

The Public

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A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

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EDITORIAL

A Democratic Platform.

The platform proposed by Senator Rayner of Maryland is one of which it may at least be said that the Democratic party could go farther and fare worse. With no intention of disparaging the other planks, there is one which stands out most invitingly at the present time. We refer to the demand "that the tariff be reformed by its enemies."

* * *

Demagogue and Plutagogue.

When every man who raises his voice against vested wrong is called a "demagogue," Mr. Bryan considers the epithet a compliment. He is right. This word, thanks to Mr. Bryan more than to anyone else perhaps, is coming back to its original honorable meaning of a leader of the people. As democracy moves on to battle with plutocracy, our "demagogues" shall be found devotedly leading the people, and our "plutagogues" sordidly bearing the banner of the Interests.

* * *

Three-Cent Fares in Cleveland.

At last Mayor Johnson has scored a complete and final triumph over the street car ring which has for seven years fought him on all sides in his efforts to establish three-cent car fares and to place the traction system in a position to be taken over by the city as soon as authority for municipal ownership can be obtained from the legislature of Ohio. Even within the present month the Cleve-

land news factory of the street car ring has announced Johnson's defeat, and sympathetic papers over the country have published it. Now that the reported defeat turns out to have been a victory, every democrat of every political party will rejoice.

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The entire traction system of Cleveland has come under the "holding company" plan, to be operated at a three-cent fare, and to distribute no profits above 6 per cent dividends on actual cost, besides a 10 per cent premium if the city takes over. The "holding company," composed of a small number of trustworthy citizens working for salaries and having no other financial interest in the business, will operate the system as a corporation so long as municipal ownership is forbidden by law. When municipal ownership comes to be allowed and adopted, the change will be imperceptibly made. The people of Cleveland will ride to their places of business some morning over a privately owned traction system, managed by certain well known men constituting a private company; they will ride back to their homes at night over a publicly owned traction system, managed by the same men constituting a municipal bureau. And no passenger will know the difference, except as he reads about it in his evening papers. Mayor Johnson's plan, now agreed to, contemplates a change from private to public ownership without any friction of readjustment or any disturbance in operation.

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It now transpires that Mayor Johnson's long fight for the people of Cleveland has been maintained against him and the masses of the people by six wealthy families. Happening to own a majority of the old traction company's stock, those families forced the remaining 794 helpless stockholders to suffer pocket-nerve agonies while the fight went on. These facts have been made public by Mr. W. H. Boyd, the Republican candidate for Mayor against Mayor Johnson two or three years ago. According to Mr. Boyd, as reported in *The Plain Dealer*, "the small stockholders felt they could not afford to go on with the fight and were for settlement, but until two of the majority families had been won over to a more peaceful view, Mr. Goff was unable to make the concession that finally led to an agreement with the Mayor." There is a touch of color in that situation. Think of it! The rights of a whole city held at arm's length because six wealthy families wanted to own its streets in perpetuity for traction purposes—wanted them for "a savings bank," as Mr. Hanna

once described the privilege. It must be interesting to these families, and also to the 794 smaller stockholders, now that they have settled at \$55 a share, to remember that Mayor Johnson offered to settle with them two years ago for \$85. In all probability, however, the six wealthy families and the 794 small stockholders are not interested in this recollection in precisely the same way.

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President Roosevelt's Message.

Through his latest message to Congress, that of the present week, President Roosevelt will doubtless be found to have strengthened his popularity in one direction and his unpopularity in another. The financial buccaneers whose prey he has frightened off, will be more furious than ever; the rank and file of his party will the more enthusiastically acclaim him a popular leader.

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It must be granted on all hands that there is about this message a ring which cannot but appeal strongly to minds just beginning to realize the dangers of plutocracy. Even more strongly will it appeal to minds that have long realized those dangers and turned to paternalistic measures for defense. For, if one thing stands out in higher relief than another in Mr. Roosevelt's message, it is its paternalism. And yet a spirit of genuine democracy seems now and then almost to get expression.

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To endeavor to point out the possible cause of a sense of confusion of the democratic with the paternalistic which no thoughtful reader of this message can well escape, may seem like presumption; but the cause is so evident that the temptation grows. It is the obscurity, we infer, in which the modern economic habit of "capitalizing" all forms of earning power beclouds essential differences that underlie "capitalization." A railway plant, for instance, has a certain periodical earning power which "capitalizes" into a certain price; its right of way also has a certain periodical earning power which likewise "capitalizes" into a certain price. If one distinct interest owned the right of way and another the plant, and the two interests were not interchangeable, there would be no difficulty whatever in distinguishing. The plant would clearly be a labor product, and the right of way a government grant—as clearly as if there were no such thing as "capitalization." But when these two essentially different forms are "capitalized" as one, the distinction seems shadowy—a distinction without a difference. The whole thing

seems to be "capital" and its owners "capitalists." But the difference is just as substantial and distinguishable when both plant and right of way are interchangeably "capitalized," as they would be if there were no such economic phenomena as "capitalization." Their essential nature is not altered by the commercial conventionality. The one is still a labor product, having a title traceable through contracts to the producers; the other is still a government grant, a species of continuous favoritism from the sovereign power.

*

It seems to be his failure to detect this essential difference between labor products and government grants, when both are "capitalized" in one lump on the basis of their earning power, that confuses President Roosevelt. Had he clearly perceived that difference beneath the "capitalistic" system which makes it, he could have drawn a vital distinction—a distinction so illuminating as to have clarified his whole message. Seeing that governmental grants of power essentially differ from products of labor, even when "capitalization" befores the difference, he might have avoided the confusion of advocating at once a type of individualism that makes private property of public functions, and a type of socialism that obtrudes public interference into private business.

* *

Railway Values.

Assertions have frequently been made to the effect that the cost of the railways of this country is represented by their bonds—that their stock is approximately all water. But these assertions have had no support from "business men" except in the confidence of business intercourse; and whenever they have been made by "cranks," some Slason Thompson or other has gone to the front to refute them with unverified and confusing statistics. But now the assertion is made, under oath and before a grand jury, by a "business man" who cannot be slasonthompsoned. He is no less a personage than Mr. Thomas F. Ryan, and Mr. Ryan knows. In his testimony Mr. Ryan said that 95 per cent of the stock of all railroad corporations of this country never cost a cent, for the roads were built with bonds.

*

It is easy to draw misleading inferences from this fact. On the one hand it may be said that the stock values, representing no original investment, are therefore fraudulent; on the other hand it may be replied that these values are as honest as

any others, since they represent increase in the value of the property. Neither observation goes to the root of the matter. If railroad plants have risen in value, the increase belongs to the stockholders, whether the plants and equipment cost them anything or not. If, for instance, the stockholders borrowed 95 per cent of the cost of the plants by issuing bonds, and the plants afterwards rose in value, no matter to what figure, that increase would belong to the stockholders. Why? Because they are the owners of the plants, subject only to the claims of the bondholders. But in fact it is not the railroad plants that have risen in value. The railroad plants of this country are worth less today than they have cost. If railroad stock were dependent for its value upon the value of railroad plants, the railroad stock of the country would not be worth more than 5 cents on the dollar, over and above what may have been paid for the redemption of bonds. The true explanation of the higher value of railroad stock is that it represents, not railway plants, but railway franchises. The property which has increased in value is, therefore, not the property of the stockholders, but the property of the public. The stockholders are possessed of it, not as their own private property but as common property in trust for public uses.

*

It is this public character of railway franchises that makes stockwatering plunderous. For railway stockwatering is a method of turning the increasing value of a public trust into private property. Whenever the original stock of a railroad built with bonds and still subject to the bonds rises to par, it means that the franchise is worth as much as the plant. If the stock has been doubled and is worth par, then this means that the franchise is worth twice as much as the plant. Now it is evident that such values are too high as premiums for the public to pay railway investors who invest only 5 cents on the dollar of cost, the bondholders investing the rest. Mr. Ryan's statement should impress every intelligent and honest man, whatever he may think of public ownership, with the importance of making provision with reference to railway franchises which will prevent any one from profiting by them beyond a fair return upon a legitimate original investment.

* *

Ryan and Bryan.

In explaining the half million contribution to national politics by himself and Whitney and the Elkins-Widener outfit (p. 53) Mr. Thomas F. Ryan has disclosed some additional information.

This money was not all used to elect McKinley after the nominations. In fact it was apparently raised to defeat Bryan's nomination at Kansas City. Mr. Ryan himself draws this inference from the fact that the money was contributed early in the Presidential year. As Mr. Ryan expressed it in his testimony before the New York grand jury, "it may not have been for the election of 1900—but during the Fall or Winter of 1899 there had been a preliminary campaign going on. It was thought perhaps Bryan could be defeated in Kansas City," "and part of the money may have gone for that." Who knows but that the money now being freely used to turn away a third of the Denver convention from Bryan, and which evidently comes from financial pirates on the high seas of politics, may be paid back to the contributors out of franchise fleecings as this corrupt campaign fund of 1900 was? There are franchises yet to be dealt in, which can carry an extra price in their water if need be in order to repay campaign contributions advanced for the benefit of the Interests.

* *

Bryan and Johnson.

The Rev. Harry White of Natick, Massachusetts, aptly defined the issue between William J. Bryan and Governor Johnson when he wrote to the Boston Herald saying: "The antagonism between that wing of the Democratic party which Mr. Bryan represents and that wing which is putting forth Mr. Johnson, is really much more radical and fundamental than the antagonism with the Republican party, or at least with a certain part of it. In the words of Mr. Seward, there is between Bryan Democracy, if you choose to call it such, and the Democracy which Mr. Johnson seems willing to represent, an 'irrepressible conflict,' such as does not exist between the radical Democracy and the better and more patriotic element in the Republican party."

*

A somewhat similar light seems to have filtered into the perceptions of Mr. Henry Watterson, the original discoverer of Governor Johnson as a Presidential candidate (vol. x, p. 219). Mr. Watterson clearly sees and candidly admits the impossibility, not only of the nomination of Johnson, which no one really thinks of as possible, but of his obstructing the nomination of Bryan by drawing off one-third of the delegates, which is about the only interest anybody but Johnson has in the Johnson candidacy. Mr. Watterson says that Bryan's nomination is now a foregone conclusion.

While he thinks that Governor Johnson might have been nominated if the Watterson suggestion had been taken up at the time it was made, he considers his candidacy hopeless now because he has not only been put into the field too late, but "by the wrong people." In those last words Mr. Watterson brings to light the true difficulty with the Johnson candidacy. Governor Johnson is supported by the wrong people. This is only another way of saying that he is exposed as being on the wrong side in the "irrepressible conflict." His candidacy has the same animus and derives its liberal financial support from the same kind of sources as the opposition to Bryan's nomination in 1900, of which Mr. Thomas F. Ryan has recently told.

* *

Bryan and Sullivan.

Desperate efforts are made by Bryan's newspaper enemies to create an impression that the instructions for Bryan at the Illinois convention were given by Roger C. Sullivan, and that this was pursuant to a reconciliation between that gas-monopoly statesman and Mr. Bryan. The papers that try to create this impression (including Mr. Hearst's) know full well that there has been no reconciliation between Sullivan and Bryan. There is in truth nothing reconcilable to be reconciled. Bryan's quarrel with Sullivan is not personal; it is due altogether to the fact that Sullivan is one of those corporation agents who, like the late Mr. Whitney and the present Mr. Ryan, are Democrats for the purpose of diverting the Democratic party by secret methods from democratic policies.

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Mr. Bryan has said that, if he can help it, Mr. Sullivan, being a corporation man before he is a Democrat, shall not have an official place in the Democratic party where he can betray it to the corporations. A difference of that kind cannot be reconciled by anything short of the regeneration of Mr. Sullivan or the backsliding of Mr. Bryan. The former is highly improbable; the latter comes close to the impossible. If Mr. Sullivan and his friends wish him pitifully humiliated, they could hardly follow a better course than to insist upon associating him closely with Bryan's candidacy. Bryan's treatment of the Sullivanic Mr. Quinn at Peoria should serve Mr. Sullivan as a warning. It should likewise convince the rest of us that there has been no "reconciliation" between Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Bryan. Mr. Sullivan joined in the instructions for Bryan at the Illinois convention, not because he had become reconciled and was willing to, but because he had to.

The Sullivanic crowd which controlled that convention would no more have dared to take hostile or neutral ground on Bryan's candidacy than they would have dared to jump over Niagara Falls.

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That Sullivan intends to be treacherous if he can, is a reasonable inference from the loose wording of the Illinois instructions for Bryan. Sullivan dared not oppose instructions, but he could dictate their phrasing treacherously, and this it is charged he has done. Although they are specific enough for delegates acting in good faith, Sullivanic delegates might easily construe the instruction to use "all honorable means" in behalf of Bryan's candidacy as fully obeyed by voting for him once. Possibly this species of treachery is intended. It would be possible, for the delegates must vote as a unit; and most of them, like Sullivan himself, are for Bryan only because they dare not now be otherwise. The suspicion is warranted by the refusal of the chairman of the State convention to permit consideration of a motion to make the instructions more specific. Sullivan will defeat Bryan if he can. No one need take the pains to question that. And not from personal antipathy, for such men seldom allow themselves the luxury of vengeance; but from loyalty to the Interests. He is against Bryan because Bryan is against the Interests. But Mr. Sullivan is practically powerless. It makes no difference how loosely the Illinois instructions are worded. They are worded clearly enough to insure the solid vote of the State for Bryan on the first ballot, as the people of the State want it cast, and that will be enough. Unless all signs fail, there will not be a second ballot. There is good reason now to believe that Bryan will be nominated without any balloting at all.

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The Saloon in Illinois.

Although the Illinois Democratic convention of last week had no other legitimate function than to elect delegates to the national convention, the saloon interests saddled upon it a platform plank in favor of saloons. This plank was so deftly drawn in support of the general principle of personal liberty as to make a vote against it seem on the surface absolutely undemocratic. Yet it was rightly understood to be a declaration for personal liberty with reference to saloons and nothing but saloons. The plank was adopted, but by the narrowest of majorities. Had the Cook County (Chicago) delegates been free to vote individually, it would have been defeated. Nothing but the unit rule, which forced the counting of a large part of

this delegation against their convictions and their protests, saved the day for the saloon element.

+ +

Public School Vaccination.

Unless the legislature interposes, there will be no further vaccination as a condition of school attendance in Chicago, and even an act of the legislature would be of doubtful constitutionality. The Supreme Court of Illinois has just decided that there is no authority for excluding unvaccinated children from the public schools. The matter rested upon the question of the right, asserted by the local board of health, to coerce the school authorities, whom it threatened with penal process. Those parents who have carried the question to the highest court of the State are to be congratulated upon their victory and should be thanked for their action. To exclude from school, temporarily, children who have been exposed to small pox, would be a reasonable act of precaution which the school board might wisely exercise; but to exclude permanently children who have not been exposed to small pox, because their parents refuse to allow another loathsome disease to be injected into their systems, is not to be tolerated, even if conscientious doctors do want it and vaccine farms do profit by it.

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Convict Labor.

A professor of economics in the Cincinnati University advocates a policy of encouraging the efficiency of convict labor. He criticizes the laws which have reduced its efficiency in order to lessen competition with free labor. We believe he is right. Labor organizations in the past have made a mistake, it seems to us, in urging restrictions upon convict labor. The real menace to free labor is not convict labor, but the farming out and underpayment or no payment of convict laborers. Not only is this prejudicial to free labor; it is destructive to the convict and promotive of crime. The convict laborer should be paid for his labor, and paid up to his earnings according to the scale in his trade. Were that policy pursued, the convict's self-respect would be stimulated, his labor power would be improved, he would support his family, he would leave the prison with the incentive and enhanced ability to keep out of it in future, and he would be no more a menace to free labor while within the prison than when working outside. Under existing convict labor laws the economic pressure upon free workers is relieved but little if at all. Yet they rob the convict of his labor (not for the benefit of any one he may have

injured, but for the profit of contractors); and they confirm him in criminal ways, if indeed they do not actually create the criminal impulse within him.

* * *

Keeping the Police Within the Law.

Senator Grady of New York has secured the passage by the New York Senate of a measure which ought to become law promptly, not only in New York but in every State of the Union. It is a bill to make it a crime to subject unconvicted prisoners to police "sweating" or "rogues' gallery" photography (p. 55). This custom has prevailed ever since Superintendent Byrnes of the New York force introduced it there, and many a poor prisoner has suffered under it. Not until a banker had gone through the ordeal was its outrageous character realized. But the banker's experience rose above Senator Grady's horizon as "one of the most glaring outrages ever perpetrated in New York city," and he brought forward his bill. In England there is a common saying that a bishop or a lord must be killed by a railroad before new safeguards are provided. So here a bank president must be police-"sweated" and police-"mugged" before the legislature awakes to the iniquity of the oppression. But this awakening seems to have begun. The Grady bill imposes a penalty of imprisonment for from six months to a year upon any one who, having arrested any person upon any charge, or having in his custody or under his control any person under arrest or held upon any charge, shall "photograph, measure, or make for record any physical examination of such person," or "shall order, assist or take part in the photographing, measuring or prohibited physical examination of such person" before such person has been convicted of a crime; or "shall restrain such person more than is necessary for his or her detention to answer the charge; or who shall fail to take such person, so arrested, before a magistrate without unnecessary delay"; or "shall subject such person, so arrested, to any interrogation or examination, beyond such as may be required for his or her identification, except by direction of a magistrate and in the presence of a magistrate, or in obedience to an order of a court of competent jurisdiction." Such a law is badly needed in Chicago, where the police run riot with lawlessness of the kind prohibited by the Grady bill.

* * *

Disfranchising Anarchists.

Where is our "saving sense of humor" when we punish men who don't believe in voting by dis-

franchising them? If a man is in fact an anarchist, he won't suffer from the loss of the voting right, which he doesn't use and doesn't want; if he is in fact not an anarchist, depriving him of the voting right is well calculated to make him one. In neither case does the punishment fit the crime.

* * *

Death of Campbell-Bannerman.

A democratic statesman passed away on the 22d, when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman died. He was one of those rare men who learn their democracy narrowly and in aristocratic environments and practice it broadly in the field of general politics. His democracy had taken deep root, for his mind had grasped the essential principles that are identified with the fame of Henry George. As leader of the Liberal party and prime minister of Great Britain he had sought to secure a practical recognition of those principles in British law, and had made notable advances in this direction when illness forced him to relinquish his place to Mr. Asquith. How far Mr. Asquith will go in the same direction remains to be seen, although his appointment of David Lloyd-George to the position in the cabinet next his own is reassuring. But he will need to strike a radical note that rings sharp and true, before he can hope to command the confidence which Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman inspired among the men of England and Scotland and Ireland who believe that the land of a country is the birthright of all its people.

* * *

TENEMENT HOUSE REFORM.

Years of disappointment should convince us of the futility of longer depending upon merely regulative methods for the correction of housing abuses. Legislation fixing the minimum of air space, light and ventilation necessary for each tenant has not been effective, because it has attempted to secure these betterments at the landlord's expense. The result has been unexpected law evasions, worse living conditions, and private and public corruption. Landlords and tenants have much the same human nature, and the play of ordinary selfishness must, under the circumstances, give the advantage to the stronger—the landlord.

Exempting modest homes from taxation will make it more profitable to furnish healthy living quarters. The increased gain to landlords will stimulate the construction of more and better dwellings, and the resulting competition will, without coercive regulations, gradually and in-

evitably eliminate dwellings that are undesirable.

The tax exemption of improvements on homesteads to the amount of \$3,000 proposed in New York, will not materially disturb existing tax conditions; because the number of such homesteads is at present comparatively unimportant as revenue producers. But the encouragement to builders will induce rapid improvement of the nearby and soon-to-be-available land within the greater city, by the wholesale erection of tax-exempt houses.

BENJ. DOBLIN.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS IN AUSTRALIA.

Melbourne, Australia, March 3.—The alleged extract from an alleged Australian press-organ, "The Melbourne Review," which American journals, many no doubt in good faith, are republishing, is deceptive. For purposes of explanation I quote it:

"Not a single Australian government has made a success of its railways. They have always nearly been bankrupt and get deeper and deeper into the mire every year, while in some of the States they are years behind the times. If the lines were run by private companies, with no general taxpayer to draw upon, they would have been wound up years ago."*

There are two facts connected with this statement which seem to point to its being part of an organized campaign of misrepresentation. One is that no such journal as "The Melbourne Review" exists or has existed for twenty years. The second is, that the statement—either wholly invented or attributed to a wrong source, because the true one is not avowable—is in itself an absolute perversion of fact.



It is untrue that Australian railways are unsuccessful; it is untrue that they really have been bankrupt; it is equally untrue that their financial position is or has been growing worse.

All these statements, moreover, can be easily proved to be malicious inventions by the publication of the official statistics. The following figures, as far as they apply to Australia, constitute part of the elaborate and carefully audited balance-sheet for

*This extract, purporting to have been taken originally from "The Melbourne Review," was extensively published in the United States last Fall by newspapers opposed to government ownership of railways. We forwarded it with a request for a report upon it, to Mr. Max Hirsch, of Melbourne, a man of distinction in the Australian Commonwealth, whose veracity cannot be questioned and whose reputation as a political economist and publicist is established. He is the author of "Democracy versus Socialism," published by the Macmillans, a work which takes ground in opposition to socialism. Mr. Hirsch responds to our request in the present letter. His report, a demonstration of the success of government ownership in Australia, is the most complete and convincing presentation of facts upon the subject that has yet been published in the United States.—Editors of The Public.

1907, published by every state-railway system in the Australian Commonwealth. I owe them, as well as the comparative figures for other countries, to the kindness of the government statist of the Commonwealth, who has been good enough to furnish them to me in advance of publication and has thus saved me the enormous labor of extracting and combining them. These then are the true facts:

Country.*	Capital Cost Per Mile, £.....	Net Return on Capital Cost, Per Cent.....	Working Expenses, Per Cent. of Gross Revenue, Per Cent.....	Per Gross Revenue, Pence	Train Mile. Working Expenses, Pence	Mile. Net Revenue, Pence
Australian Commonwealth ...	9,669	4.35	57.18	86.57	49.50	37.07
Great Britain and Ireland...55,798		3.45	67.21	62.73	42.17	20.56
United States ...13,735		5.01	66.77	99.00	66.10	32.9
Canada12,994		2.87	69.52	89.50	62.25	27.25

	Mileage Open for Traffic.	Per Mile Area in Square Miles.	Open for Traffic. Population.	Per Mile Killed and Injured.
Australian Commonwealth	14,190	200.9	281	0.168
Great Britain and Ireland	23,063	5.26	1,912	†
United States	217,341	13.6	387	0.438
Canada	21,353	175.4	290	0.065

	Working Expenses.	Interest Charge.	Net Revenue.	Surplus Over Working Expenses and Interest Charge.
Australian Commonwealth.	£7,968,374	£4,975,341	£5,968,288	£992,947

The foregoing figures show that the net returns from the Australian state railways is higher than those from the privately owned railway systems of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of Canada, and approximates very closely to that of the railways of the United States.

If, then, the Australian system is "really bankrupt," those of Canada and of the United Kingdom are worse than bankrupt, and that of the United States is nearly so. Yet they are privately owned.

Moreover the Australian system shows the lowest percentage of working expenses and the highest revenue per train mile; it shows a smaller percentage of accidents than the United States, and, crowning glory of all, its cost of construction per mile is lower, much lower, than that of any of the privately owned systems with which it is here compared.

The statement published in the United States and now under review is thus seen to be a slanderous falsehood with regard to every allegation which it contains.



The foregoing facts, inclusive as they are, by no means exhaust the case in favor of public ownership of the railroads of Australia. Permit me to point out a few more.

*Australian Commonwealth for 1907. Great Britain and Ireland, and Canada, for 1906, except that "Killed and Injured" is for 1905. United States for 1905.

†Not available.

The Continent of Australia has a population of only 4,146,000 persons (1907), whereas its area comprises 2,972,906 square miles. This gives only 1.40 persons per square mile, whereas even the United States has a population of 24 persons per square mile, and in European countries the population is of course far more dense. The slightest reflection will show that one of the most important factors determining the profitability of railway traffic is density of population. For, other things being equal, density of population determines the amount of traffic; and the larger the traffic the more cheaply can each unit be handled. On this ground every railway expert would expect a smaller net return from Australian than from American and European railways.

A second cause tending in the same direction, is to be found in the fact that in the large area of Australia—almost equalling that of the United States—there are no permanently navigable rivers. In fact two rivers only are navigable at any time, one, the Murray, being navigable on an average for six months in the year, and the other, the Darling, while never navigable for a longer period, being quite useless for navigation during frequently recurring years. Railways, therefore, form the only means of transport in Australia and must be constructed in advance of settlement. Other new countries, and notably the United States, relying largely on water-transport, can abstain from doing so until settlement has advanced to a considerable extent. It is for this reason that the Australian States have been compelled to build railways to the extent of one mile for every 281 persons, whereas in the United States there is only one mile to every 337 persons, and in the United Kingdom only one mile to every 1,912 persons.

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The foregoing consideration opens up the most important factors to be taken into account. What are railways built for? What is their object? Is it to make profits for their owners, whether the owner be the public or private persons, or is it primarily to subserve the convenience and the industry of the population?

The Australian States have decided this question in the latter sense. While aiming at making their railway systems self-supporting, they do not desire that they shall earn large profits. They prefer that they shall develop the country for settlement and shall carry goods and passengers at the lowest possible rates. Hence railways, of which it is known that they cannot pay for some years to come, either in themselves or as feeders for the general system, are cheerfully built, provided they open up country for settlement which promises to make them pay ultimately.

Though this system tends to reduce the rate of net earnings of the railways, it does not necessarily impose any burden upon the general revenue. For the value of land through which these railways pass increases immediately; and in so far as it is unalienated, the State benefits by the enhanced price, though this is not credited to the railways. Of course private owners share in the enhanced value, frequently to a greater extent than the State, but part of the advantage is secured for the public by a system of betterment taxation, under which private land required for the railway is handed over to the

State free of cost, at the joint expense of the benefited owners, who also guarantee to pay any difference between working expenses and receipts should the latter fall short of the former.

Moreover, in further pursuit of the established policy that public railways are not to be regarded as profit-earning concerns, but as public conveniences, rates are reduced whenever a profit is shown. Thus, taking the railways of the State of Victoria alone, reductions were made in fares and freight rates in 1906 and again in 1907-1908, which are estimated to save the users of the railways on normal traffic returns not less than £264,000 per annum.

In pursuance of the same policy, the Australian States do not treat their railway employees as mere adjuncts to a dividend-earning machine. While the discipline is fairly strict, employment is permanent during good behavior; against punishment, whether by fine or dismissal, appeal is allowed to a Board of officers and employees, sitting in public, before whom the appellant may appear, assisted by the lawyer for his union; advancement is according to merit as nearly as can be secured; wages are somewhat higher than in private employments requiring similar grades of skill, and nearly all employees work only 48 hours per week. As a consequence, employment on the railways is regarded as a prize by all youths of the working classes, and applications exceed many times the posts to be filled.

One other consideration has to be taken into account, which applies to all comparisons between railways publicly and privately owned. Public enterprise is no more free, and frequently is less free, from mistakes than private enterprise. This is true of railway building as of everything else. If, however, a privately owned railway does not pay, it goes into bankruptcy and is purchased by some new owner at a price which will enable interest to be earned. The loss, falling on the previous shareholders, is written off. But if public authority builds non-payable railways, there is no writing off of the loss. The capital cost remains a burden on the system, and interest has to be paid on it in full. There are a fair number of lines in the Australian system which are of this character, built at a time when no safeguards had been developed, and which now clog, and may clog for a long time, the earning power of the whole system.

Further advantages arising from the ownership of railways by the Australian States, may be summed up in a few words. Rates are uniform. No shipper is favored over another. No locality is blackmailed before a railway is extended to it. The States have not parted with huge areas of land and vast sums in cash, in order to pay for railways owned by private persons. The cost of the railways to the taxpayers is much more than saved to them by the value of the railway property belonging to them.

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The foregoing considerations will convince any unbiassed reader that a mere comparison of net earnings fails to reveal the true relative position of the Australian and other railway systems. Even if earnings of the Australian railways showed a deficit as compared with working expenses and interest payments—as they have done at various periods in the past—the advantages which they confer upon the

people, over and above those which privately-owned railways would give them, are so great as to make this a minor consideration. But as they show no such deficit; as, on the contrary and in spite of natural drawbacks, their earnings have exceeded all expenditure for years past, all these advantages are obtained free, that is, without any draft on the pockets of the taxpayers.

The Australian States can make no claim to perfection in railway management. Serious mistakes have been made, probably as serious as any made by private companies. Nor could it be otherwise. Governments and representatives have indulged constituencies by giving them railways before their time or by unduly extending facilities, and ministers have filled the railway service with their supporters. This was inevitable in a democratic community, but in this case as in others democracy found the remedy by experience.

It will no doubt interest your readers to learn by what arrangements the Australian democracy has tried to exclude, and largely has excluded, political interference from its railways. I will therefore describe the methods employed in the State of Victoria. With slight differences they exist in all the States.

Railway construction and management are separated from each other. When the Government is pressed to build a line and approves of the project, it moves that such a line be referred to the Parliamentary committee on railways. It can bring in such a motion with regard only to one line at a time. If both houses of Parliament approve, this standing committee begins action. It is composed of members of both houses and of all parties, and is elected for the duration of Parliament (3 years) by both houses. This committee inspects rural routes, has surveys made, and hears evidence in public for or against the line, inclusive of that of the railway managers, who of course object, for prudential reasons, to being saddled with non-payable lines. If the committee comes to the conclusion that the line should not be built, the project lapses during the life of that Parliament. If it reports in favor of the line, it gives its reasons with the estimated cost and return. The Government then brings in a construction bill, which must be passed by both houses before construction can begin. The line is then built by the public works department, having no connection with the department of railway management, and upon completion is handed over to the latter.

The department of railway management is entrusted to three commissioners, one of whom, the Chief-Commissioner, bears full responsibility. These commissioners are professional experts, appointed for a term of years, and are independent of Parliament and Government. The latter bodies can refuse to reappoint them, but may not interfere with their management. This has become such a confirmed rule that the commissioners have established the practice of refusing to receive members of Parliament who call upon them upon railway business.

These common-sense methods have sufficed to exclude political interference and corruption from the Australian railway system and to make it self-supporting. No one can claim, I repeat, that its management is perfect. Probably there are railways more ably managed. But nowhere are railways freer

from corrupt practices; no where are they conducted with a more single-minded devotion to the interests of the country as a whole. What better proof could be asked than the fact, for fact it is, that there is not a single representative who would dare to suggest the sale or lease of our government railroads to private corporations. Anyone seriously doing so would find his political life at an end with the next election.

MAX HIRSCH.

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 Tuesday, April 28, 1908.

The Cleveland Traction Peace.

Mayor Johnson's long fight in Cleveland for a traction system operated at cost and with a view to municipal ownership, as yet impossible under the Ohio law, is virtually at an end. The only obstacle at the time of the last report of this controversy (p. 84) was the price to be allowed the old company for surrendering its existing property rights inclusive of unexpired franchises. Mayor Johnson estimated the value at \$50 a share, while Mr. Goff estimated it at \$65, an amount he afterwards consented to reduce to \$60. At this point the negotiations came to an end and Mayor Johnson and the City Council proceeded to grant franchises to the 3-cent fare company along streets through which the franchises of the old company had expired. On the 20th Mr. Goff wrote Mayor Johnson that he had a further suggestion which he would be pleased to submit to the Council in committee of the whole, if the Mayor would call a meeting. Mayor Johnson promptly called a meeting for the 21st. The meeting drew a large crowd. Mr. Goff appeared before it and in behalf of the old company offered to settle for \$55 a share. Mayor Johnson said in response:

This proposition of Mr. Goff's deserves careful consideration. I am for peace—not because I am afraid of war, but because it is for the public welfare. The public owes much to Mr. Goff. His proposition is fairly before us—whether the price is to be 50 or 55. We should consider it and pass upon it. I have reported 50 as the highest price I could recommend. It is now up to you. Talk it over now or at some later meeting.

Councilman Zinner followed:

This fight has been the people's fight. They should be heard before any final step is taken. I suggest that every councilman sound the sentiment of his constituents before we meet to render our decision.

Accordingly large public meetings were held in various wards during the remainder of the week (Mayor Johnson contributing his big tent), at which both Mr. Goff and Mayor Johnson as well as Mr. Boyd (Mayor Johnson's antagonist for Mayor two years ago) spoke in favor of the settlement.

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Prior to the meetings Mayor Johnson published a signed statement to the people, of the nature of the proposed settlement, which fully and clearly explains the situation preceding the final action of the City Council. He said:

I hope that by attendance at ward meetings, by personal call, letter or telephone the people will let their representatives in the Council know their wishes in the street railway matter. I shall be guided by the decision of the Council, and the Council will, I am sure, be guided by the best expression of public sentiment that its members can secure. It is to be hoped that the decision will be practically unanimous. Mr. Goff for the Cleveland Electric Railway Co. offers to settle at \$55 per share. That is a high price, but I believe it is reasonable. The people might drive a harder bargain if they chose, but this is not a time for hard bargains. It is a time for peace. If the people shall accept the settlement they will make no mistake. It will mean that the people of Cleveland have won their eight-year struggle and—having won—are willing to be generous in their victory. The settlement as offered provides: (1) \$55 per share for Cleveland Electric stock; (2) immediate 3-cent fare; (3) a security grant at a rate of six tickets for a quarter. It is the third point only that may confuse, but when understood it is entirely simple. The security franchise is the guarantee or bond that the city gives to insure the safety of investors. The six-for-a-quarter rate will never go into effect, but is merely in the nature of insurance. It means that straight 3-cent fare will be the rate that the people will pay. If the leasing company should waste or abuse the property, or fail to pay interest on the money invested in the road, then and then only can the Cleveland Electric re-enter and, in order to recoup its losses, charge the six-for-a-quarter rate. That will never happen. The operation of the 3-cent lines by Mr. du Pont, in spite of tremendous obstacles, has been profitable, and the operation of all the lines in the city at that rate will mean better service than ever, with an assured surplus above dividends. The rights of the people have been jealously safeguarded in all papers that have been drawn, and the men who will work out the practical operation of 3-cent fare will be carefully chosen and worthy of all confidence.

With the immediate going into effect of the 3-cent rate the car service of Cleveland will become a public service in fact as well as in name. The Municipal Traction Co. will, to all intents and purposes, be a public commission with all the benefits of actual municipal ownership. This settlement will stimulate business in the city and will leave our energy free to take up other important public questions. Under the Schmidt law, the security franchise can be subjected to a referendum vote of all the people

of the city. If the settlement is refused at this time there can be no referendum, and 3-cent fare would be delayed: but if the public shall order us to accept the settlement even then a referendum can be had, and every voter in Cleveland may have a chance to vote on the security ordinance. I do not hesitate to recommend the settlement to the people and to assure them that their victory is complete.

At the public meetings Mayor Johnson and Mr. Goff both spoke to the same effect; and the popular sentiment was so manifestly favorable at all the meetings, that councilmen had no hesitation in accepting the compromise offer and ending the controversy.

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Accordingly, on the 27th, the City Council passed the "security franchise" under suspension of the rules. It was granted to The Cleveland Railway Company, a new corporation organized for the purpose of taking over all the property rights of all the existing companies at the price agreed upon, namely, \$55 a share for the 5-cent company and par for the 3-cent companies, payable in the stock of the new company. After the regular Council meeting, the Council and the Mayor met in committee of the whole to close contracts with the existing companies, the new company and the Municipal Traction Company. Before they separated, final papers had been signed and delivered.

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The papers delivered included a lease from The Cleveland Railway Company (which now owns all the property, including the "security franchise") to The Municipal Traction Company (the "holding" or operating company) for fifty years. The president of the Municipal Traction company, Mr. du Pont, promised universal 3-cent fares within the city limits in about two weeks. Stockholders in the old companies are to become stockholders in the new one, exchanging their stock. They will receive dividends limited to 6 per cent, together with a premium of 10 per cent if the city takes over or the stock is redeemed from surplus earnings. All surplus earnings will be used primarily for improving the service, and secondarily to create a sinking fund for redemption of the stock. The "holding" or operating company has only a nominal financial interest, the object being to make it conform as nearly to a city traction bureau as the present laws of Ohio permit.

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Mayor Johnson's Plans for the Future.

An article in the Cleveland Press of the 24th (the local daily paper which has heartily supported Mayor Johnson through the thickest of his traction fight both editorially and financially) indicates his plans for the future with reference to public utilities in Cleveland. It says:

The "holding company" by which the street rail-

way system of Cleveland is to be operated will only be the first of a number of such companies in this city, controlling in the public interest all public service corporations heretofore operating for private gain, if Mayor Tom wins out in the fights which he is planning to follow the settlement of the street railway war. The Mayor's ambition is to secure for Cleveland the operation of all public utilities in the interest of the public, eliminating the possibility of excessive private profit. This will have been accomplished with the city's biggest single corporation when the Municipal Traction Co. takes control of the Concon. Since municipal ownership is impossible under present laws, he hopes to place under holding companies the operation of all public service properties now operated for private gain. The Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co., which now supplies much of the light for the city's streets and homes, will probably be the next corporation to which his attention will be directed. Just what his plans are for carrying his fight into these new fields, Mayor Tom is not yet ready to announce. "We cannot fight two battles at once," he said Friday, "and this one is not yet completed." That he will lose little time, however, was indicated in his declaration that, with the decks clear of the street railway fight he could train his guns in other directions.

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President Roosevelt's Latest Message.

President Roosevelt astonished members of his own party in Congress on the 27th with a special message more radical and peremptory than any of the others (vol. x, p. 1231) he has as yet sent in. As a friendly newspaper, the Chicago Record-Herald, describes it, "it was the last word of the President, demanding from the Senate and the House of Representatives the legislation which he had urged in prior executive communications, and this is the short, barking paragraph which stirred the statesmen to their souls' marrow: 'It is unwise stubbornly to refuse to provide against a repetition of the abuses which have caused the present unrest. In a democracy like ours it is idle to expect permanently to thwart the determination of a great body of our citizens.'" No action was taken on the 27th by either House. The message was not even read in open session.

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In this most remarkable of his remarkable special messages President Roosevelt—refers to the new employers' liability law as falling short of what Congress ought to have done and yet as marking a real advance; declares that there is good ground to hope for further legislation for recompensing government employes for injuries suffered in the service, for child labor protection in the District of Columbia, for effective financial support of the water ways commission, for an investigation of tariff conditions, and for meeting financial troubles that may occur within the next year or two. In this connection he expresses—his desire for postal savings banks, for appropria-

tions to enable the Interstate Commerce Commission to supervise and control the accounting systems of railroads, and for legislation establishing forest reserves throughout the Appalachian Mountain region wherever it can be shown that they will have a direct and real connection with the conservation and improvement of navigable rivers.

But it is to two measures that the President directs special attention. On these he lays emphasis as being recommendations of his own regarding the wisdom of which "there seems much doubt." They are "the measure to do away with abuse of the power of injunction, and the measure or group of measures to strengthen and render both more efficient and more wise the control by the national government over the great corporations doing an interstate business."

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As to the abuse of injunctions in labor cases and where the validity of State laws are involved, the President argues that injunctions in such cases should be used sparingly and only when there is the clearest necessity. To quote from the message on this point, he says:

They are blind who fail to realize the extreme bitterness caused among large bodies of worthy citizens by the use that has been repeatedly made of the power of injunction in labor disputes. Those in whose judgment we have most right to trust are of the opinion that while much of the complaint against the use of the injunction is unwarranted, yet that it is unquestionably true that in a number of cases this power has been used to the grave injury of the rights of laboring men. I ask that it be limited in some such way as that I have already pointed out in my previous messages for the very reason that I do not wish to see an embittered effort made to destroy it. It is unwise stubbornly to refuse to provide against a repetition of the abuses which have caused the present unrest. In a democracy like ours it is idle to expect permanently to thwart the determination of the great body of our citizens. It may be and often is the highest duty of a court, a legislature or an executive to resist and defy a gust of popular passion, and most certainly no public servant, whatever may be the consequences to himself, should yield to what he thinks wrong. But in a question which is emphatically one of public policy, the policy which the public demands is sure in the end to be adopted; and a persistent refusal to grant to a large portion of our people what is right is only too apt in the end to result in causing such irritation that when the right is obtained it is obtained in the course of a movement so ill considered and violent as to be accompanied by much that is wrong.

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As to Federal control over corporations doing an inter-State business, the message argues that—

There should be an efficient executive body created with power enough to correct abuses and scope enough to work out the complex problems that this great country has developed. It is not sufficient ob-

jection to say that such a body may be guilty of un-wisdom or of abuses. Any governmental body, whether a court or a commission, whether executive, legislative or judicial, if given power enough to enable it to do effective work for good, must also inevitably receive enough power to make it possibly effective for evil. Therefore, it is clear that (unless a national incorporation law can be forthwith enacted) some body or bodies in the executive service should be given power to pass upon any combination or agreement in relation to interstate commerce, and every such combination or agreement not thus approved should be treated as in violation of law and prosecuted accordingly. The issuance of the securities of any combination doing interstate business should be under the supervision of the national government.

From this Federal control the President would exempt labor unions only in part. Of this phase of the matter he says:

Obviously, an organization not formed for profit should not be required to furnish statistics in any way as complete as those furnished by organizations for profit. Moreover, so far as labor is engaged in production only, its claims to be exempted from the anti-trust law are sound. This would substantially cover the right of laborers to combine, to strike peaceably, and to enter into trade agreements with the employers. But when labor undertakes in a wrongful manner to prevent the distribution and sale of the products of labor, as by certain forms of the boycott, it has left the field of production, and its action may plainly be in restraint of interstate trade, and must necessarily be subject to inquiry, exactly as in the case of any other combination for the same purpose, so as to determine whether such action is contrary to sound public policy. The heartiest encouragement should be given to the wage-workers to form labor unions and to enter into agreements with their employers; and their right to strike, so long as they act peaceably, must be preserved. But we should sanction neither a boycott nor a blacklist, which would be illegal at common law.

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In dealing with the whole subject, for he brings the question of labor injunctions into relation with the question of Federal regulation, the President falls into a discussion of what some Socialists look upon as the approaching political war of classes—labor class against capitalist class. In this respect we have in the message such observations as these:

Every far-sighted patriot should protest first of all against the growth in this country of that evil thing which is called "class consciousness." The demagogue, the sinister or foolish socialist visionary who strives to arouse this feeling of class consciousness in our working people does a foul and evil thing; for he is no true American, he is no self-respecting citizen of this Republic, he forfeits his right to stand with manly self-reliance on a footing of entire equality with all other citizens, who bows to envy and greed, who erects the doctrine of class hatred into

a shibboleth, who substitutes loyalty to men of a particular status, whether rich or poor, for loyalty to those eternal and immutable principles of righteousness which bid us treat each man on his worth as a man without regard to his wealth or his poverty. But evil though the influence of these demagogues and visionaries is, it is no worse in its consequences than the influence exercised by the man of great wealth or the man of power and position in the industrial world, who by his lack of sympathy with, and lack of understanding of, still more by any exhibition of uncompromising hostility to, the millions of our working people, tends to unite them against their fellow Americans who are better off in this world's goods. It is a bad thing to teach our working people that men of means, that men who have the largest proportion of the substantial comforts of life, are necessarily greedy, grasping and cold-hearted, and that they unjustly demand and appropriate more than their share of the substance of the many. Stern condemnation should be visited upon demagogue and visionary who teach this untruth, and even sterner upon those capitalists who are in truth grasping and greedy and brutally disregardful of the rights of others, and who by their actions teach the dreadful lesson far more effectively than any mere preacher of unrest. A "class grievance" left too long without remedy breeds "class consciousness" and therefore class resentment. . . .

We are trying to steer a safe middle course, which alone can save us from a plutocratic class government on the one hand, or a socialistic class government on the other, either of which would be fraught with disaster to our free institutions, State and national. We are trying to avoid alike the evils which would flow from government ownership of the public utilities by which interstate commerce is chiefly carried on, and the evils which flow from the riot and chaos of unrestricted individualism. . . .

The measures I advocate are in the interest both of decent corporations and of law-abiding labor unions. They are, moreover, pre-eminently in the interest of the public, for, in my judgment, the American people have definitely made up their minds that the days of the reign of the great law-defying and law-evading corporations are over, and that from this time on the mighty organizations of capital necessary for the transaction of business under modern conditions, while encouraged so long as they act honestly and in the interest of the general public, are to be subjected to careful supervision and regulation of a kind so effective as to insure their acting in the interest of the people as a whole.

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Presidential Politics.

The principal event of the week in connection with Presidential politics (p. 84) was the action of the Democratic convention of Illinois on the 23d. Owing to an alteration in the primary laws of the State (vol. x, p. 1112), the delegates to this convention, which assembled for no other purpose than the naming of delegates to the national convention, were chosen arbitrarily. The old primary law could not be used for this purpose and

the new one will not go into effect until August. Consequently the convention was largely composed of members of the Roger C. Sullivan faction. They elected national delegates who for the most part are Sullivan supporters, elected eight instead of four, giving to each half a vote, and imposed the unit rule on all questions; but they instructed unqualifiedly for Bryan. The language of this instruction was as follows:

Recognizing the broad statesmanship, matchless eloquence and untiring efforts of our great leader, William Jennings Bryan, in the cause of humanity, we, the Democrats of Illinois, honoring a native son and taking pride in his distinguished leadership, instruct the delegates to the national convention of our party at Denver, from this State, to support his candidacy for the nomination for the Presidency, and to use all honorable means in his behalf.

Judge Owen P. Thompson tried to secure an instruction requiring the support of Bryan as long as he should remain a candidate, but could not get recognition from the chairman. The eight delegates at large are Roger C. Sullivan, Samuel Alschuler, Edward F. Dunne, Fred J. Kern, Harry M. Pindell, Carroll C. Boggs, Andrew J. Hunter, Reddick Ridgeley; the alternates are Henry Phillip, H. R. Lemon, William E. Dever, Albert Watson, Walter I. Manny, Isaac B. Craig, Joseph S. Martin, Paul A. Dratz.

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A protest against unlawful selection of delegates by the Sullivan faction, which had been presented to the State committee by William Prentiss, Robert E. Burke and others, was ignored. In consequence a protesting committee, if not a contesting delegation, will be sent to Denver to represent the districts affected.

* *

Testing the New British Cabinet.

In accordance with the old English law which requires that the elevation of a member of the House of Commons to the cabinet must be endorsed by his constituents, Winston Spencer Churchill, appointed President of the Board of Trade in the Asquith cabinet (p. 62), has been through an election in Manchester and been defeated, his unionist opponent receiving 5,417 votes to his 4,988. The Socialist candidate received 277 votes. Unfulfilled promises and a drift toward fiscal protection seem to be assigned as the causes of this blow at the new cabinet. Walter Runciman, President of the Board of Education, was re-elected by his constituents at Dewsbury, but by a reduced majority.

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Death of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Prime Minister of Great Britain from December, 1905, until

the 5th of last month, when he sent his resignation to the King (p. 38), died on the 22d, in his seventy-second year. After the death of Lady Campbell-Bannerman in August, 1906 (vol. ix, p. 541), the Premier failed visibly, and in November, 1907, was stricken with heart disease. Funeral services were held in Westminster Abbey on the 27th. The interment was in Scotland. Campbell-Bannerman was the son of James Campbell of Forfarshire, Scotland, and assumed the additional name under the will of his maternal uncle, Henry Bannerman, who bequeathed him a large estate. He married Charlotte, daughter of Major-General Sir Charles Bruce, in 1860.

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The Tolstoy Jubilee.

Leo Tolstoy has requested that the plans for an international celebration of his eightieth birthday (vol. x, p. 1020) at his home at Yasnaya Polyana, be abandoned. In a letter addressed to Michael Stakhovich, made public on the 26th, he says:

I address myself to you with a great request—namely: to stop the plan of a jubilee celebration, which will give me nothing but pain, and, what is worse, the consciousness of evil doing. You know that particularly at my age, when I am so near death, nothing is more precious than the love of my fellow men, and I fear lest this affection suffer from this jubilee.

I received yesterday a letter in which it was said that all members of the orthodox church [from which Tolstoy, as is well known, was excommunicated], would be affronted by this celebration. I had never thought of it in that light, but what was written is correct. Not only among the orthodox, but also among many others, the celebration of my jubilee would provoke evil feelings.

Those who love me (I know them and they know me) need no outward forms to express their affection. Therefore, do what you can to prevent this celebration and free me from this sorrow. I shall ever be very thankful.

Friends of this "foremost citizen of the world" are now considering the formation, during this his eightieth year, of an international Tolstoy society, similar to the Goethe, Dante, and Shakspearean societies, for the purpose of studying and propagating his ideas.

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Tolstoy's views on immortality, as given in a recent letter to a friend, have been received in America by way of a dispatch from Paris. They are thus quoted in the daily press:

I know with certainty that I am dying. I shall be happy and that I shall enter a world more real.

In our earthly life one dreams of another and more real life, and in that other life dreams of yet another, and so on ad infinitum even to the last life, the life of God.

Death in youth is as when man is awakened before he has slept the full measure.

Death in old age is as when a man awakes of his own accord after a good sleep.

Suicide is as a nightmare which man banishes by remembering that he is asleep. He makes an effort and wakes.

* *

A Protest from Mohammedan Women.

Mohammedan women of the province of Orenburg, which lies at the southeastern border of European Russia, have petitioned the Douma (p. 84) to afford them relief from marital oppression, according to a press dispatch of the 23d from St. Petersburg. The petition is reported to read as follows:

Although our holy religion declares us free, some of the ignorant despots, our husbands, are oppressing us and forcing us slavishly to submit to their caprices. According to the books of doctrine, women have the right to learn, to travel, to pray in mosques, engage in business, become nurses, etc., and in Arabia and other countries there have been noted women writers and poetesses.

Now our husbands would forbid us even to study our own religion. But we Mohammedan women, Allah be praised, now begin to receive education and to understand our holy charlat [book of doctrine], which did not deprive the women of any right.

Mohammedan deputies, you are obliged to demand all rights for Mohammedan women. You must carry through legislation defending us against the arbitrariness of these despot husbands, against oppression and torture. We, mothers of the people, have in our hands the education and progress of the people, and if our status be not changed the day will come when the men, too, will become slaves, and then the whole Mohammedan world will perish.

NEWS NOTES

—Selig Silverstein, reported by the New York police to have injured himself while trying to throw a bomb at policemen in Union Square after the police had dispersed a labor meeting (p. 37), died from his wounds on the 28th.

—For the promotion of the Single Tax campaign in Oregon (p. 79), Mr. Daniel Kiefer of Cincinnati has forwarded \$450, collected by him for that purpose, along with the names of the contributors and their amounts respectively. The committee at Portland is acknowledging these contributions directly to the donors.

—An avalanche of rocks and mud, a loosened mountainside, overwhelmed the little Canadian town of Notre Dame de Salette, in Quebec near Ottawa, early last Sunday morning, just as the little church was tolling for early mass. About thirty persons, including several entire families, were buried under the tons of fallen clay (vol. x, p. 564).

—A gigantic cyclonic storm, apparently moving in three curved currents, struck four of the Gulf States on the 24th and 25th, creating terrible devastation and destroying many lives. Forty-six towns in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana suffered severely, some of them being nearly wiped out.

About 350 persons were killed, 1,200 painfully or seriously injured, and thousands rendered homeless (p. 62).

—In a blinding snowstorm, the worst that has visited the south of England since 1881, the American Line steamship St. Paul rammed and sunk the British second-class cruiser, the Gladiator, off the Isle of Wight in the afternoon of the 25th. The St. Paul was but slightly damaged, and its command succeeded in saving more than four hundred of the officers and crew of the cruiser, twenty-eight being lost (p. 39).

PRESS OPINIONS

The Minnesota Diversion.

San Francisco Star (dem. Dem.), March 28.—It isn't that Jim Hill, Thomas F. Ryan and the corporation crowd want Johnson elected. The idea is to prevent the nomination, and thus the election, of Bryan. That was the idea in 1904, when they nominated Parker, but didn't want him.

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Senator Daniel in a Fog.

W. G. Eggleston in San Francisco Star (dem. Dem.), March 28.—When Senator Daniel opposes public ownership of the railroads, which are public highways, he places himself in the ranks of those who believe in private ownership of public highways. A Democrat in that position should feel uncomfortable, for he is in bad company.

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Kansas City Politics.

George Creel in the (Kansas City, Mo.) Newsbook (ind.), April 11.—Now for the work of city building. Elected on a definite platform that was made still more sweeping and specific by campaign speeches, and backed by majorities in both houses of the common council, Mr. Thomas T. Crittenden, Jr., has greater opportunities than any mayor in the history of the municipality. There are more things—finer, larger things—to be done than ever before, and there is nothing to hold back his hand. The way lies straight before him, and never was there a time when the people were more willing to reward the man of purposeful achievement. Let him but do his duty, swiftly, surely, and a second term will find him in a position to ask and receive gubernatorial honors. It is a royal road that circumstance is pointing out to him, and one most easy to follow, for the planks of his platform mark the way.

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The Missouri Senatorship.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (ind.), April 9.—Senator Stone and Gov. Folk have tentatively outlined their line of appeal to the voters of Missouri for the United States Senatorship, in last Sunday's Republic. Senator Stone's platform is, with a claim that he has been misrepresented and even lied about: "I am a Democrat." The answer to that is historic: "Peanuts!" This is no time of the world for David Bennett Hillism to rear its dishonored

head. Governor Folk's platform is: "My record of work done, and the opposition of the lawless and the corrupt privilege elements." There is no answer to Governor Folk's platform but to go to the polls and vote for him and for it. Senator Stone is a Democrat of fetichism and phrases. Governor Folk is a Democrat of deeds done. The Senator that is, stands on a now particularly empty party cry. The Senator that is to be, stands upon his works that demonstrate the patriotic sincerity of his partisanship. Intellectually and ethically considered, Stone's statesmanship is only fossilization. Folk's is a living force. Let the fight go at that. The end is sure. Folk will win.

* * *

Predatory Interests and Politics.

The Commoner (dem. Dem.), April 17.—The powerful interests which are now attempting to control both national conventions do not ask for instructions, for instructions imply that the voters are in control. All that predatory wealth asks is that the delegations shall be turned over to a few bosses to be used as circumstances require. These men who are so ready to put up money to control conventions, but who would not subscribe a dollar to elect a real Democrat to office, are not concerned as to the candidate, provided he will accept their aid and put himself under obligation to them. A number of Democrats have been approached and offered this support, but nearly all have refused, knowing that no man, however good his past record, can stand any chance of winning if he is handicapped by the support of the men who have made government an asset in their business and who seek to control legislation for their own pecuniary advantage. There was a time when the voters could be fooled, but they have learned by a sad experience and know that a candidate can be judged by the company he keeps. Whence the money is a question which is being asked with increasing emphasis, and the answer to it is a death blow to everyone in whose interest the money is contributed.

* * *

The Cruise of Our Battle Fleet.

(Boston) Advocate of Peace, April.—Thousands of boys and young men at Rio Janeiro, Buenos Ayres, Valparaiso, Callao and other cities visited, will have gone home from the spectacle on fire with excitement, and saying to themselves: "There is nothing great but navy. There is no security without a big navy. Our country must also build big warships, if it does not wish to be wiped from the face of the earth." The final mischief of the cruise to the South American countries cannot now be estimated, but it will come in time. The effect of the arrival of the fleet on our Pacific coast, and the booming of its big guns in target practice, has been to make the people delirious all the way from San Diego to Portland and Seattle. Such a craze has rarely taken possession of any section of our people. . . . It will have rendered the problem of limitation of armaments and all the problems connected therewith more difficult of early solution. It will not cause actual war anywhere—the world is too far advanced in sense of justice, fellowship and peace for that—but it will do much to prolong the

life and ruinous effects of the system of militarism, whose abolition is now imperatively demanded in the name of all that is good and noble and truly human in our civilization.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

A SPRING CHORUS.

From "Atalanta in Calydon," by Algernon Charles Swinburne.

When the hounds of spring are on winter's traces,
 The mother of months in meadow or plain
 Fills the shadows and windy places
 With lisp of leaves and ripple of rain:
 And the brown bright nightingale amorous
 Is half assuaged for Itylus,
 For the Thracian ships and the foreign faces,
 The tongueless vigil, and all the pain.

Come with bows bent and emptying of quivers,
 Maiden most perfect, lady of light,
 With a noise of winds and many rivers,
 With a clamor of waters, and with might;
 Bind on thy sandals, O thou most fleet,
 Over the splendor and speed of thy feet;
 For the faint east quickens, the wan west shivers,
 Round the feet of the day and the feet of the night.

Where shall we find her, how shall we sing to her,
 Fold our hands round her knees, and cling?
 O that man's heart were as fire and could spring to
 her,
 Fire, or the strength of the streams that spring!
 For the stars and the winds are unto her
 As raiment, as songs of the harp-player;
 For the risen stars and the fallen cling to her,
 And the southwest wind and the west wind sing.

For winter's rains and ruins are over,
 And all the season of snows and sins;
 The days dividing lover and lover,
 The light that loses, the night that wins;
 And time remembered is grief forgotten,
 And frosts are slain and flowers begotten,
 And in green underwood and cover
 Blossom by blossom the spring begins.

The full streams feed on flower of rushes,
 Ripe grasses trammel a traveling foot.
 The faint fresh flame of the young year flushes
 From leaf to flower and flower to fruit;
 And fruit and leaf are as gold and fire,
 And the oat is heard above the lyre, -
 And the hooped heel of a satyr crushes
 The chestnut-husk at the chestnut-root.

And Pan by noon and Bacchus by night,
 Fleeter of foot than the fleet-foot kid,
 Follows with dancing and fills with delight
 The Mænad and the Bassarid;
 And soft as lips that laugh and hide
 The laughing leaves of the trees divide,
 And screen from seeing and leave in sight
 The god pursuing, the maiden hid.

THE LITTLE TRUNK.

An Old Clipping Attributed to Edgar Wilson Nye.

This is the trunk of a young girl. It contains the poor but honest garb she wore when she ran away from home; also the gay clothes she bought after a wicked ambition poisoned her simple heart. It is the gaudy raiment and flashy trappings for which she exchanged her honest laugh and bright and beautiful youth.

Handle this trunk gently as you would touch her sad little history, for her father is in the second-class coach weeping softly in a coarse cotton handkerchief, and she is going home on the same train—in her cheap little coffin in the baggage car, to meet her sorrowing mother, who will go up into the attic many a rainy afternoon in the days to come, and cry over the contents of this poor little trunk, and it will be a secret known only to her sorrowing heart, and God.

* * *

A VACANT LOT.

From the New York Evening World of December 26, 1907.

At the northeast corner of Eighth avenue and Fifty-sixth street there is a plot of ground covering one-eighth of an acre which has never been built upon. Two years ago \$105,000 was offered for it. To-day it would sell for enough more to make the value of the whole acre a round \$1,000,000.

If this land had been put to use it would shelter forty families in a tenement house. It is a large enough site for a factory employing several hundred men. Or it could be used for a public market. It could perhaps be put to no more valuable purpose than as a recreation ground, a play place for the children of the neighborhood.

Used simply as a bit of the earth's surface fit to raise things, it would keep all the other inhabitants of that block supplied with lettuce or radishes or other quick-growing vegetables.

Yet nothing has been done with it, its successive owners being content to reap the increased value at every sale and doing nothing in return except to pay the taxes assessed upon it as unimproved property.

Real estate men compute that a piece of improved property on Manhattan Island eats itself up every twelve years in taxes, assessments and interest charges. Improved property deteriorates year by year, so that the rentals charged for its use must allow not only for interest, taxes and assessments, but for the deterioration and final destruction of the building.

Unimproved property bears no such charge.

If all the other property owners of Manhattan Island had followed the example of the owners of this Eighth avenue corner lot this lot could

not be sold to-day for enough to cover last year's taxes. What makes unimproved property valuable is that other people improve their property and thereby increase the demand for other property to improve, and so add to the selling price of vacant lots without any effort on the part of the owners of them.

There are thousands of vacant lots on Manhattan Island. This particular lot has been taken only as a sample. Besides these many vacant lots there are other lots which had better be vacant than to continue encumbered with the worn out, unsanitary buildings now on them. Such properties as the Trinity Church tenements on the lower West Side, as the "lung" block on the lower East Side, and other habitations of filth and disease, are as much obstructions to the healthy development and proper growth of New York as the land whose owners simply refuse to improve at all.

Manhattan Island was first sold by the Indians to the Dutch for \$28, which was all it was worth then. The Dutch might have settled on Long Island or Staten Island or in Westchester County, and held Manhattan Island valueless until the population increased.

What has increased the selling price of Manhattan Island from the \$28 which the Dutch paid for it to \$3,820,754,181, at which its realty was assessed a year ago, is the fact that so many people have come here and worked here and saved here. The buildings and improvements their labor has created. The land itself they did not create, but the land values were created by them as much as were the buildings.

* * *

UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

Printed from the Original MS.

Washington, D. C.

Dear John: There are a good many people down here looking after that dollar that Washington threw over the Potomac. Washington was first in war, first in peace, and the last Virginian to throw away money. The custom of jerking dollars over the Potomac has all faded out. People here are largely from Maryland, a sociable, polite and comfortable people. Just as down Providence way everything is "What Cheer?" ("What Cheer?" *bank—bridge*. It's on the city arms) because Roger Williams once relieved an embarrassing situation by saying the only thing he could think of; so here, for no reason at all, things are "Maryland"—Maryland biscuit, Maryland Quick Lunch (a restaurant), etc.

The quick lunch is the only quick thing that has yet arrived. News travels slowly. Ham sells at 40 cents a pound; folks haven't heard it is down to 13 cents.

Bryan was here the other day. I guess he will like it. I called in to see him. I always do. It's a nuisance, of course, but a man running for President of the United States has no rights that a white man is bound to respect. I overheard a conversation over the phone between Bryan and a newspaper. It's hardly good form to give away political information that you have eavesdropped onto in your host's house; but if you wont tell, here goes: The word was that the Washington Galaxy wished to speak with Mr. Bryan. "All right, hold the wire."

Bryan: "Well?"

Washington Galaxy: "Br-r-r-r zip?"

Bryan: "Not a word!"

Washington Galaxy: "Br-r-r-r zip!"

Bryan: "Not a word, not a thing!" Hangs up the trumpet.

I have a comfortable postoffice here, and I'm well looked after. Commercial business is not as brisk as it is out in my Chicago postoffice; but if I have fewer booths here for selling things, I have more room for writing and directing letters and doing things germane to a postoffice. There are lots of little shelves and shut desks for writing, not merely one shut one for a million people; and each morning, just before I arrive (I caught him once), a clean-faced, clean-looking, bright young man slips around and dresses each writing table and shelf with clean, new, drab blotters, and neat small blotters to match; fills clean ink stands with fresh ink, and leaves new pens. I'm not used to it, but I take it to kindly.

It is a nice old town, with numerous good features, but those I take most delight in are the Capitol and the Congressional Library. It seems to me that the right wing of the Capitol looking from the east is more impressive than the dome. As to the library, it is somewhat dwarfed outwardly by the Capitol, but inside it is a delight to the soul. I go over there of evenings to see the home folks. Polly and Sallie and Annie and Samuel and Joe, and a lot of the rest, are there, guide books in hand, fresh from home and interesting; and genteel city folks, not so fresh and not so interesting. It is the only place open at night, and tourists come in parties of a dozen to fifty. They don't notice me for I seldom wear my striped clothes and goatee; but they do look sharply after our possessions, and there is something to see. I feel that I may be wrong in admiring, that the architecture is mixed oddly, but the results, I will say, are mighty comforting to old fashioned folks. 'Tisn't American, I know. Those columns of the lobby come from the Mediterranean region, Italy or Greece; and those tall graceful arches of marble, broken and beprettied a little, yet still good—they came from the Spanish Moors of the time of Saladin; but the wall paintin' is good, and the general effect is mine. People wander around the lobby and gaze, generally lookin' aloft, but there is

a satisfactory thing in the floor: alternate squares and disks of red marble, about two feet across, set in the purplish gray marbles, and brown, and each having a design in its center in California gold. One will be a crab; the next perhaps a conventional flower; then a golden bull, pawing the red earth; another flower perhaps; then an Adam and Eve, not well clad; then another flower; then a centaur shooting a bow, left-handed. A left-handed centaur is mighty fetching with a bow, and I am sorry they have passed away. And so they run. Everywhere beautiful things. Gothic arches, Cymric arches, all kinds. Down below all are Gothic; but on the lobby floor and in the library proper you see duplicate, quadruplicate, iterated and reiterated, the tall, graceful, slender arch of Moorish Spain.

I mind years ago that Washington Irving, after I sent him abroad, came home with yarns about that Moorish arch, and one of his books, brought out by the Putnams, had as a frontispiece, one of those arches from a Moorish ruin, tall, slender, broken, but graceful to haunt your dreams. Perhaps that was the seed. Anyway I have the flower, and I hope the Moors know it.

Inside the library proper, under the immense dome where the books are accessible, the place is not at first so striking. The colors, or rather tints, are so harmonious one does not at once notice the richness of material. Little by little it dawns upon him that probably nowhere in the world could be found today such profuse and artistic wealth of ornamental marbles—so rich and rare, and so thoughtfully used and blended. Art and architecture, always near, are here profoundly wedded; there ain't no doubt of that.

The big dome is supported on eight arches, with eight tall pillars between, all alike; and to describe one tells the whole story, save the effect. On, or rather out of, a base of tall, square blocks of purple marble, rises a stack of tall, square columns of dark red marble, holding out before them, as it seems, toward the center of the room, yet clasping close a larger round pillar of light red marble, the whole capped by an entablature of fret work and gold. Between the columns run the partition walls separating the book alcoves, cut again by the frequent tall, slender, Moorish arch. The Moors have it! They live again! But with all this richness, this mass of blended creations, there seems no gaudy line. There is nothing to add, and naught to take away. The harmony of successful art broods on the pile.

Say! Spring has come, what do ye think? The magnolias are in bloom, and I have cut the grass once in the President's front yard. I didn't see anything of Theodore. These athletic fellows are not much good about a home job. Your athlete's wood is apt to be cut by the consumptive dwarf around the corner. Yours to command,

UNCLE SAM.

WHAT SOCRATES WOULD SAY.

Lona Ingham Robinson in the Des Moines Register and Leader.

I went around the streets yesterday and among the committee of 500, where I heard a great buzzing of the citizens regarding the forthcoming race of candidates for nomination as archons of our city, and I would like to know, Aristocratus, what virtue you have most in mind as essential to the holders of these public offices.

First, O Socrates, a city magistrate must be a good business man, one of the builders of the city that he may have its interest at heart.

Yes, truly, Aristocratus, the builders of our city—a good bricklayer or carpenter, for instance, learns to keep things on the square, has all his walls plumb, his arches true—

No, no, Socrates; I do not mean the working man, I mean a man of business.

How so? the man who does no work?

No, but the man who does large things, who owns the concerns employing men—

Yes, yes, I see; he who works the working men.

Well, if you will put it so, but since we want a business administration a candidate must be first of all a business man.

I suppose, Aristocratus, you mean a successful business man?

It was a successful man I had in mind.

So successful as to have acquired riches?

Of course.

Then, Aristocratus, you consider that a man who by long habit of looking after his own interests instead of other people's is now best qualified to reverse the process and look after other people's interests and not his own?

But surely, Socrates, if a man is a failure in his own affairs he could not be trusted with the affairs of others.

What! If he have the orphan fund in keeping when disaster come upon him and by sacrifice of what was not his own, retain his fortune and his reputation for success? Publico, what think you?

That for that man failure would have been the true success.

But, Socrates, said Aristocratus, what kind of man should we have if not one who makes a success of whatever he undertakes?

I suppose, Aristocratus, that you heard the story of the great robbery at the jewel merchant's lately by two confederates, and no trace of the miscreants has been found? Yes. These men having scored a great success in their undertaking, would, then, Aristocratus, be eligible for public service?

You know, Socrates, I would not want such outlaws put up for candidates.

But success was the virtue you had in mind?

But not success in lawlessness, in crime, O Socrates; the gods forbid.

Name the kind you think essential to our candidates.

He should be prominent, distinguished as master of events and of his time; in a word, know how to get there. Successful, then, of course.

Well, Aristocratus, there is Jathullicus, who quite fills the bill of your requirements, is prominent and admittedly knows not only how to get there, but to stay as representative of the people in the Acropolis though means most scandalous are openly charged to him. The army post is one of the worst scourges he has brought upon us, as useless as two tails upon a cat, but potential of misery enough should grimy diggers some day need to lift their heads as freemen and demand their rights and meet but muzzles of the soldiers' guns. I suppose you would like a master of success like him or some of his myrmidons.

No, Socrates, for somehow, his fame, though wide, has strangely grown over rank to please the citizens.

In other words, you know, a myrmidon of his could never get the votes, broke in Publico, with some heat.

Then, Publico, you do not regard a reputation for success as the first qualification for one of our archons?

No, Socrates, unless it be success in some manner of public service.

Then, Publico, you do not hold one qualified for such an office who is in anyway related to the Corporatti?

No, Socrates, but quite the contrary.

Nor would you hold that the candidate to be elected should live in a certain style of house?

By no means.

Nor that it is essential that his wife should hold high festival to the shrine of society?

Surely not.

Then, Publico, what is the greatest virtue to be desired in one in whom we must entrust our public affairs?

O Socrates, that he be incorruptible. That he would care for the interests given in his charge even as the business man would care for his own profits.

Is that all, Publico?

He should have the wisdom to select honest men in his appointments.

The incorruptible usually have that kind of acquaintances; have you any other qualification in mind?

Yes, Socrates, at least one archon should have the gift to recognize the hand of fraud, the face of corruption, no matter how cunning its disguises; and the boldness to proclaim it.

Have you any one in mind like that?

Yes, Socrates, surely you remember Hamerydes, the faithful?

I cannot see, interrupted Aristocratus, how you can esteem worthy of mention such a peering,

meddling plebeian as that. Besides, he is no respecter of the great. 'Tis even said he has no fear of the gods.

That is just why, exclaimed Publico, we are going to vote him in. When he was archon did he not catch Hippeas, the Corporaticus, in bribery and accuse him openly in the market place ready to confront the judges with the proofs in court and ask that he be brought to justice?

But Aristocratus did not seem to hear Publico's last words, he was saluting the Corporaticus and his numerous family just then riding by in their chariots, casting so much dust in the eyes of Publico that for a time he was unable to see. But after the pageant had gone by he said: Socrates, tell me, do you not think my argument more just than that of Aristocratus?

Surely, Publico, and Hamerydes, of whom you were speaking just now, has in my judgment proved a great success, even though he failed to get his case against the Corporaticus into court. He failed only as a stone mason fails when the other craftsmen do not build their part upon his completed foundation. My divine monitor apprises me that you are in the right, Publico, and that if the Corporati do not throw too much dust in people's eyes, we can soon offer up thanks to the gods for a truly reformed city government. Now get out your lantern, trim it well so you can see the ear marks of four more honest men.

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GRANDMA'S VERDICT.

"The world has never been so sweet,
No, never before!" she said;
"The willows never so yellow,
The maples never so red!"

But we just laughed and said to her,
"Why, grandma, every spring
Ever since we can remember
You have said the self-same thing!"

"La, well-a-day, perhaps I have,
I'm forgetful, old and gray;
Maybe I have said so before;
I say it again to-day.

"When the maples lose their fire,
When the willows turn to buff,
And the skies are only commonplace,
I have lived here long enough.

"When the springtime is no marvel,
And the summer-time but heat,
When I can see but merchandise
In a field of waving wheat;

"When the green of distant meadows
Means nothing to me but hay,
I'll close my eyes for good and all,
For I shall have had my day."

—Anna J. Grannis.

BOOKS

THE ART OF LIFE.

The Use of the Margin. By Edward Howard Griggs.
Where Knowledge Fails. By Earl Barnes. New York.
B. W. Huebsch, Publisher. Price, 50c each.

These initial volumes in "The Art of Life Series," edited by Edward Howard Griggs, give ample promise of fulfilling the purpose of the editor, who in his introduction to the series, says:

The aim of this series of brief books is to illuminate this never-to-be-finished art of living. There is no thought of solving the problems, or giving dogmatic theories of conduct. Rather the purpose is to bring together in brief form the thoughts of some wise minds and the insight and appreciation of some deep characters trained in the actual world of experience, but attaining a vision of life in clear and wide perspective.

In a word, the aim of these little essays is to make the reader think for himself, as he is bound to do if he accepts the suggestions offered, for instance, in "The Use of the Margin," written by the editor himself.

The prompting thought given on every page of this small volume might prove the opening stroke to a mine of buried treasures which each silent thinker possesses in himself, often without his own knowledge until he is awakened by a subtle suggestion of the possibilities of life for him. It is really the way one uses his "margin" of time or money that indicates the real character aims and ideals of the person, and the student with ambition to make the most of his opportunities will find help and encouragement in hints given by the author of "The Use of the Margin."

"Where Knowledge Fails," by Earl Barnes, with an introduction by the editor, is a strong presentation of the uses of Faith, and of the part it plays in our experiences, though often unrecognized by ourselves. Our "guesses" at things, and our steady pursuit of ends that lie beyond our knowledge, are unconscious exercises of a faith which we skeptically deny. "All that can be known must be known; and faith must never hesitate to make way for knowledge." Yet, as the author infers, all known things have become familiar through the approaches of faith, for one really has to trust before one can prove any unknown thing.

Meantime science had best learn modesty. She is not landless, but her estates are small and ill-cultivated. She cannot occupy the open spaces save by taking them over in increments, and there is no hope that she can ever reach the horizon. Let her then make friends with Faith, and if Faith respects her atoms and electrons and ether and protoplasm, let her in turn respect Faith's belief in personal significance, in God and in immortality.

A. L. M.

THEOSOPHICAL.

The Great World. The Constructive Principle of Nature in Individual Life. By the author of "The Great Psychological Crime." Harmonic Series, Vol. III. Published by the Indo-American Book Co., Chicago. Price, \$2 postpaid.

One of a series of books purporting to emanate from an ancient esoteric order, referred to as "the Great School," but bearing the modern name of "School of Natural Science." Its members "are scattered over the earth, wherever the conditions for the success of their efforts appear to them most favorable;" but it has a headquarters or organic center, from which "each individual member receives his authority," and to which "he must render an account of his labors." One of its many efforts to transmit its knowledge is represented by modern Free Masonry, and both Buddha and Jesus are claimed as initiates of the school. By "natural science" is meant not physical science alone, but the physical, the spiritual, and the mental, all of which are natural.

On the mysteries of this school it is as difficult to pronounce judgment as it is to do so on any other so-called mystical cult. But it may fairly be said that its ethical principles are of the most elevated type and have their source in profound perceptions of human relationships. Unconventional as is the mode of its thought, it can harm no one; while its beneficial possibilities are at the least considerable, and the expression is lucid. The explanation of the phenomenon of death gives an unusually clear idea of the philosophy of the school in that respect. Owing to what would be called its mysticism, one could not speak of this book as rational without risking his reputation for rationality; and yet every glimpse it gives of the underlying philosophy seems like a glimpse of the rational.

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THE DERIVATION OF MAN.

The Physical Bases of Civilization. A Revised Version of "Psychic and Economic Results of Man's Physical Uprightness." By T. W. Heineman. Published by Forbes & Company, Chicago. Price \$1.25.

Mr. Heineman undertakes to trace the upright physical attitude of man, and his higher intelligence, monogamic marriage, the family, the home, the economic dependence of woman, differentiation of the sexes, warfare, primitive groups and hordes, and other physical, mental, moral, economic and rudimentary political conditions, to two small anatomical peculiarities of the original man-animal.

The argument proceeds from the proposition that all higher types of life have been derived or are descended from lower, and that man's origin is no exception to the rule; but the author rejects the word "evolution" as inapplicable to the proc-

ess, and adopts "derivation." He attributes the birthday of the human race to the time when reproduction among quadrumana had developed the big toe in place of a thumb and altered the opening for the spinal column through the skull. Two-footed brutes could not compete with four-footed ones, nor could an animal whose body is back of the center of the base of the skull support its head in other than an upright position without conscious muscular effort. "The modification in the entocuneiform bone and in the position of the foramen magnum," writes the author, "are the physical basis of civilization." Until those changes occurred, "natural selection among sentient creatures was mainly instrumental in securing the survival of the strong, cunning, greedy, fierce and cruel; but from this beginning, as unavoidable consequences of disabilities, perils and infirmities resulting from the erect attitude, there developed in due order the characteristics of man, from the appearance of human intelligence to the present state of civilization.

Mr. Heineman's speculation regarding the origin of species, supplementary to Darwinism, is suggestive of a possible advance in this branch of inquiry.

Before publication, the author submitted a draft of his book to 100 distinguished scientists, of whom 80 responded. Among the latter were Alfred Russel Wallace, who writes of the essays as "ingenious and original;" Cesare Lombroso, who agrees with the thought of the work and says its "demonstrations are complete;" and Frederick Starr, who emphasizes the author's views on the origin of altruism and his conclusion that monogamy preceded polygamy.

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MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

Proceedings of the Providence Conference for Good City Government and the Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the National Municipal League. Held November 19, 20, 21, 22, 1907, at Providence. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Editor. Published by the Municipal League, Philadelphia.

No serious student of municipal affairs can dispense with this volume. It is probably the best collection of papers on municipal problems yet published. The scope is comprehensive, and the papers, when not by specialists who have won their spurs, are by observers on the spot.

Three of the papers taken together—those of Prof. Munro, Mr. Allen and Admiral Chadwick—constitute a highly valuable group of special studies. They deal respectively with the three fundamental plans of municipal government now on trial—the Galveston, the Des Moines and the Newport plans.

There is a valuable group also on different phases of municipal taxation. Mr. Easterday writes on the exemption of money and credits,

Allen Ripley Foote on the taxation of public service corporations, Delos F. Wilcox on the general property tax, Professor Merriam on substitutes for the personal property tax in cities, Mr. Sprague on the taxation of savings banks, Frederick N. Judson on the effectiveness of taxation, Mr. Heydecker on the taxation of life insurance, and Mr. Newcomb and Fred'c C. Howe respectively on the taxation of railroads. In this group must also be included the report of the taxation committee, and Lawson Purdy's "Outline of a Model System of State and Local Taxation."

On other subjects the volume contains a thoroughly good review by George C. Sikes of the municipal battle in Chicago, under the excessively optimistic title, for which Mr. Sikes prudently disclaims responsibility, of "How Chicago is Winning Good Government." Mayor Whitlock of Toledo is another contributor, his paper being a discussion of "The Evil Influence of National Parties in Municipal Elections." Under the title of "The Battle for Betterment" Mr. Woodruff, the secretary of the League, continues his painstaking annual review of the municipal movement throughout the country.

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Her little private utopia, like other utopias, was filled with delightful results, independent of processes.—George Elliot, in "Felix Holt."

EVOLUTION AND SOCIALISM.

Evolution, Social and Organic. By Arthur M. Lewis. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.

A series of ten lectures by Mr. Lewis, delivered at the Garrick Theatre, Chicago, on natural sciences in their relation to social philosophy. In summarizing the theories of Darwin, Haeckel, Spencer and others, it discloses in a readable way the point of view of "scientific socialism."

PERIODICALS

Poverty and discontent in Russia is the subject of a report by George Kennan in McClure's for May.

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The "Slaughter of the Trees" is Everybody's (New York) contribution for May to the work of awakening Americans to the robbery of their planetary birthright under their very eyes. In the same number Hamlin Garland continues his realistic account of psychical phenomena.

+

How little the white man understands the Negro, yet how easy to understand him if we observe him, not as a menial as they do at the South, nor as a curiosity as at the North, but simply as a man, is the impression one gets from Ray Stannard Baker's

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