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EDITORIAL

We All Grow.

"You have grown a good deal, William, since I saw you last," said Uncle Sam to Bryan at the New York pier. "Uncle, you've grown yourself," was Mr. Bryan's ready response.

* *

"Pro-Pass" Fairbanks.

In contrast with "Anti-Pass" Baker we now have "Pro-Pass" Fairbanks. On Fairbanks's own confession it required an act of Congress to make him pay his secretary's expenses on railroads. He

finds it too burdensome to take his secretary around with him, now that the law forbids the railroad pass form of bribery which Baker exposed.

* *

Mr. Bryan's Unwelcome Admirers.

The plutocrats and political dodgers who have been clambering into the Bryan bandwagon (p. 241) had a good deal of their hand-me-down enthusiasm jolted out of them by Bryan's New York speech. Among the good riddances are the New York Times, the Brooklyn Eagle and Henry Waterson. Many of the boys on the tail-board are yet to hear from.

* *

Jerome the Plutocratic Favorite.

The predatory financial interests of New York are backing Jerome heavily for the governorship. He is their only candidate for the Democratic nomination, and they are figuring to secure his nomination also by the Republicans. It is inconceivable that this double nomination can be secured. Jerome's nomination by the Democrats would be an advertisement of expected disaster; his nomination by both parties would be prophetic of partisan demoralization and political revolution. With Jerome in the field as the joint candidate of the two machines and the predatory financial interests, and Hearst against him with the battle cry that the predatory financial interests and the corrupt politicians are now openly united, it would require no great stretch of the imagination to foresee wholesale desertions from both parties to Hearst.

* *

Railroad Fares.

Isn't it a remarkable fact that with all the improvement in railroading the railroad fare between New York and Chicago has been reduced only two dollars in 20 years? On the old roads it hasn't been reduced a penny. They have lessened the time schedule, but they charge extra a dollar an hour for each hour saved. And on the roads that charge \$18 instead of \$20, no fast trains are allowed by the combined railroad interests. It is evident when excursion rates are allowed that a reduction in fares would be profitable; yet these are never allowed except under exasperating conditions. Tickets for the Bryan reception for instance, were made worthless on the return journey unless the holders got them "vali-

dated" at an up-town office in New York within two hours of boarding trains, some of which were distant from that office a good proportion of two hours.

* *

Financial Benefits of the Panama Canal.

Early though it is, indications are already abundant showing the direction of the natural flow of the financial benefits of the Panama Canal. Building lots in the business district of New Orleans are booming. Why? Because it is expected that upon the opening of the canal New Orleans with its nearer proximity to this great water course, will become a great seaport. But why should that make a boom in New Orleans building lots? Because, if New Orleans does become a great seaport, its building sites must be availed of for business purposes. Hence the owners of these lots, with an eye to the growth of the city, are discounting the future by holding their property at values based upon expectations of growth. Already the prices of sites in the business district of New Orleans are so high that a very great growth must take place to enable their users to earn enough to pay interest on the price. This is not an isolated instance. It is typical of the effect of all improvement on the locations financially affected by it. Financial benefits tend to go to the forestallers of sites.

* *

Competition and Monopoly.

One of the new magazine writers who is making a strong impression—we refer to William Hard—recently pictured labor conditions in the Chicago stockyards in this vivid fashion: "The Bohemian is willing to work for 18 cents an hour. But beside him stands a Lithuanian. The Lithuanian is willing to work for 17 cents an hour. The two men are equally strong," etc. "Which of the two men ought Mr. Armour's timekeeper to hire?" Mr. Hard writes of this illustration that it "is the bottom of the labor question in the stockyards of Chicago." True enough. But not that alone; it is the bottom of the labor question everywhere. Mr. Hard's interpretation of it, however, that the bottom of the labor question is competition, falls to pieces. Competition for a job, indeed it is; but competition for a job is caused, not by general competition but by restraint of general competition,—in other words by monopoly. To the extent that general competition is repressed by this monopoly or that, to the same extent and with even greater intensity does competition for jobs arise.

Labor and Land.

The builders of San Francisco are keeping wages down with imported strike breakers. If they could import vacant lots they might keep the landlord's blackmail down, but they cannot literally import vacant lots. Yet they could produce the same effect by exempting buildings from taxation and correspondingly increasing the tax on lots. This would import into the market a large supply of vacant lots which, while literally in San Francisco, are held at prices so exorbitant that for building purposes they might as well be thousands of miles away.

* *

Bryan's Baggage.

On his baggage upon returning to this country, Mr. Bryan is reported to have made a full and frank declaration (something that nobody is expected to do, although it is the law, but which he did because it is the law), and the custom officials fined him \$500, which he had to pay. It would be interesting to know how much Congressman Longworth paid in duties on his baggage. The comparison might furnish an entertaining object lesson in tariff protection.

* * *

ROBERT BAKER.*

The name of Robert Baker is inseparably identified with the history of the abolition of railway passes. To him belongs the credit of having stirred up public sentiment on the subject and thereby of having brought about the suppression of this insidious mode of bribery. But his service in that particular is not the only public service he has rendered. Both in Congress and out of Congress he has for twenty years or more missed no opportunity to help in the cause of genuine democracy.

His fitness for this service may be inferred from a characterization of him which was recently made by Gov. Lind of Minnesota, who served with him in Congress. When introducing Mr. Baker to an audience in the Universalist Church at Minneapolis on the 22nd of last April, Gov. Lind said:

I told Mr. Baker a few moments ago that I would not have come into Minneapolis from my farm today to hear any other man on earth, and I repeat it. For I have never known but one man in all my political experience that always spoke the whole truth as he saw it under any and every circumstances, and that man is Mr. Baker. I admit that I do not always state all that I believe in, although I never deny my faith; but I never knew Mr. Baker to hesitate or

*A portrait of Mr. Baker accompanies this issue of The Public as a supplement.



Robert Baker

equivocate, or deny what he believes. Because of this I am here to-day to testify to my high regard for him.

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Mr. Baker is an English-American. He was born at the historical English town of Bury St. Edmunds in 1862. His parents being poor, he was obliged to leave school at the age of thirteen to earn his own living. Seven years later he came to the United States, going westward from New York to Kansas City, Mo., but soon returning eastward as far as Albany, New York, where he made his home.

Always interested in politics, his attention was soon attracted to the evils of the spoils system; and as this system had no place in British politics, where the merit method of civil service already obtained, his earliest political activities were in advocacy of this reform in American politics. For political leadership, therefore, he naturally looked to Grover Cleveland, who in 1882 was elected Governor of New York.

In 1886, while yet unnaturalized, Mr. Baker took a deep interest in the contest between Abram S. Hewitt and Henry George for the office of Mayor of New York. But he did not sympathize with George. He was what was known in the slang of the time as a "society savior," a term that had been satirically applied to the Hewitt men because Mr. Hewitt had in one of his public addresses declared that he entered the contest to "save society" from spoliation and destruction by the followers of Henry George. Mr. Baker himself has described his attitude at that time in these words:

During the last days of the 1886 campaign I was worked up to a very frenzy of alarm over what appeared to be the imminent danger that confronted the people of New York City in the possible election of Henry George as its Mayor. Absorbing the heated views of the plutocratic press, which skillfully and deliberately misrepresents every movement whose purpose is a real amelioration of the condition of the masses, I viewed with the greatest alarm the growing strength which the agitator, anarchist and demagogue had developed. To me his possible success appeared as nothing short of a national calamity. Disorder and chaos were the least of the evils which his election would certainly bring, and I fervently prayed that the cataclysm I anticipated might be avoided. Better that anything should happen, than that the very foundations of society should be destroyed, all progress stop, and the best elements be overthrown by such a man.

Doubtless Mr. Baker breathed a sigh of relief when he saw the election returns and learned that Henry George had been defeated. Yet he was himself destined to become a national leader in the

movement that George began. What he then regarded as social order, he has long since repudiated as social disorder.

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His conversion began in 1887, when George was the United Labor party candidate for Secretary of State of New York, on the same platform upon which he had stood the year before in the mayoral contest. The New York Herald and the New York World sent able correspondents with George in the campaign of 1887, to report the speeches he made at the series of large meetings he addressed throughout the State. Through reading the Herald's reports Mr. Baker began to realize that he had been deceived regarding George's doctrines, and when George spoke in Albany he attended the meeting with an open mind. Impressed with the speaker's argument, and especially moved by his obvious sincerity, Mr. Baker procured a copy of George's "Progress and Poverty" and soon became a thorough convert to its doctrines.

Subsequently he assisted in the organization of the Albany Single Tax Club and became its secretary. His tireless activity in any cause to which he devotes himself was illustrated at that time by the daily pilgrimages he made into the country with another industrious enthusiast to paint single tax hints on the road side fences. So persistent in this work were Baker and his coadjutor that it soon became impossible for anyone to drive anywhere on the roads running into Albany without facing some such suggestion as that "the single tax will raise wages, lower rents, and increase profits"; or "the single tax will help the farmer"; or "land speculation, the curse of the industrious, will cease under the single tax"; or "the single tax is the only just tax."

In 1889 Mr. Baker moved to Brooklyn, where he became secretary of the Brooklyn Single Tax League and promoted the single tax movement in various other ways. It was he who secured by far the largest number of signatures (1,600) to the single tax petition which Tom L. Johnson filed with Congress in 1892. At the Single Tax Conference of 1893 at Chicago he was made secretary of the national committee, Tom L. Johnson being chairman, and Baker being also chairman of the executive committee.

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After settling in Brooklyn Mr. Baker entered larger fields of public work than direct agitation for the single tax offered, although he declares that the success of single tax principles has been

all along, as it still is, the sole object of his public life.

The first collateral work he did was in behalf of the Australian ballot system, which was then regarded as a foreign exotic, but now flourishes in all the States. For four years he was secretary of the New York Tax Reform Association, and also of the Brooklyn Revenue Reform Club, and he had charge of their joint plans for establishing home rule in taxation. In 1892 he was instrumental in inducing the Democrats of one of the strong Republican districts of Brooklyn to nominate Alfred J. Wolf, a single taxer now residing at Fairhope, as candidate for the lower house of the legislature. A single tax campaign led by Mr. Wolf and Mr. Baker was carried on with vigor, and Mr. Wolf was defeated by only 426 plurality in a district usually returning a Republican plurality of 2,400. Mr. Baker himself was a Democratic candidate for the legislature in 1894 on what was known as the Edward M. Shepard independent ticket, but the whole ticket was defeated. In 1896 he took the stump for Bryan, and in 1897 he was in charge of the petitions placing Henry George in nomination for first mayor of Greater New York. Absence in London prevented his participating in the campaigns of 1898 and 1899, but in 1900 he was again on the stump for Bryan, speaking throughout New York State.

In local politics he had been prominent as an independent. The Citizens' Union of Brooklyn, of which he was secretary in 1893, owed its establishment and success to his efforts. Part of the time he was chairman of its executive committee. He revived the Union in 1901, devoting himself to the task of fusing the radical Democrats and the independent Republicans. In that year he was named by the Citizens' Union as fusion candidate for Sheriff, but the Republicans rejected him as "unfit." To preserve harmony Baker therefore withdrew, but on condition that Michael J. Flaherty* be named for coroner. The fusion ticket agreed to was elected and the "fit" man for sheriff, who had been accepted instead of Baker, was subsequently removed from the office by a Republican Governor on charges of pre-election bargaining.

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Baker's election to Congress a year later was a result of the energetic work of the Radical Democracy of Brooklyn. This body, of which Baker was one of the organizers, had been estab-

*Mr. Flaherty is now sheriff, having been elected last Fall. A biographical sketch appeared in *The Public* of March 17, 1906, vol. viii, p. 834.

lished in the Spring of 1902. Its platform declared for immediate withdrawal of tariff protection to trusts, for free raw materials, ultimate abolition of all tariffs, municipal and national ownership of all public utilities, the initiative and referendum, and the power of popular recall of delinquent officials from office. The Radical Democracy demanded Baker's nomination for Congress in the fall of 1902 and the party conceded it. Prospects of election were not bright, for Baker's district had gone for McKinley in 1900, only two years before, by 4,577 plurality. But election was not so much Baker's object as radical democratic agitation. He succeeded, however, in both particulars. Despite the great Republican majority to be overcome, and the rancorous opposition of the Brooklyn Eagle, nominally a Democratic paper, he was elected by 500 plurality.

In Congress Mr. Baker was indefatigable. Though he acted with the Democratic caucus in party matters, he refused to be hampered by any Congressional conventionalities calculated to defraud the people of their legislative rights. In consequence, the usual courtesies, by unanimous consent, were denied him, and he did not get them again until he had fought the whole House by objecting to all requests for suspensions of the rules requiring unanimous consent. While this fight lasted, Mr. Baker found it necessary to stay in his seat from the beginning of every day's session till the close. If he left the hall for but a moment, some member whom he was "holding up" would get unanimous consent and rush his measure through. Many were the tricks tried upon Baker to get him out of the hall for that purpose; but only a few succeeded, and after a time the House surrendered. Upon his agreeing to raise no objections without cause against the other members, they agreed to extend the same courtesy to him. From that time onward Baker's place on the floor of the House was secure. He had won his Congressional spurs, and no matter to what extent any of his fellow members might disagree with him they thereafter respected his Congressional rights and privileges.

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Even apart from the railway-pass question, which will be considered below, Mr. Baker's record is well worth summarizing, both upon its merits and as an indication of the character of the man. Here it is:

Refused to appoint cadets to West Point and Annapolis because of his opposition to war and the cultivation of the war spirit.

January 30th, '04, opposed amendment for fraudulent mileage, page 1418 of Congressional Record. Same date, page 1423, endeavored to amend bill to open Rosebud Indian Reservation, so as to provide for periodical leases with new appraisement instead of continuing previous policy of outright sale. Received no support, the vote being 110 to 1.

Inserted in Record on March 18th, '04, proof of wholesale stuffing of the mails by Congressman Babcock, chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee, during the four-yearly weighing period, so as to make the mail larger than it usually is and thereby enable the railroads to get pay during the following years for hundreds of tons of mail they never carry. The entire speech was expunged from the Record three days later, on the ground that it constituted an abuse of privilege, the motion to expunge being made by Hepburn.

March 10th, '04, introduced resolution condemning the acceptance by the President of the statue of Frederick the Great without the consent of Congress, as an act of Executive usurpation.

March 25th, '04, introduced amendment to post-office appropriation bill to appropriate \$50,000 to pay for special trains, cars, food, wines, etc., supplied to the President during the previous two years. Amendment provided that it should not be construed as conferring any power upon the President to contract for any similar service without the express authority of Congress. The object of the amendment was to have the President's traveling expenses paid out of the public treasury instead of being contributed as courtesies by railroad companies.

April 11th, '04, defeated the attempt of Congressman Gardner of Michigan to secure the enactment of a bill "detailing retired officers of the army and navy to assist in military instruction in schools."

Dec. 5th, '04, introduced resolution exposing hypocrisy of the claim that tariff on steel is for the purpose of "equalizing" differences in wages between this and foreign countries, and directing that the Secretary of the Treasury suspend the further collection of the tariff of \$7.84 per ton on steel rails until such time as the Steel Trust furnish conclusive proof that the amount paid to their employees for producing a ton of steel rails is greater than that paid by English steel rail manufacturers. Same date, a resolution asking the Attorney General what step he had taken to prosecute the Steel Trust as a combination in restraint of trade.

January 4th, '05. The President having directed the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to proceed criminally against the Washington Electric Company for maintaining a smoke nuisance adjacent to the White House, Baker introduced a resolution reciting the language used by the President, "It would seem to be wise to go to the very limit of the law and arrest the head of the company, again and again, at the shortest possible intervals," and asking whether he had instructed the Attorney General to "arrest, again and again," the heads of the various trusts for their "flagrant violation of law." Same date, a resolution instructing the Attorney General to report whether the acts of Paul Morton (then Secretary of the Navy) as vice-president of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Ry. in granting rebates to the Colorado Coal and Iron Co. were not

also a "flagrant violation of law," and to report what steps he had taken to prosecute Mr. Morton criminally. Same date, a resolution that it was the opinion of the House of Representatives "that nothing would so surely restore public confidence in the administration of law as the arrest and prosecution of the Secretary of the Navy for his "barefaced disregard of law."

January 6th, '05, amendment to strike out provision that munitions of war imported by the U. S. government "shall be admitted free of duty," on the ground that "if the foreigner pays the tax" as contended, the tax should not be remitted.

January 23d, '05, resolution asking the President to dismiss his Secretary of the Navy, Paul Morton, and to direct his prosecution "as a conspicuous violator of law."

January 23, '05, page 1276, Congressional Record, resolution to adjourn in order to "express our indescribable horror at the wanton massacre of the people of St. Petersburg." Received no support from anyone on this motion. Only one vote cast for it. It referred to the massacre of the previous day, January 22d, by Russian troops. Same day, page 1290, speech in denunciation of massacre. Same day, amendment to reduce the salary of the Washington assessors for their "deliberate, perpetual and continuous violation of law in refusing to assess land according to its value."

February 20th, '05, speech in denunciation of President Roosevelt for his cablegram on the death of Sergius, although three weeks before he had refused to express the horror of the American people at the St. Petersburg massacre. Same day, page 3043, resolution in re Sergius cablegram.

February 27, '05, page 3686, secured adoption of amendment providing that if the national government or the city of Washington should at any time acquire the property of the Western Union Telegraph Co., nothing should be paid for the franchise right then about to be granted to lay conduits in the streets of Washington. Same day, speech (page 3704) opposing any increase in the Presidential salary.

March 1st (page 3940), raised point of order which prevented a vote on the proposition to increase the President's salary to \$75,000.

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Mr. Baker's principal speeches in the House were the following, many of the titles of which are indicative of their value:

- Dec. 14th, '03—A Compensating Wage.
- Jan. 12th, '04—Jug-Handled Prosperity.
- Jan. 14th, '04—Cincinnati's Corrupt Government.
- Jan. 21st, '04—War is Hell!
- Jan. 28th, '04—George B. Cox.
- March 26th, '04—Ship Subsidies.
- March 30th, '04—Increase in Freight Rates.
- April 14th—Single Tax: Farmers Emigrating to Manitoba.
- April 18th—District of Columbia Tax Bill.
- Jan. 25th, '05—Blizzards and Protection.
- Feb. 1st—To Abolish Railroad Evils.
- Feb. 2d—Judge Parker's Nomination.
- Feb. 8th—Government Ownership.

Feb. 13th—Source of Giant Fortunes.
 Feb. 16th—Basest and Foulest of Crimes.
 Feb. 17th—War, Diabolical, Unchristian.
 Feb. 22d—Who are the Beneficiaries?
 Feb. 24th—The Single Tax.

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The mantle of national reputation fell upon Congressman Baker's shoulders several months before he took his seat. It was both unexpected and unpleasant, but he bore the honor of it modestly and the jibing and jeering with patience.

It was in the summer following his election that he received from the law department of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company an annual pass and the following letter:

Washington, D. C., July 21, 1903.—Hon. Robert H. Baker, Brooklyn, N. Y. Dear Sir—Heretofore, under the regulations of the company, annual passes have not been issued to members-elect until the Congress to which they were elected had convened. I am glad to inform you that this regulation has been modified, and from now on annuals will be sent to members residing in company's territory the first day of July following their election. I am, accordingly, pleased to forward to you under this cover a card of travel good for 1903. Yours very truly, G. E. Hamilton, Division Counsel.

This was Mr. Baker's introduction to what at that time was a universal custom. Congressmen, legislators, judges, etc., were regularly the recipients of railway passes, as a method of securing small favors and establishing pleasant relations with a view to larger favors at higher prices. If for no other purpose than to present an important part of the history of the abolition of that nefarious custom, we shall be justified in reprinting Mr. Baker's reply in full:

544 Carlton avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., July 27, 1903. George E. Hamilton, Esq., Division Counsel, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, Century Building, Washington, D. C.: Dear Sir—On my return to the city I find yours of the 21st enclosing an annual pass and announcing officially the policy of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company in supplying passes to members of Congress. In returning the pass I desire to say that I am unable to understand on what grounds a pass is tendered, if it be not with the expectation that it will influence me to act in my official capacity to conserve what your company regards as its "rights," regardless of the rights of the people, or may be to aid in securing for the company additional privileges. There is, I am aware, another possible construction to be put upon this tender of a pass, and that is, that if the pass be not given, then, in my official acts in matters affecting the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, the company assumes that I will be guided, not by a determination to deal justly with both the American people and your company, but to harass and annoy if not to cause it pecuniary loss. I am no more disposed to accept this as an excuse for the company's action,

than to believe that it assumes the pass would induce me to look with a lenient eye on legislation designed to confer extensions of its existing privileges; either view would constitute a reflection on the integrity of my actions, which I reject. As the language of your letter unmistakably implies, not only, that the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company has presented passes to members of previous Congresses "residing in company's territory," but that the pass sent me is simply one of many tendered to members of the Fifty-eight Congress, and as the language used precludes the possibility of your action being regarded as a personal favor to me alone, I consider it a duty to give the widest publicity to the matter, and shall therefore send a copy of this and of your letter to the press, for my constituents are entitled to know that a great railroad corporation has—in effect—openly, certainly without concealment or evasion, done that, which, if not resented, would lay my actions in all matters affecting railroad legislation open to the suspicion of having been corruptly influenced. In view of your language, "under the regulations of the company . . . this regulation has been modified, and from now on annuals will be sent," etc., I must conclude that a number of its high officials, presumably its board of directors, have directed that these passes be sent to members of Congress. As it must be assumed that these officials are acting for what they regard as the interests of the stockholders, and as, so far as I am aware, no report of the company has ever disclosed the approximate cost to the company in furnishing free transportation to members of Congress, both the stockholders and the public generally—who in the last analysis pay for such free rides in higher rates—are entitled to know that such a practice is being systematically prosecuted, and that so great a temptation is being put before the people's representatives. It is frequently asserted that railroad and other "special privilege" corporations are forced to comply with demands from legislators for these and other pecuniary favors, and were it not for such blackmail (as the companies term it) the companies would not bribe officials. In view of this official action of your company, in tendering through you these passes without solicitation, and apparently—judging from your language—on a wholesale scale, else why are "regulations" "modified"—those who have heretofore regarded your company as possibly a victim, must now revise their opinion and regard it as an instigator of official misconduct. Yours respectfully, Robert Baker.

Looking back upon Mr. Baker's letter, it does him the highest credit. Yet at the time, it was made the subject of jeering editorials by pass-holding newspaper men from one end of the country to the other. The Commercial Tribune of Cincinnati, for example, remarked that "by striking from his pass the first letter Congressman Baker of Brooklyn might ascertain what he has made of himself." Even among the pass-holding papers that lacked the temerity to jeer at Baker's return of the pass, there were many that criticized his making the matter public; even among his

friends there were those who thought it would have been in better taste to have returned the pass without comment, or at any rate without publishing his comment. But time has proved that Mr. Baker was right. As his chief object was to expose the system of free pass bribery, he argued that silence would have been futile. This is evident now. It was the publicity he gave to the subject that produced the downfall of the system.

Nor did he stop with that exposure. At the first caucus of Democratic Congressmen he attended, November 7, 1903, he introduced the following resolution:

Whereas it becomes increasingly apparent that the trusts owe their existence in large part to the fact of their having been the beneficiaries of outrageous and illegal freight rate discriminations, and it is also evident that the Republican party is controlled and directed by railroad and trust magnates; and whereas it is both right and expedient for the Democratic party to attack these monopolies, making it clear that no permanent relief from these oppressive conditions can be had until the illicit and criminal relations between the trusts and the railroads are terminated; and whereas the time has come to present to the people convincing evidence that no one charged with the formulation or putting into effect Democratic principles is in any way a party to or countenances these violations of law and morals; therefore be it resolved: That regardless of the practice of the Republicans, it is the sense of this caucus that its members do not accept passes or other favors from the railroads.

As Bryan's Commoner of November 20, 1903, editorially said, that resolution "should have been promptly adopted by the Democratic caucus." But it was not promptly adopted, nor adopted at all. A few votes supported the resolution; but the majority sent it to a committee which Mr. Baker was never able to get together.

His next effort was to secure action by the House of Representatives. On the 26th of January, 1904, he introduced a resolution for an investigation by the judiciary committee into the question of the criminality of the Baltimore and Ohio in issuing passes to Congressmen. But a House-full of Congressmen with pockets full of passes speedily buried the resolution out of sight.

Congressman Baker could not get the ear of the Democratic caucus on this subject, nor a hearing from the House of Representatives, but he did get a hearing from the people; and although the newspapers jeered him, the people took him soberly. And now that the giving and taking of passes has been made a crime, the name of "Anti-Pass Baker," as the corporation newspapers jeeringly called him three years ago, is worthy of perpetua-

tion as the honorable title of the real father of all anti-pass legislation, both State and national.

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Mr. Baker was renominated in 1904, but the landslide against the Presidential candidate carried him down with his ticket. He received 1,800 more votes for Congress than Judge Parker received in the same district for President, but these were not enough. After the mayoral campaign in Greater New York last year, in which he was one of the most effective speakers for Mr. Hearst, the municipal ownership candidate, Mr. Baker was offered and accepted the position of secretary of the Department of Docks and Ferries, under Mayor McClellan. He is a poor man and this office paid him \$4,000 a year; but upon learning three days after his acceptance, that he would be expected to refrain from publicly discussing public questions, he resigned the office.

Mr. Baker's most valuable place of service is in Congress, and it is to be hoped that his district will send him back at the next election. He is a tireless worker, an effective speaker, a ready and fair debater, and a man of intelligent convictions, of sterling loyalty to his convictions, and of enviable courage. Such men are needed in Congress. A group in Congress of half a dozen such democratic Democrats as Robert Baker would go far toward making the Democratic party democratic, if indeed it did not also revive the latent democracy of the Republican party.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

BRYAN'S NEW YORK RECEPTION.

New York, Aug. 31.—Yesterday was Bryan day here, and last night capped the climax of such a reception as no private citizen not in nomination for office ever received in New York before. Madison Square Garden, which covers four acres of ground—an entire block bounded by Fourth Avenue, Madison Avenue, Twenty-sixth Street and Twenty-seventh Street—and rises four tiers high, was packed when the speaking began, from street level to roof. After Bryan had spoken ten minutes, those who had come from motives of curiosity and found the heat of the August night unbearable, left their seats in the upper galleries to seek the fresh air of the streets; but their places were taken as fast as they vacated them, and at the very end the great auditorium was nine-tenths as full as at the beginning.

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Mayor Johnson of Cleveland presided, his introduction as chairman being made by Gov. Folk of Missouri. The other speakers were Henry W. Walker of the Commercial Travelers' Anti-Trust League and Augustus Thomas, the playwright. Mayor Johnson

received a warm greeting from all parts of the house. His speech was very brief, and this was its dominant political note: "In some form or other in all civilized countries democracy is struggling against privilege. Millions of our people have but just begun to learn that this irrepressible conflict is being waged in the United States. They are just beginning to learn that American democracy must abolish special privilege, or special privilege will abolish American democracy."

After welcoming Mr. Bryan as "an ideal Democrat who is worthy to lead and competent to lead," Mayor Johnson named him to the audience and his hour-and-a-half speech began.

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The underlying principle of Mr. Bryan's speech was stated by him in connection with his declaration that the Democratic party cannot be the enemy of property, because "it stands for human rights, which are the basis for the sanctity of property." With this sentiment for his underlying principle he named the trust question and the questions that grow out of it as the great issue in American politics, because the question of trusts is the question of monopoly. It was in no gentle manner that he dealt with this question as he briefly indicated its many manifestations; and President Roosevelt is not likely to follow Mr. Bryan's economic leadership as far as Bryan carried it last night.

But whatever Mr. Roosevelt and his party may decide to do, Mr. Bryan left the Democratic party no room to question their duty. "The Democratic party must not merely try to regulate monopoly," he said; "but it must try to make it impossible for monopoly to live." Nor was he at all indefinite here. In his view, the Democratic party, in dealing with monopoly "must lay the ax at the root of the tree."

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Reaching out to the concrete forms of monopoly that are now in the political arena, Mr. Bryan laid his principal emphasis upon the tariff issue. "Many monopolies," he explained, "owe their existence to the tariff," which has established "protection for the sake of protection" and thereby been made "a fruitful source of corruption." The exigencies of time and the difficulties of lengthy speech to an audience of such enormous size, necessitating but a brief consideration of this phase of his subject, Mr. Bryan announced his intention, of discussing the tariff question in all its bearings on future occasions.

Up to that point the speech was not especially distasteful. In so far as it might have displeased the plutocratic contingent they were willing to accept it as pickwickian. But in dealing with another form of protection, which not only makes monopolies but is itself a monopoly, and which also is a fruitful source of corruption, Mr. Bryan made these gentlemen "sit up and take notice." This was railroad monopoly, regarding which the Dugald Dalgettys of politics and the press are now saying that Bryan is more dangerously radical than ever before.

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At the outset with reference to this question, Mr. Bryan evoked the first applause, at once hearty and

general, by indicating the dangerous power, with its enormous incentives for corruption at elections, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, if regulation of railroad freights is to be reposed in that commission and railroad profits are to be left to "private enterprise." "The rate regulation law," he declared, "provides for a high stake in presidential elections;" and then he added: "My fear is that if the history through which we have gone in regard to municipal enterprises repeats itself, we may find that larger corruption funds will be raised from railroads to control the Interstate Commerce Commission than were ever raised from the manufacturers to secure protective tariff legislation." With this introduction he launched out into his proposal of government ownership and operation, publicly made by him and widely advertised two years ago, and now confirmed by his European observations. This was received with tremendous enthusiasm by the audience and it has since happily relieved Mr. Bryan of certain recent and unwelcome political friendships.

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He did not describe the policy of government ownership as one that he would insist upon having his party adopt at this time. He mentioned it, he said, because as he regards the railroad question as it now presents itself as part of the trust question, he could not in frankness withhold his personal opinion regarding it. "I have reached the conclusion," he said, "that there will be no permanent relief from railroad monopoly until the railroads are the property of government and operated by government—Federal ownership of the trunk lines only and State ownership of all the rest of the railroads." His objection to complete Federal ownership was the danger it involves of centralization, a danger that "cannot be brushed aside," for "the greatest danger of a republic is the consolidation of all power at the capital remote from the people." And as to the practicability of allowing local lines to be owned by the several States he explained: "I did not believe the argument weighty before I went abroad, and my observations in other lands have convinced me that State ownership of local lines is entirely feasible. In Germany almost all the railroads are owned, not by the Empire but by the several States; not even the trunk lines are owned by the Imperial government; and yet they have no difficulty about interstate traffic. If one travels from Constantinople to Vienna, he passes through Turkey and Bulgaria and Serbia and Hungary and part of Austria, and every state owns its own railroads, and they speak different languages on the different divisions, and yet you travel without change of cars."

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In the course of his speech Mr. Bryan advocated the abolition of wars between nations, and of the bitter conflicts between labor and capital, by arbitration; the arbitrators to define and adjust disputed rights, and obedience to the award to be left to the peaceful but powerful influence of public opinion. He called attention to the loss not alone of democratic prestige but of commercial benefits by our colonization schemes; he opposed the collection of public debts from weak nations by strong ones by force of

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, September 5.

arms; he denounced government by injunction, and advocated the eight hour day and the election of senators by the people; and he expressed his gratification at the fact that the movement toward democracy is universal. On the money question he spoke with satisfaction of its present elimination from politics by the vast production of gold which has pleased the gold standard men by making the gold standard acceptable, and the bimetallists by furnishing an adequate supply of money. In connection with the trust question he denied that the trusts are here to stay, asserting that they are not an economic institution harmonizing with economic progress; and he took in support of this assertion, the strong ground that the moment any economic organization "secures a monopoly it ceases to be in the line of economic progress."

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Mr. Bryan went to New Haven and Bridgeport today. He goes to Newark and Jersey City to-morrow. Some friction occurred with reference to Newark. Ex-Senator Smith, who is nominally a Democrat but really a political partner of Senator Dryden and the great monopoly interests that own northern New Jersey geographically and the whole Senate politically, and who was one of the band wagon converts to Bryan, had announced weeks ago that he had engaged Bryan to speak in Newark. This was false, and was proven to be by a cable message from Bryan to Mayor Johnson; but the pretense was kept up and Smith went on with his preparations. The opposition of anti-machine Democrats to Bryan's appearance in New Jersey under Smith's especial auspices was widespread and emphatic. Under the circumstances Mr. Bryan had positively refused to go; but at a late hour last night he yielded to the advice of James Martine, the leading Bryan Democrat of northern New Jersey, who until then had co-operated with John Moody in opposing Bryan's appearance under Smith's patronage. With this exception and the exception of the disappointment of the predatory interests which had hoped to win Bryan over to their brand of "safety" and "sanity," nothing occurred to mar his unique and enthusiastic reception. Friends of Bryan came from all parts of the country east of the Rocky Mountains. The cities represented by genuinely Democratic mayors, besides Cleveland by Mayor Johnson, included Omaha by Mayor Dahlman and Chicago by Mayor Dunne.

L. F. P.

* * *

Shall we yield to any other nation in the estimate to be placed upon the value of human life? I confess that my aversion to killing increases with the years. Surely the Creator did not so plan the universe as to make the progress of the race dependent upon wholesale blood letting. I prefer to believe that war, instead of being an agency for good, is rather an evidence of man's surrender to his passions, and that one of the tests of civilization is man's willingness to submit his controversies to the arbitrament of reason rather than of force.

—W. J. Bryan at Madison Square Garden, Aug. 30.

Russia Gay Above Her Volcano.

The gayety of France in her revolutionary days, and the exaggerated theater attendance during the dark days of our own Civil War, have their counterparts in contemporaneous Russia. A dispatch reports that "the music halls and cafes of the capital are thronged nightly by gay crowds solely on pleasure bent;" and adds, as if history had been forgotten, "to foreigners it seems almost as if a certain moral sense were lacking in the Russians."

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Nineteen soldiers found guilty of participating in the Sveaborg mutiny (pp. 441, 462) were shot on the 31st.

*

The hated General Trepoff, ostensibly on the ground of ill-health, has been removed from the position of governor of the palace of Peterhoff.

* *

China Grows Stronger.

The Emperor has promulgated an edict in regard to the constitutional government toward which China is drifting (p. 511). The edict thus describes the "forward movement" in China:

Since the beginning of our dynasty there have been wise emperors who have made laws suited to the times. Now that China has intercourse with all nations our laws and political system have become antiquated and our country is always in trouble. Therefore it is necessary for us to gather more knowledge and draw up a new code of laws, otherwise we shall be unworthy of the trust of our forefathers and the people.

*

A still more concrete evidence of China's awakening is to be found in the renewed and more strenuous measures now under consideration for the suppression of the opium traffic. Advices have been received in Washington to the effect that China contemplates entering into an agreement with India to diminish annually the import of opium into China, so that the traffic will cease in ten years. An imperial edict is expected condemning the use of opium and forbidding the employment in the government service of opium eaters. The edict is also to order an annual reduction in poppy cultivation, with the industry to be prohibited at the end of ten years.

The Cuban Insurrection Spreads.

The surrender of some of the more active insurgent leaders, foreshadowed last week (p. 512), seemed only to fan brighter the flame of revolution, though the insurgents were again defeated on the 30th in the Tapaste hills in Havana province. The last province to remain peaceful was Puerto Principe, and on the 1st revolt was reported from there. President Palma has rejected all proposals for arbitration, and states confidently that he expects to put down the insurrection, but doubt as to the outcome of the little war seems general.

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An impression seems to have prevailed in Cuba that if the United States intervened in the interests of peace this country would pay for whatever property damage had resulted from the insurrection. The denial of this responsibility by "a leading American lawyer" of Havana, Major Runcie, in an interview on the 1st, has called a halt in some quarters where intervention had been desired. In the meantime the semi-official organ of the administration, *La Discusion*, on the 31st had called upon Cubans to lay down their arms in order to save the republic from intervention, saying:

Permanent intervention would be worse than death. It would be preferable if the Caribbean should engulf the pearl of the Antilles. . . . The colored race may tremble before the possibility of intervention. Americans hate and despise Negroes. Even their own Negroes, with whom they have been in contact for 200 years, are treated like dogs, lynched and hardly considered human. If it is so with Negroes of their own land and language, what would happen to the Cuban Negro. . . . Is there no other remedy except placing our necks under the yoke of Uncle Sam This war can have no other end but intervention.

* *

Bryan's Welcome Home.

The narrative of William J. Bryan's return from abroad (pp. 464, 491) and his welcome at Madison Square Garden, New York, on the 30th, appears in Editorial Correspondence in another column; and in the same correspondence his trip to New Haven and Bridgeport on the 31st is mentioned. On the 1st he took part of the time he had promised Jersey City to speak in Newark, and there with reference to the local difficulty over his speaking under the auspices of Senator Smith (see Editorial Correspondence) he said that he had not come in the personal interests or the political interests of any individual whatever. "I am here for one purpose," he said, "and I will tell you what that purpose is. Mr. Smith and those with him on the committee told me that if I would come here and speak this afternoon it would help to elect a Democrat to the United States Senate in the place of Senator Dryden and it would help to elect two Congressmen. My friends, I have to be mighty tired not to speak under such conditions; and I have to be mighty busy not to find time to do it. I am here to elect a Democrat in the place of Senator Dryden and to elect Democratic Congressmen in the place of Republican Congressmen. I don't know who the candidates may be for Senator or Congressmen; but I know this, that no man will be helped to office by my speeches unless he can show that he believes in the

things that I speak for." From Newark Mr. Bryan went on the same afternoon to Jersey City, where he filled the engagement he had made before his return from abroad. He left New York for the West on the afternoon of the 2nd, and, arriving in Detroit on the 3rd, Labor Day, he was received by the Mayor and spoke on labor questions at the fair grounds. On the morning of the 4th he reached Chicago, where he was entertained at luncheon by the Iroquois Club, before which he spoke at length with especial reference to the trusts, the tariff and the relation of monopoly to socialism. In the afternoon a reception was given Mrs. Bryan at the Auditorium Hotel under the auspices of the Woman's Auxiliary of the Henry George Association, at which hundreds of Chicago women were in attendance. The principal feature of Mr. Bryan's Chicago reception was his speech in the evening at the dinner of the Jefferson Club. Over a thousand persons sat down at the tables, and the capacity of the largest banqueting room of the Auditorium was pressed to its utmost for accommodations. Besides the diners, hundreds of auditors entered when the speaking began and stood until Mr. Bryan had uttered his last word. Mr. Bryan took advantage of this occasion, with the evident concurrence of the whole body of his audience, to express himself with studied definiteness regarding the relationship of Roger C. Sullivan (pp. 464, 481) to the Democratic party of Illinois and of the nation. This part of his speech he had prepared in writing and he read strictly from the manuscript. It was a reiteration and elaboration of his previous statements with regard to Mr. Sullivan, the essential part being as follows:

I do not want my friends to be deceived by the resolution that was adopted at the State convention. I do not regard it as a compliment to be indorsed for the Presidency by a convention which indorses Mr. Sullivan. I told them in advance that I did not want such an indorsement and I repudiate it. If my nomination for office depended upon that indorsement I would not accept it. Mr. Sullivan is not my friend, although he pretended to be. If he had been he would not have allowed me to be indorsed if he could have prevented it. Instead of opposing me like a man he attempted to link his name with mine and thus secure an indorsement for himself. I object to him as a political associate. Let me suggest that every candidate running for office who wants the people to have confidence in him should announce that he is opposed to Mr. Sullivan's methods, that he repudiates his leadership and will oppose his re-election. I do not hesitate to express the opinion that no man running on the Democratic ticket in Illinois is entitled to the support of Democrats in this crisis who either stands with Mr. Sullivan or is afraid to oppose him. Mr. Sullivan asphyxiated the State convention, but I do not think that he can asphyxiate the voters of this State. Do you ask me whether a candidate can advance his chances for election by repudiating Sullivan and the State committee which he controls or which at least sympathizes with him? I can not answer, but I deny that any candidate has the right to make his action depend upon expediency. I will express as an opinion that the man who opposes Sullivan boldly will be stronger with the people than the man who either indorses him or remains silent. The honesty of the party's purpose is shown not merely by its platform or the speeches of its candidates and supporters, but by the character of the men to whom are intrusted the part of management. What is the objection to Mr. Sullivan? He is a high official in a franchise-holding corporation seeking favors at the hands of the government. He is familiar with all the methods used

by such corporations to gain from local and State governments special favors and privileges. I hold that no man who is officially connected with a corporation that is seeking privileges ought to act as a member of a political organization, because he can not represent his corporation and the people at the same time. He can not serve the public while he is seeking to promote the financial interests of his corporation. I do not know how you feel about it, but I am opposed to having a man situated as Sullivan is use the public treasury to pay the debts that he owes to those who helped his corporation take advantage of the public. Therefore I insist that the fight be commenced to-day to prevent his re-election to the national committee. And what I say of him I say of aspirants in the party organizations of other States. If the Democratic party has not virtue enough to spew out those who traffic in politics for the advantage of the corporations to which they belong, it does not deserve victory nor can it hope for it.

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Mr. Bryan concluded his speech before midnight, and a few minutes after midnight he and Mrs. Bryan and their daughter Grace took the train for Lincoln.

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American Politics.

At the Democratic convention of Minnesota held at Minneapolis on the 4th Gov. John A. Johnson was renominated, and William J. Bryan was endorsed for the Democratic nomination for President (p. 466) in a resolution congratulating him and the nation upon the present recognition of his worth. The platform also declares against government by injunction, advocates an eight-hour law, except in agricultural and kindred pursuits, the election of United States Senators by popular vote, and tariff revision. In connection with the tariff it demands that "there shall be placed on the free list all trust-made articles and that all protection shall be removed from articles sold cheaper to the foreigner than to the American."

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The State election for Vermont, which occurred on the 5th, resulted in the choice of Fletcher D. Proctor, son of Senator Proctor, for Governor. Mr. Proctor was the Republican candidate and was elected over P. W. Clement, the fusion candidate, by about 15,000 majority. Clement was an independent Republican endorsed by the Democrats.

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In the biennial election in Arkansas on the 3rd, Congressman John S. Little, the Democratic nominee for governor, was elected by about 50,000 over John I. Worthington, the Republican.

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In a campaign speech at Carlisle on the 30th Lewis Emery, Jr., the gubernatorial nominee of the Democratic and Lincoln Republican parties (p. 349), made a pronounced declaration in favor of woman suffrage. He declared his desire to be placed squarely on record as favoring untrammelled political suffrage for women in Pennsylvania, and in support of his declaration he referred with emphasis to the value of universal suffrage in Colorado. Mr. Emery declared that if women were allowed to vote in Pennsylvania there need be no further fear of such

"devilish gangs" as those maintained by Cameron, Quay and Penrose.

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The first trial, for general State nominations, of the new primary election law in Wisconsin took place on the 4th, and Governor Davidson received the Republican nomination for governor. He defeated Speaker Lenroot, whom Senator La Follette had supported. The same reports state that returns from Democratic counties indicate that the Democrats instead of going into the Republican primaries and voting for Lenroot either remained at home or voted for Democratic candidates. The total vote was very light. Estimates put it at not more than 30 per cent. of the voting strength of the State. It was lighter in the Democratic than in the Republican primaries. The Democratic candidate is reported to be John A. Aylward.

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Preliminary to the Democratic convention for New York (p. 442) a conference of Democrats was held at Albany on the 5th for the purpose of considering the situation with reference to the possibility of the nomination by the Democratic convention of William Randolph Hearst (pp. 439, 457). Those responsible for the conference were opposed to the endorsement of any candidate nominated by any other body prior to the convention of the Democratic party. The leading spirit of the conference is reported to be ex-Mayor Thomas M. Osborne of Auburn. Mr. Hearst has announced that he is not a candidate for the Democratic nomination, but in an interview on the 28th he said that he did not object "to the Democrats or others voting for him."

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Public Utilities in Ohio.

At their meeting in Cleveland on the 28th, the City Council adopted a resolution declining to consider any proposition from the old traction company for a renewal of franchises "until the company shall abandon its policy of obstructing the building of low fare lines."

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At a special election in Hamilton, Ohio, on the 1st, the people voted by an overwhelming majority to continue to sustain its municipal ownership policy. The question voted on was the issuance of \$305,000 of bonds for repairing the water, gas, and electric light plants owned by the city. If the bond issue had been voted down at the election, these plants would have been leased to private corporations. With that alternative before them, the people voted to issue the bonds.

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The Proposed Spelling Reform.

In confirmation of previous instructions regarding reformation in spelling in public documents (p. 505) President Roosevelt wrote the following letter to the public printer on the 2nd:

I enclose herewith copies of certain circulars of the Simplified Spelling Board, which can be obtained free from the board at No. 1 Madison avenue, New York City. Please hereafter direct that in all government publications of the executive departments the 300 words enumer-

Use	Instead of	Use	Instead of
pedagog	pedagogue	somber	sombre
pedobaptist	paedobaptist	specter	spectre
phenix	phoenix	splendor	splendour
phenom- enon	phenom- enon	steadfast	steadfast
pigmy	pygmy	stept	stepped
plow	plough	stopt	stopped
polyp	polype	strest	stressed
possest	possessed	stript	stripped
practise (v. and n.)	practice	subpena	subpoena
prefixt	prefixed	succor	succour
praenomen	praenomen	suffixt	suffixed
prest	pressed	sulfate	sulphate
pretense	pretence	sulfur	sulphur
preterit	preterite	sumac	sumach
pretermit	praetermit	suppres	suppressed
primeval	primaeval	surprize	surprise
profest	professed	synonym	synonyme
program	programme	tabor	tabour
prolog	prologue	tapt	tapped
propt	propped	teazel	teasel
pur	purr	tenor	tenour
quartet	quartette	theater	theatre
questor	quaestor	tho	though
quintet	quintette	thoro	thorough
rancor	rancour	thorofare	thoroughfare
rapt	rapped	thoroly	thoroughly
rase	rase	thru	through
recognize	recognise	thruout	throughout
reconolter	reconnoitre	tipt	tipped
rigor	rigour	topt	topped
rime	rhyme	tost	tossed
ript	ripped	transgest	transgressed
rumor	rumour	trapt	trapped
saber	sabre	tript	tripped
saltpeter	saltpetre	tumor	tumour
savior	saviour	valor	valour
savor	savour	vapor	vapour
scepter	sceptre	vext	vexed
septet	septette	vigor	vigour
sepulcher	sepulchre	vizer	visor
sextet	sextette	wagon	waggon
sivan	sylvan	washt	washed
simitar	ometer	whipt	whipped
sipt	sipped	whisky	whiskey
skilful	skillful	wilful	willful
sithe	scythe	winkt	winked
skipt	skipped	wisht	wished
slipt	slipped	wo	woe
smolder	smoulder	woful	woeful
snapt	snapped	woolen	woollen
		wrapt	wrapped

prime-minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, died on the 30th at Marienbad, Bohemia.

—The general Congregation of the Company of Jesus, commonly known as Jesuits, are in session at Rome for the purpose of electing a successor to the late General Father, Louis Martin.

—The Sultan of Morocco, yielding to the decisions of the Algeciras conference (p. 14), has ordered the liberation of all slaves brought to Moroccan ports, and the imprisonment of slavers who may bring them.

—A great fleet of American warships, torpedo destroyers and auxiliaries participated in the naval review held on Long Island sound off Oyster Bay on Labor Day (p. 505), where they were reviewed by President Roosevelt.

—Elihu Root, United States Secretary of State, has been warmly welcomed by Chile (p. 514). At Santiago a reception was given in his honor by the American minister on the 3rd. At Valparaiso he inspected the earthquake ruins.

—Charles A. Walsh, Iowa member of the national Democratic committee, resigned on the 2nd, on the ground that the committee's functions are prostituted to the uses of predatory corporations. He declares his intention in the future to ally himself with any movement "looking to the cultivation of independent action along the lines of principle."

—The army of Chicago school children is greater in numbers, according to the Chicago Record-Herald, than the standing armies of Mexico, Canada, Sweden, Brazil, Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Morocco and the United States combined. The number of children enrolled in Chicago this year will be not far from the total population of Idaho, Nevada and Wyoming.

—The annual Trades Union Congress opened in Liverpool on the 3d with the largest attendance on record. Four hundred and ninety delegates were present, representing over 1,500,000 trades unionists. Thirty labor members of the House of Commons participated in the meeting, compared with seven at last year's congress. The American Federation of Labor was represented.

—About fifty of the Filipino students in attendance at universities of the Middle West met in convention at the University of Chicago on the 4th for the promotion of closer relations, and to discuss the needs and problems of their country. This is the first conference of the kind. George Bocobo, of Indiana University, was elected President, and P. Quazon, of the University of Chicago, was elected Secretary.

—Switzerland, under a new law, is no longer a haven for revolutionary anarchists and socialists. A dispatch from Geneva under date of the 1st states that the editors and staffs of L'Action Anarchiste, published in Paris, but edited and printed in Geneva, and Le Reveil, published in Geneva, are under arrest. The former paper had published an article advocating the immediate assassination of the Czar, and the latter had contained a hymn glorifying Bresci.

—An order withdrawing all public lands on the coasts and islands of Bering sea which contain coal ledges, was issued on the 1st, at the general land office by Acting Secretary Ryan of the Interior De-

NEWS NOTES

—The reciprocity treaty with Spain (p. 399) became effective on the 1st.

—Gov. John Sparks of Nevada was renominated at Reno on the 3rd by the Democratic convention.

—The 14th annual convention of the National Irrigation Congress opened at Boise, Idaho, on the 3rd.

—Edward Rosewater, proprietor and editor of the Omaha Bee, died suddenly at Omaha on the 30th.

—William Randolph Hearst delivered the address at the Labor Day celebration at Syracuse, N. Y., on the 3d.

—Judge Alton B. Parker of New York was unanimously elected president of the American Bar Association at St. Paul on the 31st.

—Lady Campbell-Bannerman, wife of the British

partment. All persons hereafter applying to enter or purchase such lands must show that coal ledges are not contained therein. It is believed that the larger areas of coal lands are to be reserved for the government, possibly with a view to the establishment of coaling stations.

—The official report of the San Francisco Board of Health to the California Board of Health, rendered on the 31st, shows the following classified loss of life, in connection with the recent earthquake, as proved:

Killed by falling walls	266
Killed by fire	177
Shot	7
Poisoned by "emergency" canned goods	2

Total

452
—Gipsy chiefs from America, England, France, Egypt, India, Russia, the Caucasus, and elsewhere, have been holding a congress at Sofia, Bulgaria, in "the main hall of St. Stephen's brewery." A dispatch from Sofia under date of the 1st states that "the king of the Bulgarian gypsies presided. His opening address was delivered in the Turkish language, but the subsequent proceedings were in the Romany tongue. The chiefs discussed their 'wrongs,' the difficulties in their way in all lands in dealing in horses, the suspicion of Christians and how to remove it, the advisability of accepting the Christian faith, and various other matters. After a week's conference they had a week's feasting."

PRESS OPINIONS

BRYAN'S NEW YORK SPEECH.

Boston Herald (ind. Dem.), Aug. 31.—Mr. Bryan's peroration upon "plutocracy" is in his best vein, and closes with the blare of eloquence a speech which starts the Democratic campaign upon a high level, which no member of his own party nor any of his opponents has yet reached.

✦

Washington Star (ind.), Aug. 31.—The great feature of last night's speech is the advocacy of public ownership and operation of railroads. Mr. Bryan favors public ownership and operation of railroads, and says so in the plainest terms. Will the next Democratic national platform advocate that policy? Why not, with Mr. Bryan as the candidate?

✦

Chicago Record-Herald (ind. Rep.), Sept. 2.—Dispatches and newspaper comments from the various sections of the country indicate that even among the advanced elements of the party the advocacy of government ownership and operation of railroads has stirred up serious dissent. It is stated that the South "will not stand" for the proposal.

✦

Baltimore Sun (ind. Dem.), Aug. 31.—On the whole, the Mr. Bryan who spoke in New York last night is a man of deep convictions, as earnest and patriotic as ever, broader in some respects and unchanged in others. His adherents generally will be satisfied with his latest declaration. His opponents would not have been pleased with it, whatever its nature.

✦

New York Herald (ind.), Aug. 31.—Mr. Bryan says nothing alarming, but he brings back to America a pre-

dilection for two foreign ideas—an income tax and government ownership and operation of the railways. . . . Mr. Bryan may well express a doubt "whether the country is yet ripe for a change." Government regulation is essential, government ownership an undesirable and remote possibility, but government management—never!

✦

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Sept. 1.—Mr. Bryan has been abroad some time, and says he has learned much. Travel has not broadened his mind. He comes back with the same ideas—mostly bad ones—that he had when he went away. He is no more of a statesman, he is no safer a guide for his party, than he was when he led it to ruin in 1896 and 1900.

✦

Springfield Republican (ind.), Aug. 31.—If the radical programme of 1896 has been modified or bowled out in one particular, it is here extended in other particulars greatly; and we shall now have put to the test how far the so-called conservatives were moved to opposition in the past by the money question alone, and how far, contrary to the claims of most of them, they were actually moved by the general spirit of assault upon plutocracy and syndicated privilege which the Bryan party then seemed to embody.

✦

Boston Post (Dem.), Aug. 31.—His address was admirable in tone, in temper, in substance, and in style. He did not formulate a new and advanced Democratic platform, as some may have thought he would do. He avoided entirely the assumption of dictatorship. While the substance of his speech was concerned altogether with public questions of broad and national character, these matters were treated in the manner of a philosopher and a practical man of affairs rather than from the point of view of a party leader. Mr. Bryan spoke plain common sense in plain language.

✦

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Sept. 4.—Rejecting the counsel of time-serving politicians and the blandishments of organized wealth, Mr. Bryan, on his return to the United States as the acknowledged leader of the Democratic party and its prospective candidate for President in 1908, has refused to abjure his belief that public ownership is the ultimate solution of the railway question or to abate his hostility to private monopoly. Having the courage of his convictions, he has aroused banded wealth to the danger that confronts it. It is voicing its resentment through its newspaper mouthpieces and its political chattels.

✦

New York World (Dem.), Aug. 31.—The style of Mr. Bryan's speech was as verbose as that of Mr. Roosevelt's messages, and he discussed as many subjects as Mr. Roosevelt is accustomed to present for the edification of Congress; but though the manner of his speech was not sensational, there is no escape from the sweeping sensationalism of many of his most important recommendations. His speech proves that he was indeed right when he claimed to be more radical than he was in 1896. However, the Democratic politicians have blindly committed the party to anything that Mr. Bryan says and does, and his speech of last night is the party platform. Mr. Bryan has defined the issues on which he expects the campaigns of 1906 and of 1908 will be fought, and the party bound itself in advance to take these issues "unsight and unseen."

✦

New York Evening Post (ind.), Aug. 31.—To adopt the Touchstone manner, we would say that in respect that it is a speech against the Republican party, it is a good speech. . . . In respect that the speech is a partisan Democratic speech, Touchstone would continue, "I like it very well." . . . Even his dream of government

ownership of the railroads, held up before eyes made accustomed to such visions during the past four years, will probably attract more voters, in the present state of the public nerves, than it will affright. . . . But honest Touchstone would be compelled to proceed: "In respect that it is the speech of a sober and constructive statesman, it is a very vile speech." The new Bryan has the chief fault of the old. . . . He is in a great state of excitement about plutocracy, but just how he is to put a hook in its snout, one reads his speech in vain to find out.

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New York Times (pluto. Dem.), Aug. 31.—It cannot be denied that the evils Mr. Bryan declares to be overshadowing do exist. Discrimination has been practiced, and it is harmful. But the public remains to be convinced that it was through railroad discrimination alone that the trusts have been built up, and it is very far from being convinced that public ownership is the only effective remedy. . . . Mr. Bryan's new doctrine of public ownership for the railroads is distinctly and measurably more dangerous and upsetting than his abandoned issue of 16 to 1. It is revolution that he proposes, and incalculable disaster would attend the success of his effort. . . . Mr. Bryan professes to believe that it would restore the regime of individualism. It would leave a multitude of the most capable and efficient individuals in this nation without work to do and without any incentive to make further application of their energies. . . . Mr. Bryan's express appeal to members of both parties, it seems to us, leaves Democrats all over the country free to manifest their disapproval of his principles, and to reject public ownership as un-Democratic and him as no longer a Democrat. The Democratic party, with its history, its traditions, and its achievements, cannot surrender to this radical and revolutionist.

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

TO WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

For The Public.

Bryan, not simply for thy eloquence
Whose lightest word a list'ning nation weighs,
Nor for thy saving stores of common sense,
Nor for thy statesman's mind, I give thee praise;
Nor for thy temper steadfast and serene,
Nor for thy tireless energy and strength,
Thy dauntless courage, in defeat twice seen,
In searching vict'ry to be crowned at length—
But for thy heart, which never yet has beat
Save to the music of the rights of man,
Which freedom, progress, love of justice heat,
Thy place compelling in the battle's van.
Oh, how exploiters and their puppets sink
When thou art leader! How timeservers shrink!

W.

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FLOTSAM FROM THE NEW YORK RECEPTION.

First of the Nebraskan home folk to put in an appearance in the corridors of the Victoria hotel today was Mayor Dahlman of Omaha, who was reminiscent of what had taken place after the termination of the reception to William J. Bryan at Madison Square garden.

According to Mayor Dahlman, a party of three Mayors was made up. They were Tom Johnson of Cleveland, Mayor Dunne of Chicago, and Mayor

Dahlman. Dahlman had never met Mr. Dunne. While the three were disposing of a lobster Mayor Dahlman outlined his views of how cities should be run. Addressing Mayor Dunne, he said:

"Now, old man, I don't know about things in your little outfit, but on the whole I think there is too much red tape on this mayor's business. Now, I don't write a volume of reasons when I kill or veto a bill or an ordinance. I just write 'Nothing doing' across the face of it."

"Right you are, Jim," said Mayor Johnson; "You have the right idea; the people want mayors who deliver the goods."

"Yes, you are both right," answered Mayor Dunne; "the people of Chicago are tired of red tape and they want the goods delivered, not promises."

"Chicago!" stammered Mayor Dahlman. "Dunne, are you the Mayor of Chicago? Well, I didn't mean to offer you advice, but I guess what I said will go anywhere."

A silent toast was then drunk to the Mayor of every city in the country.

—Chicago Inter Ocean of Sept. 1.

* * *

DEMOCRACY AND PLUTOCRACY.

From Mr. Bryan's Speech at Madison Square Garden, New York City, Aug. 30, 1906.

The Democratic party is not the enemy of property or of property rights; it is, on the contrary, the best defender of both, because it defends human rights, and human rights are the only foundation upon which property and property rights can rest securely. The Democratic party does not menace a single dollar legitimately accumulated; on the contrary, it insists upon the protection of rich and poor alike in the enjoyment of that which they have honestly earned. The Democratic party does not discourage thrift, but, on the contrary, stimulates each individual to the highest endeavor by assuring him that he will not be deprived of the fruits of his toil. If we can but repeal the laws which enable men to reap where they have not sown—laws which enable them to garner into their overflowing barns the harvests that belong to others—no one will be able to accumulate enough to make his fortune dangerous to the country.

And who can suffer injury by just taxation, impartial laws, and the application of the Jefferson doctrine of equal rights to all and special privileges to none? Only those whose accumulations are stained with dishonesty, and whose immoral methods have given them a distorted view of business, society, and government. Accumulating by conscious fraud more money than they can profitably use upon themselves, wisely distribute, or safely leave to their children, these denounce as public enemies all who question their methods or throw a light upon their crimes.

Plutocracy is abhorrent to a republic; it is more despotic than monarchy, more heartless than aristocracy, more selfish than bureaucracy. It preys upon the nation in time of peace and conspires against it in the hour of its calamity. Conscienceless, compassionless, and devoid of wisdom, it enervates its votaries while it impoverishes its victims. It is already sapping the strength of the nation, vulgar-

izing social life, and making a mockery of morals. The time is ripe for its overthrow. Let us attack it boldly, making our appeal to the awakened conscience of the nation in the name of the counting-room which it has defiled, in the name of business honor which it has sullied, in the name of the people whom it has oppressed, in the name of the homes which it has despoiled, and in the name of religion upon which it has placed the stigma of hypocrisy.

* * *

IS IT WORTH WHILE FOR A DEMOCRATIC DEMOCRAT TO RUN FOR CONGRESS?

A Letter to the Honorable Robert Baker.

Dear Mr. Baker:

Your generous letter of April 16th reached me in due course, and I am not finding it quite an easy matter to fashion a reply.

In the name of honest Democracy you call upon me to enter its more active service, by taking steps to secure nomination as a Congressional candidate in this district; and you put me to the supreme test by your kind assumption that I would be willing to fail, if need be, to advance the cause. I really believe I could qualify, under even that test, for about all my life I have trained with those who always fell short of obtaining political power.

But the issue arising here is: Would nomination and defeat in this district advance the cause? I must believe it would not! The showing would be so inconsiderable as to be cited by the unopposed Republican press of the district, as final evidence that the Democratic party is as a sinking ship, from which the voter, wise for the future, would swim ashore.

You are relying on the unmistakable signs of approaching changes in party alignment of the voting rank and file; and I have no doubt your expectations will be realized, in many sections,—especially in your own State and district; but in this district there are two strongholds of uninquiring conservatism which nothing short of famine, under Republican rule, can awaken, namely, the farmers and the Scandinavian operatives in the great factories. It is the old issue between metropolis and province. The Ohio situation was recently changed; but by the voters of her goodly list of medium sized manufacturing cities, and not by the rural vote, as I understand.

You know what New York State does as a counterbalance to the democratic vote of New York City. We all know the reactionary power of the provincial vote in France, as against the progressive spirit of Paris. But if all the constituencies should send Democratic representatives to Congress, at the approaching election, would the cause of true democracy be advanced? I fear it would not! It would still be the modern political curse which a real Democrat—Gov. Altgeld—called: "Government by political party." In a thousand pages I could not hope to show you any phase of party-machine betrayal of the people which you have not perceived and denounced most earnestly.

We all know that the legislative, the judicial and the executive departments of our government are in

the hands of those who have been chosen to administer them in favor of special privilege and studiously against equality of right. The majority of the Congressmen and Senators, even of the South, as well as the Southern federal judges, are skulking agents of railroad and sugar interests. The Democratic party machine is but little less devoted to plutocratic treason than that of the Republican party.

With the government seized by such enemies of popular rights, what can the people expect in their own behalf? Nothing!

These apostates can deceive us by granting our demands in one department and nullifying that grant in another. Is it not childish for us to appeal to them? If it were in my power, to-night, to place on our statute books, state and national, laws embodying the waiting, practical, saving reforms, I would not lift my hand to attain such an end. It would be but the entrusting of the things sacred to equality of right, to the chosen agents of obstruction. These agents would compass the pitiful failure of any such reform measure (as was done in Italy, in the case of the enacted law establishing proportional representation) and secure the acceptance of the verdict: that the measure was not practical, "not safe and sane;" and a reform thus betrayed is killed for at least one generation, and all the earnest toil and sacrifice brought to nothing.

I cannot expect any orderly permanent progress in the restoration of popular government while all legislation, interpretation and administration are in the hands of those who have systematically destroyed it, and who are, as systematically, blocking its restoration. We must place the friends of equality in the seats of power; and this can never be done through political party. That boat is going in the opposite direction.

Being now advised that I harbor these heresies, you will understand my conviction that the effective field of patriotism and statesmanship lies in non-partisan participation in those simple plans for reforming representation, namely, questioning of candidates (especially in favor of initiative and referendum), and (above all) the fundamental reform in representative government—proportional representation.

How can special privilege be abated while we have representative government based on district representation and administered by political party? This situation is the "devil's dream" in the field of statesmanship; and no visions of popular justice and happiness are realizable while we weakly permit such an evil system to endure.

I need hardly assure you that I have named the above movements only as means to an end; and that that end is the final application, in government, of the living, saving principles of the so-called single tax—the cause which commands your fealty and mine, and to which a Christian civilization must turn if it is not to perish from the earth.

I am aware of your courageous and spirited services in Congress, and respect and admire you for your record made there; but after all, was it not too much like writing an honorable name on the ooze of a polluted stream, to be instantly washed into ineffectiveness by the unclean and troubled waters?

You must not feel that I am inclined to lecture you, for that is farthest from my thoughts. You have taken a friendly "pot-shot" at me for not being in party harness; and what I am saying here is not to oppose the general plans you outlined to us orally, but rather to show you candidly the elements in the situation which deter me from taking the action so kindly suggested. That is, in taking the contrary view, I earnestly desire to cite to you such reasons as shall satisfy you that I am not indifferent to the cause of true democracy; and as I well know, you are not. I wish you full success in your own candidacy, and should be much pleased to have your reply hereto at your convenience.

With pleasure at having made your acquaintance,
I remain, -
Sincerely yours,

May 8, 1906.

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Mr. Baker's Reply.

My Dear Mr. _____:

Your letter was received only a few days ago. I am glad to have your views of the matter so fully. I shall not attempt to answer all the objections you raise, but will content myself with commenting on the more salient.

First, as to your possible defeat. I do not deny that it is probable, but even should it so result, it would have no such disastrous effect as you appear to imagine. For myself I am convinced that party names are less easy to conjure with than of old. Innumerable instances might be cited to show the readiness with which party managers have turned to those who have heretofore bitterly assailed them when they needed a strong candidate. In 1895 Edward M. Shepard was an independent candidate for mayor of Brooklyn, he being the head of a movement to overthrow the local machine. He polled some 9,500 votes, as against about 78,000 for the Republican, and some 76,000 for the regular Democratic candidate. Six years later, without having openly joined the regular organization, he was the Tammany candidate for the mayor of the whole city.

Even in my own case this was also true. I had organized the movement in Brooklyn which overthrew both Tammany and the Brooklyn organization in 1901, and yet was their candidate for Congress the following year. Though Hearst was the independent candidate for mayor of New York last year, yet nothing can prevent his being the Democratic nominee for Governor this fall, but the expenditure of immense sums by the traction magnates for the purpose of suppressing the desire of the rank and file of the party machinery for his nomination as the regular candidate for Governor.

As to Ohio, I am not advised as to how much of the overthrow of Herrick was due to the distinctly rural vote, but certainly it was not due entirely to the vote of the big cities. If every man who voted for Roosevelt in Cleveland, Cincinnati, Toledo and Columbus had voted for Pattison, that would not have been change enough to account for Pattison's election. I am confident that you underestimate the spirit of revolt among the farmers. While I do not accept the view of the more enthusiastic people here, that Hearst can carry this State as a third candidate, yet I do feel that he would get scores of thou-

sands of votes outside of the small cities—that is, among the distinctly rural voters.

You ask: "If all the constituencies should send Democrats to Congress, would the cause of true democracy be advanced?"

Unhesitatingly I say, Yes. But more, it would be won! Won, because such a result could only follow the nomination of men as to whom the people had not a shadow of doubt of their undoubted devotion to democratic principles. The Senate would instantly capitulate, as they would realize that with such an unanimous expression of the popular will it would be physically dangerous for them to refuse to yield.

It is largely true, as you say, that most of the congressmen from the South are "skulking agents of railroad and sugar interests." But, if you will recall, it was because of this that I emphasized the need of our people's getting nominations wherever possible, so as to prevent betrayal of the people by these very men. A party is as good, or bad, as it needs to be. When it is in complete control and it does not fear the people's vengeance, it is as bad as its corrupt element desires—or has the opportunity to be. But when its tenure of office depends upon the assent of its truly better element, then it comes pretty near realizing their ideals.

More particularly, as it seems to me, do you minimize the power of public opinion. Look at the present situation. A Senate overwhelmingly Republican, and even more unanimously plutocratic; an enormous majority of Republicans in the Lower House; the great majority in both houses unquestionably under railroad influence; yet they have felt compelled to pass a rate bill that, however ineffective to cure the ills complained of, yet is contrary to the desires of those who own Congress. If this is the outcome with a man like Roosevelt, who is devoid of positive convictions, what would happen if we had a man in the White House who had a thorough comprehension of how monopoly exists and of the means to eradicate it? Personally I am unalterably opposed to the Executive dictating what the legislative branch of the government shall or shall not do, but I am now considering effects that would follow probable acts, however distasteful those acts to me might be.

But there is another feature of the work that you could do as a congressman which you entirely underestimate. At a time when the people are looking around for the solution of our economic ills it is of supreme importance that men who know what is wrong and the orderly remedy therefor, should be in positions of power and influence, in order that they can get the ear of the people for their views. Your influence as congressman would be at least a hundred times what it is to-day. There is one more aspect that I wish you to consider. With the desire for change which is apparent on every hand, the danger is that many men will be elected who have no conception of fundamental principles; they are therefore more likely to mislead than to lead the people. We can largely avert that danger by having such men as yourself in Congress, for the people will listen to the truth if it is but presented to them.

As to the question of pollution, there is no danger. Such a man as yourself would not be injuriously affected if every other man in that assembly was

corrupt. I believe, though, that honesty will be quite a common attribute in the succeeding Congresses.

It is because there are grave doubts of my own election that I am keenly interested in seeing that everything is done that can be done to insure a large leaven of fundamental Democrats, like yourself, to leaven the whole lump of the 60th Congress. While I have no right to urge others to any particular duty, I do hope you can yet see it as I see it. Again, since my visit much has happened to increase the popular unrest. The beef trust revelations alone ought to be enough to insure your election, standing as you would as the exponent of a better economic order—for those changes which would obviate the possibility of such things existing; for they could not exist if men were free and could secure the full reward for their labor.

Yours sincerely,

ROBT. BAKER.

54, Carlton ave., Brooklyn, N. Y., June 14, 1906.

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. Then he goes into the coal business. By playing off one railroad company against another he obtains rebates from one, which in the end ruins the road, besides driving his competitors out of business.

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CHAPTER VII.

I Am Shorn with the Lambs in Wall Street.

Some years prior to this, as stated in an earlier chapter, I had organized the United Trust Company and become its President. In our State, trust companies enjoy all of the privileges of a bank, except the right to issue notes, and in addition may do many other things. Through these powers they rapidly became the financial reservoirs for the promotion of the great undertakings which were being organized. Without them, the tremendous industrial and railway consolidations would have been impossible. For they were able not only to use their own large capital, but also had at their disposal depos-

its of the people running into the millions. In addition to their banking powers, they rapidly absorbed the business of managing estates, serving as administrators, receivers, trustees and the like, through which large profits came. By means of this aggregation of capital and the financial ramifications of their directors and stockholders, they were in a position to underwrite and float the bonds and securities of these new industrial combinations.

In this way we had underwritten the securities of our own railway and mining consolidation, as well as several interurban street railway properties in which I was interested. Our deposits grew rapidly. They soon exceeded \$10,000,000, and our connections brought us many fine opportunities for investment. On a number of occasions we had been used by Wall Street promoters to handle allotments of big syndicate underwritings; and in the regular order of business a block of Amalgamated Copper had been assigned to us.

I had always confined myself to local interests which were bottomed in franchises or mining rights. I had never paid any attention to the syndicate opportunities which were offered us from New York. However, the parties back of Amalgamated Copper were the most conservative and successful men in America. The reports which were received indicated that the copper market was practically within their control, and people freely predicted that the stock would soon be worth from \$200 to \$300 a share. It was even hinted that as soon as a corner was secured, Amalgamated Copper would go up alongside of Standard Oil.

I paid no attention to these prophecies, and had made it a rule never to speculate in stocks. I confined my attention to the companies that I controlled, and refused to join in any ventures with which I was not thoroughly familiar.

Consequently Copper did not interest me. However, about this time I had a large sum of money lying idle on my hands for which I was seeking a safe investment. For several days this subject had been uppermost in my mind. One morning I had occasion to transact some business in a broker's office. I said to him casually and merely because I wanted to think out loud: "I have a block of money on hand, and possibly you can suggest a good investment." "Copper is the thing," he answered. "It will be another Standard Oil; everybody says so. It is the best thing on the market. The papers are full of it." Later in the day I met another broker, and, putting the same question, received the same reply. I read the financial columns in the papers. Everybody seemed to be both buying Copper and talking Copper. Copper seemed to be a great buy; it could not be denied. Nevertheless, I was far from convinced and only casually interested.

A day or so later, while lunching at the club with an influential banker and old business associate, he said at parting: "Have you any spare cash? If so, invest it in Copper. I believe in it so thoroughly that I have bought one thousand shares." Later in the day I met an old friend, the wife of a man who was largely interested in Standard Oil, and she said that her husband had been buying heavily in Copper.

The next morning on my way to the office I dropped in at my broker's to see what was going on.

I had a half hour to spare before an important meeting. I was surprised to find upwards of a hundred men in his office, some of them the most conservative business men of the city. They sat around the board and talked stocks. And when I say they talked stocks, I mean they almost all talked Copper.

At intervals of a minute or so, the boy at the ticker called out in an even voice: "Amalgamated Copper, 100½." "Amalgamated Copper, 100¾." "Amalgamated Copper, 101." "Amalgamated Copper, 101½." "Amalgamated Copper, 101¾."

As the boy called out these quotations which were being received over the wire from sales which had been made in New York, the man at the blackboard recorded the constantly changing quotations.

Everyone seemed eager. The atmosphere was tense. The air radiated Copper. It affected me like being at a prize fight. Everything was Copper. Here and there a man hastily entered an order to buy on a little slip of paper, and passed it in to the Cashier's cage. I felt the same impulse. It was irresistible. I had had the same feeling some years before at Monte Carlo. Only this seemed like gambling on a sure thing. Seizing a pad I gave a boy my order for five hundred shares. This was exactly what I had promised myself I would not do. The spirit of the gambler awoke in me.

I continued to watch the board. Other men dropped in from time to time, but nobody left. And everybody seemed to be buying Copper. During the morning Copper rose by fractional increases until I had cleared up \$1,000. I had completely forgotten my Directors' meeting, which was an annual one at that. I ate my lunch in haste and was back at the boards again watching the ticker. When the exchange closed Copper had advanced another point, and I had cleared up another \$500.

I determined to keep away from the broker's office on the morrow. It was too exciting and I had always been suspicious of men who speculated on the stock exchange. The next morning, however, I happened to be near the office and dropped in for a moment. In passing my eye sought Copper on the board. It had opened strong. The first half hour it rose a half point. Every change in the quotation gave me a thrill of joy. Whenever it halted I felt unhappy. Forgetting caution, I ordered 500 shares more at 105. By noon I was ahead in the entire transaction over \$3,000. There was an exhilarating fascination about it. On the following day I did not try to remain away. The opening of the exchange found me at the broker's. My eyes sought the board as a hawk its prey. Day by day Copper rose. And day after day I abandoned myself to this new game. Business interests seemed tame and dull. Copper became my mistress, and an exacting one at that. With her my spirits rose, and with her they fell. And all this time I was constantly buying Copper.

Late in the summer a great calamity befell the nation. The President was assassinated. This tragedy was in no way connected with the fate of Copper. Nevertheless from that day on, Copper fell. In time it went off with a plunge. Men were wiped out before they could catch their breath. The majority held on, believing the reaction was but temporary. They had followed Copper for so long they could not believe it to be faithless.

As for me, along with almost all the others, I had

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bought on margin. I had looked for such an increase in price as would enable me to sell out at a handsome profit. And now the calls from the brokers began to pursue me. I shunned the broker's office and refused to read the market reports. I hated to go to my office for fear of the little slips of paper that turned up in my mail with frightful regularity, demanding additional margin. Copper continued down. It slipped off to par. Then it dropped to ninety. It continued on down with slight favorable reactions until it reached fifty. This covered several months; but when it reached that point, I sold out, paid up my losses, and was poorer by a hundred thousand dollars for the experience.

To me it meant chagrin and temporary embarrassment only. To hundreds the loss meant ruin and despair. Copper cost my city three million dollars. It caught everybody, from clerks to multi-millionaires. The former hung on with the latter in sheer desperation. Many a man mortgaged his house, representing the ambitions of years of labor, and lost it. Some embezzled to keep their margins good. Some of these were indicted and are now serving their terms in the penitentiary.

The transactions of Gould, Fisk and the railway operators of the last generation affected Wall Street and the speculating crowd. But this fiend Copper was ubiquitous. In its net it gathered the big and the little, the rich and the poor alike. Thousands of young men and old men, women and trustees were induced to put their savings in stocks that were rotten at the core, and known to be rotten by those who promoted them.

Wrecks are caused sometimes by accident, sometimes by mistaken judgment; but as the facts came out, this wreck seemed to have been deliberately planned by a handful of operators who organized the company; who puffed the value of the stock through their banks—their agents throughout the country, through misleading reports to the press, through hundreds of means, until they were able to unload millions of securities upon the public whose confidence they had gained. The gigantic scheme was promoted by men whose names inspired faith. The people's confidence was won and then betrayed. As for me, I was indignant. For the time being I looked upon Wall Street as meriting all the curses of the Populist, and yet I could easily lose what I did and scarcely feel it. But others, thousands of others, are mortgaged to this day by their misplaced confidence.

(To be continued.)

BOOKS

HOWE'S "CONFESSIONS OF A MONOPOLIST."

The Confessions of a Monopolist. By Frederic C. Howe, Ph. D., author of "The City the Hope of Democracy." Published by The Public Publishing Company, Chicago. Price, \$1.00; by mail, \$1.10.

Readers of The Public, so many of whom have been interested in Mr. Howe's faithful portrait of the monopolist type running serially in its columns,

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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.

New York—The 67th Anniversary of the Birthday of Henry George will be celebrated under the auspices of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, at Lohbauer's Bay View Villa, Throgg's Neck, Westchester, New York, on Monday, September 17. Dinner will be served at 6 o'clock. Tickets are one dollar each. Ladies are especially invited to attend.

The Board of Managers of the Manhattan Single Tax Club announce that they have acquired new headquarters at Nos. 8 to 14 West 125th Street, New York, and that the club rooms will be open every evening.

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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.)

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will be glad to know that the story entire has been published in book form and is now available.

This story is described in the preface as a "story of something for nothing, of making the other fellow pay." It tells of a sharp but not very useful fellow from his youth up, who discovered that the secret of riches and power is legalized monopoly, and who in consequence went into politics. He had no inclination for politics for civic reasons, but only as an absolutely necessary means of promoting his own predatory business interests. Although the author asserts that his story is "of no one monopolist but of all monopolists," and although every one familiar with monopolistic policies and methods will recognize the truth of this assertion, yet no reader can quite escape the conviction that the life of the late Senator Hanna has been drawn upon liberally for material. And this may be true, for no such story could be truly typical of the modern monopolist without being Hannaistic in its biographical features. In reality, however, Mr. Howe has drawn a picture of certain vital characteristics of the political times in which we live. The biographical features of his story serve simply to lend human interest and to enchain attention to a revelation of the inner political and economic meaning of circumstances which upon the surface are familiar to every one.

As a fictitious biography the story is as interesting and as true to the life as anything of that kind in English literature except Defoe's creations, and it takes second place to these only because it deals with the life of its hero in but one phase. As a political narrative it will compare favorably with the best. As a truthful revelation intelligently and entertainingly told, of a stage in the development of the conflict in the United States between plutocracy and democracy, it has as yet no equal in the literature of that subject. Such a story could hardly have been written from any other base than Cleveland, and no one so well qualified as Senator Howe to write it could easily have been found.

* * *

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Shifting Scenes. By Florence Edgar Hobson. Published by Arthur C. Fifield, 44 Fleet St., E. C., London. Sold by The Public Publishing Company, Chicago. Price \$1.00, postpaid.

In this little volume Mrs. Hobson, the American wife of the distinguished English economist, John A. Hobson, has given us a collection of seven short stories from her own pen, which will be liked on both sides of the water, for they are truly international in their human interest. The opening story, "One of Many," is a touching character sketch of a type we all love in books and after they are dead, but seldom do better than pity (and are more apt to hold in contempt) when they cross our paths in life. Mrs. Hobson has not idealized her portrait. She draws it so faithfully that one can see why the living type repels, yet with an appreciation so sympathetic that we spontaneously sit in judgment upon ourselves. Among the other stories in this delightful collection is an account of adventure in the United States among prim Quakers and rigid totalitarians. Its spirit is not at all impatient of the prejudices which an American woman habituated to

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PAMPHLETS

Varieties of Land Taxation.

In a plea for the "live and let live" principle, Mr. B. U. Hiester (Grand Ridge, Ill.) proposes as "the simplest, most effective and most just way to prevent monopoly in land" a graduated tax on land values exclusive of improvements, the graduated tax to rise in a scale of 50 cents per \$1,000 of land value, which would operate automatically as the author estimates, to limit landed estates to the value of about \$20,000. The purpose seems to be to regulate and limit monopoly rather than to abolish it. Like all other attempts to modify the single tax idea in application, so as to favor this or that monopoly, in order to obviate the objections of special interests, Mr Hiester's pamphlet succeeds merely in distorting

the single tax without making it any more palatable to the interests that object to it. This is true also of W. H. Stuart's "Scientific Taxation," a pamphlet without imprint, which has fallen upon our desk.

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Municipal Ownership and Democracy.

In his reprint of "The Case for Municipal Ownership," from the proceedings of the "American Political Science Association" for 1906, Frederic C. Howe (Cleveland) describes municipal ownership as "an industrial expression of democracy," and formulates the question as one not so much of belief in municipal ownership as one of belief in democracy. As will readily be understood by readers of Howe's "The City the Hope of Democracy," this pamphlet is direct and forceful. In this one query, he places the adversaries of municipal ownership in a dilemma from which there is no escape: "Consider for a moment the change which would result in public opinion if the franchise corporations of New York and Chicago were in the hands of the city. From what source could corrupt funds come; from what section of the press would the machine be supported; from what class would the boss receive his approval; by whom would the party be divided?"

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