

# The Public

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## EDITORIAL

### A Fable.

An Angel of Light went upon her travels. She found herself in a strange place, where they jeered her and called her a Freak. She had wandered into Hell.

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### "Respectability" in Public Affairs.

Big boodlers must hunt for the mote in their

neighbor's eye in order to distract attention from the beam in their own; and plutocracy must lie, for the truth cannot serve it.

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### A Coincidence.

A Chicago newspaper which recently published an editorial statement that Chicago newspapers are "given credit in many quarters for being the most courageous and independent in the country," also published in the same issue and on the same page a disquisition on "the art of lying."

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### Marketing the Goodness of God.

James J. Hill has bargained to sell a large collection of ore deposits for \$400,000,000—the equivalent of the labor of 80 million men for a day, of a quarter of a million for a year, of 10 regiments for 20 years, and of one man for seven times the historical period of the world, at the liberal average wages of \$5 a day. When did God give to James J. Hill those ore deposits and consequently the control over all that labor of mankind?

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### The Dartmouth College Case.

Few of us realize the degree to which the democratic ideals and policies in this democratic Republic of ours are shackled and shorn by a bit of legal sophistry commonly known as "the Dartmouth College case." In that old case Chief Justice Marshall planted the seed of special privilege in this country, the deadly fruits of which now poison our political system; for he laid it down as law that when a grant of sovereign power is made, though to a corporation which has no soul and never dies, the grant is in the nature of a contract and can be neither abrogated nor modified. A timely as well as able paper, therefore, is that of John Z. White upon this famous case in the St. Louis Mirror of the 4th. Layman though Mr. White is, he has made a critical analysis of the case so keen and so destructive as to challenge effective reply; and he has done it in terms of thought which lawyers can appreciate and must respect while laymen readily understand it. The central thought of Mr. White's argument may be translated into this syllogism: that franchises or privileges from government are delegations of sovereignty; that sovereignty is not a subject of contract; and therefore that franchises or privileges

are not contractual and can be abrogated at the will of the sovereign power.

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### The Negro Massacre at Atlanta.

Little is lacking now to demonstrate the injustice toward the Negro of the white people who administer affairs in Atlanta. They make loud professions, but their ignoble action speaks louder than their smooth words. A local newspaper, by false reports of Negro outrages upon white women, stirred up a murderous white mob, which wantonly assassinated a score or more of peaceable, decent and law-abiding Negroes (pp. 601, 607). This reign of white terror lasted long enough for a few practically helpless Negroes to fight back and kill a white man or two in self-defense. Now note the official action. The grand jury indicts 60 Negroes for murder, and 16 white men for riot! If that is white Atlanta's official expression on the subject, then it is useless for anybody to pretend that Atlanta has any sense of justice. The white assaults upon the Negroes were horribly savage; but worse than the savagery of the assaults is the abject cowardice of the white community which deliberately tolerates them.

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In this connection it is necessary to state that Hoke Smith's campaign for governor is not blameless for the assassinations at Atlanta. Involved in that campaign was the railroad problem, growing out of the proposed extension of a State-owned line; and at the North, Hoke Smith's triumph (pp. 515, 554) was attributed to his leadership on the right side of that question. But it now appears that his campaign was much more pronounced for the subjugation of the Negro. It was a revival of the intense Negro-hating spirit. Happily, however, Georgia has public men of the white race who while not standing for privileged corporation interests, do stand for genuine democracy and human justice regardless of race. The reign of white thuggery in the South seems secure at present, but there is reason to believe, and the very virulence of these anti-Negro outbreaks confirms the belief, that a wholesome white sentiment is already crystallizing against it.

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### The Hearst Campaign.

If the reports that reach Chicago of the respective speeches of Hughes and Hearst are fair, Hughes is losing ground and Hearst is gaining (pp. 607, 608). And by loss and gain we do not allude alone to voting strength, although the ob-

servations fits also in that respect, but to evidence of human worth in the candidates themselves. The speeches of Mr. Hughes appear to be intensifying the public feeling that he is a stalking horse for rich and respectable grafters, while Mr. Hearst's are justifying the belief of his original supporters that he is dominating and not bargaining with the corrupt political machines. To all appearances now, his policy is to drive the plutocratic interests and their corrupt retainers over to the "establishment across the way," and to trust to the consequent accessions to himself of honest and democratic Republicans. Possibly this is not his policy, but everything he has said in his campaign speeches suggests it.

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### Judicial Despotism.

Reports are current that a Denver judge, Peter Palmer, has announced that he will not naturalize any applicant for citizenship who is a socialist or in sympathy with socialism. He might with as much political and legal propriety refuse to naturalize persons who belong to trade unions or sympathize with them, or persons who belong to the Democratic, the Republican or the Prohibition party or sympathize with it. When the judiciary begin to discriminate against their adversaries in political opinion, it is time for other people to begin taking an account of stock to see if mayhap some of those liberties of which at the beginning we were eloquently warned to be jealous, be not leaking away.

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### Government Ownership in Japan.

Japan having decided to nationalize railways, six out of the seventeen to be taken over will be purchased before the end of the present year. The mileage of these six is over 1,500 miles, and the total price is \$123,500,883. The significance of the figures is not very clear in the report, but apparently the railroad owners are getting pay for a good deal of water, which would imply that they have interests in Japan as well as here.

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### Timber-land Taxation.

A sensible grievance and a sensible manner of considering it are stated in a recent issue of the American Lumberman. The grievance is the taxation of standing timber. It is easy to understand that this may stimulate reckless waste; for, as the Lumberman says, timber is a crop differing from other crops only in the longer time it takes to mature. If this crop is taxed heavily every

year, the incentive becomes strong to reap it before it is ripe and make the most of the premature harvest. The true mode of treatment is not to tax the crop at all. No crop of anything ought to be taxed. The thing to tax is the location for raising the crop, and that ought to be taxed only on its value as a place for raising crops and regardless of whether it is cultivated or not. If this were done alike with reference to timber ground, corn ground, and wheat ground, crop raisers would be encouraged, and only the forestallers of crop sites would bear the tax burden.

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#### Encouraging Cultivation by Taxation.

It appears that in Spain the idea of encouraging the cultivation of crops by laying heavier taxes upon neglected but monopolized natural opportunities or sites for cultivation, is taking a hold upon public opinion. Quoting from a French consular agent in Spain, the *New York Evening Post* of September 1st, told of the elimination of the small farmer in the arid regions of that country, for which the remedy suggested, as it stated, "is such taxation of half-improved farm lands as will force the great proprietors to sell or irrigate their properties." As in Spain so elsewhere, the remedy for restricting the use of land is to tax the land *ad valorem* and exempt the use altogether. This is as true of city building lots as of farming land, and of mines and lumber areas as of either farming land or building lots.

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#### The Landed and the Landless.

In New Zealand as in the United States the "interests" are shocked whenever single taxers come into an office which commands any of their own pasture grounds. Thus the appointment of Mr. George Fowlds (p. 490), as public minister for education and health in the new cabinet of New Zealand, was especially criticized by the Opposition press and politicians, and distinctly with reference to his views as to landed property. One paper stated that "his single tax views were regarded as the only obstacle to his accession to the cabinet," although it thought that in the departments assigned to him "he ought not to find much opportunity for the exercise of his pronounced opinion on the land question." But the leader of the Opposition was not so easily satisfied. In his opinion "the inclusion of Mr. Fowlds, who is a pronounced single taxer, is a distinct menace to every man on the land in the colony." As a friendly paper well says, "both these authorities are silent as to the interests of the people who have

to live on other people's land." It is so everywhere, although the candor of the opposition is not everywhere so marked. In the United States, for instance, the privileged classes have learned to chatter most glibly about the "interests of the whole people" when they are most intent upon getting or retaining graft for themselves.

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#### A Price for Existence.

"After the rent has been paid and food has been bought the very poor have but little left for anything else." This is the unpleasantly significant observation of S. E. Forman in his report in the *Bulletin of Labor* for last May on conditions of living among the poor. His report is based upon the household accounts of nineteen families of the District of Columbia. They were not pauper families. They were intelligent enough to keep household accounts correctly and honestly; and they were sober, industrious and moral people. Yet they were people to whom the loss of a day's wages would have caused embarrassment, and the loss of a week's a serious discomfort. That they were thrifty is evident from the figures, which cover a period of five weeks.

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The item of food varied from \$2.14 to \$3.24 per week for the family of lowest expenditure, up to as much as \$6.00 and even \$8.60 for families of highest expenditure, the number of persons to a family varying from 4 to 10. For rent per month, the lowest for all the 19 families was \$4.00 and the highest \$14.00, the aggregate being more than \$160.00 a month, or \$1,920 a year. This annual payment is more than half the total assessed value of the houses in which those people live, and almost a third of the assessed value of the entire property, land and buildings both included. Of course assessed values are under-values. In these cases they are only about two-thirds of market value. But even on market values the rents were 20 per cent of the total value of the property,—a pretty extortionate figure.

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But that is not the worst. The actual market value of the houses is about \$5,000. Now, an exceedingly liberal allowance for house taxes, repairs, etc., would be 15 per cent. or \$750; and this would leave, out of the annual rentals of \$1,920, the sum of \$1,170 annually, merely for the occupancy of a little site upon the earth's surface, the value of which is annually maintained by annual taxation toward which these very people contribute

a lion's share. And yet, when their meager food has been bought (a dollar a week or thereabouts for each person), and "after the rent is paid," they have little left. It takes all they earn to keep body and soul together. And the biggest item is the landlord's exaction; not for houses, but for the land on which the houses stand. Is the extortion only accidental, or is it an inevitable feature of our boasted civilization?

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## PUBLIC OR PRIVATE OPERATION OF PUBLIC FUNCTIONS.

Among the criticisms which William J. Bryan's declarations for government ownership of railroads have brought out, none are more urgently pressed than the objection that public management of public work is never as well performed as private management. The most extraordinary instance of this criticism was made recently in a speech at Memphis by Secretary Shaw of the Treasury department. Mr. Shaw's criticism was extraordinary because he cited in support of his contention the fact of the inferiority of his own department under his own management.

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Mr. Shaw did indeed argue, not that he and his department are culpably inefficient, but that the "inherent nature of public service" prevents the efficient and economic accomplishment of public work. Yet he cited in proof of this the erection of the postoffice building in Chicago, which was done under the management of his own department and which, as he said, occupied nearly ten years more for its completion than private enterprise would have required. This citation spoils his criticism, for it calls for an inquiry into the management of the critic's own department. To infer that the cause of the inexcusable delay in the case of the Chicago postoffice building lies in "the inherent nature of public service" is to make a long jump to conclusions. It would be such a very long jump that no one would make it unless he were more anxious to come to a favorite conclusion than to come to a right one.

For Secretary Shaw's department is not the only one in the Federal government which manages public work. It is important, therefore, to make a comparison; and one such comparison was made by Senator Newlands in 1905 in a speech on the law for the reclamation of arid lands. Contrasting the Interior department, which manages that work, with Secretary Shaw's department, which manages the construction of public build-

ings, Senator Newlands said, as may be seen by reference to the Congressional Record of December 16, 1905:

The irrigation committees of the Senate and House visited the various projects during the last summer, and we had opportunity of observing the quickness and extent of the work, and we were amazed at the progress that had been made in the short space of three years.

At the same session of Congress a bill was passed for the construction of a postoffice building, to cost fifty or sixty thousand dollars, in the city of Reno, Nev. That building is not yet constructed—the foundations are not yet laid; and yet the reclamation service has during the intervening period expended over \$2,000,000 in reclamation work in Nevada; has diverted the Truckee river, a stream of floods during certain seasons of the year, a distance of 30 miles by a new river over into the Carson Valley; has constructed dams and locks and all the hydraulic machinery that was necessary to make that enterprise effective, and the water is now being turned out upon the soil.

This contrast would indicate less inefficiency in the "inherent nature of public service" than in the "inherent nature" of Mr. Shaw and his supervising architect.

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But there is really a deeper reason, which will appear upon a consideration of all the facts.

About half of the three years referred to by Senator Newlands was occupied by the extensive surveys and investigations needed to determine the feasibility and cost of the project. The extensive construction referred to by Senator Newlands had occupied only about a year and a half.

In addition to this, the reclamation service has made surveys and investigations of nearly 100 projects in the arid region, has determined the feasibility of about 30 of them, and begun construction on 24. Approximately half a million acres will be placed under irrigation by next spring, and this area will be nearly doubled in another year.

To accomplish all this work, it was necessary to organize the entire service around the nucleus of about a dozen engineers, and this has been accomplished in the space of a little over four years. As a piece of government work this organization is the marvel of foreign and American engineers for the rapidity and efficiency with which it has been accomplished.

Though it is the aim to do this work mainly by contract, it has been found very difficult to do so on account of the immense amount of railroad and other construction work in progress in the West. The department was compelled, therefore, to enter extensively upon construction work without

the intervention of contractors. In several cases large contracts had been let and the contractors have failed. In the case of the Gunnison tunnel, for instance, the contractor accomplished little except to involve himself in bankruptcy and to furnish an illustration of how the work should not be done. The government is now pushing that work by the direct employment of labor. And in this way it is performing the work with speed and efficiency, making what is believed to be the world's record in rapidity of driving a large tunnel.

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That explains the superiority of the Interior department's construction work over the work of the Treasury department. The work of the former, done by the government's own employes, is economically and efficiently done; that of the latter, done by contract, is so uneconomically and inefficiently done that Mr. Shaw parades it as evidence of the "inherent incapacity" of government to perform its own functions. The whole question raises the issue, not of public or private management of public work, but of performance directly by government employes or indirectly by contractors.

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That public work by contract, as compared with public work by public employes, is uneconomical and inefficient, is proved not only by contrasting Secretary Shaw's illustration of the construction of the Chicago postoffice, which was done by contract, with the reclamation work of the Interior department, which is done direct, but also by work in various other kinds of public service.

In Chicago, for instance, the department of public works is equipped with a mechanical bureau for doing city work, which has now grown to considerable dimensions. This bureau does its work not only more economically, more promptly and better than city work let out by contract is done, but better than the same kind of work is done in private establishments.

A similar experience has been had by the Chicago school board, which also has a mechanical department where work is done directly by city employes. As the school board also lets out much of its work by contract, a comparison with the work done directly is possible, and this comparison is altogether to the disadvantage of contract work.

That the general, as well as local governments, can accomplish results with speed and efficiency, is proved by the Post Office department, and that it can do this without the intervention of contractors is proved by the Interior department.

If the railways were owned and operated under a department where the controlling head felt himself responsible for efficient and economical service, and believed that by proper administration this was to be accomplished, it undoubtedly would be; but if it were placed under a department head who believes that the "inherent nature of public service" absolutely prevents efficiency, the results would probably be comparable with the Chicago public building.

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Secretary Shaw says there are over 20,000 employes in the Treasury department, but that if this were a private enterprise "every whit as much work could be accomplished with a reduction of one third in number and one fourth in salary of those remaining." If that is the case, no one but the head of that department is responsible. Other departments have shown that such inefficiency as this in public business is unnecessary, and it may be of interest in this connection to observe that as a violator of the civil service rules in their letter and spirit the Treasury department has the worst reputation of any department in Washington.

It may be admitted that the postal service is not as efficient or economical as it should be, but this is due mainly to the lobbies of the railroad, telegraph and express companies, who by their influence secure exorbitant rentals for mail cars, prevent the extension of the parcels post, and secure a rate upon third class matter double that on fourth class matter and eight times that on second class matter, in order to prevent competition in parcels' carrying with the express companies. They also prevent the postal use of the telegraph, which is to-day the quickest and one of the most important means of transmitting intelligence.

It may further be admitted, in fact it should be contended, that no government function can be as economically or efficiently administered as it should be, until the railroads and other powerful corporations are eliminated from politics. But no method of doing this is known except public ownership of railways and other natural monopolies.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### PUBLIC UTILITIES IN SEATTLE.

Seattle, September 30.—Defeated, but not discouraged, in their efforts to carry Seattle in a special election on September 12 for a proposal to construct and operate a municipal street railway system to compete with the system of the Seattle Electric Company, the Seattle advocates of municipal ownership have merely fallen back, taken a new position,

formed a new line of battle, and started another campaign for the municipalization of the street railway transportation of the city. The new position demands only the construction of city street railway tracks on two important new down town business thoroughfares, the tracks to be open for the use of all applicants for running rights over them.

A scheme has been outlined involving the construction of about two miles of city tracks on strategic streets recently open to street railway traffic by virtue of being regraded and opened, and the municipal ownership advocates have been reorganized and placed on a permanent basis for the purpose of promoting this plan.

The reorganization of the Municipal Ownership League was perfected at a meeting held at the Labor Temple, Thursday night, September 27, with Oliver T. Erickson, president, George F. Cotterill, vice-president, Frank Cotterill, secretary, and T. Josebhans, treasurer. The executive committee was instructed to present the new plan to the city council, and ask that body to submit it to a vote of the people at the special election to be held November 6 for the authorization of an issue of bonds for the extension of the sewer system. The proposal has been so presented, and the council has shown indications of an inclination to refuse to submit it to a vote. Should they so refuse the league is pledged to undertake to recall every member of the council joining in the refusal, under the new Recall Amendment to the city council adopted at the last municipal election held last March.

The new Recall Amendment provides that if 25 per cent. of the voters of the city or any ward, petition for the recall of a councilman at large or a ward councilman, the council must call a special election within thirty days for his recall. The plan of the municipal ownership organization is to employ canvassers to stand at all polling places on the day of the general election in November, to ask all voters coming to vote to sign the recall petitions. In view of the increasing disaffection felt towards the city council for various reasons, especially its apparent determination to continue the granting of long time franchises, the advocates of the new municipal ownership undertaking feel confident of their ability to perfect the necessary recall petitions in a single day in this manner.

Under the circumstances there is a very noticeable disinclination on the part of members of the council to be placed on record as opposed to the submission of the new proposal to a vote. As the new plan will involve an expenditure of only about \$200,000, and as running rights over the proposed tracks can in all probability be let in advance of its submission, insuring more than enough revenue to carry the investment, the plan has proven very popular, and many prominent citizens who opposed the general municipal ownership and operation scheme recently submitted have expressed themselves as heartily in favor of the new undertaking.

JOE SMITH.

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What we need from day to day  
Life's riddle to unravel,  
Is light enough to see the way  
And strength enough to travel.

—Unknown.

## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

Week ending Wednesday, October 10.

### The New York Campaign.

In his speech of acceptance at New York on the 3d, Mr. Charles E. Hughes, Republican candidate for governor (p. 608), described what he characterized as "the supreme issue of this campaign" in these words: "It is not an issue of the Republican record. It is not an issue of Republican principles or of Democratic principles. It is not a partisan issue at all. It is the vital issue of decent government. The question is whether the unholy alliance that succeeded at Buffalo shall capture the State of New York."

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On the same day William R. Hearst, the candidate of the Independent League and the Democratic party (p. 631), in his letter of acceptance to the League named two things as "of special importance as issues in this campaign—liberty and property"; it being the object of the Independence League "to resist the attacks upon human liberty, upon government of the people, menaced by corporation rule, and to resist the attacks upon general prosperity by those same corporations and by dishonest financial agencies."

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In response to a demand from Patrick McCarren, the Democratic leader of Brooklyn, that the Independence League unite with the Democrats on local nominations, under penalty for refusal of being regarded as no Democrat and losing the county to the Republican candidate for governor by 50,000 majority, Mr. Hearst issued a statement on the 5th in which he said: "I am a Democrat, but a Jefferson Democrat, not a 'corporation Democrat,' and I cannot allow a hired agent of corporations like McCarren to define my Democracy or dictate unworthy candidates for me to support. Mr. McCarren, by calling himself a Democrat, does not make himself a Democrat. If he should call himself honest, it would not make him honest. If he should call his ticket a good ticket, it would not make it a good ticket. As a matter of actual fact, the McCarren ticket is notoriously unfit and should not command the support of honest Democrats or honest independents." The only Democratic candidate that the Independence League in Brooklyn has nominated is Robert Baker for Congress (p. 632).

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### The Independence League in Massachusetts.

The Democratic convention of Massachusetts on the 4th, had a somewhat similar experience to that of the New York convention; for it was dominated by

John B. Moran, district attorney of Boston (vol. viii, p. 519), candidate of the Independence League, who is regarded as Mr. Hearst's political representative in Massachusetts. George Fred Williams led the Moran forces, and upon his motion a resolution endorsing William J. Bryan for the Presidential nomination was adopted. Another resolution congratulated the Democracy of New York upon the nomination of William R. Hearst.

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#### The Independence League in Chicago.

Petitions for candidates of the Independence League in Chicago (pp. 580, 586) were filed on the 6th. Among the candidates for Congress are Dr. Willis C. Stone, James T. McDermott and Frank Buchanan. H. H. Hardinge is a senatorial candidate. All the Congressional and legislative candidates are pledged as follows:

Public ownership of those utilities which in their nature are monopolies; ballot reform, which will prevent corruption, insure a fair count and punish bribe-givers and bribe-takers; the enactment of laws which will give the people absolute control of the public servants in office; direct nominations by the people in place of nominations by cliques and party bosses; the abolition of discrimination in railroad rates; good roads to facilitate the transportation of farm products; profitable markets and pure food laws; the recognition of labor unions in all legitimate efforts to properly regulate the pay and working hours of working people; the production of legitimate capital and denying the right of existence for criminal and oppressive trusts; the election of United States Senators by the people; the exposure and prosecution of fraud against the people on the part of insurance companies and other financial organizations and their proper regulation by law; the initiative and referendum that the people may control the making of their laws; the establishment of postal savings banks.

Relative to a rumor that the Hearst papers would abandon the ticket in consequence of a bargain with Roger C. Sullivan at Buffalo, the Chicago Examiner said editorially on the 3d:

A few of the more petty politicians around the Democratic headquarters are industriously circulating the story that the Independence League ticket and the independent judiciary ticket are to be abandoned, or at least left to languish. They attempt to support this yarn by reference to the fact that Mr. Hearst, whose newspapers in this city have been most active in urging the independent movement, has accepted a regular Democratic nomination for governor of New York. The story is unqualifiedly false. The relations borne by the Examiner to Mr. William Randolph Hearst justify an explicit denial of it in this newspaper. Mr. Hearst is first of all the candidate of the Independence League of New York for governor. . . . The Democratic party of New York repudiated its corporation-made bosses and thereby made it possible for independents to co-operate with them. The Democratic party and the Republican party of Cook county are equally dominated by corrupt and criminal bosses, and it is impossible for any honest independent or conscientious voter to co-operate with either

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#### The Traction Fight in Cleveland.

The struggle between Mayor Johnson and the Cleveland Electric street car system (p. 632), which is locally called the "Concon," is reported to be growing warmer every day. The details are difficult to follow, but the general comment in Cleveland as-

sumes that the "Concon" is steadily losing ground in the Council and before the people and also in the stock market. Owing to the decline in its stock values, now considerably below the price offered by Mayor Johnson last winter, great dissension seems to have arisen among the stockholders and directors. Meanwhile the tracks of the Forest City Railway Company, locally called the "Threefer" because it is the 3-cent fare company, which is under lease to the "holding" company for the city, is placing its tracks and preparing for early operation.

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Considerable interest has been manifested in the question of a referendum. The "Concon" proposed a referendum several weeks ago, but Mayor Johnson opposed it. This opposition was used by the friends of the "Concon" as a basis for charging Mayor Johnson with hostility to the principle of the referendum; but he explained that he was opposed to this particular referendum because an affirmative vote would give the "Concon" a franchise and a negative vote would leave the whole question where it is now. He said he did not intend to favor a "fake" referendum under which the "Concon" would "win if it won and not lose if it lost." But he proposed instead a referendum that would finally decide in favor of one policy or the other—one which would result either in continuing the monopoly of the "Concon" or in ending it. Accordingly on the 3d the City Council voted to refer to popular vote two questions. One proposes a renewal of the "Concon" franchises; the other proposes franchises for the "Threefer." This referendum raises both sides of the traction issue, and its decision will either establish the "Concon" for 25 years longer, or displace it with Mayor Johnson's plan for municipalizing the system by means of the "holding" company which is to operate in the interests of the city.

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#### The Cuban Insurrection Ended.

The Cuban insurgents have laid down their arms with unexpected alacrity (p. 633). At but few points has there been any serious objection or delay; and before the arrival of the first American soldiers on the 7th, pacification seemed practically accomplished, except in a few towns in Santa Clara province, and in Cienfuegos. Advices from Havana province show, say the dispatches, that amazingly little damage was done as a result of the insurrection. There are no burned houses or barns, no ruined crops, or devastated fields to mark the track of rebels or government troops. In this respect, it is stated, it was the cheapest revolution in West Indian history.

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The new Provisional Governor, Charles E. Magoon, appointed by the President of the United States (p. 633), arrived at Havana on the 9th. Coincident with his coming Governor Taft gave out a general decree proclaiming amnesty not only to the insurgents, but to all persons charged with political offenses or crimes in any way connected with the insurrection. He also issued orders imposing an attitude of neutrality on the American marines and soldiers toward the people of Cuba, except in cases of great emergency.

A painful impression has been created in Cuba by the publication on the 4th, by the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Root, of a cable correspondence which was carried on from September 10 to September 14, between the United States Consul General at Havana, Mr. Steinhart, sending messages from President Palma, and the Acting Secretary of State, Mr. Bacon. We give the first letters of this correspondence only, the later ones being similar in character:

Havana, Sept. 8, 1906.—Secretary of State (absolutely confidential): Secretary of state of Cuba has requested me, in the name of President Palma, to ask President Roosevelt to send immediately two vessels, one to Havana, other to Cienfuegos. They must come at once. Government forces are unable to quell rebellion. The government is unable to protect life and property. President Palma will convene congress next Friday, and congress will ask for our forcible intervention. It must be kept secret and confidential that Palma asked for vessels. No one here except President, Secretary of State and myself know about it. Very anxiously awaiting reply. Send answer to

STEINHART, Consul General.

Havana, Sept. 10, 1906.—Secretary of State, Washington: President here worried because no reply received to my message and asks war vessels be sent immediately.

STEINHART, Consul General.

Department of State, Washington, D. C., Sept. 10.—Steinhart, Havana: Your cable received. Two ships have been sent, due to arrive on Wednesday. The president directs me to state that perhaps you do not yourself appreciate the reluctance with which this country would intervene. President Palma should be informed that in the public opinion here it would have a most damaging effect for intervention to be undertaken until the Cuban government has exhausted every effort in a serious attempt to put down the insurrection, and has made this fact evident to the world. At present the impression certainly would be that there was no real popular support of the Cuban government or else that the government was hopelessly weak. As conditions are at this moment, we are not prepared to say what shape the intervention should take. It is, of course, a serious thing to undertake forcible intervention and before going into it we should have to be absolutely certain of the equities of the case and of the moods of the situation. Meanwhile we assume that every effort is being made by the government to come to a working agreement, which will secure peace with the insurgents, provided they are unable to hold their own with them in the field. Until such efforts have been made we are not prepared to consider the question of intervention at all.

BACON, Acting Secretary.

It will be remembered that although United States warships were hovering in the vicinity of Cuba at the time of the foregoing correspondence, President Roosevelt's letter to the Cuban minister, announcing intervention, was not written until Sept. 14th. Dispatches from Havana state that had this correspondence not been published the impression would have continued there that President Palma yielded to intervention only after Mr. Taft had found it impossible to reconcile the Cuban differences.

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#### The Russian Constitutional Democrats Meet.

The Congress of the Constitutional Democrats (p. 634) met at Helsingfors, the capital of Finland, on the 7th. There were present 171 delegates, representing forty-three provinces and four territories. Prince Paul Dolgoroukoff was elected president, while M.

Chisniakof and Prince Shakhovski were made vice-presidents. The President stated that the government officially regards the Viborg manifesto which was issued by the outlawed Douma at its dissolution (p. 393), and which called upon the people for universal passive resistance to the Emperor by refusal to pay taxes or serve in the army, as an act of "temporary mental aberration." He regarded the present congress as a great historical and constitutional act which would vastly strengthen the party in the coming electoral campaign. The committee on the attitude the congress should take upon the Viborg manifesto promptly brought in a report formally approving the manifesto, but recognizing the inexpediency of applying the doctrine of passive resistance at the present time. On the 8th the conservative leaders were reported as giving way before the storm of radicalism manifested in the day's debate. A meeting of the central committee was held in the evening of the 8th, at which a strong disposition to accept the radical proposals regarding endorsement of the Viborg manifesto was shown. It is realized that this action will drive many conservatives out of the party into the arms of the "regenerationists." A determining factor in the day's debate was a speech by a peasant from Kursk, who declared that the peasantry was fully in accord with the doctrines of the Viborg manifesto, and would regard its abandonment as a sign of cowardice. The extreme radicals are advocating a bold appeal to the peasantry to refuse to enter the army during the recruiting season, which opens this month.

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According to the dispatches the government is determined to control the next Douma. In order to be sure of this all of the government employes in every grade have been ordered to abstain from aiding the liberals. An elaborate spy system has been developed to watch the state employes and see that they vote for government candidates for the Douma. Every civil service employe will be under espionage, his letters opened, his movements watched, his friends noted. If any employe is found to have disobeyed orders he will instantly be dismissed and his right to a pension forfeited. More than that, the government announces that if the electoral returns show anything like the success of the radical elements contained in the last Douma the evidence will be taken as proof that the junior ranks of the civil service have disobeyed the government's order, the elections will be canceled, and the convocation of the Douma be postponed for another six months. The government's order to its employes is recognized as the opening of an aggressive campaign against its natural enemy, the so-called "intelligentsia," or people who possess higher education, but who are without capital. These include a large majority of the government's enormous army of civil employes.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—The International Wireless Telegraph Conference assembled in Berlin on the 3d.

—The Woman's Catholic Order of Foresters in ses-



sion at Milwaukee on the 4th elected Elizabeth Rodgers of Chicago as Chief Ranger.

—The National Purity Conference (p. 635) began a three days' session at Chicago on the 9th.

—Adelaide Ristori, the famous Italian actress of the 50's, 60's and 70's, died in Rome on the 9th.

—Hoke Smith, Democratic candidate for Governor of Georgia (pp. 515, 554), was formally elected on the 3d.

—The Illinois Equal Suffrage Association met at Elgin on the 4th. Ella S. Stewart of Chicago was elected president.

—William B. Arnett, bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, died at Xenia, Ohio, on the 3d at the age of 68.

—James M. Higgins was nominated for Governor of Rhode Island by the Democratic convention at Providence on the 3d.

—The twenty-first annual convention of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association met at Toledo on the 4th. Harriet Taylor Upton was re-elected president.

—George Scoville, who with great ability and dignity defended Charles J. Guiteau upon his trial for the murder of President Garfield, died at Chicago on the 8th.

—The International Congress of the Chambers of Commerce, in session at Milan, Italy, on the 5th, voted nearly unanimously in favor of universal "penny postage."

—The organization of a national association for the promotion of industrial education, to advocate education for "life and industry" rather than "college and the classics," is announced for an early day not yet fixed.

—The Mexican government, holding that the conditions under which land concessions in Mexico were granted to John Alexander Dowle for a Zionist colony, have not been complied with, has revoked the concessions (p. 610).

—Ten thousand persons were present at the debate on the 6th at Houston, Texas, between Senator Bailey and Attorney-General Crane (p. 635), over the question of Senator Bailey's financial relations with special privilege corporations.

—J. Max Barber, editor of the Voice of the Negro, heretofore published at Atlanta, and who has become an exile in consequence of his report for the New York World of the recent anti-Negro riots, described the riots in a temperate speech at Hull House, Chicago, on the 7th.

—Nanaimo, on Vancouver Island, British Columbia, reported a slight earthquake shock on the 3d. Seismographs in different parts of the world made records on the 1st which seemed to indicate that a very great earthquake had taken place somewhere, very probably in the Indian Ocean (pp. 586, 635).

—Sir Robert Hart, reported in August as retiring from his position as Inspector General of Customs in China (p. 422) on account of expected interference with a foreign control of the customs on the part of the Chinese government, has received assurances of a contrary policy, and he has resumed his position.

—About seventy-five men were entombed as the result of an explosion at the West Fork mine of the

Pocahontas Collieries Company, at Bluefields, W. Va., on the 3d. Not only were all but one of the entombed men lost, but some who attempted to rescue them were overcome by poisonous gases, and died.

—The Land Values Assessment Bill for South Australia came up for its second reading in the South Australian parliament on Aug. 15. The bill does not ask that any measure of taxation should be imposed, but merely that the municipalities should have the option of adopting the method provided for, if they should choose to do so.

—The New Theatre, the only endowed theatre in the United States, was opened in Chicago on the 8th, to an audience that filled its capacity. The purpose of the endowment, which is furnished by individual guarantees, is to present the better range of plays adequately, unhampered by the petty restrictions of mere commercialism.

—The post of governor of the Canal Zone at Panama is to be left vacant, according to a special correspondent at Washington, and affairs in the Zone are to be administered by the Chief Engineer, Mr. John F. Stevens (vol. viii, p. 218), and the Isthmian Canal Commission. Also the post of Minister to Panama is to be re-established.

—The City of New York has purchased the 39th street ferry which operates between lower Manhattan and Brooklyn, for \$750,000—a reduction of \$350,000 from the price originally demanded by the private owners. This makes the second large ferry (vol. viii, pp. 563, 869; vol. ix, p. 436) which the City of New York will own and operate.

—A top-spinning contest was held on the 5th at the Graham School in Chicago. Nearly a hundred boys and girls participated, and prizes were won by girls as well as boys for remarkable "stunts." "Any boy or girl who has concentration enough to spin a top skillfully, will make a good citizen," the principal is said to have remarked.

—Frederick Douglass Centre (3032 Wabash Ave., Chicago) announces for its Sunday afternoon meeting on October 21, "The Niagara Meeting at Harper's Ferry" (pp. 491, 517), by Dr. Chas. E. Bentley; and for the meeting to be held on the 28th, "The Municipality and the Play Instinct," by Miss Mary E. McDowell. The purposes of the Centre are:

To promote a just and amicable relation between the white and the colored people. To remove the disabilities from which the latter suffer in their civil, political and industrial life. To encourage equal opportunity irrespective of race, color or other arbitrary distinctions. To establish a center of friendly helpfulness and influence in which to gather useful information, and for mutual co-operation to the ends of right living and a higher citizenship.

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Twelve thousand little boys ranging in age from nine to fourteen years are believed to be working in the coal-breakers of the anthracite field. This estimate was made a year ago after an investigation by the National Child Labor Committee. Another investigation just completed, also covering an extensive area of the region, confirms the former estimate, although, unfortunately, no accurate figures, either official or unofficial, are available.—Owen R. Lovejoy, in Woman's Home Companion for September.

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### THEY COME HIGH.

Fayetteville (W. Va.) Free Press, Sept. 21.—Nineteen more young soldiers from the Philippines were admitted to the St. Elizabeth government hospital for the insane on August 30th. This continual drain is a high price to pay for governing and taxing people without representation; and what must the conditions be that bring such sad results?

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### THE TRUE SUCCESS.

Universalist Leader (rel.).—We ought to read Gray's Elegy in connection with Senator Ingalls' famous sonnet on "Opportunity." The mighty figure outlined in the sonnet does not throw open the doors to all men, and the highest type of men are not those who stand ready to clutch the chance as it passes by. Rather he is the great and strong nature, to further quote from the article, "whose career has opened the door for other men to win success, not shut that door."

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### ENGLISH PROGRESS TOWARD THE TAXATION OF SITE VALUES.

The (London) Speaker (Lib.), September 22.—Among the various reforms to which the Liberal Party is pledged none will prove more difficult in execution than the taxation—or as we prefer to put it—the rating of site values. Landowners, of course, will offer strenuous opposition, and they will have support from four-fifths of the Conservative Party in both Houses of Parliament. Moreover, difficulties may spring from two friendly quarters—from the advocates of every alternative proposal which the Government rejects, and from whole-hearted supporters who employ sad arguments, or ask for a much bigger bill than it would be wise to introduce.

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### OUR NATIVE LAND.

Chicago Daily News, (Ind.), Oct. 6.—An extraordinary transaction was completed in New York yesterday when James J. Hill sold to the United States Steel corporation many millions of tons of iron ore for many millions of dollars. It was Hill's ore because he had come into control of the land containing it. Now the ore passes to the great steel company at a price that is satisfactory to Hill. In the next hundred years or so the ore will be transformed into iron and steel and will be purchased by consumers all over the world at prices fixed by its manufacturers. Since the one huge corporation has now obtained control of practically all the great ore beds within its field of operations it is in fair condition to fix extortionate prices for its products. Such mineral lands as still are a part of the public domain should be retained by the government as affording the public some protection against private monopoly.

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### CHILD LABOR.

The (New York) Nation (Ind.), October 4.—Edward Everett Hale calls for laws forbidding labor of any kind for children under sixteen years of age. To something like that we shall probably come. Meanwhile, here in New York Monday marked the going into effect of some laws with which we have special reason to be pleased. It is no longer legal to employ children under sixteen years of age in any factory before 6 a. m. or after 7 p. m. After the latter hour no child may be employed in this city in any business or telegraph office, hotel or apartment, or in the distribution of merchandise—this last provision obviously applies to

the delivery of parcels in the period of Christmas shopping. Women and children under sixteen are also forbidden to work in any quarry or mine within the State. For this progress the anti-child labor organizations are entitled to hearty thanks. But there remains much to be done, not only within the limits of New York, but elsewhere throughout the Union. The workers have been much disappointed with the results they have achieved in the last few years. Dr. Hale's platform is plain and, if perhaps too sweeping, is none the less one which all who wish to see the United States lead in matters of social betterment can in general approve.

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### THE CUBAN CONQUEST.

Chicago Daily News (Ind.), Oct. 1.—The Cuban republic has not fallen with the Cuban government. It remains for the people of Cuba to demonstrate that their republic is still alive and capable of a stable and orderly existence. The Americans, through their government, are giving them aid in good faith. Meanwhile The Daily News insists that the difficulties which confront Mr. Taft should not be increased by persistent American agitation for the annexation of Cuba.

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Chicago Inter-Ocean (Rep.), Sept. 27.—The political futility of the Cubans has brought again to this nation the opportunity frittered away by sentimental statesmanship in 1898. That opportunity should be grasped immediately and without paltering or half-way measures. For the thing must be done in the end, and the sooner the better. When it is done, especially if it be done now, quickly and thoroughly, the troubles of Cuba will soon be ended. Cuba will have accomplished her destiny. Cuba will be peaceful, prosperous, and American!

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Chicago Chronicle (Rep.), Oct. 2.—The only hope of Cuba lies in immigration. The native population must be outnumbered and completely lost among the newcomers before there can be rest. What has happened to the aborigines of France and England and to the North American Indians must happen to the Cubans before there can be lasting peace or prosperity in the island. . . . It is best for them and for everybody concerned that the present status should lead by easy and natural steps to annexation. This would be followed by such an influx of population and capital that the Cubans would be strangers in their own country.

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### SOUTH AFRICA'S COMING REPUBLIC.

The Chicago Inter Ocean (Rep.), Sept. 9.—The British government, having muddled into war with the Boer republics, and having finally muddled through the war to a victory which was useless unless it assured British rule over South Africa, by the use it is making of that victory seems quite likely to muddle itself out of South Africa within a generation. When Boer resistance was beaten down there were obviously two, and only two, ways for the British government to choose between. One was to hand the internal government of the Boer republics back to their people, under such conditions as would have secured the rights of British investors and the exclusion of foreign intrigue against British suzerainty. The other was to treat the country as Germany did Alsace-Lorraine—treat it frankly as conquered provinces. The British government did neither. It made concessions to the conquered Boers which were not broad enough for one policy and were too broad for the other, and which left the government in a position so equivocal that no clear issue of changing it or not could be made before the British elector. As a result the present British government finds itself forced by the record of its leaders and the exigencies of domestic politics to make conces-

sions to the Boers which foreshadow the end of British supremacy. The granting of full representative government to the people of the former Boer republics—to Boer and Briton alike—means that within a few years the Boers will outvote the British settlers, and then the situation throughout South Africa will be like what it was in Cape Colony at the outbreak of the recent war, without the same excuse for putting in a great army to hold down the disaffection. Without a war, and with no excuse for one until South Africa is ready for it, the effective government of the country will pass into the hands of the Boers and other white South Africans.

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## ADVANCING CHINA.

Toronto (Ont.) Sunday World, Oct. 7.—As was to be expected the awakening of China to a sense of her possibilities as a great power is so far the chief result of the struggle between Japan and Russia. . . . Before the war with Japan in 1894, China, like Russia, believed herself practically invincible. Her self-satisfaction then received a shock which was intensified by the march on Peking of Count Waldersee at the head of European and Japanese troops, when the legation was besieged. Japan's victories over Russia have taught China that at least in the use of modern arms she has much to learn. During the past few months signs have been frequent that she has taken the lesson to heart. A council of army reorganization has been formed. Japanese methods are being studied, and Japanese military instructors are at work among the Chinese troops. Recently the news was cabled from Shanghai that the council is now taking over all the arsenals in the empire which have hitherto been under the control of the viceroys of the various provinces in which they are situated. Many of the arsenals and river forts are practically dummies, the money allotted to their upkeep having found its way into the coffers of local authorities. As a step towards military centralization the new department is significant. A still more remarkable decision of the imperial government in Peking is embodied in an edict issued a fortnight ago which should almost revolutionize the opium trade. The use of opium, both foreign and native, is to cease within the next ten years. . . . Granted that China is sincere in her desire to remove one of the causes of national enfeeblement, it is not likely that any objection will be raised to her proposals, though it may be doubted if the time limit allowed is sufficient for the readjustment of trade and finance, or if the Chinese people will peaceably submit to the change. Whether the effect will be as beneficial as is expected is a question which cannot now be answered. But it is noteworthy that a great social reform should go hand in hand with an attempt to open a new era in Chinese military administration.

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While another man has no land, my title to mine,  
your title to yours, is at once vitiated.—Emerson.

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More than one in six of all the children in the United States from ten to sixteen years of age are employed in some gainful occupation—that is, in working for wages for some employer. That comes perilously near the child of any reader of these pages. The margin of safety is too small. The danger to democratic institutions, which must depend on the vigor and intelligence of our citizenship, is too great. Child Labor strikes at the roots of democracy, and presents the greatest moral issue the American people have had to face since the Civil

War. Our States cannot afford to let individuals enslave themselves before they have reached the age of discretion.—Samuel McCune Lindsay, in *Woman's Home Companion* for September.

## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

#### THE CRY OF THE CHILDREN.

Do you hear the children weeping, O my brothers,  
Ere the sorrow comes with years?  
They are leaning their young heads against their mothers,  
And that cannot stop their tears.  
The young lambs are bleating in the meadows,  
The young birds are chirping in the nest,  
The young fawns are playing with the shadows,  
The young flowers are blowing toward the west—  
But the young, young children, O my brothers,  
They are weeping bitterly!  
They are weeping in the playtime of the others,  
In the country of the free.

\* \* \*

Go out, children, from the mine and from the city,  
Sing out, children, as the little thrushes do;  
Pluck your handfuls of the meadow-cowslips pretty,  
Laugh aloud, to feel your fingers let them through!  
But they answer, "Are your cowslips of the meadows  
Like our weeds anear the mine?  
Leave us quiet in the dark of the coal-shadows,  
From your pleasures fair and fine!

"For, oh," say the children, "we are weary,  
And we cannot run or leap;  
If we cared for any meadows, it were merely  
To drop down in them and sleep.  
Our knees tremble sorely in the stooping,  
We fall upon our faces trying to go;  
And underneath our heavy eyelids drooping,  
The reddest flowers would look as pale as snow.  
For all day we drag our burden tiring  
Through the coal-dark underground,  
Or, all day, we drive the wheels of iron  
In the factories, round and round.

"For all day the wheels are droning, turning;  
Their wind comes in our faces,  
Till our hearts turn, our heads with pulses burning,  
And the walls turn in their places:  
Turns the sky in the high window, blank and reeling,  
Turns the long light that drops adown the wall,  
Turn the black flies that crawl along the ceiling;  
'All are turning, all the day, and we with all.  
And all day the iron wheels are droning,  
And sometimes we could pray,  
'O ye wheels' (breaking out in a sad moaning),  
'Stop! be silent for to-day!'"

Aye, be silent! Let them hear each other breathing  
For a moment, mouth to mouth!  
Let them touch each other's hands, in a fresh wreathing  
Of their tender human youth!  
Let them feel that this cold, metallic motion  
Is not all the life God fashions or reveals;  
Let them prove their living souls against the notion  
That they live in you, or under you, O wheels!  
Still, all day, the iron wheels go onward,  
Grinding life down from its mark;  
And the children's souls, which God is calling sunward,  
Spin on blindly in the dark.

—Elizabeth Barrett Browning.

## THE EXTRAVAGANCE OF THE POOR.

A Bandit used to rob the peasantry, so that when they began to starve, they appealed to him for charity.

Said the Bandit: "I will give you nothing; you are poor because you are thriftless. If you were industrious and honest," said he (as he lifted a sheep), "the country would be richer (and I could make more). You waste your goods (so that there is nothing to steal). My Associated Charities inform me that you waste even the bones of your meat; and then we all suffer hard times."

"But, Sir," replied the Peasants, "you yourself throw away even the legs, and eat nothing but the tenderloins."

"I can afford it," said the Bandit, "because I do not have to work for my living; you Lower Classes would better pray to heaven for prosperity, instead of troubling me with your preposterous discontent."—"The Game of Life," by Bolton Hall.

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## GOVERNOR FOLK ON HENRY GEORGE.

A Letter from the Hon. Joseph W. Folk, Published in the *Johnstown Democrat* of Sept. 1, 1906.

Henry George was a real Democrat.

When told that one of his theories was not a panacea for all social ills, he replied: "It is not; but freedom is."

This marks the mental calibre of the man. Never for a moment did he lose sight of the one great ideal that formed the guiding purpose of his life, and never was a life more peculiarly consecrated to that great purpose.

With the instinct of a genius he searched out the truths of all creeds and systems, exposed the fallacies that have supplied a mask for despotism in every age, and defended with all the power of his great intellect the simple proposition that what is right can really injure no one, and that what is wrong can never benefit.

To expose the false and uphold the true; to adhere to what he believed to be right without regard to whether it was "good politics" or "bad politics"; to love justice for its own sake, without fear of punishment or hope of reward; to stand forth ever boldly in freedom's foremost battle-line, striving and struggling ever forward along the way that leads to life and light—this was the sublime mission of Henry George.

He was, in very truth, "the friend of man."

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## TOLSTOY IN 1906.

From an Interview with Tolstoy at His Home, Told by Mrs. Louise Maude in the *London Tribune* of August 25.

He seemed much depressed by the lies told by all the political parties, and by the false promises they had made to the people, in their efforts to win the election.

"They have promised the peasants what it is impossible to grant," he said. "And, if it were possible, why should the peasants again form a separate class, and be the only possessors of land? Why

should not a bootmaker or a nobleman have the use of land if he needs it? If they really wish to do something, why don't they adopt Henry George's scheme?"

I replied that people in Moscow said that the peasants would not be content with that scheme and would not understand it, and asked whether Tolstoy thought they would.

"Yes," he replied, slowly, "I think many of them would. Some to whom I explained it understood it perfectly, and quite approved of it."

"That is well," I said, "for many educated people don't seem to understand it at all, and think they would lose their little farms and gardens if Henry George's scheme were adopted."

Tolstoy laughed. "Yes," he said, "I have spoken to people who, when I advised them to read Henry George, told me they had done so and quite understood him; yet they complained that 'it is not fair to tax people for the labor they put into the land.' And still they pretended to understand Henry George!"

"Well, at least you have now got some freedom of the press in Russia. That is something," I remarked.

"Yes," he replied, rather doubtfully. "Yes, that is something." But he did not seem very ready to make even this small admission to the utility of the reforms from which so many in Russia hope such great things.

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## LITTLE CARETAKERS.

From the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* of September 26, 1906

"Say, lady, what's this here disease, anyhow?" piped a childish voice at the elbow of one of the attendants at the Anti-Tuberculosis Exhibit.

Bare-legged and dirty, his thin little face unnaturally old, the ten-year-old owner of the voice stood waiting for an answer. Beside him, looking equally uncared for, was a brother two years younger. Briefly the attendant explained, wondering how much the children could understand of the white plague and its cure. The little spokesman's face grew even graver as he listened.

"I guess my pa's got it, sure," he announced. "He coughs somethin' fierce. My mother, she's dead. There's five of us. Two younger'n him," and he nodded toward the eight-year-old. "There's a woman in the front of our home cooks for us. Pa, he works in the shops."

"Take this to him," and the attendant handed the child one of the league circulars giving simple rules for consumptive patients. "You want to eat good food. Don't drink coffee, either. Drink lots of water."

In the swarm of visitors the two little fellows were lost sight of for a time; then they reappeared. "Say, we do drink lots of tea. Can we have hot water?" was the anxious query.

The next day it was the eight-year-old who came, leading a younger brother of five. With unchildlike gravity they went from room to room, peering at every exhibit and stopping now and then to ask an eager question of their friend of the day before. "Keep your windows up," she told them. "Have all the air you can."

Yesterday afternoon the two little fellows were

again at the rooms, bent on learning all they could for father's sake, before the close of the Exhibit.

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### THE CHILD-LABOR INIQUITY.

Extract from a Sermon Preached by Rev. Quincy Ewing at the Church of the Advent, Birmingham, Ala., Aug. 26, 1906.

What is the meaning of this fact, that in our Southern States 60,000 children are employed in cotton mills; that in our own State of Alabama we have a law by which childhood may be murdered—by which, in other words, ten-year-old boys and girls may be worked in the mills eleven hours a day for six days in every seven, by which 13-year-old boys and girls may be worked all night for four nights in every week; a law by which it is made only a misdemeanor, punishable only by fine that may be as small as one copper cent, if little children less than thirteen years old, if little children less than ten years old, if little children just old enough to stand on their feet (they must stand on their feet!) and tie threads with their baby-fingers, are worked more than eleven hours in twenty-four, by day or by night?

What is the meaning of this strange and cruel and terrible fact, that we do not need any law at all to protect from work young setter dogs or Morgan colts, and do need a law to protect human babies under ten years old from the factories of men, some of whom are members of exalted standing in the church—the Church of the Divine Great Lover of little children, who taught that to offend, to put a stumbling block in the way of one of these little ones, was to deserve to have a great millstone hung about one's neck, and to be sunk in the depth of the sea?

The meaning of it? Why, simply what Jesus had in mind and heart when he was teaching that day, long ago; and the Pharisees, "who were money-lovers," scoffed at him. Simply mammon-worship, and a consequent contempt for man, and a consequent despising of God. Everybody is careful to save from hurt or destruction a young setter dog or Morgan colt, because the dog or colt has a money-value that is sacred. Everybody is not careful to save from hurt or destruction the soul and body of the human child, because the human child has a value less sacred than the dollar's, and in the child's destruction dollars can be made.

I wonder sometimes whether our civilization is deliberately diabolic, or helplessly insane! It must be to some extent one or the other, or we couldn't possibly put some men in shackles for shooting craps, and license other men to work ten-year-old children eleven hours a day; we couldn't possibly regard it as a crime to toss dice, and as no crime to destroy childhood. A perfectly sane and perfectly God-serving civilization would not sooner tolerate the working of little children in cotton mills, or other mills, than it would tolerate the culture of tuberculosis germs for indiscriminate distribution. The cruel, practical, mammonistic atheism which permits the child labor iniquity in this day and generation, is ten thousand times worse than any intellectual, theoretic atheism which ever fell from the lips of Charles Bradlaugh or Robert Ingersoll. Compared

with the man whose heart doesn't ache at the thought of a ten-year-old child laboring in an atmosphere of cotton lint eleven weary hours out of twenty-four, Mr. Bradlaugh and Col. Ingersoll were Christian saints!

The Master who saw to every height and to every depth of the moral universe, never saw deeper or higher than when he said: "Ye cannot serve God and mammon." The whole truth of his Gospel is of one substance with the truth of that saying, as the whole truth of his Gospel is of one substance with the truth of that other saying, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God will all thy heart, mind and soul, and thy neighbor as thyself." We can not serve God and mammon, for the very simple reason that no way has yet been discovered—and none ever will be—of serving God without serving man; and to the mammon-server true man-service is impossible, because to him men are not men, but things—things that he uses to get other things which he rates at a higher value than manhood.

When men become things, God vanishes. There is no longer any reason for his existence.

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### A NEW ERA IN STREET RAILROADS.

Tom L. Johnson, Mayor of Cleveland, in the Toledo News-Bee.

The situation in Cleveland is only an acute and well-defined example of a situation which is being felt in many of the cities of the country.

It seems to me that the fact that stands out most prominently is that a new era has opened in the popular conception of the relationships between the public-service corporations on the one hand, and the public, upon which they depend for their franchise grants and to whom they render service, on the other.

This fact is the most important one, in that it has forced in Cleveland an admission on the part of the street railway company that it is to the public in general that public-service corporations must in the future look for further privileges.

Two recent events in Cleveland emphasize this new relationship. The first is that the present railroad company, in seeking a new grant of privilege in the streets, has voluntarily appealed to a vote of the people, agreeing to submit to the people the terms upon which the grant is to be made.

The second is the announcement of a broad legal doctrine by the courts. The railway company has in times past opposed the granting of franchises to a low-fare company; first by seeking political control, and later by a mass of legislation, all being directed to technicalities and taking advantage of every quirk in the laws.

As fast as the low-fare franchises were found to be technically faulty the Council of Cleveland has given new low-fare grants curing the defects.

The last ditch of the company seeking to maintain a monopoly of the streets came in the announcement of the doctrine that the existing railroad had a property right in the streets, and that the grant of a franchise carried with it certain implied advantages running beyond the term of the grant; also that this property right amounted to an implication of the exclusive right in the streets.

A learned judge, in a most carefully prepared decision, has announced the principle that there can be no property rights in the streets except the rights to be found in a strictly construed franchise grant; and that the use and benefit of the streets by the public and for the public, whether in the form of supervision of existing roads or the authorization of competing ones, must be at all times paramount to any implied privileges or advantages of a former grantee.

Thus we see in Cleveland the situation reduced to its lowest terms—namely, that the existing public-service corporation is merely a tenant upon the property of the municipality, and that any further favors or grants of whatever nature must be secured by an appeal to the public and the people owning the streets.

Naturally, at the end of a five-year struggle the people of Cleveland are perhaps more highly educated in the matter of franchise values and character of public service than are any other people in the country.

The two great events that have grown up around the granting of special privileges to great public-service corporations have been political activity, resulting in the debauching of public service, and over capitalization, resulting in unfair and excessive rates and meagre extension of service.

Take the right to grant franchises worth millions from the council, or rather put it back in the first instance to the people themselves that they may direct the council to do their will, and political graft and corruption must be materially lessened.

It may be possible to corrupt a small body of lawmakers, but it is hardly possible to corrupt the public at large.

Grant franchises on condition that the books of public-service corporations must be open at all times to public scrutiny, and campaign contributions and lobby funds cannot be hidden.

Have the books open and the public informed as to the cost of construction, maintenance and operation, and the public will know whether or not the rates which it pays for services are fair.

As far as I have seen, I believe that the public of Cleveland are most jealous in guarding the rights of invested capital, but I believe that they can no longer be deceived by watered stocks and bonds.

I believe that out of this struggle will come a better public service, cleaner politics, lower cost to the public; and that this will be accomplished without working the least hardship to legitimate invested capital.

\* \* \*

### WM. J. BRYAN ON CHILD LABOR.

An Interview with Mr. Bryan at the Jefferson Banquet in Chicago, Sept. 4, 1906. Reported by Marion Foster Washburne for the Chicago Record-Herald of Sept. 7.

"We have no right to the labor of children," said Mr. Bryan. "It is one of the worst evils of the present day and should be corrected. If children are driven to toll before they have received a sound education and before their bodies are grown, where are we to look for the future citizens of the country? This is to destroy our civilization in the mak-

ing. Every boy and girl has a right to demand of the state an opportunity to become a healthy, intelligent citizen, capable of self-maintenance and self-government."

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"You have been talking of special privileges, Mr. Bryan. Do you not think that the cruel competition, rendered abnormally fierce by the fact that some of the competing parties play with loaded dice, is what drives manufacturers and employers of labor to these unnatural devices to cut down the cost of production? Do you think that political laws under the present unjust economic conditions can remedy these evils? Will not such laws merely be evaded? Will not children continue to labor when their labor is an economic necessity, no matter what the legislature says about it?"

"Well, there is always some evasion of law, of course," he replied; "but I think laws have their effect, for all that; and that it is our duty to pass as good laws as we can, and to do our best to get them obeyed."

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"But will they be obeyed, if they run counter to economic laws? It is true, isn't it, in the broad sense, that every man has his price?"

Mr. Bryan smiled the smile of the idealist—of the man who has faith in his fellows.

"Oh, I don't know! Some of them seem to hold their ideas of duty above all price," he replied.

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"But put the price high enough—let it be, say, the actual bodily life of a man's wife and children. Wouldn't a man disregard a good many laws to keep them from starving? And under present conditions isn't that practically the position a laboring man is in when he sells the labor of his children? He must sell their labor, or they will all go down. What, under such circumstances, is a state law to him?"

"You are putting it pretty strongly," said Mr. Bryan. "I don't know that there is so clear a connection between special privileges, monopolies, and this great evil of child labor. I am a conservative man—perhaps you have heard that? Well, I am, really; and I like rather to understate than to overstate. But I will say that a sound political law must not run counter to an economic law. We must make it as easy as possible to do right. We need a law in every State forbidding children to work before they are 14 years of age, and forbidding their employment by any factory or business concern; but we need also, and more than that, such a change in economic conditions as would enable fathers to support their own families without recourse to the labor of their own children. I am glad that the women are becoming aroused on this subject, and I wish they could be brought to see that it makes a difference to them, and to their children, and to all children, whether the party in power is a party that stands for special privilege or one that honestly stands for equal opportunity for all. I believe that the very life of the Democratic party depends upon its being able to prove, not only by its platform, but by the character of the men who manage it, that it stands ready to do battle for the people; and I am intent upon proving this point beyond the possi-

bility of a doubt. If, then, it is proved, it surely is important to every woman as well as to every man to see to it that we no longer endure the rule of a party which allows special privileges and monopolies so to increase the pressure of poverty that at last it drives the people beyond their strength and tempts them to do such unnatural things as, by early labor, to destroy their own children. Certainly we ought so to remedy conditions that no such pressure is put upon any man. We have no right to tempt the people beyond their strength, nor even up to it. We ought to make it easy for them to be good. The government ought to be upon the side of every man who is willing to do right—not making it hard for him, not testing his virtue, but helping him along.”

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### THE SMELL OF DEATH IS ON THEM.

Dost know these shining dames  
Who toil not, neither do they spin? Their names  
Spell gold—yet tears I see on every thread  
Of costly clothing; by their side the dead  
I smell who died to weave that cloth! Canst tell  
Them from the lilies of the field? 'Tis well!  
Or in the still hours of the night canst tell  
The sobs of children from the dreadful noise  
Machines make, when—deprived of childhood's toys—  
The little ones in factories tall stand guard  
O'er flying wheels, and through the night work hard,  
Robbed of their sleep and play?

—Caroline Pemberton.

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### THE CHURCH AND WORKINGMEN.

J. W. Hart, President Pasadena Labor Council, Writing  
in *The Christian Advocate* of October 4, 1906.

Allow a workingman to give his side of this subject. We may be all wrong, but you will never set us right by ignoring us. The policy of suppression has signally failed in Russia. We are tired of articles from those who are vouched for as “more than ordinarily intelligent workingmen,” and who write to please the enemies of labor.

The danger point is the fearful line-up in the contest. If the industrial problems are to be settled by workingmen, gathered in saloons and well-to-do people gathered in churches, each misunderstanding and misrepresenting the other, God have mercy on our great cities. The slavery question might have been settled without the sacrifice of a drop of blood, and for one-tenth the treasure. It was passion and prejudice and the refusal of each side to consider the claims of the other that made the bloody sacrifice necessary. Years ago Bishop Newman said the labor question was a more difficult and dangerous problem than the slavery question. The blackness of the cloud which then was no bigger than a man's hand should make men with less prophetic souls at least candidly consider the question, and be willing to give the other side a fair hearing.

The position of the church on economic questions does not by any means satisfy workingmen. Many of our church leaders were active in the anti-slavery movement, and they have never got beyond that. Give a man the right to come and go as he will, the employer the right to hire and discharge at will, and that is all there is to it in their estimation. Comfortably housed and well fed they have no concep-

tion of conditions among honest, hard-working men. Those of us who have been pinched realize that wage slavery may be about as bad as chattel slavery. Slavery is the curse and it matters little what adjective you put before it. To give one man or set of men the power to compel others to work at starvation wages is slavery.

Strikes and lock-outs, mobs and violence are but incidents in a great conflict. Where one man is killed in these disturbances hundreds of children die because of conditions for which there is no excuse. The children who are not properly housed, clothed and fed, and who have not the vitality to carry them through the bitter cold of winter and the heat of summer are just as certainly murdered as are the victims of the riots. Not only are the men responsible for these conditions given the highest seats in the synagogue, but the fathers and mothers whose hearts are sore and bleeding from the loss of their little ones are told that if they would not waste their time in idleness and their wages in drink they could provide all right for their children. . . . It is false, it is cruelly false. The loss of our loved ones is hard enough to bear without the church compelling us to listen to such misrepresentations. The men who work for fifteen cents an hour at uncertain employment cannot give their children that which every child is entitled to. Those of us who receive “good wages” cannot do it. The articles on the care of children . . . have no value to poor people. It is mockery to tell such men to give their children fresh air and sunshine, fresh milk and eggs, fresh fruit and vegetables—how can the ill-paid men buy anything fresh?

If there was famine in the land and no help could be given we might stand these things, but the problem of production has been so successfully solved that we have “over-production” in every department of industry. The cause of the trouble is that a few are determined to pile up millions they have no use for, and we will not stand it to see our children sacrificed on the altar of greed and oppression.

If the only answer of the church is that capital has a right to buy labor where it can buy it the cheapest, and the law must protect capital in this right, we may expect the worst. Without doubt the church represents the best sentiment of the nation and if it cannot reach a broader platform where the rights of all are safeguarded by law, then the workingmen will have less and less regard for law, and lawlessness will go on increasing. If we are to respect law the law must be respectable. Laws must be just and righteous to command a loyal support.

If the church would bring to this question its conscience and its brain power, the problem could be solved with little difficulty. If ministers would preach on these everyday questions they would investigate and think more, and would give their help where it is so badly needed. Probably some have not sense enough to touch this question without doing more harm than good; undoubtedly some would “toady” to the rich and some would “pander” to the poor; but the great majority of intelligent ministers who are so earnestly striving to live the Christ life, and to do efficiently the great work Christ has left for them to do, can successfully solve this greatest problem that our country has ever faced.

## BABY WAGE-EARNERS IN THE SOUTH-ERN MILLS.

"Mother" Jones in *The Miners' Magazine*, of Denver, for July 5, 1906.

After thirteen years of absence I returned again to see what improvements had been made in the industrial conditions of the mill workers of the sunny South.

I found that there had been marvelous progress made as far as the mills and machinery were concerned. Looking at the advancement in that line, one would think that the day of rest for the workers must be near. Instead of bringing rest and leisure to the workers, however, this perfected machinery brings only a more merciless exploitation than was ever practiced before. With the advancement in machinery has come a corresponding advance in the methods of exploitation. That is all the difference the improvements have made upon the workers.

I stood one morning in the early dawn and I watched the slaves as they entered the pen of capitalism. I could see the shadows of the slaves passing along in the brush to the mill at twenty minutes to six in the morning. Children, roused from the heavy sleep of youth, left their beds reluctantly and entered the institution of capitalism to create wealth for others to enjoy.

The mill at Graham, N. C., has been built but four years. In that time they have doubled the size of the mill and its machinery, and in addition to this they have paid forty per cent. dividends to the stockholders each year.

I watched the workers, young and old, who had produced all this wealth, when the machinery stopped at noon. They returned to the shack which they call home, scraped together what was left from breakfast, ate it for lunch in a mad hurry, and then they drifted back again to their posts. It brought to my mind the tread-mill punishment with which the tyrannical government of England tortured her victims only eighty years ago. These mill children are allowed only forty minutes for dinner. Then they stand before that iron giant until twenty minutes of seven at night. I asked myself what progress had there been in the conditions of these workers? I saw only tragedies everywhere. The lives of the men, women and children who produce the clothing for the people of the land are living tragedies. Under the mill-skies of Massachusetts hearts are breaking from over-work and poor food, just as they are under the mill-skies of the sunny South. So exhausting is the work that something must be done to combat the existing state of things. The workers are old long before they are old in years. They are old before they have had a chance to get their growth. The machine has become almost human and the child has become a machine.

In Columbia, S. C., a splendid illustration of benevolent feudalism may be observed. On one side of the streets is the great mill, occupying a whole block. Up the street is the school building. Opposite is the church with its steeple pointing up to the throne of God to proclaim the wonderful work being carried on in His name. Nearby, too, is the repair shop, called the "accident ward." Here baby fingers are amputated and mangled arms and legs and broken

heads are repaired, with what care and skill the company doctor sees fit to call to his aid. The thought in the mind of this mechanic, the doctor, is to adjust the living bolts and to so repair the throbbing, fevered parts, that the machine may go back again to the mill to create more wealth for the master. If the case is too badly injured to give promise of service, little interest is taken and it is simply a case for the junk-heap of our industrial life.

If there happens to be something the matter with the "morals" of these living machines, the services of the sanctified machinist are called into activity. With threats on one hand of eternal hell and on the other hand of eternal blessings, to play the golden harp in the world beyond, this moral mechanic does what he can to render this member useful in creating wealth. To those of us who would better these conditions these sky pilots say, "Your thoughts and plans are of this earth—worldly. Mine are higher. They point upward; they are 'other worldly.' I point from this world as it is to the heavenly world which is to repay the poor for their suffering if they bear it in patience now." And for centuries the poor deluded workers have been kept from their birthright here, but they are waking up.

The work of making the clothing for the world's inhabitants is now so highly specialized that children do most of the spinning while the weaving is done by men and women.

A suck shuttle loom pays the weaver fifteen cents per cut for twelve hours' work. In order to make wages the worker must watch several machines. "When everything runs smoothly," said a woman who is far above the average in intelligence and skill, "I can make a dollar and fifty cents a day. But you know things don't always go smoothly. And it is hard for a woman to stand on her feet thirteen hours every day. We can't stand it all the time, and so \$1.50 is more than the average weaver gets."

In the spinning rooms the children are paid ten cents on an average for watching a "siding." Some very nimble little ones manage to take care of eight sidings, but they are physical wrecks in a few years. The whirr of the passing threads becomes a part of their whole mental and physical make-up. I saw a little boy dying of typhoid fever, and in his ravings he was tying the knots of the spindles. "Oh, I wish I'd get another siding!" he was crying. "This don't work, and the boss will be mad and I will lose my job." In his death struggle this little child felt the sword of the capitalist over him. This little victim of our brutal system died and the "new siding" which the fates had in store for him could not have been as cruel as the one he left behind for his little brothers to watch.

The cotton mill produces a type that can't be mistaken anywhere. An under-sized boy, a narrow chest, a shifting and uncertain gait, an expressionless face, and a soul that hopes not, for there is nought in the cotton mill worker's life but the long hours of toil, repulsive food, bare walls, and at the close a hole in the ground.

Death can hold no horrors greater than their lives have known.

The mill owners are not only the employers of labor, but they are landlords, the merchants, the school directors, the patent medicine venders and the Salva-



tion Army soul-savers. On every side of him the worker feels the "touch" of his employer.

As school director, for instance, the infamy of the employer's greed blocks the pathway of the future of the little child. A rule is made and strictly adhered to that a child who is absent a certain number of days during a term can not be promoted into the next higher class, even though the studies have been carefully kept up and the child is ready to take an examination to prove his fitness for promotion. The hard and fast rule is carried out from year to year and at last parents and children, too, become discouraged and the door of the school house closes behind the child and the mill door swings open to receive its prey, never to give it up until death seals its ears to the whirr of the spindles and the looms. During the last session of the Legislature in South Carolina, a bill was introduced to shorten the hours of labor from twelve to ten. The mill owners got a few of their workmen before the legislative committee who made a plea for the "business interests." They insisted that they could not make a living unless they ran at least twelve hours per day. The bill was pigeon-holed. To make sure of its case the company sent a petition around the mill district asking the voting mill hands to sign it for a continuance of the twelve-hour day. I saw a man prepare to sign it, but his wife said, "No, ten hours, even, is too much!" "But we'll lose our job!" he cried in dismay. "I tell you even ten hours is too long to spend in their pens!" she insisted and the man did not sign. Mothers have far more of the revolutionary spirit than have fathers when it is a question of life and comfort for children. It will be a better day for the laborers when the voice of the mothers may be heard in the legislative councils of the land.

South Carolina passed a law prohibiting the employment of children under the age of twelve. As always happens, the mill owner stood by and out of the kindness of his heart, made provision for the children of the widow and of the invalid or the unfortunate. This admits all but the children of the well-to-do. In many cases the parents have turned out exploiters and have sworn that they were unable to support their children.

During my stay in Columbia lately a boy of nine fell into an elevator shaft and was killed. His mother drew his pay. The press statement declared the boy to have been above the age of twelve and insisted that he was not in the employ of the company that day. On such technicalities the employer evades the laws.

A shrewd scheme shows the mill owner as landlord. He will not rent his tenements or his cottages unless the family can furnish a worker in the mill for every room in the dwelling.

"Teddy had to go to work," said one mother sadly. "We had four rooms, and when I was kept at home with the baby Teddy had to go to make four hands from this house of four rooms!" The rents are low for these company houses, making it an inducement to fulfill the requirements of the landlords. They range from \$1.50 for single rooms to a family domicile for six dollars per month.

One of the large mills in Columbia is owned by an employer who owns mills in Fall River, Massachusetts. He has opened this mill in the South because he can manufacture goods so much cheaper, and then

he sends the goods to the North to compete with his wretched workers there. Since the strike of 1904 the Fall River workers are living on a starvation wage.

I sat each night watching the weary procession of men, women and children leaving the mills at 6:45 p. m. There were old men walking with canes, mothers with babes at their breasts, and many young children who should be playing with balls or with dolls in the train of weary marchers.

On the streets of Fall River I noticed from day to day that there were many little white hearses carrying the baby victims to the hole in the ground. I discovered that these baby lives had been insured by the parents and that the undertakers collected the insurance money.

I thought, were it possible for these little ones to hold a convention—a national convention of mill and mine and factory slaves, what tales of brutality their ghastly little faces would tell without words.

While our race suicide President was making the rounds of the Southern States, boasting about our national prosperity, he was speaking of the forty per cent. dividends which the life blood of these little ones was creating for the stockholders. The subject of child labor, which is the real race suicide was not mentioned in the florid, boastful speeches. Our good President does not see that there are those among us who have no boasts of such prosperity. We see that in the days to come we shall look upon this devastation and this ruin of a people as a ghastly crime, and we shall wonder why the people stood for it and why they cheered him? A French statesman once said: "Let our self-seeking and our ambitions die. Let our names be forever buried, but let the cause of the people live!"

As I looked upon the blight which the whirl of this machinery has cast upon the minds and the bodies of these baby workers, I concluded that a sound race either in body or in mind cannot be expected from such environment. The child coming from parents who entered the mills themselves in childhood must be the product of this environment of overwork.

We are at the parting of the ways. We have to choose in regard to a continuation of the system that produces high dividends and yachts and automobiles, palaces, banquet halls and monkey parties for the one class who do no useful work—and in order to maintain them in their debauchery, we have to pay for a constabulary and police to shoot us down; we build orphans' homes for our children, reform schools for our bad boys, slum tenements for our homes, while we have a "job," and penitentiaries, insane asylums and soup kitchens for ourselves when we are out of a job. The police club us into submission, injunction machines on the bench defend the exploiters and prevent us from teaching the workers a higher, nobler civilization.

Again I say, we have come to the parting of the ways. We have reached the time when we must choose sides. How shall the future see the crisis through which we are passing?

I stand for the overthrow of a system of commercial piracy which destroys the home and prostitutes human life. I stand for a higher manhood, for a happy childhood and for the abolition of every infamous institution that interferes with the rights

and liberties of a great people. Which side do you stand on, citizen? Do you stand for justice and human rights, or for commercial piracy as we have it to-day?

This is no age for palliators or for cowards. You will have to take your stand on the one side or on the other. I stand first, last and all the time for the rights of the working people.

+ + +

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,  
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay.

—Goldsmith.

+ + +

Three little ones were heard discussing the question which has puzzled child and man since time began: "Who made God?" For a time they were nonplussed; not even a theory was advanced, until, with sudden inspiration, the oldest said, "Huh! I know. He was just a volunteer!"—Life.

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"The all-round aptitude of the Japanese is a constant wonder to me," said the woman who has a Japanese maid of all work of whom she is very fond. "Nothing escapes them, not even our idioms. The other night I had some people to dinner and Anita had made a special and most toothsome dessert. I wanted a little more. I threw her a questioning glance as she stood against the oak of the dining room door in her native costume, pretty as any picture on a fan. She understood perfectly. Folding her arms in a final way she said in a soft, but determined manner: 'Nothing doing.'"—New York Sun.

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"I am not a spelling reformer," said Senator La Follette, of Wisconsin, "but a friend of mine named Turner nearly made one of me once.

"Turner and I were traveling together. We came to a certain hotel, and there, to my amazement, the man registered:

"H. C. Phtholognyrrh."

"What is the matter with you?" I exclaimed. "Why do you adopt that remarkable alias? Have you committed some crime?"

"No, indeed!" said Turner.

"Then why don't you register your own name?" said I.

"That is my own name," he answered. "P-h-t-h-o-l-o-g-n-y-r-r-h—Turner. That's my name."

"Well," I said, "I can't see how you make 'Turner' out of 'Phtholognyrrh.' What is your object, anyway, in using such a peculiar spelling?"

"Oh," said my friend, "when I used to register plain 'Turner' I attracted no attention. Now, though, my name excites a great deal of wondering comment. People study it. They ask one another what my nationality can be. Even now, you will notice, there is a little crowd buzzing over the register. 'Phtholognyrrh' is good English spelling for 'Turner,' too. In the 'pht' there is the sound of 't' as in 'phtthis.' In the 'olo' there is the sound of 'ur' as in 'colonel.' The 'gn' is 'n' as in 'gnat.' Finally, in the 'yrrh' there is the sound of 'er' as in 'myrrh.' There you have it. Phtholognyrrh—Turner."—Woman's Home Magazine.

# Publishers' Column

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

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**"THE HOSTILE MICROBE OF CIVILIZATION."**

Marriage and Race Death: The Foundations of an Intelligent System of Marriage. By Morrison I. Swift. (Vol. I of Marriage and Race Series.) Published by the Morrison I. Swift Press, New York. Price \$1.10.

One opens this book with the expectation of finding the "foundation of an intelligent system of marriage" fully expounded. One closes it with the information that the consideration of this transcendently vital theme is reserved for another volume. But one can afford to wait. There is quite enough in the present volume to give us pause. We are brought face to face with "the problem of building up in ourselves a new consciousness." Says our author:

A consciousness that is not impotent must throw over the load of the old consciousness. The old edifice of mind was built on the theory of man's sin and helplessness; the new one will rise about the certainty of his power. Whatever we retain from the past will impede the formation of the new consciousness structure. Who would attempt to build a new house on the ground where an old one had fallen without removing the rubbish? . . . Look about at the degradation of human beings, of human society; these are the works of the old consciousness. So the fallen consciousness with its impotence-making elements must go.

And presto! Since we are assured that man "need not wait millenniums or generations for evolution to change his state or nature, but can alter both by choice with the suddenness of a Cataclysm," we drop our old consciousness at once, and put on this new consciousness which Mr. Swift has ready made for us while we read his book.

Setting aside the "inflexible marriage" question for later consideration, we learn (through the new consciousness) that the "sacred family" institution is "the hostile microbe of civilization." This is a startling proposition, but through the vision of the new consciousness we find it based on the economic conditions which make the family man a pottroon and a slave who will "put his face between his knees and dig and pray for his daily bread while the rich dance pow-wows around him and pluck the harvest of his toil from his children's lips."

"They who would rescue the ideal principle of sex union must attack the social structure fundamentally; they must pronounce for a social order in which the best can breed the race and rear it in the best manner," says Mr. Swift, after affirming that "American children are bred as food for all debauching capitalists."

It is the "Capitalist Bosses," or, to use his alliterative term, the "Belly Billionaires," against whom our author's fiercest philippics are directed. They are the rebel cells in the race economy—independent organisms feeding upon it as their pasture—the tape-worm of the social body coiled in the alimentary canal of the people—consuming the food intended for their feeding, bringing on race emaciation and

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exhaustion. There is no evil in the world that is not traced to this source. The "Brothel Trust" is bred and guarded by the rich. "The feminination of industry" is a simple device of the "Bosses" to turn out able-bodied men at thirty-five and supply their places with cheap girls and weak women who "will be a degraded and perverted product, the debased minions of a limited corporation of capitalist male brutes." The Salvation Army is an institution of beggars. "It teaches the capitalists' superfluous poor to exist on garbage eked out with psalms of praise for the privilege. The empty stomach is filled and silenced by a prayer. The rich cheerfully supply the scraps to pacify the deluded victims," etc. The dying out of population, the American race reversion, the deteriorated American brain, the revolting social sewer in which we are living—these, and nameless other evils unspeakable to polite ears, are creations of the Belly Billionaire who is himself the product of the Christian religion!

We refrain from quoting Mr. Swift's remarks on Christianity because our "New Consciousness" is not sufficiently adjusted to his viewpoint to enable us to wink at his extreme prejudice. He appears to have a conception of what real Christianity is. He has evidently been studying the spurious kind instead of going to the fountain head where he might have found a rock basis for the "New Consciousness."

But it will do the "old consciousness" no harm to read the present and forthcoming volumes of the "Marriage and Race Series" by which the author, with the liberty of his own press, proposes to enlighten and purify the social body. He makes very forcible and needed criticisms which are weakened only when they degenerate into violent vituperations that miss the true mark.

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A. L. M.

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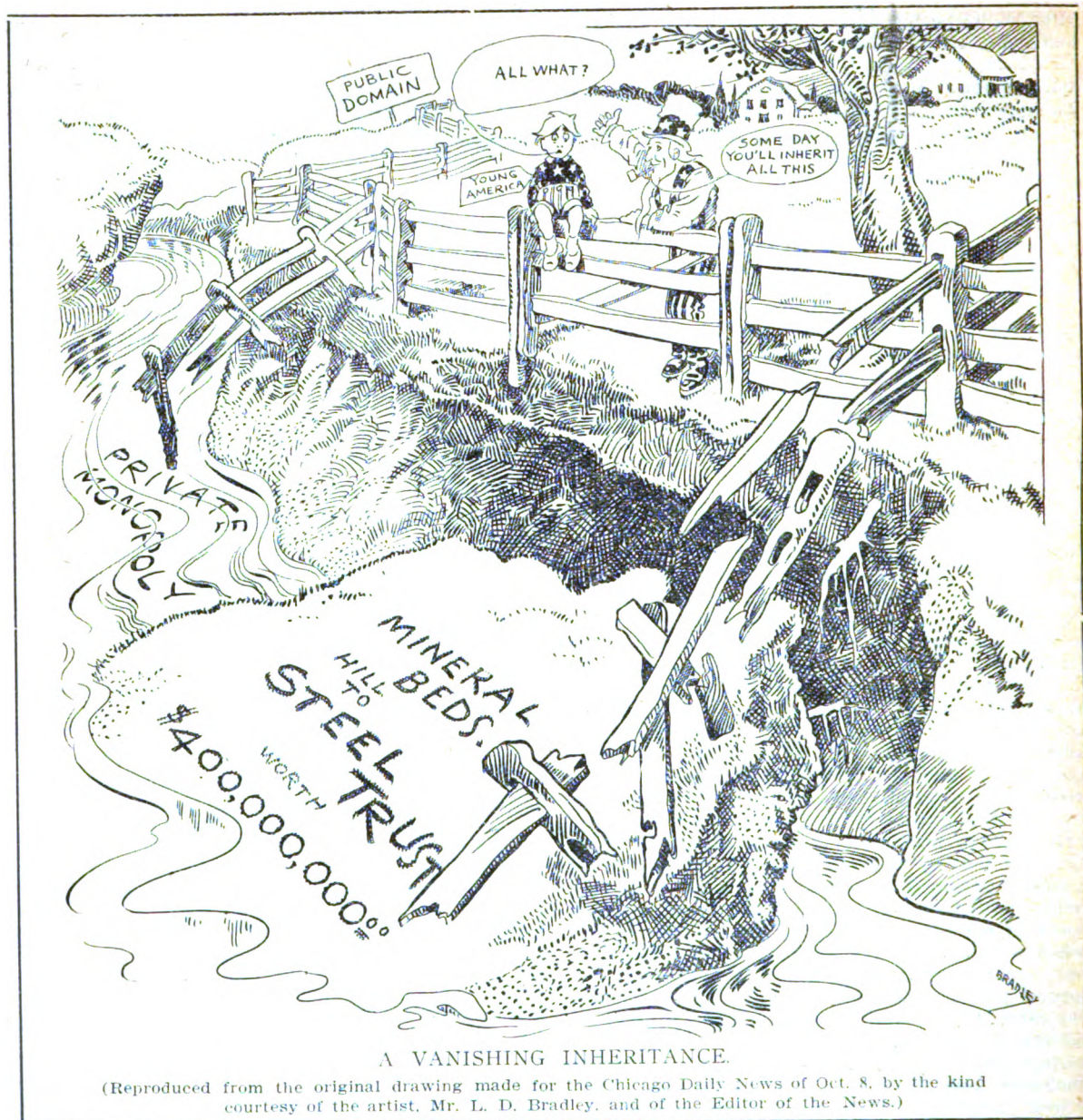
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—The English Patents of Monopoly. By William Hyde Price, Ph. D., instructor in Political Economy in the University of Wisconsin, and sometime Henry Lee Memorial Fellow in Harvard University. Published by Houghton, Mifflin and Company, of Boston and New York. Price \$1.50.

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## PAMPHLETS

### A Question of Juries.

In his annotations of the Municipal Court Act for Chicago, Judge Hiram T. Gilbert (Chicago) takes occasion to approve a provision requiring the payment of \$6 by litigants requiring jury trials. Presumably this requirement is in the nature of a tax for the payment of jurors' services; but the annotator approves it because it "will operate as an encouragement to the waiver of jury trials." As these courts were established for the benefit of the smaller class of litigants, a provision to obstruct them in securing jury trials would seem to be of a discriminating and doubtful character.

**PERIODICALS**

Osteopathic Health for September is devoted entire to a readable and enlightening "Osteopathic Catechism." (Chicago, 171 Washington St.)

A. T. P.

+

"The Fake Promoter's Easy Road to Wealth," the second of a series on "Fools and Their Money," by Frank Fayant, which appears in Success Magazine for October, ought to be read by every unsophisticated person who has a little money to take care of.

A. T. P.

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Ridgway's Magazine, organized in New York but published simultaneously and with local matter in fourteen cities, appeared this week. Typographically it is forbidding; much of its matter is interesting; the editorials are bright but too consciously under non-partisan tension.

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Announcements are made of a new cosmopolitan magazine to be published at New York, The Times Magazine, with Franklin H. Giddings as editor. Prof. Giddings, who is the most distinguished sociologist in the United States, holds a chair at Columbia University. The magazine is to be frankly democratic, not in the party sense, however, and its list of expected contributors is inviting. Among the names included are Gov. Folk, Brand Whitlock, Henry George, Jr., Jack London, Frederic C. Howe, Rex Beach and Tom L. Johnson.

+

The fake character of the rumors of an anti-foreign uprising in Mexico is intelligently exposed by Edward M. Conley, formerly vice and deputy consul general of the United States at the City of Mexico, writing in The World To-day for October. In the same magazine an article on "Edmund C. Tarbell, Painter," is illustrated with several delightful portraits, and "interiors" which convey the impression of rooms—of chambers with living hollowness, where there is space for scents and friendly shadows and thoughts, as well as for the thoughtful persons the artist has placed in them.

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In line with the marked expression of opinion against child-labor which is sweeping through the press of the country, is to be noted the September number of the Woman's Home Companion. This issue contains an article by Samuel McCune Lindsay, Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, on the "National Crusade Against Child Labor"; and also a most interesting description of the children in the coal-breakers by Owen R. Lovejoy. Beginning with the January issue, the National Child Labor Committee will conduct officially a two-page department of notes in each number of the Woman's Home Companion. (The Crowell Publishing Company, Madison Square, New York.)

A. L.

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