

# The Public

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## EDITORIAL

### The Cuban Revolution.

It is interesting to observe the attitude of a certain class of Americans toward the disturbances in Cuba. They point to them as convincing evidence of the incapacity of Cubans for self-government. Such persons—those who are sincere, not those who are eager for any excuse for grabbing Cuba—only prove their ignorance not only of the history of democratic government in the world at large, but also of the history of its establishment in their own country. These disturbances are usual and natural phenomena in

any country which has recently been governed arbitrarily. That our own country was no exception to the rule is proved by Shay's rebellion and the whiskey war.

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### Labor and Peace.

The Central Labor Union of Boston deserves the highest possible commendation for its resolutions of the 19th protesting against President Roosevelt's plans for celebrating Labor Day with a naval demonstration. This labor union "enters its emphatic protest," read the resolutions, "against the selection of Labor Day for a so-called naval demonstration." The reason for the protest is as vigorous as the protest is inspiring. This great labor union declares it to be in exceedingly bad taste "to select a day devoted to the celebration of the pursuits of peace for a display advertising the latest improved methods for killing our fellow human beings." Accordingly, the Boston Central Labor Union has asked President Roosevelt to consider whether, "if it be necessary to have a naval review," it may not be held on some other day than Labor Day. Mr. Roosevelt's delight in warlike displays, and his belief in keeping the peace by going to war, may lead him to turn a deaf ear to the protest of Boston's peace-loving workmen; but he could honor himself no better than by acceding to their request.

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### Simplified Spelling.

A pitiful display of ignorance has been exhibited by the newspapers of two continents over President Roosevelt's order to the public printing office to follow the simplified spelling (p. 514) in printing Executive documents. They have apparently turned loose the silliest of their silly season staffs to poke cheap fun at the President's sensible order in support of the Simplified Spelling Board's serious and useful suggestions. One might suppose that English spelling was to be joshillingsized over night by White House decree. Nor has this been the work alone of frivolous reporters. Distinguished educators, with equal disregard of the facts, though without even the oil of cheap humor to cut the acid of their ignorant comments, have joined in the preposterous hue and cry. For preposterous it is. The Simplified Spelling Board has proposed no innovations, as

may be readily learned at the expense of a two cent stamp by addressing it at No. 1 Madison Avenue, New York. What it has done has been to select 300 common words that are now spelled by good literary authority in two ways, and urge the public to adopt the simpler way of the two. The Board assumes to exercise no authority. Yet its personnel ought to secure for it the courtesy it asks, namely, that criticisms of its suggestions be made after and not before the critic has read its publications or otherwise acquired correct information. Composed of scholars and educators, of men of letters and men of affairs, and of specialists in linguistic science, including the editors of the three chief American dictionaries as well as the editors of the three chief dictionaries published in Great Britain, its recommendations are not only reasonable but as authoritative as any question of spelling can be. In addition, the Board recommends no revolution but only a choice of spellings between two established forms. The prejudice of illogical literates against a phonetic system is at least understandable; but how are we to explain this avalanche of summer wit which has been launched against the use, for instance, of the authorized and simple form "labor" in preference to the authorized but absurd form "labour"?

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#### Land Exploitation in Panama.

Poultney Bigelow makes an interesting exposure of a significant kind of graft in which American officials indulge at Panama. In the September number of the *Cosmopolitan* magazine, he asserts that "many of the canal officials own lots on this pestiferous island"—the island of Colon, about a mile square,—“and consequently have a pecuniary interest in congesting population here, so that rents may rise.” They are aided in this by Mr. Roosevelt’s administration, which “permits no road from Colon out to the healthful hills” immediately at hand. As a result, the population of Colon is congested, and the land of the island has made its owners richer both in higher site values and higher rents.

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#### The Incidence of Taxation.

“Taxes must come out of product,” is the sagacious editorial remark of a daily newspaper not a thousand miles from Chicago, in answer to a correspondent who proposes to exempt capital from taxation. And “since taxes must come out of product,” it proceeds, “they are pretty sure to affect the supply of capital,” meaning, of course, to diminish it. But that isn’t true—not necessari-

ly. Take, for example, a coal deposit with its working apparatus, each having a salable value. If you tax the value of the apparatus, the tax will indeed come out of product; but out of that share of the product which rewards the beneficent uses of capital. Hence, it will tend to discourage such uses of capital, and therefore tend to diminish the supply. But if you tax the value of the natural deposit, the result will be reversed. While this tax also will come out of product, it will come out of that share of the product which rewards the maleficent forestalling of natural coal deposits. Hence it will tend to discourage such forestalling, and therefore tend, not to diminish the supply of capital, but to make cheaper and consequently easier the application of capital to the working of deposits of coal.

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#### Subsidized Newspapers.

Winston Churchill, who is making an independent campaign for governor of New Hampshire against the domination of the Boston and Maine Railroad, finds that his candidacy is denied publicity by the newspapers of the State. He attributes this, rightly no doubt, to the fact that 70 out of 75 of the newspapers of New Hampshire are subsidized by the railroad combine. This combine really rules the State, and what it orders in politics goes, with newspapers as well as with politicians and its other employes. Here is the most important of all reasons for public ownership and operation of railroads. Good or bad service? cheap or dear service? These are secondary considerations. The primary and all-controlling consideration is the fact that great public service corporations will not and cannot content themselves with rendering service. They are born of corrupt politics, they live in and by corrupt politics, and they must and they do control every agency of politics, from school trustee to governor, from beer saloon to newspaper. The spoils of mere public employment which is held up as a scare crow to prevent public ownership and operation of railroads, is as a gnat to a crocodile in comparison with the spoils of all kinds which railroad corporations utilize for their private ends.

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#### Genuine Democrats for Congress.

Three democratic Democrats are in regular nomination for Congress in Chicago. They are Charles L. Young, of the 10th District, James T. McDermott of the 4th District, and Frank J. Buchanan, of the seventh. These men represent

the political and industrial principles that the revolt against the Democratic machine in Chicago aims at promoting, and they are not indebted for their nominations to the machine. They should, therefore, be cordially supported by all democratic Democrats. This is made somewhat difficult by the political bosses' law which forbids the printing of the same name in different party columns on the official ballot. But there is no necessity for nominating opposition Congressional candidates against the machine's ticket in districts like these, where the machine does not control the regular candidate. Detroit, also, has a pronounced democratic Democrat in nomination for Congress, in the person of F. F. Ingram.

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#### Traction Question in Detroit.

A traction controversy in Detroit promises soon to be at white heat; and, as usual, traction owners and traction politicians are figuring to humbug the people. The situation is not unlike that at Chicago before the franchise grabbers and their confederates were driven into the woods by Mayor Dunne's election. There is a claim to perpetual street rights for part of the system, which answers in Detroit to the purpose of the now defunct 99-year act in Chicago. The companies offer to trade it for an 18-year franchise for the whole system. Then there is the alluring bait, which was offered in Chicago, of bringing all the franchises to a focus so that they will expire at the same time. In some respects the Detroit offer is better than that which Mayor Harrison tried to railroad through for his traction friends in Chicago; but the general scheme is the same, and the object is the same—namely, to give a long lease of further life to traction stockjobbing.

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#### Roosevelt's Feat with the Decalogue.

In his key-note speech for the Congressional campaign in Maine, Senator Beveridge commended President Roosevelt for having "restored the decalogue." We should suppose that the astringent ambiguity of this compliment would not be especially acceptable to Mr. Roosevelt. It sounds too much like complimenting the man who has run away with your horse, for restoring it after getting caught. Wasn't it under the direction and for the behoof of the business classes who made McKinley and Roosevelt their political leaders, that the decalogue disappeared from American business circles? Better for Mr. Roose-

velt than Senator Beveridge's ambiguous compliment, would it be to restore some of the stolen monies that went into his campaign fund when his friends were playing hide and seek with the decalogue of which they now describe him as the restorer.

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Beveridge's serio-comic picture of Roosevelt restoring the decalogue is suggestive of the fabled Eastern traveler who upon looking into a well one brilliant night and seeing the moon's reflection upon the surface of the water at the bottom, exclaimed: "We are lost, we are lost! The moon has fallen into the well!" Then he dropped a bucket into the well, that he might mayhap by some dexterity catch the moon in the bucket and lift it out of the well. He did catch the moon in his bucket, but in his efforts to pull the bucket with its precious freight to the top of the well, he broke the rope and fell sprawling on his back upon the ground. As he lay there with upturned face, bruised and sore in body and limb, his eye caught sight of the moon sailing serenely over his head. "Allah be praised!" he then exclaimed. "I am indeed suffering sadly; but the moon, have I not lifted it out of the depths of the well and restored it to its place in the sky? Allah be praised! Allah be praised!"

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#### A HISTORIC AMERICAN MONOPOLY

All the navigable waters of the State of New York were once monopolized by two distinguished men. Lake Champlain, lower Long Island Sound, the Hudson River throughout its navigable length, and even the bay above Sandy Hook, were, for certain purposes of vast commercial importance, as completely and exclusively their private property at law as is any man's hat or his coat.

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This was not two centuries or more ago, under autocratic grants from Dutch High Mightinesses or English Kings, but within the century just closed, and by authority of the Republican legislature of the independent State of New York. And though the monopoly was neither absolute nor perpetual, being limited in character to steam navigation and in time to thirty years, its limitations would have proved frail barriers to complete and perpetual proprietorship had it once secured a firm legal foothold.

As Daniel Webster said, if the legislature could create an exclusive privilege of navigation by steam power for thirty years, it could create an

exclusive privilege of navigation by any power for all time, and we might look confidently forward to a period in the early future when sailing vessels as well as steamboats, if not licensed by legalized monopolizers of navigation, would be forever excluded from the navigable waters of New York.

It is no wild inference, either, that New York's example, followed by other States as it surely would have been—as indeed it was—might long before the present time have transformed common rights of internal navigation into private property rights not less general in their recognition or perfect in legal effect than are rights of property in the solid earth. That at least we should have suffered from repeated conflicts between discordant and disunited States there can hardly be a doubt. For the one thing, greater than Congress or courts or army, that has held the Union together until now, even through an epoch of civil war, and that will continue to hold it together in the future, is the popular appreciation of the vital importance of free trade between the States which welded them into the Union toward the close of the last century. Abolish free trade between the States, and the Union at once begins to dissolve. Yet precisely that abolition is what the navigation monopoly would have accomplished.

From this blighting possibility we were saved by the Supreme Court of the United States, through a decision which stands as one of the most valuable landmarks of liberty, though probably the most obscure, in our judicial history. Few lessons in the higher politics of this country are so instructive as that furnished by the interesting circumstances out of which this decision grew—the origin, development, and collapse of the Livingston-Fulton steam navigation monopoly.

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Motives for the establishment of iniquitous institutions are usually good motives; if the devil were not a gentleman he would miss his richest prey. And this monopoly made no exception. The motive of the legislature in creating it, in so far as it was a serious motive, as well as that of Livingston and Fulton in procuring it, was of the best—a desire to promote the public welfare by means of steam navigation, which at that time was a dream somewhat like our own as to aerial navigation. Though successful steam engines had been invented long before, all attempts at applying them to water transportation prior to 1807 were failures, and it was supposed that a grant of

exclusive rights of navigating with steam might stimulate invention along this line and be an appropriate reward for success.

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Originally the monopoly was not granted to Livingston and Fulton, but to John Fitch. This was as early as 1787.

Fitch was a Connecticut farmer's son who had been at different times sailor, clockmaker, brass-founder, silversmith, sutler in the Revolutionary army, and deputy surveyor of Virginia. He had his attention turned to the possibilities of steam navigation when as deputy surveyor he experienced the difficulties of crossing lakes and exploring rivers by oar and sail. After crude preliminary experiments upon the "bottomless" Kolck, the once famous fresh water pond of Manhattan Island, long since filled in to make a site for the Tombs, now the site of the criminal courts building in New York City, he succeeded in 1786 in launching a steam packet upon the Delaware.

But he had been anticipated. About a year before, a boat was propelled by steam upon the Potomac, under the management of James Rumsey, its inventor, a fact which comes down to us upon the authority of Gen. Washington, who testifies to having seen the experiment.

Yet neither Fitch nor Rumsey secured any substantial reward. Some of the States granted monopoly rights to Rumsey, and a company, with Franklin as its president, was organized; but the business went no further. Fitch had a similar experience. With monopoly grants from New Jersey, Delaware and Pennsylvania, he organized a company which ran his steam packet on the Delaware regularly, but at a loss that soon plunged the company into bankruptcy and ended the enterprise; and though New York had also given him a monopoly, the one of 1787 already referred to, he seems to have done nothing practical in that State. In 1798 he committed suicide. His invention is now regarded by mechanical historians as having proceeded upon false principles.

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The fact of Fitch's death was immediately brought to the attention of the legislature of New York, and a similar monopoly solicited for Robert R. Livingston. The bill for this purpose was referred to the Council of Revision, at that time part of the law-making machinery of the State, of which the first Chief Justice of the United States, John Jay, then Governor, was a member. It is significant of the innocent public sentiment of

that period regarding plutocratic possibilities, that even so shrewd and conscientious a man as Jay should have thought of no fundamental objection, and that he and his associates reported adversely merely from solicitude for the unexpired interests of Fitch, whose death had not been judicially declared, lest those interests might be forfeited without due process of law. Their objection did not weigh with the legislature, and by an act passed in 1798 Livingston became the possible steamboat monarch of the navigable waters of New York.

The new grantee was one of the great public men of his time. Descended from the first possessor of Livingston Manor, which he had inherited; a brother of Edward Livingston, the distinguished jurist, whose fame makes part of the history both of Louisiana and New York; himself Chancellor of New York in the Revolutionary period; a member of the Continental Congress and of its committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence; Secretary for Foreign Affairs at the close of the Revolutionary War, and later our Minister to France, he was in a position, when great names and great families commanded peculiar respect and consideration, to secure the most favorable private legislation not incompatible with prevailing standards of justice and honor. He encountered no serious difficulty, therefore, either in procuring the original grant in place of Fitch, or in obtaining extensions of time for experimenting. But all his experiments were futile. Neither political influence nor social standing were enough, without mechanical talent of the right sort, to successfully harness a steam engine to a paddle wheel.

But it was Livingston's fortune to secure the necessary mechanical talent. While residing at Paris as the American Minister to France, he met Robert Fulton, a Pennsylvanian pupil of Benjamin West, who had abandoned art for mechanics and under the patronage of Napoleon was experimenting unsuccessfully upon the Seine with steam power for naval purposes. Kindred ambitions drew Livingston and Fulton together, and when the former obtained a further extension of his privileges from the New York legislature in 1803, the latter was included as joint grantee. The partnership produced no fruits until four years later. Every experiment resulted in failure until Fulton had procured from its inventor the description of a steamboat then in more or less effective operation in Scotland. Improving upon this, in 1807 he produced the "Clermont," so named after Livingston's country seat, which

silenced all the scoffing that previous failures had provoked, and marked the beginning of a new commercial era, as it pushed through the waters of the Hudson without sails and against currents, winds, and tides.

Though the "Clermont" was about the sixteenth steamboat of greater or less practicability that had been built in different parts of the world, the popular recognition of Fulton as the true inventor of steam navigation is approved by mechanical history, which accords him the honor because his boat was the first in which the strength and sizes of the various parts were apportioned to their respective strains and functions.

Further and more favorable grants were now promptly obtained. These gave the steam navigation of the navigable waters of the State to Livingston and Fulton for five years for every steamboat they might build, the whole duration not to exceed thirty years; and, forbidding any steam navigation of any such waters by any other person without their license, authorized them to seize all steamboats caught infringing their privileges and to appropriate them as their own property. By 1812 enough boats had been built to secure the monopoly for the full term, and a line was running regularly to Albany.

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Until this time the several grants of exclusive rights of steam navigation had cut no figure in industrial affairs. They were of less apparent importance than exclusive rights to navigate the air by means of electricity would be now. Few expected the rights to accrue for few supposed that steam navigation would ever be a fact. But from the moment the "Clermont" moved, the character of commerce began to change, and a common right of no importance yesterday was vital to-day.

When steam became the principal motive power of navigation, to recognize the monopoly was in effect to place commerce under private control. The advantage of this to the monopolists was quickly seen and utilized by that class of shrewd men who are always alive to the main chance and readily adjust themselves to the rules of the game. "Hustlers" we should call them now. Specimens of this genus induced Massachusetts to grant to them similar rights on the Connecticut River, New Hampshire on the Merrimac, Pennsylvania on the Susquehanna, Tennessee on the Tennessee, and Georgia on all her waters.

Some States retaliated, and a war of legislation began which would have developed into a war of

blows but for the decision disfranchising the New York monopoly. Connecticut forbade the entry into her waters of any steamboats licensed by Livingston and Fulton, and New Jersey provided for the punishment of any person found within her jurisdiction who should interfere under the Livingston-Fulton monopoly with any citizen of New Jersey in the exercise of his rights of inter-State navigation. This State's mode of retaliation was doubtless suggested by the fact that Livingston and Fulton had sold the exclusive privilege of steam navigation for the upper bay of New York, including the water route from New York City to Elizabethport, N. J., to Aaron Ogden, one of New Jersey's ex-Governors. It was this transaction which finally brought the monopoly to the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States.

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Thomas Gibbons invaded the part of Livingston and Fulton's private domain in the bay and harbor of New York that they had parceled out to Ogden. He did so with a steamboat that had been enrolled and licensed by the United States for the coasting trade. Gov. Ogden at once asserted his monopoly rights under Livingston and Fulton's license by applying to the New York Chancellor for an injunction. The injunction was promptly granted, the highest court of the State having already sustained the legality of the monopoly. Gibbons fought back, but of course without success until the case reached the Supreme Court at Washington.

The hearing there began early in February, 1824. For three successive days Daniel Webster argued for Gibbons against the monopoly. With all the forensic force of which he was master, he pressed the point that the monopoly was unconstitutional because in effect it regulated interstate trade, the power to do which had been lodged in the general government, not concurrently with the States, but absolutely and exclusively. His argument, rooted in broad principles of right and in commonsense constitutional interpretation, was in sharp contrast with the pedantry of his leading adversary, Oakley of New York, whose logical ascent from precedent to precedent, in total disregard of primary principles, should delight a practicing lawyer of the old school or a law professor of the new. Thomas Addis Emmet, brother of the Irish patriot, Robert Emmet, and Attorney General of New York, also appeared for the monopoly. Though less pedantic than his associate, he rested his case upon the fact that similar grants were common in the different States,

a fact which really constituted one of the most urgent reasons against the side for which he spoke.

The decision of the court was pronounced by Chief Justice Marshall. Among the justices at his side were Bushrod Washington, nephew of the first President and inheritor of Mount Vernon, and Joseph Story, father of the famous sculptor and poet, and one of the most delightful law writers since Blackstone. Chief Justice Marshall based the decision upon the ground that the Livingston-Fulton monopoly conflicted with the license for the coasting trade which Gibbons's vessel had received from the Federal government.

That reason was legally conclusive. But there was one justice too courageous to allow the decision of so grave a question to rest upon a reason so narrow and technical. This was William Johnson, a South Carolinian, who, though only fifty-three years of age at the time, had been a member of this court for nearly twenty-five years. He delivered an additional opinion, in which he declared that the monopoly must fall, even if the Federal enrollment and licensing laws did not exist, because the power to restrain interstate trade is completely vested in Congress, and except as Congress restrains it, it remains free.

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The decision put an end to the Livingston-Fulton monopoly, but it was Webster's argument and Justice Johnson's opinion that gave true color to the decision and made it a landmark in the history of that commercial freedom between the States which makes ours the brilliantly successful example of the greatest free trade experiment in history. More than any other one cause, perhaps, or any number of other causes together, this absolute free trade between the States makes our people homogeneous, promotes their prosperity, and blends the States inseparably into one great nation.

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An old colored man stole a pig and after getting home with the animal knelt to pray before retiring. His wife heard him praying to the Lord to forgive him for stealing the pig. She went to sleep, with Uncle Eph still praying. Later in the night she woke up and saw her husband still kneeling in prayer. At daybreak his supplications had not ceased.

"Eph, why don't you come to bed?" asked his wife.

"Let me 'lone, 'Riah; de mo' I tries to 'splain to de Lawd how I come to steal dat pig de wusser I gits mixed."—The Tarboro Southerner.

## 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, August 29.

### The Czar's Agrarian Policy.

The radicals continue to terrorize (p. 487). A bomb thrown or dropped in the country house of Mr. Stolypin, the prime minister (p. 394), on the 25th, killed or fatally wounded 32 persons, and seriously and perhaps fatally injured about 25 more, including two of Mr. Stolypin's children. Mr. Stolypin himself escaped with a few scratches. His death sentence, imposed by revolutionists, was found in the pocket of one of two conspirators killed by the explosion, two others being wounded. On the 26th General Min was shot to death by a young woman in the railway station at Peterhof, and an attempt was made to kill General Kaulbars in Odessa. On the 27th General Liarilarski, acting military Governor General of Warsaw, while driving through the streets of Warsaw, was fatally shot by a young man. Press dispatches also relate that the soldiers of the 11th and 12th Sapper battalions, in summer camp near Odessa, mutinied on the 23d. They assembled in political meeting, sang "The Marseillaise," and passed a resolution not to fire upon the revolutionists if ordered to do so. Officers of the battalions who tried to break up the meeting, were beaten by the soldiers.

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In haste to stem the rising tide of revolution expressed through this terrorism, the Czar's government has begun a system of land distribution (pp. 443, 461), by which it is hoped to win the peasants to the support of the government at the coming elections. According to the dispatches the Czar, by ukase, transferred on the 27th 4,500,000 acres of crown appanage lands to the Peasants' Bank. The Bank is to sell the land to peasants on 33 or 60 years' time. It is announced that 10,000,000 additional acres will further be transferred shortly. The Peasant Bank will issue to the Czar and the grand dukes in return for the land a "nominative scrip," and a dispatch says that in effect the imperial family will thus simply convert their land holdings into 6 per cent. securities, and be relieved of all the expense of management of crown lands and appanages, which absorbs at present a large share of their revenue. In regard to the peasants' side of the transaction it is said that the "period of amortization through installment payments" has not yet been fixed. The majority opinion favors thirty-three years, but smaller payments, covering a period as high as sixty years, also are advocated. Until redeemed the debentures and scrip will constitute a

blanket mortgage. In regard to this step the Chicago Record-Herald says editorially:

It is interesting to point out that, while the government is planning agrarian legislation on its own account, on such questions as popular instruction, personal liberty and civil equality it is merely preparing bills for submission to the Douma. These things can wait, but the peasant's confidence must be won at once, or the elections will go entirely against the government. The peasant wants land, and will send deputies to get it at any cost. Hence the anxiety of the government.

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### The Drift Toward Constitutionalism.

Rumors of a crisis in Persia—the Shah's tottering health, an empty treasury, revolts—come in the same dispatches with information of crowding movements on the part of England, Germany and Russia, who are "preparing to protect their interests when a crisis arrives." But in spite of the danger of national dissolution impending, a constitutional government in Persia (p. 491) seems to be an accomplished fact. And it is a new thing in governments—a constitutional government steeped in orientalism. A special dispatch to the Chicago Inter Ocean thus describes it:

By the terms of the new Persian constitution the Koran, the book of Mohammed and scripture of the Islamic faith, is made the supreme law of the land, corresponding to the constitution of the United States. Every law must be shown to be in conformity with the teachings of the Koran or it is ineffective. As the Koran is written in Arabic a commission is to be elected at the first session of the new legislative body, which is to be called the House of Justice, to translate it into Persian. Supplementary and explanatory paragraphs will be worked out, by which the rights of the people will be defined and guaranteed by the law, including the full liberty of speech. The constitution proper consists of ten articles, whereby hereafter the Shah will be a constitutional monarch, and legislative functions will belong to the people, among whom class differences will be abolished.

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Even far-away China has heard the slogan cry of constitutional government. It was reported from Peking under date of the 22d that Chinese commissioners who have recently returned from Europe and the United States have recommended a gradual change to a constitutional government, taking ten or fifteen years for educative preparation for it. Under date of the 27th it was reported that the Dowager Empress had appointed a committee to consider the subject. Discussions at Peking are on the line of organizing an upper house of parliament from among the Chinese officials as the beginning of a parliamentary government, and afterward in some years electing a lower house of parliament.

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Iceland, too, is moving in the current. The large island lying in the north Atlantic just on the edge of the Arctic circle, as the chief of the dependencies of Denmark, already has constitutional government. It has even its own constitution and administration, under a charter which came into force in 1874. Legislative power is vested in the Althing, with 34 members elected by popular suffrage, and six nominated by the King of Denmark. A minister for Iceland, nominated by the King, and residing at the

chief city of Iceland, Reykjavik, is the responsible head of the administration. But now the Icelanders want autonomy. It was reported from Copenhagen under date of the 25th that the plan is for Iceland to recognize the sovereignty of King Frederick and the Danish flag, but the inhabitants insist that the sovereign shall style himself King of Denmark and Iceland, and that the Danish government shall not interfere with the internal affairs of the island. It has also been reported that the Icelanders are planning to open up a direct trade with America.

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#### Valparaiso Recovering.

In spite of the continuance of occasional earthquake shocks the citizens of Chile are bringing order out of the dreadful chaos produced by the earthquake of the 16th (p. 486). Railway and telegraph lines between Valparaiso and Santiago have been restored. Electric lights are reappearing in the streets of Valparaiso, and electric cars are beginning to run. The government has drawn up plans for the reconstruction of the city, which contemplate a uniform level for the streets, and a minimum street width, not counting sidewalks, of fifty feet. The government will pay cash for lands expropriated for this purpose and will facilitate loans to owners of lands thus taken. Customs duties will be suspended for eighteen months on construction material. The town of Quillota, 30 miles from Valparaiso, like a number of other towns, was badly damaged by the earthquake, but was not engulfed, as at first reported.

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#### The Cuban Insurrection.

Little battles, and the capture and subsequent abandonment of little towns by the insurrectionists, are the visible signs of the revolt in Cuba (p. 487). These signs are most manifest in the most western province, Pinar del Rio, where San Luis, a city of 5,000 inhabitants, was taken by the insurgents on the 22d, and San Juan de Martinez on the 23d. The insurgent leader in Pinar del Rio is Colonel Faustino Guerra, known as "Pino" Guerra. On the 23d "rural guards," in a hand to hand struggle, killed General Quintin Bandera, the famous Negro insurgent leader in Havana province, and several of his followers. A hard fought little battle occurred on the 25th near Santa Rosa, when the insurgents were routed. And they sustained another defeat on the 27th, when Colonel Valle, with a force of rural guards overcame General Guzman with a force of insurgents, near Cienfuegos in Santa Clara province. Even while this battle was in progress President Palma was issuing a proclamation of amnesty, and it is asserted that nearly all the insurgent leaders of consequence, except Colonel Guerra, are willing to take advantage of it.

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Nevertheless it must not be concluded that the trouble is over. Statements of grievances have now come to hand. Colonel Ernesto Asbert, commanding a body of insurgents in Havana province, defines his position in a signed statement from which the following is taken:

We who have taken up arms against the government of

Tomas Estrada Palma, have done so because we have arrived at the conclusion that law and justice are not to be established in this country by the will of the government, because the administration daily commits outrages upon the constitution and despoils our people of their legal rights. It is our sole desire to establish the supreme rule of the law, to restore affairs where they were before the last elections. We want new elections called in order that the people exercising with the fullest freedom the right of suffrage, may elect the men who ought to occupy the posts of president and vice-president, as well as governors, senators, representative and provincial councilmen of the republic.

The Chicago Tribune publishes in its cable dispatches this summary of the causes of the revolt:

The present revolution is a popular protest against the dictatorial methods of President Palma and his advisers. In 1902, when Palma was elected, he had no opposition. He was the candidate of both political parties. For a time the people of Cuba were satisfied with his administration. But there was a clog in the wheel of the new Republic. The island has lived under a constitution since 1902; but its laws are the laws left on the books by Spain. Congress has now passed laws to conform to the constitution. The result has been to concentrate tremendous power in the hands of President Palma. After the first three or four years of the Republic's existence the Cubans divided into two parties, Liberals and Moderates. The government was filled with Liberal office holders. The veterans of the war naturally held positions of honor and trust. President Palma placed himself at the head of the Moderate party. Under the old Spanish laws he had almost unlimited powers. He removed all government officers who were Liberals and filled their places with Moderates. Thus Palma first sowed the seeds of discontent from which the present revolution grew. Then came the Presidential election in 1905. There seems to be no room for doubt that the Liberals were heavily in the majority in a fair and honestly conducted election. Yet Palma and his friends of the Moderate party controlled the election machinery and the police force, and Gomez, the Liberal candidate, was hopelessly defeated.

From that moment a revolution was certain. The Liberals comprise the men who fought ten years with Spain to secure their independence. They claim they wrested the island from Spain, with the help of the United States, only to see it placed under the rule of an oligarchy with Estrada Palma at its head.

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Information that tends to show that other causes may have operated to produce insurrection, comes all the way from Hawaii. The Honolulu Advertiser of Aug. 28 says that "a leading member of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association asserts that he was told within a year by a sugar magnate, who was a fellow passenger with him between Honolulu and San Francisco, that the sugar men of Cuba wanted the island annexed to the United States and were raising a fund of \$5,000,000 to use in creating a disturbance which would compel the United States to interfere and take control of the government. The Hawaiian planter says he believes that the present revolution has been promoted and is being financed by planters with the object of securing annexation."

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Commenting on the relations of the United States to the situation in Cuba, the *Diario de la Marina*, the



oldest established Spanish organ in Cuba, said on the 29th:

Some people admit that the present rebellion is over. We do not know whether they are right, but we do know that it should end quickly. If the insurrection does not end quickly there will be American intervention. If the war lasts long and the United States government does not intervene the Platt amendment will be a failure. In the fewest words, intervention would mean the loss or at least the diminution of Cuban independence. The lack of intervention were the war to continue long would be equivalent to the annulment of guaranties which up to the present induced foreign capitalists to invest their funds in Cuba. If instead of warranting peace, solvency and security in Cuba, the Platt amendment is to be restricted solely to the protection of American interests, it is almost certain that English, American and Spanish money should not have been invested in Cuba in such amounts as they have during the past year.

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#### Democratic Politics in Ohio.

The Democratic situation in Ohio (p. 439) as reported in the Ohio papers is very much clarified. Harvey C. Garber, the chairman of the State executive committee, and W. L. Finley, were believed on the 21st to have complete control of the convention then about to assemble, and it was known that they intended to insist upon endorsing a county local option law with reference to the sale of intoxicants. This proposed endorsement and one other plank caused nearly all the excitement on the eve of the convention, the other plank being Mayor Johnson's demand for an endorsement of Senator Howe's franchise taxation bill. On the intoxicant question, Mayor Johnson stated that he would favor a law settling the question through local option by local popular vote but not by petition. The convention met on the 21st, when Mr. Finley offered the following minority report on the subject of local option:

We urge the necessary legislation or constitutional amendment which will give the people of State, county or city, by petition of 5 per cent. in the State and a reasonable percentage in either political divisions, the right to bring any question to a popular vote, thereby vetoing, if they choose, any act of their representatives, or enacting by popular initiative any legislation which may meet with the approval of the majority. We believe that under the provisions the people of any community could solve all questions of temperance or other legislation to their own satisfaction.

This amendment was rejected by 576 to 337½, its defeat being due probably to the fact that the platform as reported to and adopted by the convention declared as follows regarding the initiative and referendum:

We favor the initiative and referendum, and such legislation and constitutional amendments as will make it effective as to State and local affairs.

The platform on the subject of taxation and home rule is as follows:

We demand that the laws shall be so amended that the revenue necessary for the expenses of the State shall be raised without calling upon the counties for a levy, and thereby secure for each county home rule in taxation, i. e., each county raise only what it needs for its own expenses and which its citizens authorize. We declare that the present laws for assessing the property of railroads and other public service corporations should be so changed as to compel the assessment of those properties at not less than their salable value as going concerns, and to

prevent their evasion of just taxation. We demand that the legislature shall enact such laws as will enable a tax to be levied on all franchise privileges as on other property which now, although of great value, pay nothing toward the burdens of government. We believe in free and unqualified home rule, free from State interference. Each city, town and village should be allowed to decide for itself all matters of local policy, especially as between public or private ownership of all public utilities, including street railways, as well as waterworks and lighting systems, and that provision should be made for submitting such questions to the people, upon request from a reasonable number of voters and at such elections the vote of a majority shall decide. Such public ownership should be safeguarded by the merit system of appointment and tenure of office, so as to prevent the building up of political machines and the perpetuation of a boss rule.

Railroad passes were condemned. The election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people was advocated, and the State committee was directed "to include in the call for the next State convention provisions for the nomination of a candidate for United States Senator by such convention." Bryan was referred to in these terms:

It is with feelings of pride that the half million Democrats of Ohio note the preparations making to receive the most distinguished private citizen of America upon his return from a tour of foreign lands. His intellectual endowments, his purity of morals, his high ideals have arrested the attention, and compel the admiration of the peoples of all climes. He returns to the United States splendidly equipped to grapple with the great problems of state. The Ohio Democracy renews its allegiance to his brilliant and matchless leadership. No other name appeals to us for Presidential preference. We cordially indorse our great commoner, William Jennings Bryan, for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency in 1908 and impatiently await the summons to battle under his banner.

Samuel O. Hoskins was nominated for Secretary of State to head the ticket.

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Regarding Mayor Johnson's relation to the convention the Cleveland Plain Dealer of the 23d said:

Defeated in his attempt to eliminate Congressman Garber as a controlling factor in the party organization, Mayor Johnson nevertheless came away from the convention in a stronger position than ever to continue his fight for principles which he has been preaching in Ohio for years. The franchise tax plank was adopted by the convention without discussion, exactly as written by the Cleveland mayor.

In the issue of the Plain Dealer for the previous day, W. S. Couch, its staff correspondent, had described the character of Johnson's "attempt to eliminate Congressman Garber as a controlling factor in the party organization," by saying:

No one believes that Johnson can fight a stronger campaign in Cleveland with the aid of Salen's political methods. He does not believe Garber's political skill is necessary to win Democratic successes in the State. He tells this convention so. And he adds that Garber methods will be a handicap to a campaign of reform. From the standpoint of Salen-Garber politics, from the politicians' standpoint, Mayor Johnson has been "licked." The convention has clung to Garber and refused to accept Johnson. But so at St. Louis the national Democracy listened to the voice of expediency and turned a deaf ear to William Jennings Bryan. Bryan was defeated, crushed, at St. Louis—in the opinion of practical

politicians. Expediency, organization politics, had their day in courts. The ultimate triumph was Bryan's.

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#### The Cleveland Traction Question.

An injunction suit against the City of Cleveland and the 3 cent fare road with reference to the Fulton Road tracks (p. 466) was begun by the old company on the 24th. The City and the 3 cent fare road claim that the old company have in Fulton Road only trackage rights as in free territory, whereas the old company contends that the free territory ordinance is in that particular a nullity and that they have exclusive franchise rights. Prior to the beginning of the suit a meeting of representatives of the City and of the two roads was held for the purpose of effecting an adjustment, if possible. The meeting became stormy, owing to the refusal of the old company to yield anything, and Mayor Johnson finally brought it to a close by saying:

"Now, here is the situation we find. One company offers to do everything to bring about an agreement; the other refuses to do anything. Clearly, this is a case where you merely talk fairly and act unfairly. You fill the newspapers and advertising columns with protestations of fairness, but you stand here as dogs in the manger trying to prevent somebody else from getting something you don't even want. You don't want to be decent and fair. There's only one way to deal with them. Meet technical right with technical right. You'll never get anything out of them except by the use of a club. I favor the use of a club. They stand always on the letter of the bond. Very well. Let it be that way. They will find that the city has the biggest club. You are occupying miles of streets in which you have no rights. There will come a time when favors are not to be had. You want your rights, do you? You'll get your rights and that is all you'll get. You'll cease to operate cars where you've got no rights and there'll be a policeman there to stop you. The time is close at hand when you will feel the club, when you'll find that it's better to act decently and be fair than to try to use the club."

Mayor Johnson then walked out. "The meeting closed," says the Plain Dealer, "with an indication that the Cleveland Electric [the old company] would relay its tracks in Fulton Road just as they were before the City tore them up, and with the indicated intention on the part of the City to tear them up on Sept. 4, at which time the ordinance passed by the council on the 20th becomes effective." The importance of this phase of the controversy lies in the fact that unless the switches at Fulton Road are changed, and it is this that the old company resists, the 3 cent fare company cannot lay tracks at the throat of either end of the street, which means that it cannot operate.

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In consequence of the unyielding attitude of the old company, the City Council on the 27th adopted resolutions declaring at an end all negotiations between that company and the city contemplating a renewal of the company's traction franchises.

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Customer: "Give me two yards of honesty, please."

Clerk: "Very sorry, madam, we are just out of honesty; but I can show you candor, which looks just like it, and is less expensive."—American Spectator.

## NEWS NOTES

—The new railroad rate law (pp. 298, 314, 321) went into effect at midnight on the 27th.

—The Pan-American Conference (pp. 417, 487) closed its sessions at Rio Janeiro, with impressive ceremonies, on the 27th.

—Elihu Root, United States Secretary of State, reached the southernmost port of Chile, by way of the Straits of Magellan, on the 23d (p. 487).

—Mrs. Clara P. Bourland of Peoria, nominated last week for trustee of the State University by the Democratic convention (p. 489), has declined the nomination.

—Walter Wellman announces from Spitzbergen that owing to defects in the mechanical parts of his airship his expedition to the North Pole is deferred to next year (pp. 350, 373).

—President Roosevelt has approved the modified spelling recommended by the spelling reform committee of which Brander Matthews is chairman, and has ordered the public printer to adopt it in printing Executive documents.

—The hundredth anniversary of the discovery of Pike's Peak, by Captain Zebulon Montgomery Pike of the United States army, is to be celebrated during the week of Sept. 24-29, by the State of Colorado and the Federal government.

—Alaska is to send two miners, Thomas Cale and Frank Waskey, as her territorial delegates to Congress, representing the Miners' Administration party. They defeated the Republican and Democratic nominees by overwhelming majorities.

—Albert G. Lane, an assistant superintendent of schools of Chicago and formerly superintendent, who was also widely known in national educational circles, died at Chicago, on the 22d. He began educational work as a school principal at the age of 18.

—Japan has notified the United States that beginning with Sept. 1st, the port of Tairen, in Manchuria, is to be open to the commerce of all nations as a free port. Tairen is the Dalny of the Russians, and is practically the old Tallenwan of the Chinese.

—Ten indictments containing an aggregate of 6,428 counts were found on the 27th against the Standard Oil Company (p. 467) by two Federal grand juries, sitting in Chicago. Five different classes of offenses are charged, and items aggregating \$487,690 are specified as rebates paid to the Standard Oil Company by seven railroads within three years.

—There is a movement among the Cherokees of the Indian Territory against taking an active part in the politics of the new State to be formed from the Indian Territory and Oklahoma (p. 278). At a meeting of the Katowah society of full bloods at Tahlequah last week, attended by about 3,000 Indians, pledges not to vote at all were obtained from 1,000 full blooded Cherokees.

—The making of matches is a government industry in Japan, and the Japanese government has gained control of the match trade throughout the East. A compact is now announced between the Japanese government, the English match business

controlled by Eryant and May, and the Diamond Match Company of the United States, forming an international match trust.

—A Unionist party has been organized in Salvador (p. 395) to work for a Central American republic to be formed of all the Central American republics as now constituted; and an American club has been organized in Costa Rica, "to work for the union of Latin America, and to be prepared to oppose the United States in its work of annihilation of Latin American commercial independence."

—Though fatally scalded by a boiler explosion at the Absecon pumping station at Atlantic City, N. J., on the 28d, Joseph Hedara, a fireman, ran a quarter of a mile to the chief engineer's home to procure aid for two fellow employes whom he believed to have been more seriously injured than himself. He fell unconscious as he told of the accident and died in a few hours. His comrades were only slightly hurt.

—A labor union in the Postoffice Department was reported on the 28th as having been organized at Chicago, under the authority of the American Federation of Labor, and by the name of the "National Federation of Postoffice Clerks." Postoffice employes in Chicago, Milwaukee, San Francisco, Nashville, Louisville and Salt Lake City are said to have been enrolled, and E. B. Goltra of Chicago is named as president of the organization.

—A special recess committee of the Massachusetts legislature, for the revision of the taxation laws, is now holding hearings at the State House, Boston, on Wednesday and Thursday of each week. On Aug. 22 the single tax was presented by C. B. Fillebrown in a speech of an hour and a half. Walter Isidor and W. L. Crosman also advocated the principle. Mr. Fillebrown presented each member of the committee with a copy of Shearman's "Natural Taxation."

—After being out twenty-three hours, the jury in the case of Doss Galbraith, charged with leading the mob which lynched three Negroes at Springfield, Mo., in April (p. 206), reported to the court on the 24th that no agreement could be reached, the jury standing ten for acquittal and two for conviction through twenty ballots. It is doubtful if there will be another trial. No Negroes were on the streets after the jury retired, and in their alarm they kept out of sight all the next day and the following night.

—Hoke Smith won the Democratic nomination for governor in the State primaries of Georgia on the 22d. He carried 110 out of 145 counties, and not only decisively defeated his chief rival, Clark Howell, but got a majority over all four opposing candidates. Under the Georgia State primary law, the candidate for governor receiving the largest individual vote in each county is entitled to name the delegates to the State Democratic convention from that county, each county being entitled to twice as many delegates as it has representatives in the lower branch of the legislature. The State convention will be held at Macon, Sept. 4.

—A movement to secure more than 1,000,000 petitioners for the establishment of postal savings banks was started on the 22d by the North Side (Chicago) Turner Society, whose members in many cases suffered by the collapse of the Milwaukee Ave-

nue State Bank. The plan as presented by Emil Hoehster, who presided, contemplates that the national association of Turners shall turn each one of its 37,296 members into a canvasser for signatures. Every candidate for Congress throughout the country will be urged to state his attitude toward the inauguration of postoffice savings institutions, and all political parties will be requested to assist in the campaign.

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### WHEN BRYAN COMES SAILING HOME.

Life (New York) (Ind.), Aug. 30.—Welcome back, Brother Bryan! Pull your halo down hard on your head so it won't blow away, and a good time to you!

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### THE THIRD PAN-AMERICAN CONGRESS.

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind.), Aug. 29.—The Congress was made notable by the appearance of Secretary Root at Rio and the address he delivered at an informal session. No doubt the work of the delegates was greatly facilitated by Mr. Root's sincere and dignified and just treatment of the question of the scope of the Monroe doctrine and the basis of the relations that should exist between the United States and South America. Our Secretary of State had a real message to deliver to our southern neighbors, and the effect of his journey is already bearing fruit. Thanks, no doubt, to his efforts, as well as to his moral indorsement of the Drago doctrine—of which he said that it aimed to put a stop to a practice that encouraged speculative and sordid activities, and that the United States had never indulged in the practice condemned by the doctrine—the conference adopted a compromise resolution calling on the next peace congress at The Hague to consider the extent to which powers are justified in using military force to collect public or private debts, instead of committing itself flatly to the Drago doctrine. This, as we have said before, was a happy solution of a difficulty that had threatened to cause discord and misunderstanding in the Congress.

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### "GRANTING SELF-GOVERNMENT."

Omaha Investigator (Ind.), August 23.—The bill granting a constitution to the old Boer republic is such a strong document that even the conservatives of England can do little criticising. Of course the granting of self-government is all contrary to our theories. Jefferson took exactly the opposite ground. The powers of government are derived from the people, and all the authority that any government has is "granted" to it by the people. That doctrine could not of course be accepted by the British parliament, but it has done the next best thing. It has provided for self-government in the Transvaal by the people, and the rights of the people have been very well protected by the constitution which has been "granted" to them. . . . The Rand capitalists and the old Tories of England would have kept the old Boer republic forever as a crown colony if they could have had their way. They were, however, very much hampered in their old argument, so often heard of late in this country, that the people were not "prepared for self-government," by the fact that these had long enjoyed that privilege and had so perfected it that it took all the mighty power of England to overthrow it.

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### BONAPARTE'S REMEDY FOR ANARCHISM.

Peoria (Ill.) Star (Ind.), Aug. 16.—Secretary Bonaparte wants to deal with the anarchist as a being hopelessly

beyond redemption and an irreconcilable foe to law and order. The only cure, therefore, is to execute him. . . . The trouble is that the remedy is not new. It was tried in old Rome. Tacitus excused the persecutions of the Christians under Nero by declaring that they were the vilest of the human race and their degrading superstition was a menace to the state. They are trying Bonaparte's remedy in Russia, but for every anarchist they execute they make a hundred. The fact is that these violent schemes of repression aggravate the disease instead of controlling it. If, as Bonaparte says, anarchism is a disease, a malady, a raging fever of the brain, it certainly can not be cured by the lash, by pitiless imprisonment, nor by torture. It is a protest against present abuses, and the true remedy is not to murder the protestors, but to remove the evil. Bonaparte is a very poor student of history if he fancies that his old and obsolete ideas can be put in operation in this day and age.

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#### THE ILLINOIS PRIMARY LAW.

The Voter (Chicago) (Ind.), August.—In Chicago the voters have had their first experience with the new primary law of Illinois. It has turned out to be just what I forecasted long ago—a gold brick. In both Republican and Democratic conventions the machines controlled, the party managers were in absolute authority and the caucus states were named. Under the primary law as it is on the statute books of the State where Governor Deneen is the main squeeze and "Jolly Roger" Sullivan represents the minority, the plain, unornamented citizen has about as much chance with his ballot as an icicle in Sahara.

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#### WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST.

Collier's (Ind.), Aug. 18.—Hearst's popularity should not be underestimated. Even if he runs independently, under the banner of reform, he will make a dangerous struggle for the governorship of New York. Unfortunate, indeed, was his defeat in the mayoralty contest, since he now has martyrdom as an asset, whereas his election and counting-in would have proved the recklessness of his promises and pricked some of the bubbles of his words. . . . Long ago Hearst saw his opportunity; and he has seized it with such astute and single-minded purpose that he is to-day the recognized leader of that vast body of voters, mostly ignorant and altogether discontented, for whom the radicalism of Roosevelt and Bryan, or even of Tom Johnson and La Follette, is much too reasoned and much too tame.

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Auburn (N. Y.) Citizen (Dem.), Aug. 16.—The drift of the Democratic party to Hearst is not a genuine movement. It is the action of a few dissatisfied odds and ends—political remnants, and of the self-seeking politicians. So far as the first named are concerned, the odds and ends, there are two groups. One is composed of perfectly sincere men who chase after every new political will-o-the-wisp that they see. Who like the excitement of every new political dispensation that is promised. They are shallow thinkers and soon tire of their adopted principles and look about to find what is the next movement under way. A second group is composed of those who ache to stand at the head of things. Too light-weighted to be trusted in places of responsibility in any existing organization, they become dissatisfied, and think that by joining early a new organization they can gain the leadership which has been hitherto denied them in the old. The local "Independence"—or more properly speaking, Hearst, League shows both these groups well represented. Neither group is dangerous in itself. The peril of the Democratic party to-day lies not in these men, but in the politicians. It is the proposed capture of the Democratic organization

by Hearst that is dangerous; and let it be well understood that this is a danger not only to the Democratic party of New York State but to the Democratic party all over the country. And not only to the Democratic party of the State and nation, but to the Republican party as well. It is never to the real and lasting advantage of any political party to have a weak and foolish opponent.

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#### OHIO'S GROWTH IN DEMOCRACY.

(Cleveland) Waechter und Anzeiger (Dem.), August 23.—That loyalty to principle proves the best politics in the long run, is again shown. . . . in the case of our Mayor, Tom L. Johnson, who after five years has brought his reform ideas to adoption by the Democracy of Ohio. It was in the State convention of 1901 that he first made his reform demands. But in the State convention of yesterday and the day before at Columbus these demands were for the first time accepted as the State program of the party by a decided majority of the delegates. No voices were raised against these demands as being objectionable "Johnsonisms."

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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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#### REFUGE.

For The Public.

Upon the tumult of the tolling street  
A sudden hush of silence softly falls,  
And thro' the avenue of burning walls  
A cooling current wanders, fresh and sweet.

Above me bend the deep eternal skies,  
To whose wide spaces my cramped thoughts may rise;  
Upon my face the mountain breezes blow;  
Thro' odorous woods the living waters flow;

Far off I hear the organ of the sea,  
Chanting its psalm of power and peace to me;  
In soundless waves I plunge my fevered life,  
And rise refreshed, and freed from vexing strife.

Back to the heat and burden of the day  
My soul comes, joyful that its human lot,  
Transformed and lifted by a winged thought,  
Becomes once more an upward shining way.

ANNIE L. MUZZEY.

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#### UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL

Printed from the Original MS.

Dear John: Do you notice my boy Billy Bryan? Makes a pretty good speech, eh? Blamed if he hasn't the best luck of sayin' the right thing, in the right way, in the right place, of anybody on this side! Struck high-water mark at the international convention, too, I hear, and he keeps it up. Been a doin' the same thing all around the cocoonut. Pity he's silver! but it can't be helped. It don't hurt him as I thought it did, no way. It's in him, silver is—in his voice, in his heart, all through him, sterling silver. It's a good old democratic metal, though, and useful, too. Wears better'n gold and—say, John, it's coming into fashion again. The dollar of the daddies will begin to roll into the pockets of the daddies, or I miss my guess.

Anyway, that's how it looks to me. I can't stand up agin this thing much longer. I've turned Billy

Bryan down twice. Gave him the coldest kind of a cold shoulder both times, but say, John, the other shoulder was almighty warm; yes, sree, it was all the time, and now he's the fashion. Who'd a' thought it? King Edward noticed him, and immediately the church people tumbled. Good churchmen who have been bowin' down before the brass legs and clay feet of Platt, Depew, Cullom & Co., lookin' furtively over their shoulders for fear Bryan 'd get 'em, noticed the king's touch and dared. Bang! Bryan's the man! He's discovered! He's been a Christian all this time! "Lo! Here's a new knight of the Cross, without fear and without reproach! A Chevalier Bayard among the wild 'anarchists' of the Democratic party! Here's a fellow that's been upholdin' the banner of Christ against all comers for ten years—one down and t'other come on, and we hadn't noticed him, never clapped a hand. His banner is dusty, and it read like 'anarchy,' and it is, was, and always will be 'anarchy,' and get its bearer into disrepute when rigidly upheld; for it's the Sermon on the Mount, the old, old Sermon, the great old Sermon. We hadn't noticed it before. Lend a hand, brothers, and a voice! Hurrah, for the Knight of the Beatitudes! Hurrah for the intrepid follower of the Master! Hurrah for Bryan!" That's a tide, John, in the stream of the coming hour. Whether it carries Bryan to the White House or not, I dunno. One thing is sure—the uplift will leave a lot of rotten old political hulks high and dry, a nuisance in the smell of Heaven.

UNCLE SAM.

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## ADDRESS OF THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT, TO THE COUNTRY.

Issued by the Second Annual Convention of the "Niagara Movement" of American Negroes, in Session at Harper's Ferry, West Va., Aug. 16-19, 1906 (p. 491).

The men of the Niagara Movement coming from the toil of the year's hard work and pausing a moment from the earning of their daily bread turn toward the nation and again ask in the name of ten million the privilege of a hearing. In the past year the work of the Negro-hater has flourished in the land. Step by step the defenders of the rights of American citizens have retreated. The work of stealing the black man's ballot has progressed and the fifty and more representatives of stolen votes still sit in the nation's capital. Discrimination in travel and public accommodation has so spread that some of our weaker brethren are actually afraid to thunder against color discrimination as such and are simply whispering for ordinary decencies.

Against this the Niagara Movement eternally protests. We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a free-born American, political, civil and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone but for all true Americans. It is a fight for ideals, lest this, our common fatherland, false to its founding, become in truth the land of the thief and the home of the Slave—a by-

word and a hissing among the nations for its sounding pretensions and pitiful accomplishment.

Never before in the modern age has a great and civilized folk threatened to adopt so cowardly a creed in the treatment of its fellow-citizens born and bred on its soil. Stripped of verbiage and subterfuge and in its naked nastiness the new American creed says: Fear to let black men even try to rise lest they become the equals of the white. And this is the land that professes to follow Jesus Christ. The blasphemy of such a course is only matched by its cowardice.

In detail our demands are clear and unequivocal. First, we would vote; with the right to vote goes everything: Freedom, manhood, the honor of your wives, the chastity of your daughters, the right to work, and the chance to rise. And let no man listen to those who deny this.

We want full manhood suffrage, and we want it now, henceforth and forever.

Second. We want discrimination in public accommodation to cease. Separation in railway and street cars, based simply on race and color, is un-American, undemocratic, and silly. We protest against all such discrimination.

Third. We claim the right of freemen to walk, talk, and be with them that wish to be with us. No man has a right to choose another man's friends, and to attempt to do so is an impudent interference with the most fundamental human privilege.

Fourth. We want the laws enforced against rich as well as poor, against Capitalist as well as Laborer, against white as well as black. We are not more lawless than the white race, we are more often arrested, convicted and mobbed. We want justice even for criminals and outlaws. We want the Constitution of the country enforced. We want Congress to take charge of Congressional elections. We want the Fourteenth amendment carried out to the letter and every State disfranchised in Congress which attempts to disfranchise its rightful voters. We want the Fifteenth amendment enforced and no State allowed to base its franchise simply on color.

The failure of the Republican party in Congress at the session just closed to redeem its pledge of 1904 with reference to suffrage conditions at the South seems a plain, deliberate, and premeditated breach of promise, and stamps that party as guilty of obtaining votes under false pretense.

Fifth. We want our children educated. The school system in the country districts of the South is a disgrace and in few towns and cities are the Negro schools what they ought to be. We want the national government to step in and wipe out illiteracy in the South. Either the United States will destroy ignorance or ignorance will destroy the United States.

And when we call for education we mean real education. We believe in work. We ourselves are workers, but work is not necessarily education. Education is the development of power and ideal. We want our children trained as intelligent human beings should be, and we will fight for all time against any proposal to educate black boys and girls simply as servants and underlings, or simply for the use of other people. They have a right to know, to think, to aspire.

These are some of the chief things which we want. How shall we get them? By voting where we may vote; by persistent, unceasing agitation; by hammering at the truth; by sacrifice and work.

We do not believe in violence, neither in the despised violence of the raid, nor the lauded violence of the soldier, nor the barbarous violence of the mob; but we do believe in John Brown, in that incarnate spirit of justice, that hatred of a lie, that willingness to sacrifice money, reputation, and life itself on the altar of right. And here on the scene of John Brown's martyrdom we reconsecrate ourselves, our honor, our property to the final emancipation of the race which John Brown died to make free.

Our enemies, triumphant for the present, are fighting the stars in their courses. Justice and humanity must prevail. We live to tell these dark brothers of ours—scattered in counsel, wavering and weak—that no bribe of money or notoriety, no promise of wealth or fame, is worth the surrender of a people's manhood or the loss of a man's self-respect. We refuse to surrender the leadership of this race to cowards and trucklers. We are men; we will be treated as men. On this rock we have planted our banners. We will never give up, though the trump of doom find us still fighting.

And we shall win. The past promised it, the present foretells it. Thank God for John Brown! Thank God for Garrison and Douglass! Sumner and Phillips, Nat Turner and Robert Gould Shaw, and all the hallowed dead who died for freedom! Thank God for all those to-day, few though their voices be, who have not forgotten the divine brotherhood of all men white and black, rich and poor, fortunate and unfortunate.

We appeal to the young men and women of this nation, to those whose nostrils are not yet befouled by greed and snobbery and racial narrowness: Stand up for the right, prove yourselves worthy of your heritage, and whether born North or South dare to treat men as men. Cannot the nation that has absorbed ten million foreigners into its political life without catastrophe, absorb ten million Negro Americans into that same political life at less cost than their unjust and illegal exclusion will involve?

Courage, brothers! The battle for humanity is not lost or losing. All across the skies sit signs of promise. The Slav is rising in his might, the yellow millions are tasting liberty, the black Africans are writhing toward the light, and everywhere the laborer, with ballot in his hand, is voting open the gates of Opportunity and Peace. The morning breaks over blood-stained hills. We must not falter, we may not shrink. Above are the everlasting stars.

\* \* \*

## THE EDMONTON EXPERIMENT IN TAXATION.

A "Staff Special" Letter Written from Edmonton, Alberta Province, Canada, July 28, 1906, to the Cleveland Plain Dealer, by W. S. Couch.

This is probably the only town in the world with single tax. If there is another one Mayor Johnson alone knows about it. Edmonton is also a municipal ownership town. The public utilities now owned include waterworks, electric light and power

plant and a telephone system. Next year the city will build a street railway system, which it will own and operate.

Edmonton is unique in other ways. It is the northernmost point in Canada reached by a railroad. Here the steel horse stops and dog sleds take up his burden to carry on into the Peace river country and to the Yukon. Do you remember how your youthful study of Canadian geography ended with Fort Saskatchewan? Beyond that was the north pole. The pioneer has made more work for the geography man. Edmonton is beyond Fort Saskatchewan and yet Edmonton has weeks in winter when the ground is bare. It is true that such thaws are usually followed by a dive of the mercury to 20 or 30 degrees below, but the official records show that such cold snaps are of short duration.

Edmonton, although the "farthest north," is rather the center of a thrifty farming district than a jumping-off place. It is a farming district, too, that looks for all the world like Ohio, with fertile fenced fields diversified by frequent bits of timber. You travel north from Winnipeg farther than the distance between Washington and Chicago, traversing miles of flat prairie country dotted with raw, new frontier towns, and suddenly come upon this contrast that is Edmonton and the Edmonton district.

As the country looks like Ohio, so the town might be Lorain or Ashtabula as far as appearances go. This is territory that one has always supposed to be the joint property of the Hudson Bay Co. and bow-legged polar bears. But this surprise is not greater than the discovery of the single tax system in operation. It is curious to contemplate the radical departures in economics by the colonies of staid old England. Australia has been making remarkable experiments for years. Canada and the Canadians show similar indifference to names and conventions of government.

When they want to do something up here they do it, serenely indifferent to the horror of the schools and of older civilizations. So Edmonton did not adopt single tax because its people were disciples of Henry George. The town was threatened with a boom, when the municipal charter was granted. The city fathers wished to restrain the land speculators at least, and to discourage them, if possible. They decided that taxing unimproved town lots at the rate charged against the same property improved would compel the speculators to build on their lots. Consequently, today, if one corner lot occupied by an office building is valued at \$5,000 the vacant lot on the opposite corner is assessed at the same valuation.

But, being indifferent to the theory of Henry George, and intent alone on carrying out their purposes, the Edmonton people added a modification of their own to this land system of taxation. Strictly speaking they do not have "single" tax in Edmonton. There is a double tax, a second tax after the one on land values. Edmonton taxes what it is pleased to call "business" on a basis of the floor space occupied. If you object to the Edmonton citizen that this is a departure from the pure single tax system, he says: "Well, what of it? Don't care anything about single tax. We are trying to solve

the problem of making all money contribute its proportion toward municipal support."

That was the answer of K. W. McKenzie, who was the first mayor of Edmonton after its peculiar taxation system was adopted. As mayor, Mr. McKenzie was also a member of a board charged with making the first assessment. He explained that the scheme of taxing business according to the floor space occupied originated in a desire to reach financial institutions and the incomes of professional men.

"A bank will usually escape an ordinary system of taxing, and all efforts to tax personal property are failures," explained McKenzie. "This is our substitute."

"The scheme is briefly this: banks and financial institutions may be taxed to the limit of \$10 per square foot occupied. Commercial houses may not be taxed beyond \$5 per square foot. Last year banks, trust companies and brokers' offices were levied on at \$7.50 a square foot. Jewelry stores were assessed at the limit of \$5, and the list ranged from that figure down to 50 cents a square foot for warehouses. The offices occupied by lawyers, physicians and real estate agents were measured and assessed. If a physician has no downtown office his residence was visited and the room he used to receive patients measured and taxed."

Mr. McKenzie admits that this system of taxing business is not altogether fair, but he does argue that it avoids discriminations. There is one standard for all. The board of trade has asked that business be taxed on rental values rather than on floor space. This feature of the Edmonton tax scheme will probably be changed. But there seems to be no complaint against basing the property system on land values. Secretary Fisher of the board of trade expresses the conviction that Edmonton will eventually come down to the pure single tax system, reaching all the business that is now assessed by the extra tax through the levy on land.

It is not easy to tell as yet how successful this land tax is to be in discouraging land speculation. The system has been in operation but a year. Edmonton is still characterized by jumping, erratic and probably inflated land value. Its boom is still on. With values jumping, the penalty of taxation on unimproved land is a small matter to the speculator. When conditions settle to something like normal the item of taxes begins to mean something to the property owner and the scheme will have its real test. At least so argue the Edmonton men. The history of Edmonton radicalism began, as was the case with Port Arthur, in a struggle between a small town and a powerful railroad. In 1898 Edmonton had 1,500 or 2,000 people.

Then came the rush to the Yukon that gave the town its first impetus. Still, in 1902, the population was but 2,600. And yet the Hudson Bay Co. has had a trading post at Edmonton for more than 100 years. But the Saskatchewan river was the only outlet to the world. Freight rates were prohibitive. A keg of nails cost \$50. The vital need of Edmonton was a railroad. For years its citizens pleaded with the Canadian Pacific. When that road at last decided to tap this district, however, the railroad magnates concluded that they could save the cost

of an expensive bridge over the river by founding a new town on the opposite side of the river. The new town was accordingly founded, five or six miles away, and unfortunate original Edmonton was invited to come over. Even the name was stolen. But the Edmonton people were obstinate. They stuck to their site. Accordingly the railroad requested the Dominion government to move the land office across the river. The land office is the vital spark for a frontier town. The Dominion government issued the order, the land agent packed the property of his office into a wagon, and then the people rose up with rifles and stopped the proceedings. The mounted police came and bloodshed threatened. But the mounted police officer kept his head. He persuaded the land agent to reoccupy his office pending an appeal to Ottawa.

The citizens grimly stacked their arms, posted sentries and waited for the verdict. The Dominion government decided that the land office should stay in the original Edmonton. That was the beginning of victory. For fourteen years the town persisted in keeping ahead of Strathcona, as the opposition town is now called, despite the handicap Strathcona had in the railway station. Now the Canadian Northern has a terminus at Edmonton, the Grand Trunk Pacific will stop there, it will be a station on "Jim" Hill's new line, and Mahomet is coming to the mountain. The Canadian Pacific is about to build a high level bridge that will bring its line to Edmonton, and that without the grant of a cent or a single concession from the town that would have been glad to make a valuable land grant for this railway station at any time in the past fourteen years.

William Short, a prosperous, middle aged lawyer, is responsible for the peculiar taxation system of Edmonton, at least the single tax feature of it. Short was mayor when the town secured its charter from the territorial government. McKenzie co-operated with Short. They called in C. R. W. Biggar, then city solicitor of Toronto and one of the foremost Canadian authorities on municipal government, to help them draft the charter. Biggar is now a corporation lawyer. McKenzie is a cool, middle aged man of business. These three had the cordial support of the town for their experiment. The custom of Alberta which, alone of the provinces, grants special charters to each city, permitted Edmonton to carry out these ideas.

Of course it is plain to be seen that such experiments as these in small cities in western Canada are quite another proposition from trying them in such a city as Cleveland. But it is interesting as characteristic of this new country that recognizes no precedents. For that matter any town that has a monopoly of the single tax experiment is interesting.

+ + +

Herein lies the tragedy of the age, not that men are poor;

All men know something of poverty.

Not that men are wicked;

Who is good?

Not that men are ignorant;

What is truth?

Nay, but that men know so little of each other.

—Du Bois.

## THE CONFESSIONS OF A MONOPOLIST

By **FREDERIC C. HOWE, Ph.D.**

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### SYNOPSIS OF PRECEDING CHAPTERS.

In previous chapters the hero has related early experiences which tended to make him a monopolist, establishing it as a business principle with him to always tie a monopoly to any competitive business in which he engaged. He studies law, but finds the practice of it repugnant to his moral sense. He enters politics as a necessary step in the development of a land boom, a street railway and a gas company, in which he becomes successively interested. He learns first the value of a franchise, and second the value of control of political machinery as a business asset. He begins by "working" a City Council. Then by craftily appealing to the "business" element and to good citizenship, with the aid of a Sunday-closing crusade, he nearly wins out in an exciting mayoralty campaign. He discredits the Opposition Mayor, elected in spite of his efforts; gets hold of one Councilman after another by subtle influence, by bestowal of business graft, or by actual purchase; and procures his desired street railway franchise from a dumb Council, over the Mayor's veto.



### CHAPTER VI.

#### I Enter the Coal Business, Become a Railway Magnate, and Discover the Secret of Monopoly.

I presume few people understand why it is that certain business ventures achieve immediate success, while others plodding along the ordinary paths of industry end in failure. Some explanation of all this I had learned in my street railway and electric lighting enterprises. I had gotten an insight into it even as a boy, but the full beauty of the modern short cuts to success was revealed to me by the coal business. Up to 1895 my interests were confined to municipal enterprises and the banking business. About this time the United Trust Company, of which I was President, undertook the underwriting of an issue of bonds of the North & River Railroad.

Through this I learned the explanation of the growth of monopoly in recent years. It is done in this way. The savings of the people, running into the millions, are deposited in the banks, savings institutions and trust companies. The latter enjoy immense powers under their charters. They can do almost anything. Thus entrusted with the people's money, they are able to use their savings as they wish. The bank is controlled by its directors. They desire to build a railroad, street railway, or consolidate some industries or coal mines. They organize a syndicate among themselves. They secure options on the property. They then arrange to secure a loan on mortgage. On this they issue bonds. These the bank or trust company, which the syndicate really controls, agrees to underwrite, or take off the syndicate's hands at par, or something below par. On these bonds money is advanced to buy the properties. Then the trust company sells the bonds to its

depositors or customers at an advance, while the capital stock of the railroad, street railway, trust or coal monopoly, for which it has paid nothing, is retained by the syndicate. The bank has advanced all of the money used. And this money was earned by the people, the depositors. Then the people, and in many instances the depositors, buy back the bonds for an investment, leaving the cream of the deal in the hands of the syndicate, which is in fact but the officers of the bank who have borrowed from themselves and kept the stock for themselves. The next step is to make the stock valuable. This is done by putting up railroad rates, the price of commodities, of coal, or whatever else the syndicate is operating in. Thus the circle is completed. The people's money is used to buy properties which are taken in the name of the syndicate, who are really the directors of the bank. Then the properties are consolidated and a lot of water in the form of stock added to the purchase price. Then the people pay again to their own trustees a big profit, by being compelled to pay monopoly prices for the things they consume.

This was the sort of transaction the United Trust Company undertook in underwriting the North & River Railroad. The road was designed to open a heretofore undeveloped coal region in the central part of the State. Through the bank's connection with the railroad I learned of a large tract of coal, hitherto unnoticed, about the lower terminal of the new road. I purchased this property at a slight advance over its value as farming property, and planned to develop it. The coal fields lay at the junction of two railways, the North & River and the Valley Terminal. With these two outlets from our mines, I expected competing rates.

But in this we were disappointed. As a matter of fact, the rates we had to pay were twenty cents a ton more than those paid by other mines lying on the new road. They were considerably nearer the lake, which was our principal market. In large measure we were able to overcome this difference in rates, owing to the improved appliances of mining which we had put in. I made several unsuccessful attempts to get a lower rate. All we desired was a rate uniform to all shippers on the line, no matter what the length of the haul might be. This would have placed us all on the same footing in the market. But I could accomplish nothing with either company. This was the more irritating as I had relied upon getting an even better rate than the other operators because we were located at a competing point. There seemed to be no doubt but that the roads had pooled their rates against us, thus placing us at some disadvantage in the market.

However, our business soon grew until we were one of the largest shippers on the line. Soon I worked out a plan of action against the railroads. I determined to play a quiet game and await results. Up to that time my company had divided its shipments between the two railways. The North & River Railway was an independent one and had been in operation but a few years. It was built primarily as a coal road. It had made a good showing of earning power, and our mines were one of its largest feeders, our shipments amounting to hundreds of cars a month. Mr. Wardwell was its Pres-



ident. The Valley Terminal, on the other hand, was part of a trunk system, although its facilities for handling our business were quite as good as the other. Without saying anything to anybody, I directed our Superintendent to divert all of our shipments over to the Valley Terminal. We also increased the output so as to make the difference even more apparent. I waited for results, and was not disappointed. At the end of a week the General Superintendent of the North & River called upon me and asked me why we were discriminating against his road.

"Discriminating," I said, "we are not discriminating against anybody."

"But," he said, "you are not making any more shipments our way. We have always taken care of you all right, and have recently purchased a lot of new gondola cars in order to better handle your trade."

I told him I was very sorry that he had done anything of the kind; that I had endeavored to arrange terms with him, but had been unsuccessful, and that our present arrangements were very satisfactory.

He finally asked me whether the Terminal people had cut the rates in any way.

"No," I said, "they have not." This was true. I watched him closely and saw that he did not believe me, and was considerably worked up. Things went on in this way for a couple of weeks more, all of our shipments being continued over the Valley Terminal. Finally Mr. Wardwell, the President, came in to see me.

"Our General Superintendent tells me," he said, "that we are not getting any of your business, and that you have turned it all over to the Terminal. What is the matter?"

"There isn't anything the matter so far as I know," I smilingly replied.

"Has Harper" (who was the President of the Terminal) "given you a better rate?" he asked with some warmth.

"No," I said.

"Nor rebates, nor drawbacks on your shipments?"

"Now, Wardwell," I said, "I do not know why I should tell you anything about our business. I came to you some time ago to make some arrangements that would put us on a uniform basis with the other operators, and you would not listen to me. We are perfectly satisfied with our present arrangement."

Finally he asked: "What are you getting your coal hauled for now?"

"You had better ask Harper," I said.

"That is just what I have done," he said. "I went down to New York and saw him, and called him down for violating our agreement—"

"Your what?" I said.

"Oh! we made an agreement; you might as well know that we would try to maintain rates. And now he has gone and broken it and gotten all your trade. That was a nice piece of business on his part, especially at this time when my annual meeting is but a few months off, and we have to make a showing. I might have known that he would not respect such an agreement, even though he did insist that he was carrying your coal at the rate we agreed upon. If

he isn't, I'd like to know why it is that he gets every ton of coal that you ship, for I'll warrant you haven't turned your business over to him unless you got something out of it in some way."

I offered no suggestion and let Wardwell worry, for I could see that his annual meeting was staring him in the face, and that his directors would not take kindly to a loss of many thousand dollars a month, which was the amount of freights we had been paying him before.

The next day he came in again and said: "I'll tell you what I'll do, Palmer. If you will give us all your hauls, I will meet your request, and reduce your rate twenty cents a ton, which will make it uniform with the other shippers on the road."

"Is that all you have to offer?" I asked.

"Isn't that all you wanted?" he said.

"Yes," I replied, "that is all I asked for before; but now we are satisfied with our present arrangements."

I saw I had him foul. He made a fatal mistake in admitting that a pool existed and in offering to break it.

Finally I asked him how many cars his road had in service at the present time. He told me.

"And you are charging us 15 cents a ton in addition to the rate to the Lake, for switching our cars in the city, are you not?"

"Yes," he said, "Those are the charges we make all parties."

I turned around in my chair and wrote the following memorandum on a slip of paper:

In consideration of the Spring Valley Coal Company consigning all coal shipped from its mines to the Lake district over the North & River Railway for the period of eighteen months, the North & River Railway Company agrees that the rate charged for such shipments to the Lake ports shall not exceed the rate charged the lowest shipper on said railroad for similar shipments, and that said North & River Railway will rebate to said Spring Valley Coal Company all switching charges at the Lake terminal to the extent of ten cents a ton. And the North & River Railway Company agrees that it will furnish the Spring Valley Coal Company all the cars that it may need for their shipments, and that they shall be served prior to any and all other shippers on the line.

I passed the memorandum to him to read.

"Oh! I couldn't sign that agreement," he said. "That would be most unfair to the other operators, not to speak of ourselves."

"That ought to be satisfactory to you," I said. "Under it you will get all our shipments, none of which you are getting at the present time, while all of the other producers on your road are under your control. They have no other outlet. They cannot get away from you, and whatever rate you give us will in no wise affect them."

He said he would have to take it up with his directors. But I saw he was weakening, and as a matter of fact he had no alternative except to sign it or stand pat. Of course the agreement was in no sense binding. It was probably illegal; but it was business. The next day he signed it and sent it in.

I had been preparing for this outcome for a long time, and in signing that agreement, as events subsequently proved, Wardwell put himself wholly in my power.

At this time all of the operators on the road were in an unorganized condition. They accepted what orders they got, and paid the freight rate charged without protest. From my banking connections and intimacy with the large manufacturers and the Lake shipping, I had an advantage with the big trade. And I now had in mind the consolidation of all the coal interests in the Spring Valley district.

Through the agreement which I had secured we were in a most advantageous condition to secure the bulk of the season's contracts, for I knew that but few of them had been made up to that time. I sent out our salesmen and told them to secure contracts from the dealers as well as the big shippers on the best terms they could make, but to get the contracts. All of the steamboat lines were buying for the season as well as for the upper Lake region. I determined to get this trade. I could sell at ten cents a ton less than any competitor on the line, and this was a tremendous advantage. Moreover, our producing cost was as low as any other line in the territory. By the end of the month I had gotten most of the business, and what I did not get came to us before the season was over by virtue of the inability of the other mines to fill their orders.

Immediately I ordered all of the cars of the North & River road placed at our disposal. We increased our output and in a short time doubled it. Shipments over the Valley Terminal were diverted to the North & River Railway in accordance with our agreement. Soon I had a double row upon my hands. Wardwell called to see me and complained that I must let up on them a bit as they could not supply the independent operators with cars. As a result, they were all raising a pretty row, and he was suffering a loss on his switching charges. Wardwell had begun to appreciate the situation he was in, for every ton of coal that I shipped, instead of the independent operators, meant a loss to him of ten cents a ton, owing to the fact that we got a rebate. But the independent operators could not understand the situation. They saw that we had all the cars we needed, and, in fact, all of the cars that the company had in commission, while they were unable to get any at all. And I knew that the company could not get any more cars within six months at the outside. As time went on and it became apparent that the railway could not supply the independents with cars, we began to get their orders, but at an increase in price. Some of the operators threatened Wardwell with proceedings if he did not supply them with cars; but he always pleaded that his supply was inadequate and the builders were loaded up with orders and that nothing could be done for them within six months.

At the same time, I had a row on with Harper of the Valley Terminal. He came on from New York to see me, and wanted to know why we had abandoned his road after he had gone to the expense of equipping his system to take care of us. He, in turn, had grown suspicious of Wardwell, and concluded that, while I had received no rebates from him, surely I must be getting them from Wardwell. I refused to talk with him about rates and insisted that we were perfectly satisfied. Finally he offered me an even lower rate than we were getting from Wardwell if I would transfer all of our business back

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to the Terminal. But I now had bigger game in view than railway rates. We now had all of the independent operators bottled up, and had I abandoned him and returned to the Valley Terminal I would have lost that advantage. Some of the independent mines were compelled to close down. They held indignation meetings and called in a body on Wardwell. They went to the Attorney-General of the State, thinking some action could be taken against the railroad.

But as I had advised Wardwell of my requirements and had engaged all of his cars, there was nothing he could do. We were now making money on our coal, and ten cents a ton additional on our switching rebates, and I knew that I could fall back on Harper in case Wardwell sought to get out of his contract. And this I felt he would not do, owing to the fact that he was getting a larger net revenue under the present arrangement than ever before, for he now had all of the business on the line of the road, even though it was at a lower rate. The only way the roads could beat us was by consolidation, and that could not be done in time to circumvent my plans, even though it were worth the while of the Valley Terminal to do so, which I very much doubted.

It was to prevent just such a contingency, however, that I was planning, and soon our arrangements were ripe for execution. Some of the independent operators being in a bad way, and seeing that I had been able to secure all of the cars, suggested that we should buy them out. But we turned their propositions down. I had all the mines I wanted, I said, and was able to take care of my customers out of our present production. But at the same time I had agents from another city out among the mine owners securing options on their properties, and in this way we ultimately purchased all of the important mines at our own figures.

Before the end of the season we were masters of the situation. We had secured control of nearly all the mines on the North & River Railroad. We were now in a position to dictate terms to the railroad company. This I went about in earnest. Men were sent out to secure options from the farmers for a railway right of way which would reach all of our properties, and give us an outlet for our coal through one of the trunk lines to the Lake. When a good part of these options had been secured, incorporation papers were taken out for a new railroad company. When the terminals and route of the new railway were made public, Wardwell came hurriedly to see me and inquired what we were going to do.

"Oh! well, you know, Wardwell, there has been a consolidation of all of the coal mines in the Valley, and our Directors have decided that it would be good policy to build a road of our own out to connect with the Central. This will give us an outlet to the Lakes as well as to the West and the East."

Wardwell was fierce. He threatened to break the contract with me at once. I told him to go ahead if he so desired; that we had enough coal stored to meet just such an emergency. Moreover, I was still in a position to make shipments over the Valley Terminal. As soon as our engineers had completed the plans for the road I showed them to Wardwell, and told him what we estimated it could be built

# Announcements

## MEETINGS, LECTURES, DEBATES, ETC.

**New York.**—The Manhattan Single Tax Club holds open air meetings on Tuesdays and Fridays weekly during the summer at 8 o'clock p. m., at 125th Street and 7th Avenue.

**Philadelphia, Pa.**—The Henry George Club of Philadelphia holds open air meetings on Wednesdays, Fridays and Sundays, at 8 p. m., at the North Plaza of the City Hall.

**Boston, Mass.**—The Boston Single Tax Society holds open air meetings Sunday afternoons from 2 to 4 o'clock, near the corner of Beacon and Charles streets, Boston Common.

**Chicago.**—Single Taxers desiring to assist at open-air meetings to be held in Chicago are requested to send their names and addresses to John Weller, Jr., 30 Macedonia St., Chicago.

## ANNOUNCEMENT

The ladies of the Henry George Association of Chicago will tender a reception to Mrs. William J. Bryan, at the Auditorium Parlors, on Tuesday, September 4, from 5 to 7 p. m.

All ladies wishing to meet Mrs. Bryan are invited to be present.

LEONORA BECK, Chairman of Committee.

## SPECIAL NOTICE TO SINGLE TAXERS OF CHICAGO

Dinner on September 7

The Single Taxers of Chicago and vicinity, and their friends, will dine at the Washington Restaurant, N. W. Corner Wabash Avenue and Adams Street, Chicago, on the evening of Friday, September 7th, at 6 o'clock. The dinner will be table d'hôte.

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

NELLIE CARLIN,  
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H. W. McFARLANE,  
FRANK D. BUTLER,  
Committee.

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for. We found that the coal shipped from our combined properties alone would meet the fixed and operating charges of the new road, and that under the circumstances it seemed rather bad business to pay that much freight to any one else.

"But you will be paralleling our lines," Wardwell said. "You will render them valueless."

"Well," I said, "I do not know about that. Moreover, you know that is one of the hazards of business, and we do not feel like putting ourselves in your power when we can be free from that danger and at the same time make some money for ourselves."

Wardwell now saw his mistake. He had given me a special rate and a practical control of all of the cars of his road. This had enabled us to crowd out all the competition along the line, and finally to secure control of the independent operators themselves.

When Wardwell saw the situation, he made a report to the Directors of his road. There was nothing else for them to do but to sell out to us, and on our own terms. The North & River gave promise of being a good property, and we paid them the cost of its construction which was represented by the bonds, and a small sum for the stock, so that those who had gone into the syndicate made something out of it. But we did not buy the property at its earning value. The railway cost us a little over three million dollars, and the coal properties along the right of way about a million and a half more.

This was the biggest thing I had ever carried through. We were now masters of the coal trade. It was about two years and a half since I had invested a couple of hundred thousand dollars in a mine located in a rather disadvantageous position, and now we were the owners of practically all of the coal in that region as well as the railway itself. And it had all come about because Wardwell was suspicious of Harper and would not believe that he was square. Had he held out, we would not have been able to secure advantageous rebates; we would never have been able to have controlled the competing companies, and would have still been at the mercy of the railroads.

Sometime after this I told Wardwell how I had aroused his suspicion, how he had come to the conclusion that we were getting rebates from the Terminal, and that when he had once given us an advantage he could not shake us off. He was pretty angry over it, especially when he saw it was he rather than Harper who had broken the compact and dissolved the pool.

The properties we had acquired were worth many millions more than they cost us. Our attorneys advised us that railroads could not own coal companies under the laws of the State, but that coal companies could own railroads. The former restriction was evidently designed to prevent the railways from going into the coal business, and thus discriminate against other companies. At the same time, in order to enable the coal companies to free themselves from the control of the railways, the laws permitted them to own or build railroads. All this shows how futile are the anti-trust laws. For the legislation designed to prevent combination is often used to promote it. To get around the difficulty we organized the Cen-

## NEXT WEEK

### Portrait and Sketch of Hon. Robert Baker

The public career of Robert Baker, of Brooklyn, N. Y., is an example of able and persistent advocacy of democratic principles which has already become an inspiration to democrats everywhere, and promises great future usefulness. Mr. Baker, in a single term in Congress, achieved a high and deserved national reputation.

The story of his work ought to be carefully read by all, and especially by Democratic members of Congress, candidates for election to Congress, members of the State legislatures and candidates for membership therein, members and would-be members of city councils, and all who would exert a good influence in legislative affairs.

THE PUBLIC of September 8 will contain an interesting sketch of Mr. Baker's life and public services, written by Louis F. Post, and, as a supplement, an excellent half-tone portrait of Mr. Baker. Orders for extra copies of this issue should be sent in at once. They will be furnished, while the supply lasts, at the regular prices; \$2.00 per 100, in lots of 50 and upward; 5 cents a copy, in smaller lots.

**The Public Publishing Company**  
First National Bank Building, Chicago

## Great Demand for the First Chapters

The extraordinary demand for copies of THE PUBLIC containing the early chapters of Frederic C. Howe's story "The Confessions of a Monopolist," has exhausted our supply of the issue of August 4.

Some extra copies are yet on hand of the issue of August 11, which contains the second and third chapters of the story and a synopsis of the first chapter. But these and the subsequent issues of August are going rapidly. New subscriptions can be made to begin with the issue of August 11, while the supply lasts.

## THE PUBLIC

First National Bank Bldg., - Chicago

tral Coal and Railway Company, with a capital stock of ten million dollars. We then authorized the issuance of bonds to the extent of seven million dollars, and used these bonds to purchase the coal properties as well as the North & River Railway. As the same parties owned both concerns, we simply turned in the railroad and the coal companies which had cost us four and a half million dollars, for seventeen million dollars of stock and bonds. As I was the principal owner in both companies, I received the bulk of the issue. These bonds were afterwards placed upon the market and sold for a little less than their face value. All of my friends who had gone into the venture received a big return on their money, while from the investment originally made in the Spring Valley Coal Company I was able to clean up nearly ten million dollars in cash and securities. The stock cost us nothing, and we obtained something over two millions in bonds as well. In the organization of the syndicate we had taken in many persons interested in the coal and carrying trades, from whom we were assured of a permanent market for our output, and an immediate earning capacity sufficient to pay the interest on the bonds and operating expenses, as well as a good dividend upon the common stock.

(To be continued.)

## BOOKS

### SOCIOLOGICAL VIEW POINTS.

**Rockefeller Before a Jury.** By John A. Zangerle. Privately printed at Cleveland by the author. Sold by The Public Publishing Company. Price, \$1.25; by mail, \$1.35.

It is a curious thing that this book, written at a time when John D. Rockefeller seemed to be as far as the saints in heaven from facing a jury at the suit of the State, should so soon have lost the air of improbability in which its opening words, "The State vs. John D. Rockefeller," originally enveloped it.

However, the book is not a prophecy of criminal prosecution. The mythical indictment is filed in the "Court of Ethics" of the "State of Reason" and the "County of Common Sense," having been returned at the "Indignant" term. It charges (1) "assault and battery on the person and property" of a Mr. Small Dealer and 150,000 others, and (2) contiguity to amass a fortune in a menacing manner against the peace and good order of society and contrary to the forms and ordinances made and provided for the health and growth of the community." The case had already gone to the jury as the story opens, the prosecutor having asked for a verdict retiring Mr. Rockefeller permanently from business activity, and from this point forward the place of the story is in the jury room, where each juror gives his reasons with his verdict.

Messrs. Banker, Tramp, Republican, Artist, Socialist, Landlord and Farmer vote no; Messrs. Retailer, Laborer, Democrat and Minister vote yes; and Mr. Philosopher, after a review of what the others had said, was characteristically undecided. After 200

# THE TEETH AND THEIR CARE

By THADDEUS P. HYATT, D. D. S.

Member of the Second District Dental Society of the State of New York; Lecturer Upon Dentistry in the Public Schools of the City of New York

Good health depends upon our ability to chew our food, and to chew our food we need good teeth. Today is realized more than ever before the value and importance of the care of the teeth, and the effects decayed teeth have upon the health of the body. The *Courier Medical Journal* in 1890 reports the case of a lady who became temporarily blind in one eye; but as soon as an upper left molar tooth received attention, her sight was restored.

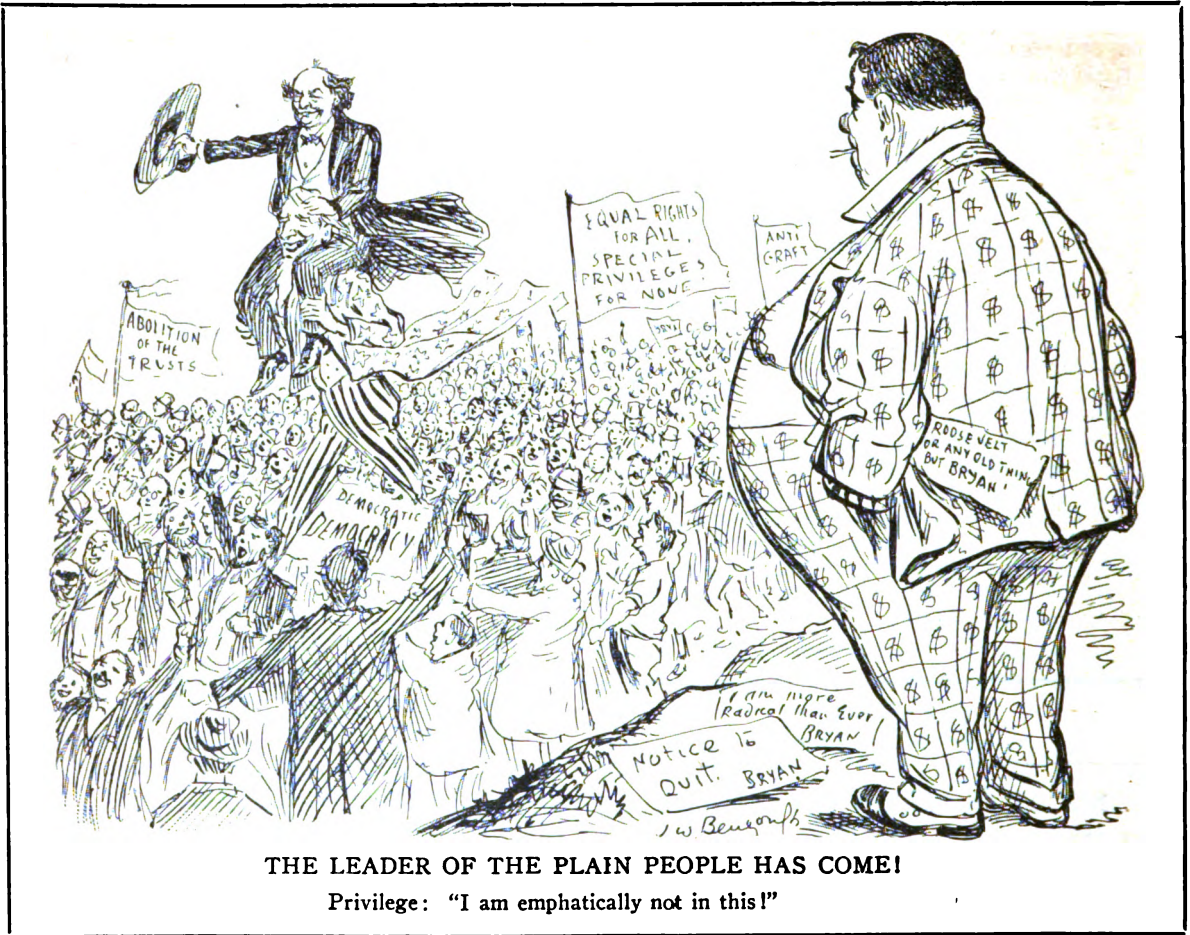
This little book is attractively bound in blue linen covers, printed on good paper. Particular attention has been given to the illustrations, which are clear and easily understood. Price 50 cents, postage prepaid to any address.

The little book is most complete and is as entertaining as it is instructive. No one could fail to understand the proper care of the teeth after reading it, and I hope it will find a place in many homes where there are children.—*Dr. James E. Keefe, President Haskell Post Graduate Dental College.*

Compactly and in simple language the author presents the facts concerning the teeth, discussing first their structure, then the care that should be taken of them, and has something of vital importance to say about children's teeth. To many it will be a revelation and to all it will prove a useful hand-book concerning one of the most important details of daily life.—*Brooklyn Citizen.*

There can be no question as to the very important part the teeth bear in maintenance of health, and it is probable that no part of the body suffers so much for want of proper care as the teeth. The book is fully illustrated with half-tones, and we know of no work giving as much practical information on the subject in so condensed a form as is found in this.—*Health Culture.*

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THE LEADER OF THE PLAIN PEOPLE HAS COME!

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ballotings, all  $7\frac{1}{2}$  nays to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  yeas, the jury was discharged and a new one impaneled.

The interest of the story, which is maintained by the jury-room wrangling, is supplemented by its usefulness as a well considered though colloqually expressed comparison of views on burning sociological questions.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Confessions of a Monopolist. By Frederic C. Howe. Published by The Public Publishing Company, First National Bank Building, Chicago. Price, \$1.00 (postage, 10 cents).

—The Spirit of Democracy. By Charles Fletcher Dole, author of "The Coming People," "The Religion of a Gentleman," etc. Published by Thomas Y. Crowell & Company, New York. Price, \$1.25 net.

—Going Abroad? Some Advice by Robert Luce. Fourth edition. Published by the Clipping Bureau Press, 68 Devonshire St., Boston—a delightful and instructive little volume on "why, who and when to go;" "where to go," "how to go," "how to stay," "how to see," etc., the advice extending from customs on shipboard to financial expedients. It is good advice cleverly given by a writer who has taken the pains to discover what advice is needed, and to inform himself accurately on every point. No one should go abroad for the first time without a copy of such a book as this in his pocket.

## PAMPHLETS

### Sunshine in Omaha.

An interesting and instructive little booklet comes to us from Omaha under the inviting title of "Sunshine Comes to Omaha." The author is Laurie J. Quinby, and the pamphlet is published by Quinby and Lynnequest of Omaha. It is made especially interesting by taking the form of a story told in sparkling dialogue, and the characters are local Omahahas.

+

### Co-Operation in Great Britain.

An excellent outline of the work, past and present, of the co-operative societies of Great Britain is furnished by Mr. J. C. Gray in his inaugural address as president of the 38th annual co-operative congress, which was held at Birmingham on the 4th of last June. Mr. Gray, as general secretary of the Co-Operative Union, is exceptionally well qualified to present briefly yet fully the history and hopes of this great movement. His address is published in pamphlet form by the Co-Operative Union Ltd. at 2 Nicholas Croft, High St., Manchester. While not losing sight of the importance of commercial aspects

of co-operation, this address urges co-operation in its highest sense, and for the promotion of that ideal that all the existing societies merge their membership in one great national co-operative society, with the local societies as branches. It is in this way that Mr. Gray hopes to realize the establishment "of a true co-operative state or commonwealth, wherein justice and equity shall rule, where industry in all its forms shall receive its just reward, where homes shall be healthy and happy, where all the comforts of life may be enjoyed by those who have earned them, and where the poor and oppressed may be uplifted and find rest, and misery and want be banished from our land."

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## PERIODICALS

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"Common Ground for Socialist and Individualist" is John W. Bennett's contribution to the Arena for August; but sensible as it is it misses the mark, we suspect, for the real reason these two schools do not occupy common ground is because neither can see the opposite side of the shield as the other sees it. The editorials in this number of the Arena are even more than usually good.

+

Myra Kelly opens McClure's for August (New York) with one of her delightful stories of East side school life in New York City. The auto-biographical paper of the late Carl Schurz gives his impressions of Rachel, a fine piece of dramatic appreciation and characteristically eloquent. The names of Miss Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens and Ray Stannard Baker are significantly missing. Among the new names is C. P. Connolly with a stirring historical sketch of the old days in Montana.

+

The Pacific Monthly (Portland) grows and grows in size and beauty and into the spirit of the Oregon country. One cannot finger its leaves without feeling a temptation to turn from the expectancies of European travel and find out what manner of beauty this Oregon beauty is of which the Pacific Monthly makes so much with its blacks and whites and picture-printers' purples, blues and greens. The principal subject of the August number is water sports and houseboating on Oregon rivers.

+

Creelman's story of "the real Mr. Hearst," in Pearson's for September, could be said to fill a long felt want were it not that Creelman's unfortunate lack of the judicial faculty is so obtrusive that the reader wonders whether Mr. Hearst may not have added Pearson's to his growing collection of periodical publications. The sketch seems so to welter in the atmosphere of Mr. Hearst's own editorial rooms that one is not quite sure whether Mr. Creelman has made a picture of Mr. Hearst as he really is, or as one of his brilliant employes tries to see him.

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# The Menace of Privilege

A Study of the Dangers to the Republic from the Existence of a Favored Class

By HENRY GEORGE, Jr.

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fearlessly with the most vital questions that can to-day interest the American citizen. I know of no other work presenting so vivid and unsparing a picture of American life as it may be seen to-day as do Mr. George's chapters on how our princes live, on their amusements and dissipations, and on the physical, mental and moral deterioration of the masses.—*Prof. Franklin H. Giddings, of Columbia University, in The New York Times Saturday Review.*

It would be a delight to quote from the book, were there room. The reading of it does not horribly depress or tend to make one pessimistic . . . but its pages uplift and make the heart hopeful, for they show how simple really the trouble is, and how easily cured. A single genuine blow, from those who suffer, at the source of it, will end it.—*Reformed Church Messenger.*

In marked degree a revelation of threatening social conditions, in all respects sober and thoughtful, enriched with an abundance of pertinent facts, and steadily true to its central theme that privilege is the deadly foe of democracy, this book, written in an attractive as well as elevated style, speaks the word that in present conditions needs most to be spoken. The son, with *The Menace of Privilege*, has extended the father's *Progress and Poverty* down to date.—*The Public.*

## COMMENTS

Mr. George has given us a book of first-rate interest and importance. It is written forcefully and brilliantly, and, merely as good reading, it will take a high place in the literature of economic and political discussion. As a picture of present day conditions it is a remarkable piece of description and analysis. Taking up successively the topics, *Privilege: Its Extent and Nature*, *Princes of Privilege*, *Resistance to Privilege*, *Weapons of Privilege*, *Privilege the Corrupter of Politics*, *Influence on Public Opinion*, *Present and Past*, and *The Remedy*, he deals ably and

12mo, cloth, 421 pages, with index, \$1.50 net (postage 13 cents).

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