Labor. When interviewed on the subject, Mayor Dunne said that the firemen had a perfect right to organize for any lawful purpose, provided there was no enforcement of demands against the city by striking.

—A co-operative domestic colony is being arranged for at Englewood, N. J., by Upton Sinclair. Among those who will share in the life there this winter, according to newspaper reports, are: Upton Sinclair and family, Professor John Dewey of Columbia College and his family, Professor and Mrs. William Noyes, Professor and Mrs. Montague, also of Columbia; Ellis O. Jones and family, Dr. Charles H. Castle Bjorkman, W. J. Lampton, Dr. and Mrs. Gwathmey and family, and Mr. and Mrs. Edwin Potter.

—John Burns, President of the Local Government Board in the British Ministry, has been given \$1,000,000 by the British government to enable him to wrestle with the menacing problem of the unemployed. The use of this fund will remove a burden of expenditure from private charity, Mr. Burns is quoted as saying. He believes its best use will be in paying wages for work done in the reclamation of waste lands, the repairing of coast erosion, in agricultural labor, in afforestation, the building of public works, digging of ditches, and other things.

—The Institute of International Law held its closing session at Ghent, Belgium, on the 26th (p. 611). The following resolutions relative to wireless telegraphy in time of war, were adopted:

The regulations governing wireless telegraphy in time of peace are applicable in principle in time of war. Belligerents may prevent the transmission of hertzian waves by a neutral state over the high seas within the sphere of their military operations. All persons taken prisoners while receiving or transmitting wireless messages from belligerent territory or between different sections of a belligerent army are not to be considered spies, but are to be treated as prisoners of war unless their operations were carried on under false pretenses.

—Large numbers of Hindus and other East Indians are entering Canada by the way of British Columbia, and still larger numbers are on their way, many being detained in Hongkong, as it is not thought advisable to forward larger contingents than 200 or 300 at a time. The extreme poverty in India has prepared the way for such an emigration, and circulars which have been posted in the bazaars have been the inciting cause. Offers of employment as "sawyers, timber getters and wiremen" are made in these circulars, and promises of high wages. The movement is regarded in Canada with grave apprehension, and special legislation against it may be enacted at the coming parliament.

+ + +

"Every cigarette you smoke, young man, is another nail in your coffin."

"Gwan! I've been smoking about 30 a day for the last ten years. What kind of a coffin would hold that many nails?"

—Cleveland Leader.

PRESS OPINIONS

MR. ROOT'S SERVICES IN BEHALF OF PEACE.

Advocate of Peace (Boston), September.—The service which Mr. Root has been rendering is of the very highest order, and deserves the cordial recognition of all the friends of international righteousness and peace. It is worthy of the very best traditions of the State Department. It has met with the most sincere approval of practically all the people of the nation, who desire to live in friendly and brotherly relations with all our national neighbors. But the real and permanent effects of the Secretary's mission and of what he has said cannot be determined in a day or a year. It will depend upon the faithfulness with which his pledges are carried out by our government and people. He has put us all under very high obligation to conduct ourselves in such a way as to demonstrate to South America that he has truly interpreted our national spirit. He has been taken at his word by those to whom he has spoken so explicitly and so eloquently. It will be a sore disappointment to them if they shall find hereafter that he was speaking only by conjecture, and the last state of their distrust will be much worse than the first. But if the policy so finely expounded by him is faithfully adhered to by our government and people, the peace and harmony of the western world will be no empty sound, but will be a power for civilization and progress in the world heretofore only faintly realized. The logical sequence of Mr. Root's trip will be the reduction of the Monroe Doctrine to its original significance, if not general silence about it hereafter, now that all the republics south of us have been invited to the Second Hague Conference, and have thus been recognized as permanent independent members in the family of nations. Logically also the "big stick" must now be laid on the shelf, or, better still, put into the fire and reduced to ashes.

* * *

CUBA.

The Springfield (Mass.) Republican (Ind.), September 27.—No candid person familiar with Cuban affairs the past five years will deny that, as the direct result of the Platt amendment policy, the Cuban government has been largely shaped by the influence of the Washington administration and its policies not a little molded by American diplomatic and commercial influences. President Palma was originally the choice, as the chief executive, not of the popular party of Cubans, but of the influences that centered in the American government of intervention under Gen. Wood. Palma had lived for over 20 years in the United States continuously, and had even become an American citizen, when he was called to the Cuban presidency. The popular party in Cuba, which had made possible the insurrection against Spain and had borne the brunt of that struggle, would have chosen some other man as the first Cuban president had American influence been inactive. . . . When the time came for the second presidential election last year, which is said to have been carried by fraud, American influence was felt, if at all, in support of President Palma's continuance in office, for his conduct of affairs, on the whole, had satisfied our government. And with reason, for the Palma policy had been so far "Americano" that the Cuban government did nothing to develop a naval force, or a military establishment beyond the "rural guard"; while the protests of our state department have been sufficient to prevent the ratification by the Palma government of the Anglo-Cuban treaty, which was such a convention of commerce and navigation as any independent government would naturally negotiate with another. Yet while President Palma was giving so much satisfaction to the tutelary power at Washington, he

was alienating the support of the Cuban people, as is now abundantly proved in the apparently overwhelming popular sympathy with the insurgent cause. It is not, then, real independence that has been on trial in Cuba. And the failure, such as it is, must be ascribed as much to the imposing upon the Cuban people, by outside influences, of a government which did not spring wholly from the popular heart as to the Cuban incapacity for self-government.

licans are right—other men are not our brothers, and Christ was wrong. Of course, there is my contract, but I'm not a-goin' to stand by that. You notice, "Taft fixes no time limit," makes no promise of independence, and Roosevelt's policy is announced to "treat Cuba as domestic territory." The only doubt I have is whether Taft kin do it alone. Of course, Funston is there to help him, and the army; and if they can't overset a treaty of the United States, what do I keep an army for? I had a Congress once that might, in its prime, have stopped the administration boys, cut off their rations or grog or somethin', and made trouble, but Congress is in the woods now, and no good when it's out—no men in it, nothin' but safe and sane harvesters, in for the crops.

RELATED THINGS
CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE LITTLE CHRISTIAN.

He trembled in the morning,
At noon he was afraid,
And heavy on his heart at night
The hand of fear was laid.

A presence walked beside him
Of horror and of fright—
A shadow in the sunshine,
A menace in the night.

And this that dragged his childhood,
This thing of scourge and rod,
They gave him as a priceless gift,
And bade him call it God.

They made for him a fear that killed
The child-joy in his breast;
They made for him a shape of dread
And bade him love it best.

Oh Mild, Oh Just, Oh Merciful!
What then shall be their shame,
These souls who teach a little child
To shudder at Thy name!

—Theodosia Garrison, in *Life*.

+ + +

Well, business is mixed with me. I'm running a little Russia of my own out in the Philippines. I captured some ladrones awhile back—same thing as Boston tea party men, or Russian patriots, as I larn, and I've condemned six to be hanged; and five to 30, and ten to 20 years' imprisonment at hard labor.

I had to use a little perfidy to get 'em, but I'm gettin' used to that in this world-power business. I got a Philippine agitator, named Gomez, to negotiate with the rebels. He promised 'em light sentences if they'd surrender. When I got 'em I denied it, and now I'm hangin' em. I don't believe my name is goin' to be as good in the future as it was. I used to think it was a fine thing to keep the banner clean; to keep the red, white and blue unsoiled, so men could look at it and love it, as they did, without shame—without thinkin', "Look at the great Star Spangled Banner—it's word ain't worth a clam!" But I've quit bein' a leader. I'm a follower of the world powers.

UNCLE SAM.

+ + +

UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

Printed from the Original MS.

Dear John:—Do you notice me in Cuba? I guess I'm what they call an Injun giver. I gave Cuba her liberty all right, but I had a string to it. I never did mean it—a democratic thing like that. Trust my Republican boys for that. They're dishonest clear through, and bright! Just watch 'em! But it's hard to know exactly how to pull the trick off. You see, John, this is a queer war they have down in Cuba. It's a big insurrection all right—big as Coxe's army, and nigh about as fierce, but nobody killed—that's the trouble. I did hear there was some mules stolen in the interior, but I was afraid they'd come home, and something had to be done. Anyhow, you couldn't cry, Remember the Mules, as you could, Remember the Maine. I had to have some reason that would go with the unthinking people of Europe and America, so I killed some marines. Yes, John, the other morning early I sacrificed 26 marines in the Cuban war—killed 'em by wireless telegraph. It's the cheapest way to kill marines, wireless telegraph is, and not specially unpleasant to the marines. It horrifies the country fine. I can do anything now I want, and I'm a-goin' to keep Cuba. That's the way my administration feels. My early sentiment was nonsense. The modern Repub-

THE RIOT AT FAIRVIEW, AND WHAT CAUSED IT.

For The Public.

Jim Biles dotes upon his reputation as a traveler. He has documents to show that his meandering has taken him as far east as La Porte, Indiana, as far west as Lockport on the drainage canal, and as far south as Dongola, which is somewhere in Egypt.

To avoid misunderstanding, it is well to state that Jim Biles's Egypt is not oriental Egypt, but just the plain, common Egypt of southern Illinois. Otherwise it would be difficult to believe the tale that Jim poured into my ears while we were hanging on to the straps of a Cottage Grove Palace car the other night.

It seems there is a town somewhere in Egypt by the name of Fairview, or Longview, or Richview, or some other kind of a View. Jim had lost the memorandum of the name, but was willing to make affidavit that it was a View of some kind, and that the people of the town were good meaning, average American citizens, with well organized schools, including an incipient college, and plenty of churches—in fact, more churches than were sufficient to accommodate the people with church proclivities.

Jim also strongly insisted upon the truth of the statement that these people read a great variety of

newspapers and books, and seemed to be endowed with the faculty of thought.

In view of the tale which Jim declares to be the simple truth the latter proposition might be doubted, except for the known fact that people often have faculties which become lost from disuse.

The people of this town were possessed of considerable executive ability in regard to public matters, and managed their water works and their schools and libraries and other public utilities so well that every citizen was able to point with pride to these advantages, and if any one in the town had any real estate to sell he was very careful to impress upon the purchaser the fact that these excellent public utilities gave great additional value to his property.

This indicates sound judgment as a mental characteristic of the citizens of this town, and in view of this it will hardly be credited that in paying for all these public utilities they did not tax each one in proportion to the benefits received from the public improvements, but taxed things so that the industrious man who kept his house painted and his lawn clipped paid a great deal more than his neighbor who was too lazy to push a lawn mower.

It seems that when the present century was very new a strange man of imposing aspect and musical voice came to the excellent town hotel with several trunks and two silver-mounted satchels of large size. He presented to the mayor and the aldermen of the town such strong and well attested letters of introduction, and used the imposing presence and the musical voice to such great advantage, that these guardians of the public interests surrendered to his seductive influence at once.

Said he, "I have it upon the best authority that the country that sends abroad the greatest quantity of wealth and gets back the least, thereby acquires a great balance of trade, which makes high wages and prosperous times and enriches every citizen, so that even the beggar has no difficulty in getting a balance in a Savings Bank that is most always good and safe.

"This great balance of trade is so prolific of prosperity and contentment that our great Captains of Industry in their excess of generosity send abroad quantities of the products of their industry, and sell it to foreign peoples at prices from 10 to 50 per cent. cheaper than they sell like products to our own people. The gratitude of the foreign people and the pride and joy of our people on account of this condition of things cannot be estimated. The happiness of the men who are on a strike for an increase of seven cents an hour in their wages, when they think of the foreigner getting things so cheap, cannot be put in words so you will understand it.

"This felicitous condition of things, my friends, is brought about by the levying of a slight tax upon imports (which the foreigner pays), which enables the Captains of Industry to get a higher price for their products, and at the same time (strange as it may seem) enables them to sell at lower prices, and to pay higher wages to the men that do the work.

"Not all the people can understand this paradox, but the most of them have faith in it, and when there are any symptoms that we are going to get back something for the wealth that we send out and get even with the world, everybody begins to

worry lest the Captains of Industry shut down the mills and starvation comes.

"Now, my friends, this prosperous town can become more prosperous if you will only help me to get up a balance of trade. I am an expert maker of whetstones, but on account of the competition of cheap foreign labor I cannot make whetstones profitably. If you will be so kind as to pass an ordinance by which each of your citizens will be obligated to pay me five cents a month, I will establish an industry here that will build up your town, give employment to labor, and make such a balance of trade that every heart will be glad.

"Five cents a month from each citizen will be so insignificant that it will not be noticed, but it will make an income for me of three thousand dollars a year. This will enable me to build a fine mansion on your best residence street, and to clothe my family in fine raiment, and feed them the most nutritious and delicious food. You see the boom which this expenditure will give to industry here. Mechanics will find employment at once, and also all other branches of industry, in supplying the wants of myself and my family. The making of whetstones will give employment to others of your citizens, and the quantity of whetstones I will send out of this town will enormously increase the balance of trade, and the people will never miss the five cents per month.

"The little drops contributed by each will swell into a river of prosperity that will bless you all. The steel industry and the sugar industry and dozens of other industries are proving the correctness of this reasoning, and I see no reason why my whetstone industry should not receive your favor."

It is said that this seductive picture of prosperity had little effect upon the mayor and aldermen until the gentleman with the musical voice began to wave an American flag, and remind them in eloquent periods that we were the greatest nation upon earth, and could whip anybody with one hand tied behind us, if we only stuck to the principle of sending things out of the country and taking nothing back.

Then the Council surrendered, and passed the five cent ordinance taxing every citizen five cents a month for the benefit of the gentleman of the imposing aspect and the musical voice.

Biles says that the result following the passage of this law cannot be accounted for upon the hypothesis that men are reasonable beings. He cannot see why people that support the sugar trust and favor ship subsidies should kick about a little five cent ordinance, but Biles leans to radicalism and sarcasm.

As soon as the people learned of the passage of the five cent law there was such a riot as is seldom seen except in cities of large size and in despotic countries. Two thousand men assembled in front of the town hall, and with very little deliberation proceeded to apply a coat of tar and feathers to the mayor and such aldermen as they could catch. They burned the book of ordinances, and sacked the town hall, and chased the gentleman with the musical voice ten miles across the country, where he escaped upon a passing freight train.

They kept up such a condition of riot and anarchy and made such ferocious threats that not one of

the members of the Council who passed the ordinance have dared to return home, but all remain in a state of the most obscure exile.

It is probable that few readers will find themselves able to believe this simple statement, but Biles has a good reputation for truth and veracity, as the lawyers say, and he has some corroborating documents.

JACKSON BIGGLES.

+ * *

THE INFLUENCE OF TAXATION ON THE PROSPERITY OF CITIES.

A Paper Read by Lawson Purdy of New York Before the League of American Municipalities, in Session at Chicago, September 26, 1906.

In 1873, Enoch Ensley, a wealthy planter of Tennessee, wrote to Governor Brown asking him to call a special session of the legislature to amend the constitution so that changes could be made in the tax laws of Tennessee. The tax rate of Nashville was three and one-half per cent. and of Memphis four per cent., and Mr. Ensley said that the burden on business was insupportable. Great land owner as he was, however, Ensley did not urge a search for new sources of revenue, but rather the application of the "rule or motto" which, he said, "It would be well for the State to adopt and have cut into the stone at the capitol (in large letters and have them gilded), in the Senate chamber, the hall of the House of Representatives and in the governor's office, . . . to-wit :

"Never tax anything
That would be of value to your State,
That could and would run away, or
That could and would come to you."

This rule laid down by Ensley has become an axiom, but before it can be applied the constitutions of about thirty-five States must be amended by repealing those despotic limitations on legislative power which are not found in the earlier constitutions, and which should find no place in the constitution of any free people. Because of constitutional and statutory restraints upon the power of cities we need discuss only what can be accomplished in most cities by executive officials under existing laws.

Conditions of Prosperity.

City officials often regard the city as apart and distinct from the individual citizens, and sometimes therefore uphold policies which appear to be in the interest of the city corporation, although opposed to the interests of the citizens. This is, of course, a short-sighted view. In reality nothing can be good for the city which is bad for the citizen, nor bad for the city which is good for the citizens. Again, many consider the interest of classes and speak of what will be advantageous to manufacturers or shopkeepers or land owners. This, too, is a mistaken attitude. Citizens should be regarded alike as men, and not as the owners or users of some kind of property. All depend upon the workers who render service for service, and it is fair therefore to consider the interest of all citizens as bound up in the interest of those who earn their living; and that city may be regarded as the most prosperous in which it is easiest and most agreeable to earn a living.

The interests of the city and of its citizens are identical. Nevertheless, they may be viewed from both standpoints.

The City Standpoint.

From the standpoint of the municipal corporation the revenue must be ample and economically administered.

To secure ample revenue there must be an ample source of revenue, and I shall point out how the source of revenue will be increased by increasing the demand upon it.

Revenues should be economically and wisely expended. Mere honesty of administration, without intelligence, is not sufficient, for needless expenditures must be avoided, such as the unnecessary streets so common in all our cities, which must be sewered, paved, lighted, cleaned and policed. To avoid opening unnecessary streets the development of the city must be uniform and compact yet without any overcrowding. Every lot must be put to its best use. It is not difficult to determine when a lot is not put to its best use; for every lot should yield the largest rental return of which it is capable, and when we see old three-story dwellings next door to business blocks, it is evident that there an opportunity is wasted. It is hardly possible to travel a mile in any American city without noting scores of such wasted opportunities. We see worn out wooden buildings of one to four stories on lots which ought to be improved with modern offices or lofts; tumble down tenement houses on sites needed for factories; lots entirely vacant and unused for which the demand, expressed in selling value, is very great for stores, factories or dwellings. In the suburbs we must pass hundreds of acres of unused land intersected by streets before we reach the next settlement. The best use for the vacant lots nearer the center would be for dwellings, and the best use for the lots on which are the distant dwellings would probably be to raise vegetables for the city market.

Men individually are not responsible for this foolish waste of energy; men on the average are intelligent and seek to earn a living by the least exertion. It is our laws or their administration which force them to exert their energy in directions which are wasteful for the community.

The Personal Standpoint.

From the standpoint of the individual it is easy to see that the same conditions which make the prosperity of the city make the well-being of the citizen.

For the man seeking to earn a living, opportunities to earn a living must be plentiful and wages high. Sites for manufacturing or business purposes or for homes must be easy to acquire at low cost. The place of work or business must be near the home and easy of access. Streets must be clean, well paved, sewered and lighted; there must be a plentiful supply of good water, sufficient public parks, good schools and efficient fire and police protection.

Any city with such advantages would be a desirable place to live in, there would be a great demand for sites for business and residence, and more than this, such a city would be a blessing to the whole country, because it would make an effective demand for all manner of things produced elsewhere.

The Principal Source of Revenue.

The principal source of revenue in all American cities is a tax on real estate. Probably not one gets less than 50 per cent. of its revenue from this tax, and many cities get much more. Nevertheless the average man gives very little thought to what economists call the incidence of the tax on real estate, and people, otherwise intelligent, cling to opinions which a little thought would disprove, or which if they are too lazy to think for themselves, would be cured by a little dose of any standard work on political economy.

The very first inquiry as to any tax should be about its effect, and especially by whom it is ultimately paid. Many people erroneously think of taxes as falling only upon those who pay the tax bills and speak of them as the "taxpayers." Often suggestions are made and even acted upon that the "taxpayers" should have exclusive control of public expenditures.

Another erroneous theory widely held is that tenants or occupiers pay all real estate taxes and that the entire burden falls upon them. This is not so foolish and probably had its origin in the statement that "The consumer pays the taxes." A great many men see clearly enough that the producer of goods must recover from the purchaser any tax imposed upon the production of the goods, just as he must recover from the purchaser the cost of his raw materials, the wear and tear of machinery and the wages of workers. If a tax is imposed on goods, production must be curtailed in order that the price of the goods may be advanced. Sometimes it may be that coincident with the imposition of a tax economies in production are effected and the price does not rise. Sometimes there may be a change in quality to bring about the necessary economy.

The only difficulty in determining the true effect of a tax on real estate arises because real estate is two things of different nature joined under one name. It is necessary to distinguish the effect of the tax in so far as it falls on the value of land alone exclusive of improvements, from the effect of the tax so far as it falls on improvements alone. The failure to distinguish between these two different effects is responsible for the persistence of the two erroneous theories described, which are all the more misleading because of their partial truth.

The Tax on Buildings and Other Improvements.

The effect of the tax on buildings and other improvements is the same as the effect of the tax on any other product of human labor. So far as there is any difference in the effect of a tax on buildings and a tax on movable goods it is of degree and not of kind. The difference is in the rapidity with which the tax can be shifted and not in its ultimate destination. Men erect buildings in order to get a certain income or in order to sell the building on the basis of that expected income. If a tax is imposed on buildings, other things remaining the same, it must reduce the net income of the owners of those buildings. The mere imposition of the tax does not in itself confer any power to exact a higher rental. On the average, owners of buildings always exact the highest rental that can be secured, and there must be some increased demand for buildings or decrease in their supply before tenants can be forced to pay

higher rentals. If a tax is imposed on buildings, some persons will be deterred from erecting new buildings and thus production will be checked. This will go on until the demand due to an increase of population or to the destruction of old buildings absorbs the supply, raises the rents and so induces builders to erect new buildings.

Without a more minute examination of all the varying conditions, such as growth of population, which influence rentals, it is evident then that so far as buildings are concerned the consumer does pay the taxes. This is true because buildings are products of labor which may be indefinitely produced, and it must also be true of any other improvements fixed to the land and made real estate. So far as any tax falls on buildings or on other improvements on land, it is paid by tenants who may or may not be also owners.

One more step concludes the examination. A tax which falls on those who use the buildings or other improvements on land for productive purposes, increases the cost of the things produced, and this cost must be recovered from those who finally use the products. The condition is truthfully summed up when we say that the consumers of buildings and other improvements on land pay the taxes, in so far as they fall on those buildings or improvements; for the consumer of a pair of shoes or a coat is also a user and consumer of the building in which the coat or shoes were made.

The Ad Valorem Tax on Land.

In analyzing the effect of the tax laid on land in proportion to its value—levied, as it is, universally throughout the United States—we must constantly bear in mind that price cannot be affected in any other way than by affecting demand or supply. This phrase "demand and supply determine price," is often glibly spoken by those who never think out the manner in which any given conditions affect demand or supply, and thus affect prices. Some seem to think that demand and supply are constant forces which operate without regard to other forces of physical nature, or to social forces induced by legislation. Demand and supply, however, are both affected by what may be called physical and human conditions. If there is a drought or excessive rain which reduces the supply of wheat the price rises; if there is an ample harvest the price falls. In both cases supply is affected. On the other hand, there may be a normal supply in such hard times that the purchasing power of the people is seriously affected. In this case demand falls off and the price of wheat falls with it.

If, for the moment, we disregard the factor of speculation in land (which results in some land being withheld from use and from sale in the expectation of a rise in price), and if we then apply the principle that supply and demand determine price, it is easy to see that laying an ad valorem tax on land has no influence upon the supply of land nor upon upon the demand for land. Hence the tax cannot enable the owner of land to exact a higher price or a higher rental. Disregarding speculation, so long as the tax is not more than the entire sum which can be obtained for the use of land, it makes no difference in the rent whether the tax is high or low. The imposition of the tax does not increase the num-

ber of persons who desire to use any particular site, and does not decrease the supply of land competing with it. Such a tax, therefore, falls wholly upon the owner.

If the owner of the land is also the user, a tax upon it which does not take more than its entire rental value does not help the owner to increase the price of his products. The price of any product is limited by the cost of production upon the least, desirable site. The saving effected in the cost of a product by producing it on a more desirable site is the rental value of that site, and goes to the owner of the site, not as a profit of manufacture but as rent. If part of this rental is taken by taxation, the profit of manufacture is not decreased. This is a fact frequently overlooked, although we all know that cheap goods are sold on very valuable land. Goods can be bought for less, for example, in our great cities than in country villages, and it is generally more profitable to establish factories on the valuable land of cities than on low-priced country land.

So far we have left out of consideration speculation in land. As a matter of fact we know that in every progressive community there is speculation in land, and that much land is withheld from use in expectation of an advance in value. This decreases the supply as effectively as though the land were to sink into the sea, and the decrease of the supply increases the price. Withholding any land from use increases the rental and the selling value of all land. The tax reduces the profit of withholding land from use because the land operator must take into account what are called his carrying charges, which include taxes as well as interest on the purchase price. The more carrying charges increase, the stronger is the pressure upon the operator to part with his land. Thus an ad valorem tax tends to increase the supply of land, and as supply increases price falls, whether it is considered as selling price or rental price.

A very important feature of our system of land taxation is that when the rate is uniform the tax falls wholly upon those who own the land at the time the tax is first imposed. The selling price of land depends upon the net revenue which can be obtained from it, and if the net revenue is reduced by the imposition of a tax, the selling price falls proportionately. For example, the gross revenue which can be obtained from a certain lot or farm is \$1,000. If there is no tax upon it the selling price, calculated on a basis of 5 per cent., would be \$20,000. If there is a tax of \$200 a year the net revenue would be only \$800, and the selling price would be \$16,000. The owner at the time the tax is imposed would suffer a loss of income of \$200 a year. If he sold he would obtain a price based only on the reduced revenue, while the purchaser would buy this revenue of \$800 a year and would get all that he paid for. The tax would be no burden to him, as it has operated to save him the sum of \$4,000, which he can invest otherwise.

The general result of our tax on land may then be summarized as follows: The tax is paid entirely by the owner and neither increases the rent nor the price of land. The tax tends to check speculation and to force some land into use, which in the absence of the tax would be withheld. So long as the rate remains uniform the tax is no burden upon

those who have bought since the tax was first imposed, because the purchase price paid was reduced by the amount of the tax capitalized at the current rate of interest.

These conclusions in regard to a tax on both land and improvements could be enforced by quotations from the leading economists. But the reasoning is so simple and the conclusion so plain that it is needless to read quotations in their support.

Assessment of Real Estate.

In some of our States the basis for the tax levy is some proportion of the assessed value. In Illinois, for example, it is one-fifth. In all States, however, the ultimate basis is the market value of the property, and the decisions of the courts in regard to what constitutes "full value," "market value," "selling value," and the other terms by which the assessment basis is defined, are practically uniform. In the city of New York the charter provides for the assessment of real estate at "the sum for which, under ordinary circumstances, it will sell;" and the tax commissioners in their directions to their deputies in 1903 summed up the criteria of value which should guide the assessor in arriving at his conclusion. They said:

Foreclosure sales, sheriff's sales, or forced sales of any description are not to be considered by you as evidences of true value. On the other hand you are cautioned not to base your estimates of value of real estate upon the fictitious considerations now so frequent in deeds and mortgages, nor upon sales or mortgages made to "dummies," nor upon the amounts awarded in condemnation proceedings, nor upon "boom" prices, or the prices advertised in speculators' circulars, nor upon the unverified statements of alleged "offers," nor upon the wants or necessities or the idiosyncrasies of buyers or builders. Neither are you always to base your estimate upon the aggregate value of the land and the cost of the buildings thereon, for the structures may be antiquated, defective in architecture, inappropriate to the location, and consequently unproductive.

None of these is conclusive evidence of true value.

The full value at which you are required by law to assess real estate for the purpose of taxation does not mean extreme value, exchange value or prospective value, but the actual value, selling value, market value. Full value, selling value and market value are synonymous terms. Market value has been appropriately defined to be the sum which a willing purchaser is prepared to pay and which a willing seller is ready to accept.

In Massachusetts and some other States the law requires a statement of the value of the land, of the improvements thereon, and of the total value of real estate, separately. In the city of New York the charter provides for a statement of "the sum for which each separately assessed parcel of real estate, under ordinary circumstances, would sell if it were wholly unimproved; and separately stated, the sum for which, under ordinary circumstances, the same parcel of real estate would sell with the improvements, if any, thereon." This provides for two columns of figures only instead of three, and has a decided advantage in its psychological effect upon assessors. If assessors are required to set down the value of improvements they are tempted to place a value upon improvements which are really valueless, and to base their judgment on the cost of reproduction, regardless of whether the improvements are

sued to the site or are certain to be replaced by the next purchaser.

The law for the assessment of real estate in New York as amended in 1903 is the best now in force, because it embodies in the best form what is absolutely essential for an equitable assessment of real estate, that is, provision for the separate statement of the value of land. This provision tends to prevent discrimination in the assessments of land as compared with one another; to prevent the mere copying of previous assessment rolls, and to prevent wilful discrimination. It makes comparison between the assessments of neighboring property much easier, and in the event of a dispute between taxpayers and assessors there is better evidence to substantiate the just contentions of either party.

Much improvement can be made in many places by a change in the law, but no law can obviate the necessity for honest, intelligent, industrious assessors. It is the most important work to be performed by any city official; therefore, assessors should be sufficient in number, highly paid, and hold their places so long as they do their work efficiently.

It is notorious that assessments are not generally made as the law directs, at full value, but are made at some arbitrary proportion. The adoption of any standard of value other than that required by law really takes away all standards. Each assessor is a law unto himself, and each assessment becomes a matter of his own arbitrary and secret judgment. Arbitrary, because when he is not held to a legal standard, no one can order him to adopt any other. Secret, because he is liable to indictment if he declares he has adopted any other than the legal standard. Disobedience to the law results in a varying and fluctuating standard.

An almost inevitable result of the disregard of the legal standard is a discrimination between different classes of property. A discrimination between individual owners may amount to an intolerable persecution of individuals, but is more easily detected and corrected than discrimination between classes, which is productive of grave evils to the city as a whole. Even in those cities which have the fairest assessment, investigation will always disclose that certain classes of property bear an undue burden, and these classes are always the same. The conditions that existed in 1893 in Chicago and were fully investigated by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Illinois, are typical of what is still common. It was then the practice, and has since become the law in Illinois, to make an assessment at 20 per cent. of full value the basis for the tax levy. The investigation proved that unimproved property was assessed at less than 5 per cent. of its true value, expensive residences at less than 8 per cent., business and office buildings under 10 per cent., and cheap residences at about 16 per cent. In Chicago land was paying only one-quarter as much in proportion to its value as a small house.

In the city of New York, in spite of great improvement in recent years and an assessment which probably compares favorably with any city in the country, it is common to find vacant land assessed for half or less than half of its market value, and residences costing \$2,000 to \$4,000 assessed at their full cost of reproduction, a contemptible though thought-

Publishers' Column

The Public

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

Familiarity with The Public will commend it as a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

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

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

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION

Yearly	\$1.00
Half yearly50
Quarterly25
Single copies10
Trial subscription—4 weeks10
Extra copies in quantity, \$3.00 per 100, in lots of 50 and upward; if addressed to individuals, \$3.50 per 100.	

Free of postage in United States, Canada, Cuba and Mexico. Elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week.

All checks, drafts, postoffice money orders and express money orders should be made payable to the order of The Public Publishing Co. Money orders or Chicago or New York Drafts are preferred, on account of exchange charges by the Chicago banks.

Subscribers wishing to change address must give the old address as well as the new one.

Receipt of payment is shown in about two weeks by date on wrapper.

The date on wrapper shows when the subscription expires. All subscribers are requested to note this date and to remit promptly for renewal of subscription when due.

TERMS OF ADVERTISING

Per agate line, each insertion.....	\$ 0.00
Per inch (14 lines), each insertion.....	1.00
Per column, (120 lines) each insertion.....	10.00
One-quarter page (60 lines), each insertion.....	5.00
One-half page (120 lines), each insertion.....	10.00
One page (240 lines), each insertion.....	20.00
Last cover page, each insertion.....	25.00
Last cover half page, each insertion.....	12.00
Last cover quarter page, each insertion.....	6.00

Advertising forms close on the Tuesday preceding the Saturday of publication.

Hours: 10 a. m. to 4 p. m.

Telephone Harrison 1027

CHARLES L. LOGAN, D. O. OSTEOPATHIC PHYSICIAN

Office: 45 Auditorium Bldg.

HOTEL WARNER—EVENINGS

CHICAGO

EDWARD POLAK

4030 Third Avenue

NEW YORK CITY

Real Estate Auctioneer
and Broker

Investments carefully made in New York real estate for out of town clients. BEST OF REFERENCES.

SUCCESS IN LIFE

By LOUIS F. POST

A reprint of a favorite little essay in THE PUBLIC, first published in 1902.

16mo, paper, 14 pages, 4 cents, postpaid. One dozen copies 25 cents, postpaid.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO., First National Bank Bldg., CHICAGO

less oppression of the poor. In parts of the city in which the value of land is rapidly rising there is some excuse for its under-valuation, but an assessment at less than half the value cannot be excused, and such assessments are not uncommon.

The chief remedy for discrimination between individuals and between classes of property is that already outlined, of requiring a separate statement of the value of land. A further remedy is in the largest degree of publicity, by methods suited to the character and size of the city, either such as that we have in the City of New York, through the publication of the assessment rolls in a convenient form, or by the methods employed by Mr. W. A. Somers in the City of St. Paul, which provide for public hearings to fix unit front-foot values. More important still is an enlightened public sentiment which will demand the highest class of service in this most important city function.

The Benefits of a Real Estate Tax Equitably Assessed.

A low tax rate is commonly assumed to be a blessing in itself. But a comparison of our own cities with cities of Europe shows plainly that the sources of taxes are of much more importance than the amount of them, and that it is a full tax on real estate, equitably assessed, that is a blessing and not a detriment. I have already pointed out that our cities derive a large percentage of their revenue from the tax which falls on land, exclusive of improvements. In the City of New York 44 per cent. of the revenue from taxation is derived from the value of land, and if real estate were assessed with perfect equity, the proportion would probably be increased by one-fifth, so that the city would derive 55 per cent. of its revenue from taxation from the tax on land values. Since 1903, when the proportion of revenue from land values was increased by the attempt to assess at full value, as the law directs, the city has grown faster than ever. The construction of buildings has been unparalleled and the value of land has increased enormously.

European cities do not enjoy a tax on real estate such as we have, and in none of the more important cities is a considerable proportion of their revenue derived from the value of land. Paris has recently adopted a small land value tax, in place of the "octroi," or duty on goods brought into the city. And German cities, which enjoy far more home rule than American cities, are one after the other adopting small taxes on land values, for economic rather than revenue reasons. In England the present ministry is committed to such a tax as a matter of party policy.

The argument is so forcibly presented by an authority at once so eminent and so conservative, that it is enough to quote from the first report of Her Majesty's Commissioners for inquiring into the Housing of the Working Classes, signed, among others, by the present King of England, Cardinal Manning, John Morley and Charles Dilke. The commissioners said:

Your Majesty's Commissioners must observe in reference to Lord Shaftesbury's Acts, and to nearly every proposal for improving the dwellings of the working classes, as well as to other local improvements, that the present incidence of local taxation stands seriously in the way of all progress and reform.

SPECIAL NOTICE TO SINGLE TAXERS OF CHICAGO

Dinner on October 5

The Single Taxers of Chicago and vicinity, and their friends, will dine at the Washington Restaurant, N. W. Corner Wabash Avenue and Adams Street, Chicago, on the evening of Friday, October 5th, at 6 o'clock. The dinner will be table d'hôte, price 50 cents the plate. Some after-dinner remarks will be made by Mr. George A. Schilling.

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

NELLIE CARLIN, U. A. H. GREENE,
FRANK D. BUTLER, H. W. MCFARLANE,
Committee.

ATTORNEYS

FRED. CYRUS LEUBUSCHER,
COUNSELOR AT LAW.
Rooms 811, 812, 813 and 814
258 Broadway, Borough of Manhattan, NEW YORK
Telephone: 4094 Cortlandt.

**WILLIAM H. HOLLY
LAWYER**

1506 Tribune Building, - - - CHICAGO
Telephones: { Central 2056
Automatic 4065

John Moody & Co.

Dealers in
Investment Securities
35 Nassau Street, New York



It Helps Business

To Have Your Office Furnished With

Andrews High-grade Office Fittings
Metal Typewriter Chairs, Etc.

The A. H. Andrews Co.

174 Wabash Avenue Chicago

THE TRUSTS! Do you wish to learn the truth about the Trusts? If so, send us 10 cents and we will send

you on trial for three months one of the best and most powerful anti-Trust papers published, and request 100 publishers of like reform papers to mail you sample copies of their publications. Lots of interesting and instructive reading matter on important reform questions. Read our running article on the Modern Pharisee (the Trust magnates and their satellites) and see how they make religion a stepping-stone to the accumulation of great wealth, and how they secure the support of the Churches in elections by their contributions to religious and other institutions of the "blood-money" wrung from the people. Another running article commanding special attention at present is entitled "The Owners of Our Trusts," which gives the names of the high financiers who are exploiting the people through the Trusts built up by the Insurance Companies.

ADDRESS

THE INDUSTRIAL TRIBUNE
CORONA, N. Y.

At present, land available for building in the neighborhood of our populous centers, though its capital value is very great, is probably producing a small yearly return until it is let for buildings. The owners of this land are rated not in relation to the real value but to the actual annual income. They can thus afford to keep their land out of the market and to part with only small quantities, so as to raise the price beyond the natural monopoly price which the land would command by its advantages of position. Meantime, the general expenditure of the town on improvements is increasing the value of their property. If this land were rated at, say, 4 per cent. on its selling value, the owners would have a more direct incentive to part with it to those who are desirous of building, and a two-fold advantage would result to the community. First, all the valuable property would contribute to the rates, and thus the burden on the occupiers would be diminished by the increase in the ratable property. Secondly, the owners of the building land would be forced to offer their land for sale, and thus their competition with one another would bring down the price of building land, and so diminish the tax in the shape of ground rent, or price paid for land which is now levied on urban enterprise by the adjacent land owners—a tax, be it remembered, which is no recompense for any industry or expenditure on their part, but is the natural result of the industry and activity of the townspeople themselves.

It is evident that our real estate tax, even when poorly administered, as it has generally been, has done much to prevent the withholding of land from use, and to induce the best use of every piece of ground. Much of our American prosperity is due to the fact that so much of our taxes do fall on land. Let us consider, then, some of the effects of a strict enforcement of the law requiring the assessment of land at its market value, bearing constantly in mind in assessing improvements that they never can be worth more than the cost of reproduction; that they deteriorate by use and wear; that with almost every year such improvements in processes of construction are made that the cost of building declines, and buildings erected by old methods become antiquated before they are one-tenth worn out. We must remember, too, that thousands and hundreds of thousands of dollars are spent on buildings for the pleasure of the owner, which add but little to their selling value, which is the measure of assessment.

When land is assessed at its full value and building are not relatively overassessed, the profit now gained by retaining worn out buildings on lots needed for improvement, or by putting up one-story stores as taxpayers, instead of buildings suited to the site, will materially be reduced. The selling value of land will relatively decline; lots for homes and all business purposes will be easier to get, and the tax on the buildings when erected will be lower than at present. The increased contribution from the tax on land will relieve the burden of taxes which check production and increase the cost of goods, which reduce the opportunities for employment, and thus tend to lower wages.

We have found the conditions of prosperity from the standpoint of the city and from the standpoint of the individual. Let us now look at the effect upon prosperity of a tax on real estate equitably assessed. We must have an ample and increasing source of revenue. The higher land is taxed the easier it is to get, the lower the taxes on other things, and the greater is the stimulus to growth and improve-

AN IMPORTANT PAPER

The Influence of Taxation on the Prosperity of Cities

Lawson Purdy's paper, under this title, published elsewhere in this issue, is an exceptionally clear, concise and business-like statement of the methods by which American cities, under existing laws, can, by the equitable and intelligent assessment and taxation of real estate, add very greatly to their attractiveness and prosperity as municipalities, and to the enduring prosperity of their citizens.

This paper will prove of especial interest and value to city officials, members of city councils, and workers for civic improvements, as well as to all interested in equitable taxation. Extra copies of this issue of *The Public* will be furnished, while the supply lasts, at the regular price: 5 cents per copy, in small lots; \$2.00 per 100, in lots of 50 and upward.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY

First National Bank Building, CHICAGO

The Valuation of Real Estate for the Purpose of Taxation

By W. A. SOMERS

An explanation of a new and scientific system for arriving at the value of real estate for purposes of taxation. This system is to some extent now in effect in St. Paul, Minn., Minneapolis, Minn., Duluth, Minn., Cleveland, Ohio, and Camden, N. J.

8vo, paper, 34 pages, illustrated with diagrams, 25 cents, postpaid.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.

First National Bank Building, CHICAGO

ment; this turn increases land values. The further this policy is pursued, then, the more rapidly will the source of revenue increase.

We have said that unnecessary streets should not be opened. The reason they are opened is because the vacant lot industry is profitable. The smaller the profit in withholding land from use, the fewer will be the unnecessary streets. Every lot should be put to its best use, and the smaller the profit of putting it to inferior uses the more likely it will be that lots will be put to the best use, and worn-out, misplaced buildings will give place to new and suitable buildings. If the city is compact and its growth uniform, lots not immediately needed for building will not have a fictitious value, and can and will be utilized to advantage for market gardens. With fewer miles of streets in proportion to population they can be kept cleaner, better paved, and better lighted. It will be cheaper to supply water, cheaper to make parks, easier to obtain sites for schools. Sites for business purposes and for homes will be easier to acquire at relatively lower cost, and the reduction of the tax on buildings will reduce rentals of tenements and check overcrowding.

With these advantages growth will be rapid, and with added growth comes increased land values, so that the more the source of revenue is tapped the larger will grow the flow of revenue.

An honest and intelligent assessment of real estate for five years would add to the wealth of the country thousands of millions of dollars, and improve the conditions of life for all our citizens. And to get it is simple, easy, and in obedience to existing law.

BOOKS

HEREDITY.

Poverty and Hereditary Genius. A Criticism of Mr. Francis Galton's Theory of Hereditary Genius. By F. C. Constable, M. A. Published by Arthur C. Fifield, London. Sold by The Public Publishing Company. Price, 75 cents, postpaid.

As the title indicates, this is an adverse commentary on Francis Galton's theory that man's natural abilities are derived by inheritance. Mr. Constable enters with close analysis into the merits of the position which he criticizes, finding it in the main unsupported by the facts of human history, though there is sometimes a specious show of truth in Francis Galton's famous theory of the improvement of the race by inheritance of ancestral virtues.

It is Mr. Constable's proposition that environment is a far more powerful factor in the development of higher types of manhood than inherited traits of genius. In his study of the various classes of men who have risen to great achievements in literature, science, statesmanship, generalship and other fields of accomplishment he discovers not so much the direction of heredity as the influence of environment. The natural ability which Galton makes the basis of achievement his critic claims is quite as often latent as active until brought out by the favoring and impelling power of circumstances. There must be a degree of economic freedom to insure

Proportional Representation

Including Its Relation to the Initiative and Referendum

By ALFRED CRIDGE

With Appendix by Robert Tyson and a Biographical Sketch of the Author

MEMORIAL EDITION

Only a few copies of this edition remain, and are here offered at a very moderate price. This little book should be in every library, public and private.

12mo, heavy paper cover, 69 pages,
15 cents, postpaid

The Public Publishing Company

First National Bank Building, Chicago

Addresses at the Funeral of Henry George

Compiled by EDMUND YARDLEY
With an Introduction by HENRY GEORGE, Jr.

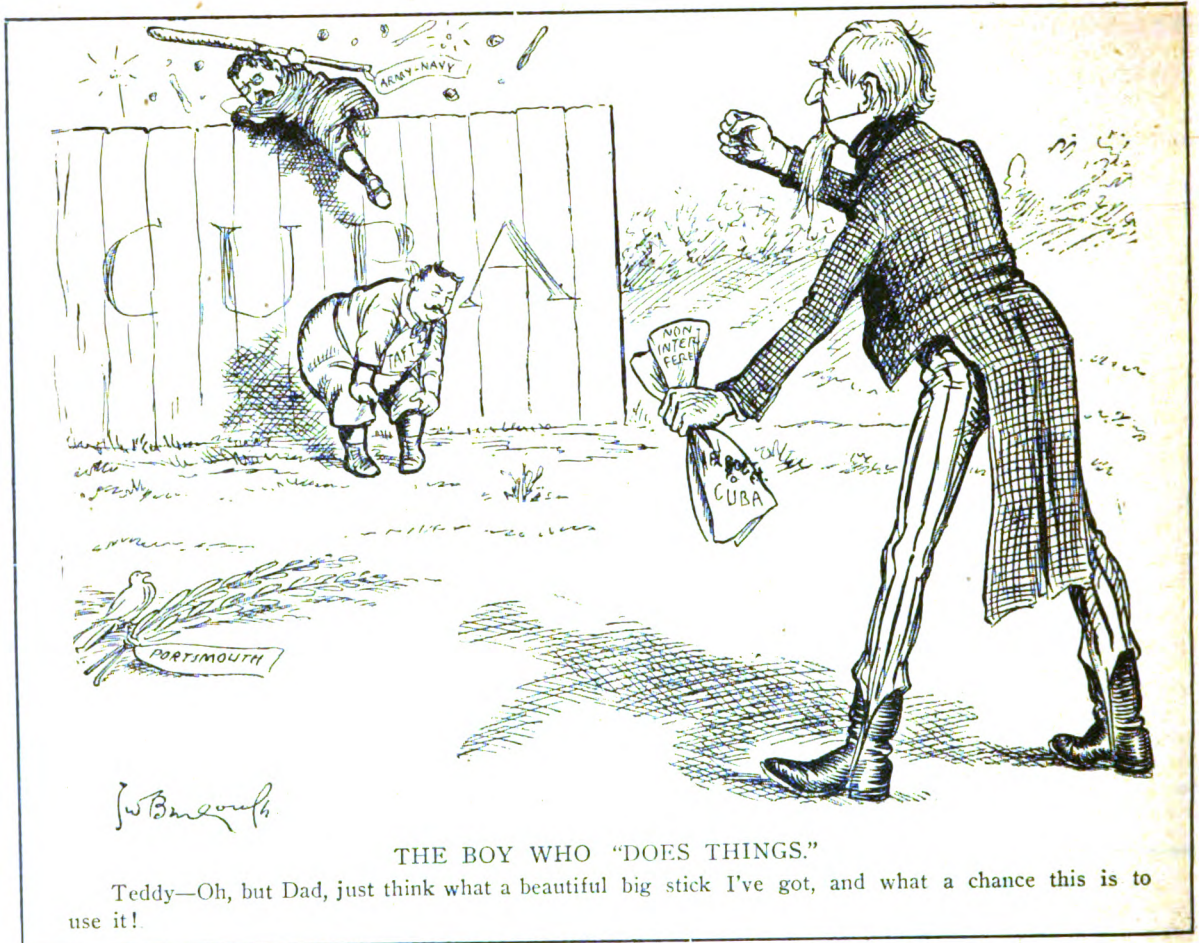
The eloquent addresses at the funeral services of Henry George, in New York, October 31, 1897, delivered by Rev. Dr. R. Heber Newton, Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott, Rev. Dr. Gustav Gottheil, Rev. Dr. Edward McGlynn, and John Sherwin Crosby. These addresses are an impressive tribute to George and his work, and the volume is an interesting memorial of his famous funeral.

Mr. Yardley has done a distinct service in preserving these short, crisp, thoughtful, reverent, but cantless and inspiring speeches, which but for him might have been wholly lost.—*The Public.*

16mo, 64 pages, cloth, 40 cents; by mail, 43 cents.
Paper, 25 cents, postpaid.

The Public Publishing Company

First National Bank Building, Chicago



THE BOY WHO "DOES THINGS."

Teddy—Oh, but Dad, just think what a beautiful big stick I've got, and what a chance this is to use it!

the unfolding of natural ability, according to Mr. Constable's view.

But setting aside both Francis Galton and his sincere critic, it may be said that heredity itself constitutes a very subtle kind of environment which must be reckoned with before we come to the consideration of material property lines of distinction. Whether a man's mental inheritance be genius or the most ordinary or inferior ability, it gives him the first direction in any path of achievement he may choose to pursue. We know cases where heredity seems to date back to the "All-Father" himself, marred by the lowest types of natural parenthood, it is true, but impregnated with a will to accomplish mighty deeds regardless of opposing environments. It is the will, after all, that makes the man. No matter what the natural inheritance or environments may be, there is an interior impulsion that determines the direction of his achievements. We help or we may hinder. But the best we can do is to train and educate his character, to cultivate his will power, exact justice for him, and leave him to make his own environments.

A. L. M.

+ + +

Of your philosophy you make no use,
If you give place to accidental evils.

—Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar."

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Moon-Face and Other Stories. By Jack London, author of "The Call of the Wild," "People of the Abyss," etc. Published by The Macmillan Company, New York and London. Price \$1.50.

—The Nature of Capital and Income. By Irving Fisher, Ph. D., Professor of Political Economy, Yale University. Published by The Macmillan Company, New York and London. Price, \$3.00 net.

—The Logic of Vegetarianism. Essays and Dialogues. By Henry S. Salt, author of "Animals' Rights, considered, in Relation to Social Progress." Second edition, revised. Published by George Bell and Sons, London. Price, 1 shilling, 6 pence.

PAMPHLETS

The Horrors of War.

The Free Age Press of Christ Church, Hants, England, publishes a six-penny collection of pictures, verse and comment upon the horrible uselessness of war, the title being simply "War." The pictures, which are by Emile Holarek, are startlingly realistic and suggestive, yet in no wise overdrawn. Included in the verse are Southey's "Battle of Blenheim" and

its "famous victory," and Isabella Fyfe Mayo's "One Bit of One Battle." The prose selections, edited by V. Tchertkoff, are principally from Maupassant and Tolstoy.

PERIODICALS

The October Bibelot reprints in its own exquisite fashion Walter Pater's charming essay on Giordano Bruno, with four lovely sonnets on Bruno by Swinburne. (Portland, Me., 45 Exchange St.) A. T. P.

+

The Pacific Monthly compares well with magazines published in the East or anywhere, even without its chief feature. With that feature it runs well ahead of its average competitors. We refer to the "Impressions" furnished each month by Charles Erskine Scott Wood. In the October issue the protective tariff is neatly turned inside out by means of a catechism. (Portland, Ore.) A. T. P.

+

The October Open Court (Chicago), contains an especially interesting article on Lafcadio Hearn, the strange, gifted cosmopolitan of Greek and Irish parentage and American affiliation, who finally married a Japanese wife and became a subject of the Mikado. As "the interpreter of Japan," Mr. K. K. Kawakami writes of Hearn's Japanese life and influence. Pictures of his beautiful children show a blend of race that is full of prophecy. A. T. P.

+

Unity for September 27 contained an editorial on the bad taste of the Vice-President's speech at the laying of the cornerstone of the new county building at Chicago. The Public's editorial, "Is the Vice-President a Boor?" in the issue of the 29th, which of course, went to press at nearly the same time, is so nearly identical in both point of view and phraseology that it almost seems like a case of thought transference. (Unity Publishing Company, Abraham Lincoln Centre, Chicago.) A. T. P.

+

The Success Magazine, in the October number, makes announcement of a "People's Lobby," to be maintained by them at Washington, during the approaching session of Congress. An explanation of the work to be carried on by this bureau is given in an article by Henry Beach Needham, the originator of the idea. He proposes to turn the searchlight of publicity upon the work of the committees of both houses of Congress, scrutinizing all amendments, fixing the responsibility for changes made in bills, delays in consideration, failure to report, and for the reporting of questionable measures. The bureau is to be a permanent institution at Washington, with complete facilities for watching all committee and legislative work, for keeping faithful records of the public career of every senator and representative, and for supplying senators and representatives with such information and statistics as may aid in supporting the cause of the whole people. J. G. P.

Days With Walt Whitman

With Some Notes on His
Life and Work



By
EDWARD CARPENTER

Mr. Carpenter's charming manner makes these papers doubly attractive. . . The whole volume is delightful, and while it naturally is more likely to appeal to those who worship at the Whitman shrine, it may be read by others with enjoyment as well as profit.—*The Public Ledger, Philadelphia.*

From the point of view of an interesting man, one very like Whitman in many ways, and is eminently entertaining.—*Miss Gilder in Chicago Tribune.*

12mo. cloth, with three portraits,
\$1.50, postpaid.

The Public Publishing Company

First National Bank Building

CHICAGO

The reason for the supremacy
of the Remington Typewriter
is its

PERSISTENT SUPERIORITY

emphasized again and again
in every new model since the
invention of the writing
machine.

NEW MODELS NOW READY

SEND FOR DESCRIPTIVE
CATALOGUE

**Remington Typewriter
Company**

154 Wabash Ave., Chicago

The LENOX HOTEL IN BUFFALO



MODERN HIGHEST GRADE FIREPROOF

OUR OWN ELECTRIC CARRIAGES, EXCLUSIVELY FOR PATRONS, every few minutes between the hotel, depots, wharves, and through the business district.

EUROPEAN PLAN

Rates \$1.50 per day and upward

GEORGE DUCHSCHERER, - Proprietor.

The Critic and Guide

EDITED BY

WILLIAM J. ROBINSON, M. D.

IS the most unique journal on the continent. It is the only one of its kind. Every intelligent man and woman who is not afraid to think, who is not afraid to read the logical conclusions of other thinkers, appreciates and loves it.

The *Critic and Guide* it was that started the fight against the fraudulent and poisonous patent medicines, and it is due largely to its efforts that the battle is being fought successfully on the side of justice, decency and health.

Numerous problems, untouched by any other publication, are handled by the *Critic and Guide* in a bold, breezy, unconventional and, withal, scientific manner.

Every physician and every intelligent layman will be better off for reading the *Critic and Guide*. You will not be sorry for subscribing to it—you will be sorry for not having subscribed before. One dollar a year. And it is worth it. Three dollars for four years. Ten dollars for life.

SPECIAL OFFER

To all readers of THE PUBLIC, mentioning this ad, we will send the *Critic and Guide* until January, 1908 for ONE DOLLAR; and to those making the request, we will also send several back copies free.

The CRITIC AND GUIDE
12 Mt. Morris Park (West), New York

Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to advertisers.