

trust. We must appeal to this sense of justice and say that among the men of our business world there must be no giants. We must say that no man that God has made should be forced to take an inferior position to the corporate men made by the trusts. We must have government monopolies if monopolies are necessary or where they are necessary.

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A FOOLOMETER.

The following story from Harper's Weekly is respectfully commended by Bolton Hall to those who are "relieving poverty":

Some visitors who were being shown over a pauper lunatic asylum inquired of their guide what method was employed to discover when the inmates were sufficiently recovered to leave.

"Well," replied he, "you see, it's this way. We have a big trough of water and we turns on the tap. We leave it running, and tells 'em to bail out the water with pails until they've emptied the trough."

"How does that prove it?" asked one of the visitors.

"Well," said the guide, "them'as ain't idiots turns off the tap."

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PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AS A SUFFRAGE EDUCATOR.

For The Public.

Earnest and careful investigations have been made and are still making by various bodies and public-spirited individuals into the results of municipal ownership in other countries, and the subject is a favorite one for discussion on many platforms in the United States. But the information which may result from these inquiries and discussions, if the present impressive trend of thought and opinion continue, may not be so important as a means of forming judgment as to the desirability of this method of ownership, as helpful perhaps in furnishing hints for the details of an already determined result. The most hopeful optimism can scarcely believe now in any process of relenting on the part of the great accumulations and combinations of capital in the course which they are pursuing, nor for any final help from the laws against the power which they exert. Hence it is scarcely necessary to go into the arguments furnished by those who are trying to stem the rising tide of public opinion by the Partingtonian besom of argument.

A defence of human nature, however, must be pleaded with all the strength of the most earnest conviction against the aspersion which is cast upon it by those who maintain that great pecuniary rewards are the necessary incentive to the service of humanity. The splendid results which accompany private discovery and manipulation (though these results are often filched from the inventor by the promoter) are not necessary to stimulate the man of science. Here again, as we believe we may safely trust the mass of people, we can also trust the great exceptionally gifted sons of men to do their best, as the best has been done and is being done to-day from real love of mankind, of science and of the truth, in thousands of laboratories and workshops all over the world. The foreboding that it will be otherwise is as untrue as it is unworthy. It is scarcely fitting to name here the one great Example or the

innumerable army of his followers of whom the world was not worthy; but are we not assured that Galileo, Newton, Galvani, Franklin, Harvey, Rumford, Nasmyth, Wedgewood, Darwin, Watt, Arkwright, Ericsson, the Stephenson, Pasteur, Graham-Bell, and their fellows made their contributions to humanity without hope of fee or reward, and would have made them in any case, even though their only compensation might have been their risk and labor and an approving self-consciousness?

It is said that industry may be stifled by the oppression of municipal ownership laws, as some of the American experts claim that it is stifled in Great Britain; but the people are the law, and they are, if ever, to learn wisdom through experience,—wisdom of general application, which will be of infinitely more value to them than the immediate material benefits derived from the private administration of their affairs by the little coterie of heaven-born "haute finance" and industrial chieftains. The belief of those who retain their faith in democracy is unshaken that when the truth is grasped by the slow-growing general apprehension that public ownership is a private ownership in which every citizen is a stock-holder who can influence his dividend by his own vote, as he certainly cannot do in any private corporation; not only will he be aroused to the fulfillment of his duty in these particulars but in all the other responsibilities of the suffrage.

From the ends of the world private enterprises are changing over into public control. New Zealand experiments have passed almost into precedents, and from Japan, which has suddenly become the cynosure of western eyes, the last word has come which rounds up the now almost unbroken chain of public railway ownership beyond England and America. What is offered in the United States to allay the dread of the arrogant and constantly increasing combinations of capital which aim to control not only the instruments of industry and all large reproductive undertakings but even the natural supplies of energy stored up in land and water?

We have been offered recently the alternative of the intervention of paternalism, but, however attractive for a time the brilliant and vigorous exercise may be of personal authority and influence by a popular functionary, a democracy cannot be long content with a control of its affairs inconsistent with its fundamental principles, nor its consciousness be permanently dulled in a comatose torpor only sporadically aroused by violent appeals to spasmodic action.

Daily diligence in the duties of citizenship; constant pressure upon our servants in the government, not so much to make but especially to execute good laws; perpetual vigilance, in short, is the price and safeguard of liberty. The extremes of indifference and of hero-worship are equally inconsistent with it. If liberty seems to have failed in producing the results claimed for it, since an inert people has allowed itself to be robbed right and left by a protective tariff, by the theft of public franchises and in a thousand other ways, only to be galvanized into activity by the voice of a demagogue or by the stimulus of some alarming crisis,—the true remedy for the loss of liberty is more liberty!

Is it not apparent that the enlargement and particularization of the sphere of his function must be the

efficient means of making the exercise of it deeply and persistently interesting to the citizen? Was there ever cause for complaint in any town of lack of interest in town-meeting when the warrant contained some new item of expenditure which directly involved an increase in the tax rate, were it only a few mills in the thousand?

Patriotism may be sluggish, but it is no cynical criticism, and only the recognition of a wholesome truth, to assert that the pocket nerve of the masses of the people is highly sensitive and quickly responsive. The selfishness of the capitalist may and often does operate against the public good, but the selfishness of the poor is the righteousness of the nation; the working man's demand for the due proportion between wages and the expenses of livelihood, is the voice of its conscience. The mass of the people may be blinded by the effects of indirect taxation and many forms of public theft, but it could not be deceived or made indifferent in the exercise of its power if that exercise affected directly the daily needs of life; if it had an obvious part in controlling the administration of the business, and consequently the cost, of furnishing heat and light, transportation and food and housing, of the necessary facilities for work and play, day in and day out.

Let the voter be aware that his vote does not merely help some boss or some party-or some platform, or procure for him some vague and untrustworthy promise of political reward, but that it helps to guide the affairs whose economical, upright and efficient management saves him money in his daily expenses, as Mayor Johnson of Cleveland has proposed to do by giving his fellow-citizens three cent car fares; and the voter will break away from platform and boss and party, and eagerly seek to cast his vote for honest men and honest measures which mean so much to him and to his family.

The very vital and pressing question of our day is how to prevent the tremendous capitalization of natural monopolies and reproductive undertakings now pressed forward with an eagerness which distinctly suggests that our captains of finance and industry foresee that the day for expropriation of public rights and public franchises is drawing to a close, so that to secure their enormous profits their inflated stocks and bonds in uncounted billions may be quickly distributed among multitudes of innocent investors, as in the case of Mr. Morgan's Georgia railway, purchased for \$7,000,000, and capitalized at \$42,000,000. This is indeed the paramount issue. Volumes of water are being solidified every hour of every business day into an indebtedness which it may be impossible to reach except through confiscation, saddling the state or the community with a monstrously increasing burden in the rapidly approaching day of public ownership.

ERVING WINSLOW.

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"Now," said the fond father to his little daughter, "I must go to town and earn some money to buy bread for little Annie."

"And to buy yachts for dada," responded the child, who seemed to have grasped the humility of the situation.

—Sporting Times.

THE CONFESSIONS OF A MONOPOLIST

By FREDERIC C. HOWE, Ph.D.

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SYNOPSIS OF PRECEDING CHAPTERS.

In previous chapters the hero has related early experiences which tended to make him a monopolist, establishing it as a business principle with him to always tie a monopoly to any competitive business in which he engaged. He studies law, but finds the practice of it repugnant to his moral sense. He enters politics as a necessary step in the development of a land boom, a street railway and a gas company, in which he becomes successively interested. He learns first the value of a franchise, and second the value of control of political machinery as a business asset. He begins by "working" a City Council. Then by craftily appealing to the "business" element and to good citizenship, with the aid of a Sunday-closing crusade, he nearly wins out in an exciting mayoralty campaign. He discredits the Opposition Mayor, elected in spite of his efforts; gets hold of one Councilman after another by subtle influence, by bestowal of business graft, or by actual purchase; and procures his desired street railway franchise from a dumb Council, over the Mayor's veto. He then goes into the business of developing some coal mines. By playing off one railroad company against another he obtains rebates from one, which in the end ruins the road, besides driving his competitors out of business. In Chapter VII he accidentally runs against Amalgamated Copper on an upward market. It seems like gambling on a sure thing. Day by day he buys, while all the time it goes up. At last the tide turns. Day by day Copper falls. Finally he sells out, poorer by \$100,000, thankful that he was not wrecked, as hundreds in his city were. But he has not yet grasped the rules of the game. In Chapter VIII he learns the rules of the game:—how a panic is created; that the West buys on a bull market, and how to bull the market; that Wall St. profits by a bull market, but has things just where it wants them when the stocks begin to tumble; then the West drops its money, and Wall St. gets both stocks and money. Having learned his lesson he plays the game, and wins.

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CHAPTER IX.

I Become a State Boss and Am Elected to the United States Senate.

Through my street railway, gas, banking and railway connections, I had become the most influential person in the city. I was Chairman of the Republican Committee, and raised all the campaign funds. My enemies called me the Boss. The interests which I directed were the largest contributors to both parties; in fact, we kept the organizations alive between elections. Nobody else was interested, except at elections, and in time we reduced our methods to a system. Through the convention plan the make-up of city and county tickets was determined beforehand. Our business required this. And as time went on we became mixed up in State affairs as well. All sorts of measures were constantly coming up in the Assembly, and we found it necessary to look after the legislative ticket as well as the Council. I was frequently called to Washington to confer with the