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A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

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EDITOR

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CONTENTS

Among Other Features in This Number Are:

Municipal Ownership Victory at Chicago Election.

Policy and Plans of Judge Edward F. Dunne, Mayor-Elect of Chicago.

Bad "Bad Government" and Bad "Good Government."

The Land-Monopoly Fortune of the Astors.

Rockefeller's Tainted Gift to the Heathen.

Democratic Ideals in Journalism.

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The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, APRIL 8, 1905

In his campaign speech at the Auditorium, Chicago, on the 1st, Joseph Medill Patterson began with this significant sentiment:

I have always been a Republican. I am not a Democrat—yet. But if the Democratic party continues, as it has begun in this city, to advocate public ownership of public utilities, and the Republican party continues as now to stand for private ownership of public utilities, then I will be a Democrat And there are many Republicans like me.

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This declaration by the able, discreet and courageous grandson of Lincoln's old friend, Joseph Medill,—himself a man of mark in this community—is significant because it indicates that the time is near at hand when our citizenship will forget to divide along the party lines of the politics of half a century ago and will divide effectually along the lines of the politics of to-day. It means that there is in the Republican party a powerful element, of which Patterson is a type,—an element that is demanding more and more insistently that organized society shall attend to its own business and leave individuals untrammeled to attend to theirs.

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The difference between those functions, that of organized society on the one hand and that of the individual on the other, was most happily brought into clear view in the midst of the Chicago campaign, by another Republican, also a young man of achievement, who stood with Mr. Patterson for municipal ownership of traction facilities and for Judge Dunne as its champion in the campaign. We allude to the letter of Prof. Zueblin (vol. vii., p. 825) in which he said that "street railway management is not a business, but a speculation," and that "men do not engage in it with the object of performing services, as is done by merchants and manufacturers." The explanation is simple. Merchants and manufacturers, if without special privileges, must perform services in order to make profits. Without special legal privileges, they are really workingmen; "profits" are the form in which their wages are computed; and those wages depend, like all other forms of wages, upon the serviceableness of the worker. But street railway management is a public trust, as truly so as the management of a police force. To farm it out as a private business is to create a special privilege, the value of which will depend not upon the service rendered but upon the unsupplied need for service. Consequently the management devotes itself to speculation instead of service as naturally as a duck waddles to the water. Between those two kinds of function there is a clear distinction, which may be generalized in this formula: Private utilities are private business for private management; public utilities are public business for public management.

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For the realization of that concept in politics, to the approach of which Prof. Zueblin and Mr. Patterson testify so definitely, we have waited long and with a fair degree of patience. One of its stages was the Cleveland campaign of 1888 and that of 1892. Another was the disappointment to which democratic Democrats were subjected by the reactionary character of Mr. Cleveland's second term. The first Bryan campaign was another stage, and the defeat in which it culminated was necessary, as may now be seen (discouraging as it was at the time), to the substantial advances toward genuine democracy which are to-day apparent. Even the keener disappointment of the defeat in 1900 may yet prove to have been a radiant blessing heavily disguised. But above everything else, the thing of greatest importance to progressive democracy was the overwhelming defeat of traditional and reactionary Democracy in the national election last Fall. Without that defeat the character of the Democratic party would have been a bar to armies of Republicans who, though democrats at heart, would have shrunk from trusting their democratic principles to the guardianship of a reactionary Democratic party. With the national defeat last Fall democracy asserted itself within the Democratic party, and the first results were visible in the Chicago campaign.

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How the election in Chicago might have gone was a matter of secondary importance. To be sure, a victory would have counted for the rapidity of the movement; but defeat would not have stopped it in its course. The thing was the campaign. For in the campaign the line was clearly drawn between public and private functions, and this is the line of partisan demarcation for the future. Not at once will everyone range himself on his own side of the line. Some who belong with the progressives will be drawn temporarily to the other side, as in the Chicago campaign, because it seems more important to them to purify mud pies that to bake real pies; but on the whole, this Chicago campaign, whether a victory for the Democratic party or a defeat, was inevitably destined to appeal to the Pattersons and Zueblins—to all young Republicans who are inclining to take their politics from their brain cells instead of their birthmarks,—to come over to the Democratic side of the politics of to-day and to-morrow. Whether ending in victory or defeat for municipal ownership in Chicago, the recent Chicago campaign was bound to be a victory for the principle of public ownership of public utilities the whole country over.

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But the Chicago campaign has not ended in defeat. A splendid victory has been scored for municipal ownership without procrastinating franchises. Judge Dunne, who stood for this side of

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the issue, has polled a much larger vote than was cast for Mayor Harrison two years ago; and, while Mr. Harlan's vote is about as large as that of Mr. Harrison's adversary then, Judge Dunne's plurality is fully three times as large as Harrison's. Along with this pronounced victory for Dunne as the champion of immediate municipal ownership, is a significant vote on the "little ballot." On this ballot were three questions (vol. vii, p. 743): first, whether the tentative ordinance of the franchise ring for the benefit of the South side traction company should pass; second, whether any other franchise ordinance for that company should pass; and third, whether any franchises at all should be granted. Every question drew an overwhelming negative vote. No doubt is left of the intentions of the people of Chicago in electing Judge Dunne to the Mayoralty.

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The emphasis is such as to make it imperative upon those municipal ownership men who were drawn to the support of Harlan by various collateral considerations, to prove their sincerity as municipal ownership men by bringing to Dunne such support as they can command in aid of the immediate municipal ownership policy. They will soon know what as sensible men they ought to have realized before, that the "gray wolf" cry against Dunne was all moonshine, designed to confuse just such men as themselves. Knowing this, they will no longer have the puerile excuse for opposing his policy that they offered for opposing his candidacy. That those who did oppose Dunne's candidacy for that reason number among them genuine believers in municipal ownership, we do not doubt. But the time has now come when these must either stop flirting with the intermediate franchise policy, or be justly regarded as at heart opposed to the policy of municipal ownership. If the question is only one of method and not of principle, as they have contended, they should squarely face the fact that their method has been rejected by popular vote, and Judge Dunne's method adopted, and should therefore yield whole-hearted assistance to Judge Dunne in bringing the people's method to the point of realization. Any further obstruction to the popularly approved method will be and ought to be regarded as evidence of hostility to the principle itself.

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In the latter days of the campaign Mr. Harlan affected great indignation at the coupling of his candidacy with the preparations of the J. P. Morgan syndicate to secure a renewal of traction franchises in Chicago. We say affected, because his indignation was suggestive of the lawyer's notation on his brief for a jury argument: "At this place become exceedingly angry." The association of Mr. Harlan's candidacy with the Morgan syndicate was simply unavoidable. How could anybody keep from making it? Here was the Morgan syndicate controlling all the traction property of the city and obviously intending to seek a franchise. Here were Harlan's newspaper supporters, his aldermanic supporters and friends, and his business supporters, all favoring a franchise. And here was Mr. Harlan himself implying through his platform and speeches, and refusing to deny, that it was a part of his policy to grant a franchise. To whom would that franchise have been granted, if not to the Morgan syndicate? If the coupling of Harlan and Morgan was unjust to Mr. Harlan, he and his own friends were to blame. One word of denial, not merely in general terms as to his suspected relations with Morgan, but specifically as to the understanding he had fostered that he favored a franchise, would have done more to relieve him of suspicion than a whole volume of the diatribes he hurled at Judge Dunne.

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In an "After-Election" sermon delivered last Fall, that splendid Chicago preacher of righteousness, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, portrayed the true attitude toward public office when he said:

> In the future destiny of this Republic, the future life of city, State and nation, two men will be despicable—he who seeks an office unbidden, and he who refuses an office when nobly bidden. The great servant of the public is a man who haltingly stands, with bared head, in the presence of a high trust, but who, when asked to accept, does not refuse the commanding judgment of his fellow citizens, whom he is bound to honor, and the community which it is his duty to serve.

These opposing types were before the people of Chicago for their verdict this week, Mr. Harlan, having sought the mayoral office unbidden, and Judge Dunne having from the first taken the ground of not daring to refuse the commanding judgment of his fellow citizens. So insistent upon seeking this office was Mr. Harlan that he yielded to the machine of his party, during the period of five years' gum-shoe campaigning for his own candidacy, and yielded so far as to support for public office types of men whom he had aforetime denounced as utterly unfit. Judge Dunne refused to seek nomination for this office, and only consented to accept the nomination when Judge Tuley's letter had called forth a demand which no good citizen, within Jenkin Lloyd Jones's interpretation of good citizenship, would dare refuse "his fellow citizens whom he is bound to honor" or "the community which it is his duty to serve." The result comes like a hearty "Amen!" to Mr. Jones's excellent sermon.

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One of the instructive incidents of the Chicago campaign was the attitude of the Municipal Voters' League and its allied newspapers —the Record-Herald, controlled by Victor Lawson; and the Daily News, owned by Mr. Lawson— with reference not alone to the mayoralty but to the Council. This League has done good civic work and is capable of doing more. Among its officers and managers are men of democratic ideals and progressive impulses. To its most noted manager, Walter L. Fisher, Chicago is indebted for

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terms injected into the tunnel ordinance which make that tunnel and its telephone equipment city property in about twenty-five years, without cost, and its freight-car equipment city property at the end of the same term at its value simply as machinery. But the more progressive managers of the Voters' League are held in check by the fatuous inertia of their conservative following. A similar observation may be made regarding the papers allied with the League. In many respects they are most satisfactorily democratic. The editorial rooms of both are saturated with a wholesome democratic sentiment which often leaks out into the editorial columns. But these papers, like the League, are held in check at critical times by an ultra-conservative constituency.

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Depending, as does the League, largely upon the support of a class of business men who wish to destroy the minor graft that offends and robs them, but halt at attacking the major kind of graft with which their interests are more or less interwoven, these newspapers busied themselves throughout the campaign in drawing the red herring of "bad government" possibilities across the trail of the municipal ownership issue. Whether they did so in genuine panic, or with an appearance of panic for the purpose of aiding to retain in possession of Chicago's streets the great grafting corporations that have corrupted Chicago officials in the past, may be doubted. We go no further than to express a belief that the impulse was that of the powerful interests upon which these papers and the League depend for a following; and not the impulse of the principal officers and managers of the League, and the editors of the papers, whom we regard as being as progressive as their followings will tolerate. But the plain fact is that both these papers, and the League, not only pettifogged with and for Harlan on the traction question, but advocated for aldermen those candidates who were identified with the franchise-grafting ring. Nor were they content with preferring such candidates to the so-called "gray wolves," where "gray wolves" were in the field; they also preferred them to municipal-ownership candidates against whose character and ability they themselves could find no objection. These preferences were made on the theory of devotion, above everything else, to "good government"—meaning by "good government" the election of men to office who are conventionally reputable.

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Our good "good government" friends would do well to read Lincoln Steffens's article in the April McClure's on New Jersey. His previous article on Rhode Island would be good preparatory reading. Evidently Mr. Steffens's studies in American politics are revealing to him with increasing clearness the fact that it is not the disreputable grafters of the slums who make government corrupt, but the reputable grafters of directors' rooms, many of whom contribute to the support of voters' leagues and other reform agencies which may be utilized for diverting public attention from corporate and other business graft to the comparatively unimportant graft of the ward boss. To quote his own language, Mr. Steffens seems to have come to the sound conclusion that what is needed in American politics is "representative government," and "not good government, not reforms, not privileges, not advantages over one another, but fair play all around, and, before the law, equality."

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"Good government," in the goody-goody sense of most reform organizations influenced by those business interests which are themselves dependent upon certain kinds of bad government, is vividly and truly described by Mr. Steffens in his New Jersey article in these pointed terms:

> Good government is the falsest beacon in American politics. I have seen the cities sail by it and I know. New Jersey has sailed by it since 1895, and I think I can show in the next, concluding article on the State, that the "passing evils" Jerseymen speak of in their counties are the vestiges of the wreck of their citizenship; and that the good they point to with pride in their State is their share of their plunder of our business pirates who buy, cheap, the letters of marque to prey not only on American business, but on American character.

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Shameless grafting of the minor kind is what Mr. Steffens describes, in this opening exposure of respectable graft in New Jersey, as the thing "your average citizen means by 'bad government.'" He acutely adds: "It is disgusting, but it isn't dangerous; it is no more dangerous in a State than in a city, and, as I have often remarked before, even Tammany in New York has seen that theft and police blackmail are bad politics." The really dangerous kind of "bad government," as Mr. Steffens points out, with New Jersey for his object lesson, is that which does not disgust but allures. In New Jersey he found an illuminating example of a State where—

> there is graft, of course; plenty of it; for the most part, however, the corruption is orderly, respectable, dignified "business." That is bad, but it is not "bad government." The Pennsylvania [railroad] rules and the government represents "the" road, the other roads, and some other interests; but the syndicate that runs the State for the foreign corporations gives Jerseymen good government, or, at least, what they tell me is "pretty good government."

Mr. Steffens has also learned the interesting fact that "business" reserves such bad names as "politician," "demagogue" and "anarchist," for "men who are brave enough to challenge and able enough to beat bad business." We have had glittering examples of this in Chicago within a week.

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Another article in McClure's for April competes with Steffens's in the interest of its material and the importance of its public lesson. This is the article by Benton J. Hendrick on "The Astor Fortune." That fortune, writes

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Mr. Hendrick, is not the creation of dazzling enterprises:

> Its beneficiaries can lay claim to no great genius, except the genius, perhaps the rarest of all, of profiting by others' labor. They have contributed practically nothing to upbuilding the Republic, and yet few have reaped so richly from its growth.

Mr. Hendrick tells with interest-exciting power of the beginnings and growth of the Astor fortune, all from increases in the values of building sites in New York. The original Astor invested about $2,000,000 in those sites. At his death the investment had multiplied ten-fold. When his son died, less than thirty years later, there had been an additional five-fold increase; the property was estimated at $100,000,000. It now amounts to $450,000,000. This augmentation of values is described by Mr. Hendrick as "the most notable instance of the unearned increment." He adds that the whole Astor family "could sleep for a hundred years and at the end find that their riches had grown a hundred fold;" for "all the economic and social forces which have made New York the American metropolis, have entirely without their instigation, also made their wealth." In support of that inference he writes:

> The busy brains and sinews of progressive Americans worked day and night making New York great, and, unconsciously, making John Jacob Astor the richest man of his time. When De Witt Clinton projected the Erie canal, he became the leading promoter of the Astor fortune. This diverted the great trade of the West to New York, and increased its population by hundreds of thousands. In whatever direction these new citizens turned, they were obliged to seek their dwelling places on Astor land. . . . Great public improvements, for which the Astors can claim no credit, and which, indeed, they sometimes opposed, have helped to make them rich. . . . The elevated road converted Sixth Avenue into a popular shopping section. The largest department stores . . . were obliged to lease land here from the Astors. . . . The subway makes available for apartment houses large blocks of Astor land, now vacant. The several inventors of the elevator, and the steel system of construction, are the greatest contributors to Astor's wealth. . . . The humble inventor of the elevator . . . doubled and tripled their wealth. The old Astor house plot, which previously was worth $2,000,000, suddenly acquired a valuation of $5,000,000.

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If for no reasons but for literary reasons alone, it was necessary for Mr. Hendrick to center attention upon this stupendous fortune, instead of dealing with such fortunes in general and their impoverishing effects upon masses of people. The careless reader may therefore think of that fortune simply as an instance of the great good luck of one family. But only in somewhat less degree has been the good luck of other land owners of New York from the same causes. The records of the "unearned increment" of the Sailors' Snug Harbor, Trinity Church, the Dutch Reformed Church, and Columbia College, not to mention scores of other landlords, would yield as instructive a story of New York's development and the diversion of its common wealth to private pockets, and almost as spectacular, as does this story of the Astor fortune. The Astor experience is on a larger scale, and that is all. But there is still another and far more important consideration which Mr. Hendrick's story of the Astor fortune suggests. By concentrating attention upon the income from this source, of the Astors and their like, one is apt to lose sight of the real magnitude of the evil. One is then apt to think of the evil as consisting in the accumulation of such fortunes, and therefore to measure its magnitude by those fortunes. Upon doing that he may fairly reach the conclusion that the evil is really not very great; for, while those fortunes may be large, when brought out before the imagination in full relief, they are small relatively to the total of wealth. Consequently those of us who are satisfied with things as they are, are apt to think of fortunes of this kind as casual and unimportant evils of a civilization which on the whole needs no criticism from us; while those of us who are not satisfied with things as they are, are inclined to look elsewhere for an explanation of economic evils than to a few exceptional instances of great fortunes derived from increases in land values. The real magnitude of the evil to which the Astor fortune points cannot be measured by that fortune, nor by all the fortunes from that source put together. It cannot be even conceived of from looking only at the spectacular fortunes of the beneficiaries.

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To realize its magnitude we must turn around and look into the extent of the losses which the existence of such fortunes implies. If the Astor family, through increases in New York land values caused by the development of the community known as New York, reap where they did not sow, then that community correspondingly loses where it did sow. And if it loses that much to the Astors, it loses to the other great land monopolists of New York in proportionate degree. And if it loses in this manner to the great land monopolists, then it loses proportionately to the small land monopolists down to the single individual who owns a single valuable building site from which he draws ground rent. And if the community known as the city of New York loses in that way to the families that own the site of that city, then every other community in the country—from Chicago down to the tiniest village—loses in like manner and proportionate degree. When all these community losses are summed up, it will be seen that the Astor landed-fortune, stupendous as it is, must be but a bagatelle in comparison with the aggregate of such fortunes. The burden of landlordism in this country is in truth an old-man-of-the-sea upon the shoulders of industry, to which all other burdens lumped into one are as a midget to a giant.

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And the losses of the community which constitute the gains of the landlords are not the whole nor the heaviest part of this burden. The heaviest part of the burden of landlordism upon industry in this

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country is hinted at by Mr. Hendrick when, in telling of the Astor fortune, he says of the original Astor:

> Nor did he tempt the population to settle upon his lands. In fact, his business policy in every way discouraged it. As his plots became available for building, naturally he had many offers to sell [for building purposes]. . . . Astor turned them off scornfully. Well, then, would Mr. Astor himself erect the building and rent it on fair terms? Then again Astor withdrew into his shell. The people became urgent. There were hundreds of acres; the city was rapidly growing around them. . . . For years many of his great holdings stood vacant, oases surrounded by the buildings of more progressive men. Not all of it is built upon even now. Great blocks of land purchased by John Jacob Astor a hundred years ago, still stand in what are to-day thriving localities. Property worth millions of dollars is utilized for coal sheds, blacksmith shops and lumber yards.

Again let it be remembered that Astor is only a type of large land monopolists, and that all these together are only typical of an economic tendency which reaches down to the small speculator in landed opportunities. It is not Astor's land alone, nor that of all other large land monopolists, that has been vacant for a hundred years in spite of urgent needs for its use, or is occupied by lumber yards and blacksmith shops when needed for more profitable uses. All dealing in the land futures of New York has operated and does operate, even more rigidly, to obstruct the best uses of New York land. Neither are these vacant or inadequately used areas in New York city alone. In every city, in every town and village, the same obstruction to industry is observable. It may be found on prairie farms in the West and homestead farms in the East, whose owners are "land poor;" it may be found on water fronts, where speculative owners shut out the improver, and in the coal mining regions where great corporations shut in the valuable deposits of nature from working miners as they might shut their own cellar doors. Such obstructions to the use of land of all kinds, as the needs of the people call for it and industry responsively seeks it, make in the enormous aggregate the most tremendous cause for the check upon business enterprise and brawny labor, and the most obvious and irrefutable explanation of what is vaguely called "the conflict between labor and capital."

Leslie's Weekly has struck a note on taxation that rings loud and true. It proposes to discourage the disfigurement of public streets with posters by levying a prohibitory tax. "There is no question," it says, "of the legality of such a tax. Municipalities have a right to levy it. Furthermore, the courts have repeatedly held that the taxing power can be exercised to the point of confiscation. There is no limit to it. The posters are usually an offense to the eye and sometimes to morals. Wherever they are, in the subway or on dead walls, they can be readily put out of existence by the taxing method. Tax them to death!" This would be, indeed, a perfect plan, if the outlawry of posters is desired. You can get rid of posters, dogs, cats, houses, the improvement of houses, or anything else, simply by imposing prohibitory taxes. And as a fact we do keep down the supply and quality of houses in this way. We tax them discouragingly. At the same time we are very mild in our taxation of house-sites, especially of vacant sites, thereby fostering the custom of keeping house sites vacant. Now if we really wish to have a superfluity of vacant but monopolized house sites and to have an undersupply of houses, we need only continue our present taxing methods. But if we would reverse this condition, we should take a hint from Leslie's suggestion about a prohibitory poster tax. Let us tax vacant lots at a prohibitory rate, and they will be built upon speedily; the more especially if at the same time we abolish taxes on houses and house-building materials. And, really, isn't it less important merely to abolish posters on the dead walls of vacant lots, than to abolish posters, dead walls, vacant lots and all, and to substitute therefor better houses for business and residence purposes? Wouldn't it contribute more to the gratification of the æsthetic sense, to the comfort of those who inhabit houses, to the incomes of those who build and furnish them, and to the general good?

ROCKEFELLER'S TAINTED GIFT TO THE HEATHEN.

The Outlook, in its issue of April 1, argues that the American Board cannot consistently reject Mr. Rockefeller's proffered $100,000. The Outlook says:

> It is not the business of a church, charitable organization or missionary society to sit in judgment on the character of the contributions to its work.

That may be true, generally speaking. But it is not necessarily true in every case. The Outlook has laid down a rule; but the Standard Oil "System" is an exception to that rule.

The reason why "it is not the business of a church, charitable organization or missionary society to sit in judgment on the character of the contributions to its work" is because it would be impossible. But if it were as easy for the church to sit in judgment on the character of all the contributions to its work as it is in the case of Mr. Rockefeller, then one of the most important features of its proper business would be to reject all "tainted" money. The world will justify the church in following a manifestly necessary rule. But it expects the church to recognize obvious exceptions.

The world does not expect the church to investigate the sources of all moneys that are offered to it; but when myriad voices thunder in the church's ears: "Beware!" it expects the church to hear.

A merchant is not to blame for innocently accepting stolen money in payment for goods; but when a score of bystanders point to a would-be purchaser, and declare that the money he is proffering was stolen from them, the merchant who should accept that money would be no better than the thief.

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To quote further from The Outlook:

> If the church and the ministry habitually, and with courage and vigor, condemn all questionable methods of money-getting, however and by whomsoever practiced, the effect of their testimony will not be vitiated by the refusal to attempt the impossible task of determining whether and to what degree money offered for benevolent work is tainted by the method in which it is believed to have been acquired. If, on the contrary, the church and the ministry fail to bear such witness with the courage and the vigor which the conditions of the age demand, they cannot furnish a substitute for the neglected duty by the occasional refusal of money from a multi-millionaire because he has been indicted in specific terms for "methods which are morally iniquitous and socially destructive."

In this The Outlook implies that the church and the ministry do not "habitually and with courage and vigor, condemn all questionable methods of money-getting, however and by whomsoever practiced."

But as a matter of fact, on the contrary, the church and the ministry do precisely that. They do it in the only way that The Outlook will sanction. Preachers of all denominations are forever thundering anathema against all questionable methods of money-getting, not only, but against questionable conduct of any kind. The Outlook knows this to be true, and would confess as much. The Outlook does not mean to imply that the clergy do not habitually, and with courage and vigor, denounce all evil, including the evil of questionable methods of money-getting. What The Outlook evidently means is that the clergy do not name the particular cases of questionable money-getting that they condemn. It must mean that, for it cannot deny that the church attacks evil, per se, with persistency and vigor.

But The Outlook stultifies itself. In another portion of the article in question it says:

> It is not the business of a church . . . to sit in judgment on the character of the contributions to its work.

How can the ministry condemn, more vigorously than they habitually do, all questionable methods of money-getting, except by sitting in judgment on the character of particular cases? The Outlook requires the former. It forbids the latter.

If it is, as The Outlook says, an "impossible task to determine whether and to what extent money offered for benevolent work is tainted by the method in which it is believed to have been acquired"—if The Outlook denies that the church can detect a particular source of "taint," and that, too, with the aid of hundreds of thousands of witnesses all pointing at the same spot, then what does it mean by saying that—

> if the church and the ministry fail to bear such witness with the courage and the vigor which the conditions of the age demand, they cannot furnish a substitute for the neglected duty by the occasional refusal of money from a multi-millionaire because he has been indicted in specific terms for methods which are morally iniquitous and socially destructive.

The fact is that the church was about to perform its "duty," in a case where mistake was impossible, when The Outlook threw up its warning hands and cried: "Stop! The task you would undertake is impossible. You may not sit in judgment on the methods of Mr. Rockefeller's money-getting. But go first, and, with courage and vigor, condemn all questionable methods of money-getting, however and by whomsoever practiced!"

If the church is ever going to do this latter it will have to begin somewhere. Evidently The Outlook does not wish it to begin on Mr. Rockefeller. Possibly the weight of testimony against Mr. Rockefeller is not sufficient to convict him, in the estimation of The Outlook. And it must be confessed that in Mr. Rockefeller's case we have a "hung" jury. Mr. H. H. Rogers stands out for acquittal!

Possibly, if the church shall by and by succeed in spotting some commercial pirate, so luckless that not a soul in all the world will say a good word for him, The Outlook will give the word for the church to begin to bear witness, etc.

The one really "impossible" thing in this whole business promises to be the renunciation of that $100,000!

EDWARD HOWELL PUTNAM.

If we had a popular election of Senators it would require a wrecking crew to get some of the present members out of the debris.—Chicago Examiner.

NEWS NARRATIVE

Week ending Thursday, April 6.

Result of the Chicago Election.

It is conceded on both sides that the result of the Chicago election on the 4th was a pronounced victory for Judge Dunne and the policy of "immediate municipal ownership" of traction utilities which his candidacy preeminently represented.

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The municipal campaign which has culminated in that victory was described, down to the 30th of March, in the last issue of the preceding volume of The Public (vol. vii, p. 821), and we resume the narrative with the events of the 31st. The climax of the Harlan campaign was reached on the evening of that day with a mass meeting which packed the Auditorium, except the highest gallery, and at which Mr. Harlan and Col. Lowden were the principal speakers, and Congressman Boutell presided. Minor meetings were addressed by Mr. Harlan and his supporters on the 1st, 2d and 3d. The Dunne compaign reached its climax on the 1st with a mass meeting which packed the Auditorium, except the highest gallery, and furnished auditors for two large overflow meetings in the street. The inside meeting was presided over by Judge Tuley and the speakers were Judge Dunne, Joseph Medill Patterson, John Barton Payne, Samuel Alschuler, James Hamilton Lewis and Clarence S. Darrow. Judge Dunne took no part in meetings on the 2d, but on the 3d he also spoke at several minor meetings.

—

Predictions preceding the election were positive, and, as afterward appeared, quite unfounded. Over their signatures, on the 2d, Mr. Harlan predicted "with entire confidence a triumphant election of the entire Republican ticket"; his campaign manager, Mr. Reddick, predicted "not less than 20,000 plurality" on an "estimated total vote cast of 320,000"; the chairman of his "business men's" committee, H. G. Selfridge, predicted that "the Republican ticket will show a majority which will surprise even its most enthusiastic workers." On the other hand

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Judge Dunne, on the same day, predicted "the greatest majority ever given to any mayor in this city"; and his campaign manager, Frank Wenter, predicted a plurality of 55,000 in a total vote of 315,000. Even the Prohibitionists and the Socialists made extravagant predictions. Oliver W. Stewart, the Prohibition candidate, predicted "two or three times as many votes as two years ago," when the Prohibition vote was 2,674; and John Collins, the Socialist candidate, predicted a Socialist vote of 50,000. The gamblers were betting 5 to 1 on Dunne's election.

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As reported on the 5th, the vote, which for comparison we accompany with the vote at the mayoralty election of two years ago, was as follows, subject to correction, of course, by the official count:

(D) Dunne	161,686	Harrison	146,208
(R) Harlan	137,232	Stewart	138,548
(P) Stewart	2,980	Haines	2,674
(S) Collins	20,333	Breckon	11,124
		(S.L.) Sale	1,014
Total	322,230	(I.L.) Cruice	9,947
		Total	309,515
Dunne's maj.	671	Maj. against	
Dunne's plu.	24,454	Harrison	8,550
		Harrison's plu.	7,000

—

The Democratic candidate for City Attorney was defeated by the Republican, John F. Smulski, by a plurality of 16,596.

—

Judge Dunn's victory for municipal ownership was acknowledged by Gov. John A. Johnson, of Minnesota, who said:

The election of Judge Dunne is a great victory, gratifying to all who believe in municipal ownership.

Also by Mayor Tom L. Johnson, of Cleveland, who commented as follows:

Judge Dunne's victory marks the beginning of the people's battle to own their street railroads, and the end will not be reached until every city in the United States follows Chicago's example.

On the 5th Judge Dunne went with Clarence S. Darrow to New York, to speak at Cooper Union on municipal ownership on the 7th in response to the following telegram signed by William Randolph Hearst, Judge Samuel Seabury, John Palmieri, Melvin G. Palliser, J. G. Phelps Stokes, C. Augustus Haviland, and Thomas Gilleron, executive committee of the Municipal Ownership League of New York:

The Municipal Ownership League of New York congratulates you on the splendid victory achieved by you and the cause your candidacy represented. The League's mass meeting, originally set for Monday night, April 10, can be changed to Friday night, April 7, through the courtesy of Charles Sprague Smith, managing director of the People's Institute, if you can be present. New York citizens will be happy to meet face to face with the man under whose leadership a great American city declared for municipal ownership at the polls.

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Address by the Mayor-Elect.

Upon the announcement of his election, Judge Dunne issued the following signed statement of his municipal policy as Mayor, which appeared in the local papers on the 5th:

I regard my election by a majority of approximately 25,000, in view of the revolution in the management of public utilities that it portends and in view of the tremendous financial interests involved upon the other side of this economic struggle, as a remarkable victory for the people of this city. It means that Chicago, ever in the lead, which is the nerve center of America, will take the lead among American cities in municipalizing its public utilities, if we can here, as I confidently believe we can, introduce this great reform in Chicago.

There were many difficulties that we had to contend with. I am confident that the Socialist party was exploited and I believe assisted very materially by the enemies of the movement.

Although I did not seek this nomination and neither raised my hand nor voice among political or nonpolitical circles, it was urged against me in the press that I was a self-seeker and a political judge. Now that the contest is over, I want to assure my fellow citizens that I was forced into the position of a candidate by circumstances beyond my control, brought about chiefly by my active interest hitherto displayed in the propaganda of municipal ownership.

This propaganda I advocated from a deep sense of conviction and with no ulterior motives. I am confident, now that the campaign is over, that unless Judge Tuley had taken the stand he did in the interest of the preservation of the streets to the public, and if I had not in response to that call from Judge Tuley received such enthusiastic support from my fellow citizens, the cause of municipal ownership and ultimate operation in this community would have been delayed for twenty years and thereby lost to this generation of Chicago citizens.

The campaign conducted on the part of the municipal ownership ticket was unique in many particulars. I declined and refused to accept assistance from public utility sources of an improper and disreputable character. It was conducted upon a high plane. It received enthusiastic voluntary support, both in regard to votes and financial assistance, the contributions ranging from $1 upward.

It was a campaign wholly without pledges, and I shall enter upon the duties to which this community has called me, absolutely without any compromising pledges, alliances, or deals of any character. It will be my aim and ambition to put into actual force in this community the programme set forth in our platform.

The people of Chicago, and myself as a candidate of the municipal ownership sentiment in the community, are under a deep debt of gratitude to many persons and papers. Were it not for the wholesouled, high principled, and disinterested action of Judge Tuley, and the very valuable assistance rendered by Joseph Medill Patterson and other Republicans of his independent type, by such persons as Louis F. Post, Clarence S. Darrow, Margaret Haley, Samuel Alschuler, John Barton Payne, James Hamilton Lewis, Daniel L. Cruice, and by David Rosenheim, John Watson, H. R. Eagle, and H. M. Ashton of the committee of 100, William Bross Lloyd, T. P. Quinn, and others of the Municipal Ownership league, Emil Ritter of the Referendum league, and many others, indeed, of disinterested citizens and eloquent men, both Democrats and Republicans, who took the platform in this campaign in advocacy of the people's cause, that cause might not have triumphed.

On behalf of the people of this community, who think I am heartily in favor of public ownership and operation of public utilities, I desire to thank each and all of these persons for the valuable assistance rendered to the cause.

In reference to my programme I would state that it will be my policy to proceed carefully and deliberately, acting cautiously, with reasonable expedition, with the advice of the best experts in the street railway line in regard to the methods, to bring about the municipalization of our street car system. Up to the present time I have not had the benefit of expert advice and consultation from men skilled in the equipment of street car systems. My first aim will be to procure for the city of Chicago the services of a man or men of ability and thorough capacity in this line.

I shall have these experts carefully survey the present street car systems of this city and report to me their conclusions upon the methods to be pursued, and then, acting upon their advice, and the advice of the ablest lawyers that I can procure, we shall proceed to take such steps as will bring about the municipalization of these plants at the earliest possible moment.

I have not in contemplation at the present time the retention or removal of any public official of the city of Chicago. I have no one selected for any particular

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position excepting, possibly, my private secretary, whom I have in my mind's eye. I do intend, however, to tender to Joseph Medill Patterson a position upon the civil service board of this city at the earliest possible moment that tender can be made. As to whether Mr. Patterson will accept or not I have no assurance. I intend to see that the civil service law of this State, in so far as it affects the city of Chicago, is rigidly enforced during my tenure of office.

I should add that I extend my thanks to the men of the organization of the Democratic party who conducted the campaign so successfully brought to a close. I should also mention Dr. Howard S. Taylor and D. P. Murphy, whose excellent work in compiling the campaign text book contributed so much to the campaign of education on the great issue that triumphed in this election.

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Statement by Mr. Harlan.

Mr. Harlan made the following public statement:

The majority rules, and it only remains for me to say that, having made the best fight I could for what I thought was right, I now cheerfully accept the verdict of the people. To Chairman Reddick and his associates of the Republican organization; to Harry G. Selfridge and his associates of the "New Chicago committee," to Professor Graham Taylor and his association, the Non-partisan club, and to all other friends, I desire publicly to express my appreciation of their loyal aid in the campaign just closed.

To the Mayor-elect he sent the following message:

Please accept my cordial congratulations and best wishes.

The Chicago Referendum.

Judge Dunne's election on the "immediate municipal ownership" policy was emphasized by the referendum vote. Last Summer a "tentative" ordinance granting a settlement franchise to the City Railway system, was presented by the transportation committee to the Council, and the public were notified by the Mayor that unless a referendum petition were promptly secured against it (vol. vii, p. 743) it would be put upon its passage. A petition of 135,000 signers was soon procured, submitting the following three questions:

(1) Shall the City Council pass the ordinance reported by the local transportation committee to the City Council on the 24th day of August, 1904, granting a franchise to the Chicago City Railway Company?

(2) Shall the City Council pass any ordinance granting a franchise to the Chicago City Railway Company?

(3) Shall the City Council pass any ordinance granting a franchise to any street railroad company?

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The principal papers supporting Mr. Harlan (the Record-Herald and the Daily News) opposed the signing of this petition; but it was accomplished with the aid of the Hearst papers. After the petition had been filed, the friends in the Council of the tentative ordinance, amended the ordinance and thereafter contended, as did Mr. Harlan, that the first question had lost its vitality because the tentative ordinance mentioned therein no longer existed, and that the other questions were abstract and confusing. Following was the advice of the Daily News to voters, regarding this subject, given in its issue of the 3d, the Record-Herald giving the same advice:

The three questions of public policy are out of date and should be ignored. The first compels a negative vote, because it excludes all possibility of amendment in any particular. The second and third propositions are purposely unfairly framed to compel a definite answer under indefinite conditions. All three questions are now irrelevant to any practical consideration of present traction conditions and an intelligent vote on them is therefore an impossibility. Pay no attention to them.

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The vote on these questions is reported as follows:

	Yes.	No.	Negative Maj.
First question	60,136	140,049	79,913
Second question	57,151	139,416	82,265
Third question	55,660	141,518	85,858

The effect of this vote is to condemn the specific franchise now pending before the Council, by 79,913 majority; to oppose any franchise to the City Railway company, by a majority of 82,265, and to oppose any franchise to any company, by a majority of 85,858.

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As the vote in favor of franchise is larger than the vote of last Spring against immediate municipal ownership (vol. vii, p. 7), on which the Record-Herald and the Daily News advised a negative vote, it is inferred that the advice to ignore the traction-referendum questions at the recent election was not heeded. Comparison of this referendum vote with previous ones indicates that practically all voters who favor franchises and oppose immediate municipal ownership voted to that end with an appropriate affirmative vote at this election, as they had with an appropriate negative vote at previous elections. The same inference is drawn from the fact that a mandatory referendum on a local bond issue, which was advocated by the Record-Herald and the Daily News, received only 131,276 votes—8,000 less than the lowest adverse vote on the franchise questions. The bond issue was carried by a majority of only 34,935—45,000 less than the lowest majority on the franchise questions.

The City Council.

The City Council, one-half of which was chosen at this election, is composed of 37 Republicans, 32 Democrats, and 1 independent. Of those chosen at the election, 19 are Republicans and 17 Democrats. Among the aldermen reelected were Kenna ("Hinky Dink"), Harding, Cullerton and Powers, who were commonly catalogued during the campaign with "gray wolves"; and Foreman, Young, Bennett and Eidmann, who are most prominently identified with the franchise extension policy. The significance of the reelection of the latter four, who were supported by the Municipal Voters' League, is indicated by the report of the 5th in the Record-Herald, which is also committed to the franchise extension policy, as follows:

When the new Council is inaugurated Monday night, a bare majority of its members will be in alignment with Mayor-elect Dunne in his plans for "immediate" municipal ownership, but the Democrats think there will be no absence of harmony between the new Executive and the aldermen. The strong men of the Council, however, the members who have labored with the traction problem for years, assert that the tentative ordinance will still remain prominently before the Aldermen as a suggestion of the lines on which a settlement will ultimately be made. Alderman Foreman, chairman of the local transportation committee, said last night: "Had John Harlan stood on the tentative ordinance he would have been elected. The tentative ordinance was confirmed and sustained by the reelection of Aldermen Bennett, Young, Eidmann and myself. It is the McKinley bill of traction legislation—the declaration of municipal independence. There will be no settlement of the traction question that is not on the lines of the tentative

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ordinance." An analysis of the returns, based on the well-known attitude of hold-over members, the declarations of those returned, and the statements and pledges of new men with reference to municipal ownership, show a small majority in favor of the Dunne programme. The size of this majority is in doubt. As nearly as can be determined from the more or less definite expressions of the new aldermen, there appear to be 36 members favoring the plan promulgated by the Democratic platform, thirty-one against this plan and three whose attitude is in doubt.

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In the same report, the Record-Herald publishes, on the point noted above, an interview with Walter L. Fisher, the secretary and leader of the Municipal Voters' League, an organization which, while it has not officially committed itself either for or against franchise extension, has been identified by its personnel with the franchise extension policy. Mr. Fisher is reported to have said:

The new Council contains a good, safe majority of honest, reliable men, who will give Judge Dunne support in any sane and sincere effort to solve the traction problem. As the chosen representative of the people of Chicago he is entitled to exactly this kind of support.

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Upon investigation the Record-Herald finds, according to its reports of the 6th, that Mayor Dunne will be supported by a majority of the Council. It had submitted the following question to each alderman:

Will you support Judge Dunne in his declared plan for immediate municipal ownership?

To this question, says the Record-Herald report, "the responses varied," but—

the Democrats gave unqualified support to Judge Dunne's plans. Of the Republicans heard from, a number were noncommittal, asserting that they would give fair play to any plans presented for action. Six Republicans—Aldermen Bellfuss, Dunn, R. R. McCormick, Robert Schmidt, Uhlir and Alderman-elect A. J. Harris—said they would support the new Executive's programme.

It is therefore conceded by the Record-Herald that "an immediate municipal ownership force of at least 39 of the 70 aldermen" is assured.

Beginning Work in Traction Reform.

On the 5th Judge Dunne took the first practical step in execution of his traction policy, by cabling the following message to the lord provost, or mayor, of Glasgow:

Lord Provost, Glasgow, Scotland: Chicago as the first great city in America following the lead of Glasgow and other progressive cities, has declared for the municipalization of its street cars by twenty-five thousand majority. Will you give the manager of your municipal tramways a vacation of thirty days to visit Chicago to confer with me. All expenses, first-class travel, hotel bills, etc., will be paid by me. Edward F. Dunne, Mayor-elect of Chicago.

Reelection of Comerford.

An incident of the Chicago election which is of general interest is the reelection to the lower house of the Illinois legislature of Frank D. Comerford. Mr. Comerford was expelled (vol. vii, pp. 705, 713) last Winter for having in public charged the legislature with corruption. The investigating committee refused to investigate, but insisted upon Comerford's proving a case as in court. His constituents reelected him on the 4th, at a special election, to fill his own vacancy. His plurality is about 600.

Another Single Tax Mayor.

An exciting mayoralty election was held in Kansas City, Kansas, on the 4th (vol. vii, p. 809), in which W. W. Rose, a prominent architect of Kansas, and well known as an advocate of Henry George's programme of land value taxation, was the Democratic candidate, and the present incumbent, Mayor Gilbert, was the Republican candidate for reelection. The issue was the same general issue as in Chicago, public ownership of public utilities, but its specific application related to the distribution of natural gas, now a franchise monopoly. After an exciting campaign Mr. Rose was elected by about 1,000 majority.

Other Municipal Elections.

In Colorado on the 4th there was a Democratic landslide at the municipal elections, except in Denver. It is supposed to have been a popular rebuke of the Republicans with reference to the Peabody imbroglio (vol. vii, p. 805). In Pueblo, Colorado Springs and Leadville, normally Republican, the Democratic tickets were successful—in Leadville for the first time in twenty years. In most of the smaller towns, where party lines were drawn, the Democrats won, the notable exceptions being Cripple Creek, Victor, Golden and Central City. At Gunnison the proposition to bond the city for $10,000 for waterworks and an electric light system carried.

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The mayoralty contest in St. Louis was between the present Mayor, Rolla Wells, the Democratic candidate, John A. Talty, Republican, Wm. Brandt, Socialist, and Lee Meriwether, the candidate of a third party demanding municipal ownership. The vote is reported as 44,367 for Wells; 42,942 for Talty; 7,124 for Brandt, and 2,936 for Meriwether. A proposed bond issue of $9,000,000 for city improvements was defeated by the necessary one-third negative vote.

NEWS NOTES

—President Roosevelt left Washington on the 3d for a pleasure trip West.

—On the 3d, the President named Theodore P. Shonts as chairman of the Isthmian Canal Commission (vol. vii, p. 568), and Charles E. Magoon as governor of the Canal Zone.

—Legal proceedings were begun in Chicago on the 5th to forfeit the street franchises of the Chicago Telephone company, for breach of conditions and public obligations.

—Dr. M. R. Leverson, of Brooklyn, will speak at Masonic Temple, Chicago, on the 9th at 8 o'clock, under the auspices of the Social Science League, on "The Truth About Smallpox and Vaccination."

—The first trains passed through the Simplon tunnel (vol. vii, p. 764) on the 2d, one from Italy and one from Switzerland. When they met midway the event was celebrated with music and a sermon.

—The Jefferson Club of Chicago (vol. vii, p. 743) is to celebrate Jefferson's birthday with a dinner on the 13th at the Sherman House. Among the speakers will be William J. Bryan and probably Tom L. Johnson.

—Charles H. Moyer has brought suit against ex-Gov. Peabody and Gen. Sherman Bell, of Colorado, for $100,000 damages for false imprisonment (vol. vii, pp. 216, 805), in connection with the Colorado disturbances of last year.

—The Cleveland City Council having on the 27th passed a resolution calling upon Mayor Johnson either to apologize to the Council for charging corruption (vol. vii, p. 793) or to make formal charges in court, Mayor Johnson on the

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3d announced that he would do neither and asserted that he still believed that certain financial interests had more influence than the interests of 40,000 voters, with certain members of the Council.

PRESS OPINIONS

Chicago Chronicle (Rep.), Apr. 5.—The probability is that the municipal ownership issue, favored by both candidates unwisely, did not cut an important figure in yesterday's election. There are some people in Chicago who look upon municipal ownership as a panacea for all their ills, but by the great majority of sober and intelligent men that idea is regarded as a joke or a dream. . . . Believing Judge Dunne to be unfitted for the place to which he has been elected and that, surrounded by the influences which are known to control him politically, it will be impossible for him to acquit himself with credit. The Chronicle nevertheless hopes for the best, while fearing the worst.

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), Apr. 5.—By a decisive vote Judge Edward F. Dunne has been chosen by the voters of Chicago to be their next mayor. The American way is to bow cheerfully to the will of the majority, and so, albeit with some misgivings, the Record-Herald makes its obeissance. The mayor's chair is not an easy one under any circumstances, and the incoming mayor will find the job especially difficult by reason of his preelection pledges made to the voters. It will be the aim of the Record-Herald to treat Mayor Dunne with absolute fairness, to aid him in everything that he attempts that looks to the betterment of Chicago, and to criticise him when just criticism seems required.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), Apr. 5.—All cities of the United States owe a debt of gratitude to the citizens of Chicago. The vote for municipal ownership has established the fact that one great city at least—the greatest of the nation in vigor and independence of thought—has decided to own and to manage its civic monopolies and properties. What Chicago does to-day the other cities, great and small, will do shortly. . . . The question before the people has been: Shall the public necessities of the people be monopolized by a few and exploited for their personal profit, with bribery, universal debauchery of public officials, as a feature of the programme? To this question Chicago has answered "No." Greater than any financial benefit is the moral benefit that the people will derive from this important vote. . . . This election is a menace to every man with a plan for exploiting the people. It is full of hope for the patriot, who believes in his country, knowing that corruption cannot finally overthrow the principles of self-government, for which the fathers of the country sacrificed so much.

Chicago Daily News (Ind.), Apr. 5.—By their verdict at the polls yesterday the people of Chicago have made an impressive protest against the atrocious street railway service from which they have suffered so long. They were offered municipal ownership by both candidates for mayor. One held out to them the hope of "immediate" municipal ownership and this they voted for as expressing their resentment most forcibly. The result of the election was a triumph for the adjective. . . . Judge Dunne's most ardent supporter during the canvass leading up to yesterday's election does not wish him a successful administration more heartily than does the Daily News. An unsparing critic of some of his campaign methods and of his avowed policy of condemnation and purchase of the street railway property, including the franchises, this newspaper would be very glad to find by his official acts that Mayor-elect Dunne is as wise, as capable and as powerful for good as he has been pictured by his partisans. He now has the opportunity to justify their expectations and to disprove the assertions of his critics.

THE CHICAGO ELECTION.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Apr. 5.—Judge Dunne will be the next mayor of Chicago. He has polled 161,686 votes to 137,222 for Mr. Harlan. That gentleman made a gallant fight, and deserves credit for it. But it was not on the cards that he should be elected. There were two reasons why it was not. One was that he was for municipal ownership "day after to-morrow," while Judge Dunne was for municipal ownership "to-morrow." The man with the definite, positive, "immediate" programme won. . . . Now we expect Mayor Dunne to redeem the promises which he has made—to give the city the best administration he is capable of, to call the ablest men in his party about him, and to remember that his fellow citizens are expecting great things of him, not merely in the way of "immediate municipal ownership," but in the way of an efficient administration of all departments of the city government. We wish he would forget municipal ownership part of the time. We hope he will consider it is not a moral question, but a business question. We hope he will think that life is worth living whether we get municipal ownership during the next two years or not.

MISCELLANY

THE SPRINGTIME OF FREEDOM.

For The Public.

Oh the bare brown branches burgeon and
the budding leaves are pink,
And we hear the Springtime singing where
the withering snowfields shrink.
It has been a cruel winter and its night was
long and drear,
But the Easter bells are chiming, and the
soft-voic'd Spring is here!

Lo! the Springtime of man's freedom, of
man's happiness and hope,
When the portals of His Kingdom to the
sons of mortals ope—
All the beauty of the Ideal, all the glory of
the True;
In the sunshine of God's freedom they are
close at hand for you!

See, the sunshine warms and widens, and
the somber days are done;
There were bitter times in winter, but the
winter's course is run.
Men have lived and men have suffered; men
have suffered and have died,
And their blood has been the purple of the
monarch's robe of pride.
Now they rally to the struggle of a wider
war than wont,
But God's harbingers of freedom gather
with them, at the front.

And the winter of man's slavery, of his suffering and despair,
It is passing, brother, passing, for the
Spring is everywhere!
Hear the cadence of its music where the
night-wrapp'd Russias frown.
It is harsh-toned there, my brother, but it
sings the tyrant down!

How the echoes leap to answer from a
thousand cities' streets;
And the Russian cry for "Freedom" every
foreign tongue repeats.
In the West the living lightning of God's
mightiest truth was born;
Now the skies of all the Orient by its vivid
blaze are torn.

And the Age has reached its limits—all the
things foretold are come.
Likewise, shall they pass, my brother,
though the prophet's lips are dumb,
And the days of peace and plenty in the
Summer-land of Joy
Dawn for all the toiling millions that the
rulers count alloy.

Dawn for all the toiling millions of the
anguished and forlorn;
Of the ruled, and robbed, and wretched by
the hundred million born
To be spurred and driven drudges for the
owners of the earth,
To be bullet-meat for murder when they
have no other worth.

Yea, the bare brown branches burgeon and
the rising sun is bright,
And the scattered peaks of promise glitter
golden in the light.
It is Springtime in the Heavens, it is
Springtime on the Earth!
And the hopes of God and Mankind tremble
smiling into birth.

VIRGINIA M. BUTTERFIELD.

DEMOCRACY IN AMERICAN JOURNALISM.

Report of the speech of Louis F. Post before the Democratic Editorial Association of Nebraska, at Lincoln, Neb., March 22, 1905, on "Democratic Ideals in American Journalism.

You have asked me to speak on "Democratic Ideals in American Journalism." Let me begin by making sure that we understand one another when we say "democracy."

I don't believe that democracy is the same thing as bad manners. I don't think a man is a democrat because he takes my breath away by thumping me on the back—unless I've got something sticking in my wind pipe and he is trying to thump it out. I don't think any man is a democrat because he enthusiastically crushes my fingers when he shakes my hand. I don't think he is a democrat because he takes off his coat when good manners require him to keep it on. I don't think him a democrat because he sociably puffs tobacco smoke in people's faces. I don't think him a democrat because he spits puddles of tobacco juice on car floors for other people to wade through. I don't think a rich man a democrat because he makes himself hail-fellow-well-met now and then with poor people whom he wouldn't invite to his house. But don't misunderstand me. Men who do those things may be democrats all the same. I am not passing judgment on them. My point is that the doing of those things doesn't make them democrats.

Then there's the question about democracy and the swallow-tail coat. Some folks won't wear that kind of coat because they think it isn't democratic. And they rather think that

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folks who do wear it are not democrats. Now, I don't care whether a man wears a swallow-tail coat or not. But I insist that a man may be a perfectly good democrat, even if he does wear one, and he may not be a democrat at all, though he refuses to wear one. But this much may be said, that if men are to wear "glad clothes" at all, then the "glad clothes" of the swallow-tail coat order are as democratic as possible. In a room full of men all dressed in this kind of "glad clothes," you can't tell rich men from poor men. They all look alike. The only noticeable distinctions are distinctions of conversation and reputation. There is no distinction of clothes, and what could be more democratic than that?

But I have only referred to the swallow-tail coat as a symbol of conventionality. What I want to emphasize is the more general point that no man is a democrat merely because he defies conventionalities. No man is a democrat because he is queer. What democracy requires of a man is that he shall respect the rights of others.

Once I was in a Southern city at the time of a snowfall—the first in over 30 years—it was such a novelty that every native white man on the streets seemed to be snowballing every other man, black and white. I had occasion to go out doors, and after I had been pelted by every group of white men I met, I began to feel that the lonesome Negro I passed, the only man I met that didn't snowball strangers, was the only democrat in the city. At any rate he respected the right of others not to be snowballed. And I have wondered ever since why that was so. Was it because he had democratic instincts? Or was he like the old German's dead wife. "Was she reconciled to die?" asked a sympathetic neighbor. "Mein Gott," replied the astonished German, "she hat ter be." I have wondered whether that Negro respected the rights of others because he had to, or because he wanted to—for a man's motives make a difference on the question of his democracy.

A man's democracy doesn't depend upon color or race or caste or station or wealth or dress. It depends upon his respect for the rights of others. Without this he may be anything else you please, but not a democrat. The very foundation stone of democracy is respect for the rights of man.

To be a member of the Democratic party, that does not make a man a democrat. The Democratic party has a whole job-lot of members who don't believe that there is any such thing as the rights of man. It has a whole job-lot of members who would like to use it to trample upon the rights of man. I know many Republicans who are better democrats than some members of the Democratic party. There are plenty of Populists who are better democrats than lots of men who have got themselves stamped with the Democratic trade mark. The question is not whether we are loyal to the Democratic party. It is whether we are true to the democratic principle.

But don't imagine that democrats ought to bolt the Democratic party whenever the party veers from the straight democratic course. For Democratic newspapers and Democratic leaders to jump out of the Democratic party when it comes temporarily under the influence of plutocratic leaders and plutocratic newspapers, why that is folly if they really want democratic principle to win. To jump out of the Democratic party in those circumstances, is to leave the masses of the party to the mercy of its plutocratic manipulators.

The Democratic party embraces millions of voters who are democrats at heart, even if they can be fooled now and then by plutocrats in Democratic uniform and under the Democratic flag. What these voters want, and what they have proved they want, is democratic leadership inside the Democratic party and not outside of it. Democratic leaders who break away from the Democratic party and try to form third parties may serve a good purpose. Their work may be educational. They may make good political school-teachers. But they cease to be good political leaders.

Make no mistake about it, third parties do not grow from little to big in this country. The reason is plain enough. It is because the election machinery of this country does not give small parties a chance to grow gradually. If we had proportional representation, small parties might grow gradually into big ones. So if we had second elections when a candidate doesn't get a majority, as they have on the continent of Europe. But under the election system that we do have, the little party is at a disadvantage. It cannot poll its own vote. It barely polls a small percentage of its own vote.

Most men don't like to throw away their votes, as they call it. You may tell them that voting for a little party of principle isn't throwing away their votes, and many of them may listen to you once or twice. But when they find that others don't listen, they give up in despair. And so your little party, even when it has made a pretty fair start, begins to dwindle. It grows backwards instead of forwards.

I know that some people tell us the Republican party began little and gradually grew big. But if you read political history you will find they are mistaken. The Republican party sprang immediately into second place. And that is the natural tendency.

Under our election methods the people divide naturally into two political parties, and not into many; and a new party must take first or second place at once, or it will never take either. If it represents a strong public sentiment, the voters may have a whirl or two at it, and if it goes immediately to first or second place they will stand by it. But if one or two whirls don't give it first or second place, they will fall back into the old parties in such numbers that the new party will have no voting strength left. You can't manufacture a political party. Parties are like great poets, they are born and not made. And they are born full-grown. As Minerva sprang full-grown, full-armed from the head of Jove, so new political parties spring full-grown, full-armed from the hearts of the people. You might just as well fish for shad in a tin dipper as to fish for a new party in a convention of delegates who are not delegated.

Out of the Whig and the Tory parties of the colonial period came two factions. The strong government faction crystallized into the Federalist party. This was lead by Hamilton, the anti-democrat, and was opposed by Jefferson and his democratic followers. The Jeffersonian opposition quickly developed into a distinct party. It was democratic, but they didn't like to call it so. The word "democrat" was in much the same bad odor then that the word "anarchist" is now. So the Jeffersonians called their party Republican. Both names meant government of the people by the people and for the people. Both meant equal rights and opposition to special privilege. But the Jeffersonians didn't shrink from the name Republican as they did from the name Democrat. So it came about that the first democratic party of the United States was known as the Republican party. Under that name Jefferson led democracy to victory, and in a few years the old Federalist party disintegrated.

Then the Republican party of Jefferson's day became the band wagon party, and the aristocrats and the plutocrats and all the other enemies of democracy began to climb into that old Republican band wagon, and when peo-

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ple talked about Republicans they had to name the brand. So they began to call the real republicans Democratic Republicans, just as we now call the real democrats, democratic Democrats.

Andrew Jackson became the great democratic leader then. But Jackson didn't go out of the old party and organize a new one with good principles and only a few voters. He stayed inside the old Republican party, where there were plenty of voters, and helped restore its principles to it. He led his party out of the political woods, but not into a political desert. Instead of going out of the party himself he drove the adversaries of democracy out of it, and they organized a faction which they called the National Republicans. Later on, this faction disappeared as the Whig party sprang full-fledged into being. And as the political warfare went on between the Whigs and the Democratic Republicans, the word Republican passed out of use, and Jackson's party came to be known by the name it still bears—the Democratic party. So we had the Whigs and the Democrats.

Under those two parties many battles were fought over the principles of democracy. There was the great bank question—whether an enormous monopolistic bank should govern the people or the people should govern themselves. The Democratic party won that fight. Then there was the tariff question, the fight between the plutocratic policy of protection and the democratic policy of free trade. The Democrats won that fight, too. If the tariff had remained where the Democratic party put it we should have none of the colossal trusts we have to-day. For the trusts thrive principally upon tariff protection and railway discrimination—both of which are the opposite of free trade. The same democratic policy that abolished interference with free trade by tariffs would have prevented interference with free trade by railroads. On economic questions the Democratic party, with its Jeffersonian and Jacksonian principles, was forging ahead toward the mark of its high calling.

But the forces that operate against democracy are not weak forces. They are strong and resourceful and subtle. "Let us not disguise it," writes Henry George, one of the greatest of American democrats; "over and over again has the standard of Truth and Justice been raised in this world; over and over again has it been trampled down—oftentimes in blood. If they are weak forces that are opposed to Truth, how should error so long prevail? If Justice has but to raise her head to have Injustice flee before her, how should the wail of the oppressed so long go up?" How true this is has been more than once demonstrated in American politics.

While the Democratic party of the '40's and '50's was forging ahead toward ideal democracy in economic problems, the vicious forces that always persist in baffling democracy turned it over, bound and gagged, to the great slavery oligarchy of aristocrats and plutocrats.

For the second time, therefore, in the history of our country the democratic spirit was struck down in the household of its friends. But it was struck down only to rise again, more robust than ever. Even in its apparent weakness, prostrate and apparently dying under the slave driver's whip, democracy inspired men of both parties to be up and doing, and through all the political fog and mist there burst one day the great blazing sun of a new democratic party.

It could not call itself democratic, for that name was already a political trade mark. Yet it was democratic and it needed a democratic name. So it went back to the days of Thomas Jefferson for a name; to Thomas Jefferson, whose democratic principles it adopted and whom it recognized as its patron saint. It called itself the Republican party, as Jefferson's party had, and for the same reason—because it purposed carrying the Jeffersonian banner of fundamental democracy.

This Republican party did not grow gradually into bigness and come gradually into power. It was born big and it jumped into power. The Abolitionist party had collapsed. The Liberty party had been swallowed up in the Free Soil party, and the Free Soil party had disappeared. Then the Republican party jumped full-grown into the arena. It leaped at once ahead of the Whig party into second place, and four years later climbed into first place.

But this party no longer turns to Jefferson for inspiration, as its founders did. It no longer quotes Abraham Lincoln with enthusiasm. There is no surer way of making a strict Republican mad to-day than by quoting to him the democratic sentiments of Abraham Lincoln. He won't fall upon your neck and weep in joy over your repentance. He will answer you precisely as the old defenders of slavery answered Lincoln—with the same old jibes, the same old jeers, the same old fallacies. The Republican party has been captured by plutocracy, just as the Democratic party of the '50's was captured by the slave oligarchy. So the money changers have been restored to the temple of our Republic. So the robber barons of plutocracy have recovered their protected privileges.

Theirs is not democracy of the Jefferson and Lincoln brand.

Democracy means equality of right, equality of opportunity. It means just what Jefferson said a hundred years ago—"equal rights for all and special privileges for none." And the problem for democratic newspapers is how to work toward that ideal.

Shall the Democratic party be abandoned and a new democratic party be formed as in Lincoln's day? Or shall it be clung to and its democracy revived as in Jackson's day? That is an issue which cannot be settled by party leaders and newspaper editors. It can be settled only by the people themselves. And let me tell you that when the people do call for a new party, there will be no mistaking the call. You won't have to wonder whether it is really a call or only a whisper. When the people call, they don't call in whispers, they call with reverberating shouts. There is no call yet for a third party, but there is a call from the democratic people to democratic newspapers to revive democracy in the Democratic party. It is the loudest kind of call. Didn't you hear it last November?

There have been great difficulties in the way of radically democratic journalism. The Democratic editor who has tried to make his paper truly democratic has been getting lots of experience and not much else. He has found that the machinery of his party is often influenced by special interests and that he must submit to these or be secretly pounded to death. His notes haven't been in favor at the bank. Advertisers have discovered that his paper wasn't a good medium. Every plutocratic influence in the community has realized that he was running a democratic paper, and they have proceeded with wonderful unanimity regardless of party to make him see that no paper can live without the support of plutocratic influences. So some Democratic papers have been like a notoriously bad politician, regarding whom some one asked: "Has he no principles?" and the reply was, "Oh, yes; he's got principles, but he keeps them under control."

Now I don't intend to be severe upon those papers. When a newspaper must

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either keep its principles under control or quit, when it must suppress its principles or be suppressed, the editor faces a serious problem. It may be that editors ought to be as wise as the plutocratic serpent while they try to be as good as the democratic dove. May be it isn't best to go always and invariably in a straight line. Macaulay tells us that a man may go in a straight line in the desert, but not on the crowded street of a great city. It sounds very nice to insist upon keeping to the middle of the road. But it doesn't work very well when you meet a fellow coming the other way who won't turn out for you and is bigger than you are. Sometimes we may learn a lesson from the habits of animals. It is said that the only animal that keeps to the middle of the road is the mad dog. That isn't quite true. Once I saw a safe and sane dog try to keep the middle of the road. This dog was following his master under that mysterious system that dogs have of going about ten miles to their master's one. The master came to a railroad track and crossed over. Before the dog caught up a freight train had begun to move across the road and separated the dog from his master. Now, if the dog had gone under the train diagonally in the direction in which the train was going, he could have got to his master safely enough, for the train was moving slowly. But the dog insisted upon crossing the track along the middle of the road. He wouldn't give an inch. Neither would the freight train. What was the result? Why, that dog, with all his excellent ideas about keeping to the middle of the road, that dog suddenly died.

Probably most democratic newspapers cannot keep to the middle of the road of democracy without meeting the fate of that dog. Probably they have to make headway as the dog might have made it, by taking a diagonal course now and then. I am not recommending this. If I were I might not be a good follower of my own advice. For I like to stick fairly close to the middle of the road myself. But I think that what I have said is only a fair thing to say. I haven't much blame even for the faltering of a Democratic paper when it is a question of life or death. It doesn't lie in my heart to demand that anybody make a martyr of himself. But what I don't like is to have a paper that does falter put on a great front of virtue. I feel in those cases a little like the man who sat on a wharf and contentedly whittled a stick while another was drowning before his eyes. "Help! help," shouted the drowning man. "I can't swim! Oh, I can't swim!" "Neither can I," said the other; "but I ain't bragging about it." If you have to go diagonally at any time, my friends, don't brag about it.

With all seriousness let us remember that there are times with a newspaper as with a ship, when it may be necessary to beat against head winds; that there are times with a newspaper as with a pedestrian on a crowded sidewalk, when it is necessary to accommodate its movements to the jostling crowd. I would judge newspapers, therefore, by their general course, by the general direction in which they seem to be going, and the general headway they seem to be making.

But, my friends, I believe that the dangers and difficulties which have confronted middle-of-the-road democracy are passing away. Democratic journalism is coming to its own again. The people have begun to distrust Democratic newspapers which play fast and loose with democratic principles. They are beginning to place confidence in the Democratic newspapers that are steady and true to the principles of equal human rights and no special privileges. Some Democratic newspapers may still make money without being faithful to democratic principles. Many may still have to be unfaithful in order to live at all. But no Democratic paper can any longer be unfaithful to democratic principles and yet command the respect and confidence of the people. And I am optimistic enough to believe that the time is near at hand—I think it has already come—when Democratic papers that are faithful to democratic principle will not only be the most trusted, but will also be the most prosperous.

Even advertisers are learning that they gain nothing and may lose much by tempting Democratic editors to be disloyal to democracy. Even bank presidents are beginning to learn that it doesn't pay to debauch the press of the country. They are beginning to see that sound money in editorial columns isn't of as much importance to their business as sound collateral in their vaults.

I would rather have my readers than my advertisers approve my editorial utterances. I would rather have the confidence of my readers in my editorial sincerity than the confidence of my banker in my editorial insincerity. I would rather have it so as a matter of editorial conscience, and I would rather have it so as a matter of business. For if I have my reader's confidence in my editorial utterances, I may gain my advertiser's confidence in the value to him of my circulation and my banker's in the value to him of my collateral. But if my readers lose confidence in my paper, it is only a question of time when my advertisers and my banker will lose confidence in it, too.

Perhaps I have confined myself too closely to the relations of democracy to Democratic journalism. My subject is the relation of democracy to American journalism. But I reckon I cover the field when I urge Democratic newspapers to be genuinely and courageously true to democratic principle. What could I possibly add for the benefit of Republican newspapers? Nothing, it seems to me, except to advise them to remember the origin and meaning of their party name.

Go down below the surface of party manipulation and party treachery, of bossism and personal ambition and corporate greed—go down below the surface of partisan contests to the heart of our politics, and the conflict between the Democratic and the Republican party is one for supremacy in democracy. Which shall be the most truly democratic? Which shall be most faithfully devoted to the principle of human rights? Those are the questions that are really the undertow in American politics.

The indictment that democratic-Democrats bring against the Republican party is this, that it is not democratic, that it has drifted away from its original anchorage in the principles of human rights. The indictment that democratic Republicans bring against the Democratic party is the same, that it is not democratic, that it has drifted away from its original anchorage in human rights. Both indictments are true bills. There may be modifying circumstances on both sides. But the most charitable verdict a true democrat or a true republican could possibly render in either case would be this: Not guilty, with a recommendation to mercy, and an admonition not to do it again.

Now if these indictments are true bills, what can I advise Republican newspapers to do except what, in substance, I advise Democratic newspapers to do? All I can say to Republican newspapers is this: "Stick to your party and make it democratic in the good old Jefferson and Lincoln sense. Drive out your monopolists. Drive out your trusts. Put your corrupt bosses out of business. Stop writing your editorials in bank parlors and plutocratic clubs. Stop selling your advertisers anything but advertising space. Take your editorial conscience out of the money market. And then pound the Democratic party without mercy for everything in it and about it which isn't democratic.

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The fight between Republican newspapers and Democratic newspapers ought to be for the promotion of democracy. Each side should pound the other side for not being democratic enough. That would be an ideal situation in American politics.

And now you may ask: What about democracy and the independent press. Well, a lecture on the independent press would have to be like that famous lecture on snakes in Ireland. There is no independent press.

The third party papers are not independent. They are partisan to the last degree. I am not blaming them for this. I am only stating a fact. For pure, unadulterated, unyielding devotion to party organization, as if a party were a principle, and no matter how small the party—in fact, the smaller the party the greater the partisanship—for the very original Jacobs of a partisan, commend me to your third party editor or organizer. Mind you, I am not saying it isn't right. It may be right enough, but it is partisan journalism and not independent journalism.

Then there are the pretentiously independent newspapers, those which boast of their non-partisanship. Well, they may be non-partisan. I guess that much is true; but they are not independent. They merely transfer their dependence from political parties to financial combines. Watch the non-partisan paper, and you will find that it always dances to the music of some monopoly orchestra. It may be independent so far as parties are concerned. It may be independent between elections. It may be independent at elections which the great monopolists care nothing about. At such times it may often be truly democratic. That is because its editors and other writers are democratic in their hearts. They are either democratic Republicans, or democratic Democrats, or may be they are democratic independents. But when an election is on at which some great monopoly interest is at stake, then the monopoly orchestra begins to play and the independent newspapers begin to dance. They remind you of the dancing turkeys on the hot-iron floor at the show. In the case of the turkeys a showman makes it hot for them, and they dance as he wants them to; in the case of independent newspapers a monopolist makes it hot for them, and they dance as he wants them to.

No, there are no independent newspapers in this country. All our newspapers are partisan. When they are not partisans for monopoly, nor partisans for a political machine, they are partisans for a cause. And this is what the American newspaper ought to be. Let us not be scared at being partisans. Partisanship isn't unpatriotic. The important consideration is not that we are partisans, but how do we come to be partisans.

There are two kinds of partisans. One kind take sides according to the opinions they form. That is legitimate. The other kind form opinions according to the sides they take, and that isn't legitimate. When a man is a Democrat or a Republican merely because his father was, he is a partisan in the bad sense, in the unpatriotic sense. A man should take sides under the inspiration of his brain cells, not of his birthmarks.

All this is as true of editors as of any one else. They ought to be partisans. They ought to make their papers partisan papers. Partisanship for their cause should rise above all other considerations.

And what a great cause the newspapers of the country have to work for. What a great cause is the cause of genuine democracy—the cause of human rights. This cause is at the heart of all wise politics. It is the outgrowth of all true religions. Macaulay was right in saying that whenever and wherever the spirit of Christianity has surmounted its distorted forms, it has inspired love of freedom. Democracy is a universal principle. I can't agree with that atheistic philosophy which teaches that democracy is only an expedient, good in some places and at some times, but not in other places or at other times. That kind of philosophy seems to me like the theory of the quack doctor who had two patients, a shoemaker and a carpenter, both sick of the same disease. One ate cabbage and got well; the other ate cabbage and died. So the doctor wrote this memorandum in his commonplace book under the letter C: "Cabbage—cures carpenters and kills shoemakers."

Democracy is part of the moral law. It is the essence of the moral law. And the moral law is as universal as the laws of electricity, and no more mysterious.

Democracy is likewise the great human doctrine of Christianity. What is the difference between the democratic principle of equality of human rights and the Nazarene's command to love one another and to do unto others as we would have them do to us. There is no difference.

A great responsibility, then, has the journalism of this country to bear. It has the religious responsibility of holding our laws and policies within the bounds of the golden rule. It has the moral responsibility of maintaining national fidelity to the moral law, which is no respecter of nations nor of persons. It has the political responsibility of maintaining fidelity to the Declaration of Independence, that people's charter of our national liberties, on which the Republic is erected and by which both the Democratic and the Republican parties were originally inspired.

Most of all does this responsibility rest upon the newspapers that acknowledge allegiance to the Democratic party. For not only was the Democratic party originally inspired by the principles of elemental democracy, as was the Republican party also, but it bears the democratic name.

More than that, though of vastly less importance, upon the Democratic newspapers of the country rests the responsibility for the perpetuation of the Democratic party. He who will, has only to look about him to-day to see the rising tide of genuine democracy. It is rolling over the seas of common feeling and common thought, like the great heaving billows of the ocean. Whether this rising tide will carry the Democratic party upon its surface or submerge it in its depths, depends upon the Democratic journalism of the Republic. Our Democratic newspapers have it in their power either to sink or to save the Democratic party. If they encourage plutocracy, they will sink the party, and sink themselves. If they insist upon making the Democratic party democratic, they will honor themselves, they will restore its inheritance to their party, they will glorify their country, they will advance the cause of human rights the whole world over.

THE TRUE TALE OF THE FIGHT AT BOTHERUM.

THE LAY OF A LOST MINSTREL.

For The Public.

Did you ever hear tell of the row that they had,
At Botherum-by-the-Lake,
On the day when the hustling John Harkland fought,
With the roadmaster's job at stake?

From the annals of Botherum-by-the-Lake
It seems that there once had been
A great factional war over mending a road,
Which stirred up her ancient men.

As these annals did tell, a great victory came
To those who had fought to mend;
So the road was repaired at the common cost
Of all who had cash to spend.

Oh, a fine bit of work was this mended road,
And proud were the folks, all told.

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But the credit was filched by the "Mender" crowd;
The rest were left out in the cold.

And as time rolled along, and the years spun out,
And Bortherum grew in pride,
Still the "Mender" combine kept the boasting up,
Though all of the menders had died.

Then the "Mender" combine a neat job framed up,
To give the fine road away
To a syndicate great of a distant town
Which "guessed it might" make it pay.

So the "Mender" combine turned their eyes to the sky
And swore by the menders' God,
That their plan was the plan the dead menders had planned
When fighting to mend the road.

It was that that developed the row that they had
At Botherum-by-the-Lake,
On the day when the hustling John Harkland fought,
With the roadmaster's job at stake.

For the roadmaster's job was a splendid old job,
And Harkland did want it sore.
He had wanted it badly for eight long years;
His hopes had been hot for a score.

And the time had now come when his hopes were aflame,
His patience about to explode;
So John Harkland went forth with a franchise grant
To give up the mended road

To the syndicate great of the distant town
In trade for the job he did want;
But his hopes they were chilled, when he met with a man
Who told him to drop that grant.

Said the man to John Harkland, with eye severe:
"This road's in the people's name!
If you don't drop the grant, I will fight you to-day,
For the roadmaster's job you claim."

'Twas as quick as a flash that John Harkland hid
That grant in the tail of his coat;
And the two fought a fight by the lake that day
Which Botherum never forgot.

Said John Harkland, said he: "With that grant it may be,
I never can get my place;
So I'll put out of sight the obnoxious grant
Until I have spoiled your face.

"After that has been done, I will scheme out a plan—
Some kind of a plan or other,
To get rid of the road, of the mended road,
Of the lake-washed town of Bother.

"But the question now on of the highest import,
Is whether or not I get
Me the roadmaster's job, which I've sought for so long.
I'll settle this first, you bet!"

So the two fought it out in the Botherum road—
The road of this town by the lake—
With the grant of the road in John Harkland's coat,
And the roadmaster's job at stake.

And the dust it grew thick, and the fur it did fly,
The blows they fell thick and fast;
But John Harkland grew weak as the fight went along,
And down he fell flat at last,

And the grant it slipped out of his pocket and dropped
Beneath his antagonist's heels,
As the battered John Harkland sank into a dream
Of roadmaster's jobs and wheels.

By the time he awakened an inquest had sat—
The verdict e'en yet provokes fun;
It decided that Harkland had come to his grief
Because he had "bene out-donne."

There's the tale of the row that they had that day
At Botherum-by-the-Lake,
That day when the hustling John Harkland fought
With the roadmaster's job at stake.

L. F. P

At the Iroquois club after lunch Judge Dunne, Frank Wenter, E. H. Roche, Henry Hagan and a few others were discussing municipal ownership and other issues of the campaign, and the talk finally drifted to the epitaphs they would like to have engraved on their tombstones after they had accomplished all the good they could in this world. When it came to the Judge to express his wish, he thought for a moment, and said: "I would like to have placed on the stone above me: 'Here lies the body of Edward F. Dunne. He died poor. The father of municipal ownership and 13 children. May he rest in peace!'"—Chicago Chronicle, of April 5.

BOOKS

REAL THINGS IN NATURE.

Something about astronomy, something about physics, something about meteorology, something about chemistry, about geology, about zoology, about botany, about the human body, something about the early history of man and the development of society, such is the hotchpotch of this little book of 443 pages ("Real Things in Nature," by E. S. Holden, Macmillan Co., N. Y.)

It can be readily seen that in the compass of one book not very much can be told of any of the subjects, and yet what is told is very well told and will serve without correction as introduction to further study. The book fulfills the purpose which the author claims to have had in view, namely, "to present to young children a view of the world which shall be, in its degree, complete, useful and interesting." The author, formerly director of the Lick Observatory, now librarian at West Point, is admirably equipped as a scientist to write such a book; and the publishers, by the clear type and numerous illustrations, have done their part to make it attractive. It may be especially commended for young folks who have not the opportunity to make fuller studies in school, and also for older readers who may wish to get a general knowledge of many interesting things in nature.

In the closing pages, where the author brings in the subject of property to show the progress of civilization, he says: "When a man once plants a field of corn or builds a house, that particular piece of ground belongs to him alone;" but under the subject of taxes on the next page he says nothing of the nice propriety of the man's paying something to the community for the use of the land which once "belonged to everybody." Considering the close connection, we may feel that the author missed a good opportunity for putting a good idea into the minds of his young readers. But this would be expecting too much at the present stage of primary education and text-book making.

J. H. DILLARD.

PERIODICALS

A writer in the Fortnightly Review for March goes very fully into statistics, proving that pauperism has increased in England during the past 20 years. His purpose apparently is to support Chamberlain's tariff reform programme; but his facts are conclusive, however false his cause. The Liberals may well take to heart his facts, and, instead of trying to show that their free trade is all-satisfying, should endeavor to bulwark free trade by freer opportunity in other ways.—J. H. D.

The Century for April gives beautiful full-page pictures of three characters of Tolstoi, namely, Katia, Mariana and Anna Karenina. Other notable features are a sketch by Richard Whiteing on the "Chateaux of the Loire," and an article by Melville Stone on the "Associated Press." President Hadley has a short article on the "Immediate Future of the American College," which is too academic to excite general interest and comes far short of exhausting the subject.—J. H. D.

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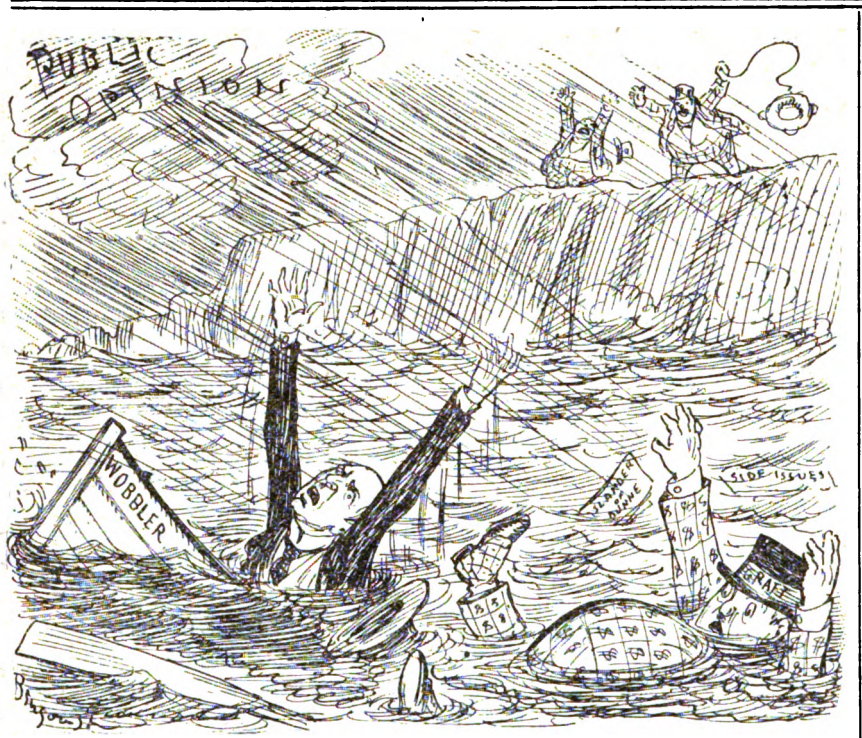

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