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EDITORIAL

Senator Tillman's leadership.

An extraordinary result of the confusion in the Republican party relative to railroad legislation is the Democratic leadership on the President's rate bill. This measure, known as the Hepburn bill, went through the House under the President's influence. It was unacceptable to the railroad clique of the Senate, but in the Senate committee on inter-State commerce they were in the minority. In order apparently to embarrass the President by giving the bill the color of a Dem-

ocratic measure, they then voted in committee to place it in charge, not of a Republican member, but of Senator Tillman, now the leading Democrat in the Senate. This was clearly a mistake in tactics. The President has not backed away from Tillman, as was expected of him; and one need only know Tillman's record in Congress to understand that the railway interests would have fared better with Republican leadership against them.

A democratic Republican.

Senator La Follette, the democratic Republican of Wisconsin, has let a much needed draft of fresh air into the Senate on the Republican side. Of the three or four things he has done, everyone has hit hard at an abuse which has grown up in his party under its plutocratic control. The latest is a bill requiring the committees of all political parties in Presidential and Congressional elections to account to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor for all moneys expended, and to prohibit corporations from directly or indirectly contributing money to any political committee or candidate. Needless to say, Congress will not pass the bill; but that such a bill should be presented by a Republican leader, is prophetic of a clearing out of grafter management from the party of Abraham Lincoln. Had such a law been in force in 1896, Hanna would have had no corruption fund, and the history of the country might have been different and better.

That postal deficit.

The real cause of the postal deficit is evident from the statistics of railroad earnings. Approximately one-tenth of the gross earnings of the eight principal railroads of the country is derived from mail contracts. Their postal earnings for 1905 were approximately \$45,500,000, out of gross earnings for the same period of \$445,000,000. Does anyone be-

lieve that the mail transportation of these roads is one-tenth their total transportation service? Much more probable is it that the suppressed proofs of graft are true, and that the railroads, through connivance with postal officials, are robbing the government.

Lawson's exposures.

When Thomas W. Lawson declares that the exposures of the Armstrong insurance investigation were trifling in comparison with what remains to be exposed, he is entitled to be heard with respect and a reasonable degree of confidence. Having "made good" on his original charges, regarding which he was denounced broadcast as a liar, this sort of reply cannot be accepted now that he makes new charges. If the latter are true, the Armstrong investigation has been little more than a whitewash. Lawson's new charges must not be ignored. He makes startling statements in the March "Everybody's," and in a letter to the Armstrong committee he asserts his belief that if the New York Life and the Mutual Life "are placed in the hands of honest, fearless men, some of the richest and best known men in the country, who systematically have plundered the people for a quarter of a century, will be sent to State's prison for long terms." To ignore such declarations from a man whose previous ones have been so amply verified as Lawson's have been, would be indicative of a purpose to cover up great crimes and shield great criminals.

Land nationalization and the single tax.

We have been asked for a concise explanation of the difference between land nationalization and the single tax. They are different methods of accomplishing the same end as to landed property. Underlying each is the moral principle that the right to land is equal, and the economic principle that land monopoly is

the fundamental cause of the diversion of labor products from producers to non-producers. By land nationalization the government would take over ownership of all land, exacting ground rents in future for private possession; and most land nationalizers would in some manner compensate landowners for relinquishing their titles. But the single tax, making no formal change in land tenures, would tax land fully according to its market value, leaving valueless land, however useful, as an open and untaxed common. Both the single tax and land nationalization would make land values the sole source of public revenues, though by different methods. In this country the land reform movement is exclusively along single tax lines; in Great Britain it proceeds along both lines. The British land nationalization organ is Land and Labor, published at London; the single tax organ is Land Values, published at Glasgow. The celebrated scientist, Alfred Russell Wallace, is the leader of the land nationalization movement in Great Britain; the single tax movement everywhere identifies itself with the name of Henry George.

More "government by injunction."

Judge Holdom, of Chicago, has availed himself of another opportunity to strengthen his reputation as a "government by injunction" judge. Acting as his own jury, he has convicted two officers of the printers' union of an offense unknown to the law—inducing imported non-unionists to join the union and paying their expenses home, and has imposed a penalty in his own discretion. Under his sentence the men are now in jail. Holdom's decision was expressed in terms which clearly disclosed a bias that would have disqualified any man for jury service, but he refused to refer the case to a jury, and incompetency for bias is an unknown disqualification under the practice and procedure of "government by injunction." However, Judge Holdom is not the man to be criticized. He went frankly enough

before the public for reelection as an employers' judge. As such he was supported by employers' organizations. They knew and he knew that he was the kind of judge they wanted. If the labor organizations didn't recognize him as unfair, it was no fault of his. Some of them evidently did, for he was badly cut at the polls. But if they had been as solicitous for public interests as their employers were for "business" interests, Judge Holdom would have to fight labor organizations, if he fought them at all, in a different and somewhat less influential capacity.

The Chicago gas bunco.

Now that it is too late, the gas consumers of Chicago are learning of the bunco game which the Chicago gas trust, in cooperation with a combination of fools and grafters in the City Council (p. 766), has played upon them. One of the most significant facts is the report of the New York Gas Commission, which has just fixed the minimum price for gas in that city at 80 cents per thousand feet. Yet the commission reports that it costs more to produce gas in New York than it is produced for in Chicago, where a complaisant Council allows the trust to charge five cents more than the New York price. In New York the cost is 60½ cents; in Chicago the trust admitted the cost to be no more than 53½ cents, and the experts put it at 45½ cents. On either figure the Chicago Council, had they allowed no more for profit than the New York Commission did, which was 19½ cents per thousand feet, would have fixed the price to consumers at not more than 75 cents. Instead of that they fixed it at 85 cents, and, in addition, granted the trust a valuable job lot of extra privileges, some of which the trust had in vain tried to get for years.

Chicago's "wave of crime."

The great "wave of crime" which Chicago newspapers are exploiting, and which the Associated Press is widely reporting, is as bald a specimen of false pretense, for a purpose more obvious

than laudable, as was ever attempted on the eve of an election. Of course there is a wave of crime in Chicago. There is in every large city every Winter, and Chicago is not an exception. Every Winter since the publication of The Public began, there has been a wave of crime in Chicago of precisely the same kind as that of which so much is made now. Last winter violent crimes of the "wave" variety were more numerous than they have been this Winter; yet there wasn't any uproar. On the contrary, papers that are trumpeting about this "wave" were saying "hush" lest trade might suffer when the other "waves" were on. Were we asked to explain the difference, we could give but one reason. The street franchise corporations were not so much in need of a new and disturbing subject of popular controversy then as they are now.

"Scratch a Russian, and you find a Tartar." Explore this "anti-crime," "high-license," etc., etc., agitation at any point—newspaper office, church mass meetings, or anywhere else—and you find some franchise interest as busy as a bee. At one of the church meetings a gas ring lawyer took the lead in demanding that Mayor Dunne drop municipal ownership and put down crime. At some others even the clergymen, in their zeal, have "given away" the movement by urging the same thing. Some newspapers also are imprudent enough to couple their shrieking demands upon Dunne for crime suppression, with demands that he drop his municipal ownership "fad." The movement is far less a crusade against crime than a crusade for street monopolies. When a city which has been quiescent for 20 years or more on the subject of saloons, crime, etc., suddenly finds itself in a whirlwind of agitation, with no visible direct cause for it that has not existed all along, it is fair to suspect some collateral cause. And when an ample collateral cause is found in the dau-