GENERAL LIBR
UNIV. OF MI
APR 29 190

The Public

A Journal of Fundamental Democracy and
A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

Eighth Year | CHICAGO, SATURDAY, APRIL 29, 1905 | Number 369

LOUIS F. POST
EDITOR

Entered at the Chicago, Illinois, Postoffice as Second Class Matter

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION

Yearly	$2.00
Half Yearly	1.00
Quarterly	.50
Single Copy	.05

Extra Copies, $3.00 per 100, in lots of 50 and upward; if addressed to individuals, $4.00 per 100

For Advertising Rates and Other Particulars of Publication, See Cartoon Page

The Receipt of a Sample or Marked Copy by a Non-Subscriber is an Invitation to Subscribe

Announcements by the Publishers

A Special Feature of This Number

This number of THE PUBLIC contains, in addition to the usual features, (Table of Contents, page 6) a notable portrait, by Morrison, of Hon. Edward F. Dunne, Mayor of Chicago, and a sketch of Mayor Dunne's life and public services, by Louis F. Post.

EXTRA COPIES ORDERED

As this number is of especial interest and importance to those interested in securing the public ownership of public utilities in the United States, orders for a very large number of extra copies have already been received. The remaining supply is limited. All wishing extra copies should order **immediately.** Each copy contains the portrait of Mayor Dunne. The price for extra copies is **$3.00 per 100,** in lots of **50** and upward; to individual addresses, $4.00 per 100.

REMOVAL OF OFFICES

To meet the requirements of increasing business, we have removed our offices from the Unity Building to larger and better equipped quarters in **THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING, CHICAGO.**

Our new facilities provide for the needs of the editorial and business affairs of **THE PUBLIC,** and also for the publication and sale of books—principally on economic and political subjects—a new and important feature of our work.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY
JAMES G. PARSONS, Manager
First National Bank Building - - CHICAGO, ILL.

FREE **A regular 25 Cent Tube of INGRAM'S ZODENTA and a family Tooth Brush Holder**

Being in sympathy with the principles advocated by this paper, we make the following offer:

Send us One Dollar for six months' subscription to "THE PUBLIC" and we will mail postpaid a tube of Zodenta and an aluminum tooth brush holder, or for a year's subscription two of each. Subscribe for your friends. We believe they should read this paper.

ZODENTA
FOR THE TEETH

Zodenta is a combination of cleansing antiseptics. It makes a foamy lather free from acid, grit and soapy taste.

It whitens, polishes and preserves the teeth, strengthens the gums and makes the mouth clean and wholesome.

Packed in 2½ oz. colored decorated tubes convenient and economical to use. Avoid substitutes in tin or lead tubes with paper labels.

Sold by Druggists or By Mail, Postpaid, 25 Cents.

Send us the name and address of the person to whom you wish "THE PUBLIC" sent and inclose money order or stamps.

Send your own name and address so we can send you the premium. Address

F. F. INGRAM & CO., 37 Tenth Street,
Subscription Department, DETROIT, MICH.

The Truth about the Trusts

A Description and Analysis of the American Trust Movement, By John Moody, Editor "Moody's Manual of Corporation Securities."

A COMPREHENSIVE WORK, embracing descriptions, histories and analyses of all the Great Trusts, Industrial, Franchise and Transportation, giving the facts regarding their Formation, History, Financial Relations and General Characteristics. The entire Trust Movement analyzed, and its many remarkable features vividly illuminated, the text being supplemented by a number of striking maps and charts. A truly panoramic view of the entire Trust Movement.

"The author seeks neither to attack nor defend trusts, but he does set down all the obtainable information about these corporations and classifies this vast fund of information in a most convenient and intelligent manner. The result is startling in more ways than one, even to the man that fondly imagines he has kept track of this movement in a general way. The opening statement that the large trusts in the United States have over $20,000,000,000 of capital is a bit startling in itself, but much more startling than this is the fewness of the men in control of these great corporations. * *"—*Indianapolis Sentinel.*

"It is with vast corporate bodies that Mr. Moody's book deals, and the bare recital, through hundreds of pages, seems akin to ancient fabulous tales from the mystical Orient. The trusts have discovered King Midas' secret charm and found Aladdin's lamp. Everything that they touch turns to gold."—*Boston Post.*

"At a time when the main political issue of the nation hinges on the life and activities of great combinations of capital, John Moody quite opportunely has published 'The Truth About the Trusts.' * * The analysis which the author subjoins to the consideration of many of the individual trusts, brings the book to a level not attained by the many other publications."—*Chicago Evening Post.*

The volume is a perfect mine of information on the subject of Trusts and should be in the hands of every student, statesman, lawyer, capitalist, man of affairs, investor and citizen—any one to whom the "Trust" problem is of any interest whatever.

A book of 640 large octavo pages. A very handsome volume. FOR SALE BY LEADING BOOKSELLERS, or will be sent to any address on receipt of price. Popular edition, $2 net; De Luxe edition, $5 net; add 28 cents for postage.

MOODY PUBLISHING COMPANY
35 Nassau Street, NEW YORK 535 The Rookery, CHICAGO

Digitized by Google

TYPEWRITING
500 copies of anything done for $1.00
E. M. WARNER,
414 Unity Building, 79 Dearborn St., Chicago.
Tel. Central 3364.

Hours: 10 a. m. to 4 p. m. Tel. Harrison 1127.
CHARLES L. LOGAN, D. O.
OSTEOPATHIC PHYSICIAN
Office: 45 Auditorium Bldg.
HOTEL NEWBERRY—EVENINGS. **CHICAGO**

"OUR MONETARY MUDDLE"
A SCIENTIFIC, SENSIBLE SOLUTION OF THE MONEY QUESTION.
25 Cents Postpaid.
H. B. MAURER, 375 Fulton Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

A DAINTY GIFT
FOR YOUNG OR OLD
Our Correspondence Outfit, consisting of one quire high grade white or tinted stationery and envelopes, pen, ink-well, blotters, metal initial seal and tinted sealing wax, candle and candle-stick; price, postpaid, $1.00.
Warner & Warner, 414 Unity Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

"What are prisons for?" "Prisons," said the small boy, with more force than elegance, "prisons are for them as gets kotched."—San Francisco Star.

EDWARD POLAK
4050 Third Avenue, NEW YORK CITY
Real Estate Auctioneer and Broker
Investments carefully made in New York real estate for out of town clients.
BEST OF REFERENCES

JUST PLAIN FOLKS
BY
E. S. DOUBLEDAY
An economic Novel for serious readers. Individualist, Single Taxer or Socialist. It is full of the pathos of the common life, the heartbreak of its despair; and with joyful hope for its betterment. A living expression of the cause of, and the cure for, involuntary poverty.
316 Pages; Cloth, $1.00; Paper, 50c.; Postpaid.
H. C. BERRY, 1362 Bergen Street, Brooklyn, N.Y.

A cult appears to be an infatuation with a seer at one end and a sucker at the other.—Puck.

FRED. CYRUS LEUBUSCHER,
COUNSELOR AT LAW,
Rooms 811, 812 and 813,
258 Broadway, Borough of Manhattan.
NEW YORK.

B. C. STICKNEY
Attorney and Counsellor at Law
Patents and Trade Marks
Expert in Patent Causes
152 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK

CONTRACTORS.
GEORGE H. ATKINSON,
CONTRACTOR.
Telephone, Electric Light, Trolley and Municipal Work.
Trolley Roads built complete and financed.
56 Liberty Street, New York.

The Evolution of Man
By WILHELM BOELSCHE.
MODERN SOCIALISM is closely allied to the modern scientific theory of evolution, and it is impossible to understand it without some knowledge of that theory. Now evolution is accepted as a working basis in every university of Europe and America, and no one with a scientific education wastes time in questioning it. Nevertheless, there has until now been no popular explanation of the evolution of man in simple form at a low price. There is a very good reason for this. If laborers understand science, they become socialists, and the capitalists who control most publishing houses naturally do not want them to understand it.
"The Evolution of Man" tells in full detail, in a clear, simple style, illustrated by pictures, just how the descent of man can be traced back through monkeys, marsupials, amphibians, fishes, worms and lower forms of life, down to the animals composed each of a single cell. Moreover it proves that there is no such fixed line as was formerly thought to exist between the organic and the inorganic, but that the same life-force molds the crystal that molds the cell. It is not only simple; it is up to date and gives the latest discoveries in science. It is THE book on the subject.
Handsomely bound in cloth, **50 cents** postpaid.
CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY,
56 Fifth Avenue, CHICAGO.

ALL STEEL $4

That will buy this handsome, steel wire, two seat, Lawn and Cemetery Settee. Well painted, white or dark green. Freight prepaid east of the Mississippi. Money refunded if not satisfactory.
COLUMBUS WIRE & IRON WORKS,
COLUMBUS, O.
Manufacturers of Bank and Office Railings, Elevator Enclosures, Window Guards, and various kinds of wire, iron and brass goods.

Camping in Yellowstone Park and the Rocky Mountains
AN IDEAL VACATION TRIP
A Limited Party—50 Days in July and August, $140 from Chicago to Chicago
For particulars address ROBERT C. BRYANT, 517 N. COURT STREET, ROCKFORD, ILL.

Mamie—What is biology?
Gladys—I suppose it's the science of shopping.—Chicago Daily News.

SEED CORN **IOWA GROWN and tested 99 per cent.**
Iowa Gold Mine, per bushel $1.25, 3 bushels at $1.20; sacks free. **Iowa Silver Mine,** per bushel $1.40, 3 bushels $1.30; or by mail 1 pound 20c., 3 pounds 50c.
Our 25 Offer 300 kinds of Flower Seed, 10 full sized packages of Garden Seed, and a 15-cent seed check good for 15 cents worth of any kind of seed in our catalogue. All packages at 1, 2 and 3 per package. Cut out this ad. and write to-day. **Address to 777, X, F. C. GRAVES SEED CO., Des Moines, Ia.**

ASK FOR WILCUT
"The Knife That Holds Its Edge"
Every housewife needs a dependable bread or butcher knife. Wilcut knives are "tempered to save temper," by a process handed down from John Wilkinson, Master Forger, of England. Hand forged by experts. Guaranteed to stay sharp longer than any other make. At live dealers', or send us 50 cents for 7-inch blade, or $1.00 for 10-inch. Catalog 11, of butchers', cooks', hotel and kitchen knives mailed free.
If you want a complete assortment of knives for yourself or for your cook, send us $5.00 and we will ship the following, prepaid: 6-inch butcher knife; 10-inch butcher knife; 6-inch boning knife; 12-inch ham slicer; 6-inch French cooks' knife; 8-inch bread knife; special 4¾-inch kitchen knife; 3-inch paring knife; 4-inch fruit knife. All "Wilcuts" are unqualifiedly guaranteed.
WILKINSON SHEAR & CUTLERY CO., Reading, Pa.

Digitized by Google

MR. CLARENCE DARROW'S
FARMINGTON

Is meeting with not only an unquestioned success from the *selling* standpoint, but it is achieving the even more difficult distinction of a *literary* success. These two are seldom united in one book. Here, for example, is what two leading journals say:

The New York Times Saturday Review

"The book is very charming, and in much very true. Not a man who has been a real country boy, or who has been cheated by his elders (always with the best motives) of being all the boy he might have been, but, if he has grown up to be ripe enough, will seem to find himself again in many of Mr. Darrow's pages.

"Our impression is that Mr. Darrow has shown real art in the handling of one of the most difficult forms of literature."

The Dial

"'FARMINGTON' is not a book to be taken from the public library, or even to be borrowed from an obliging friend. It is a book to own—to read by the winter's fire and re-read under a summer tree; a book to be kept on the shelf where the oldest favorites live. *It is a book for boys, for women —but above all, it is a book for men who have once been boys."*

These two distinguished examples illustrate perfectly the prevailing tone of all the reviews of this rare and delightful book.

Second Edition $1.50.

A. C. McCLURG & CO., Publishers, CHICAGO

By JOHN P. ALTGELD

The Cost of Something for Nothing

"Reveals a strong man at his mental best."
—*Chicago Tribune.*

12 Mo., Cloth; $1.00 net, postpaid.

By CLARENCE S. DARROW

RESIST NOT EVIL

"It is a startling arraignment of the doctrines of force and punishment."—*St. Paul Pioneer Press.*

Cloth, 12 Mo., 179 pages, postpaid, 75 cents.

By CLARENCE S. DARROW

A PERSIAN PEARL

A Volume of Essays and Literary Interpretation.

CONTENTS: A Persian Pearl (The Rubaiyat), Walt Whitman, Robert Burns, Realism in Literature and Art, The Skeleton in the Closet.

12 Mo., Cloth, $1.50 net, postpaid.

The Hammersmark Publishing Company
151 and 153 Wabash Avenue
CHICAGO

JOHN Z. WHITE'S APPOINTMENTS

WITH NAMES OF LOCAL SECRETARIES

MONDAY, APRIL 17th—Ithaca, N. Y. Prof. M. L. Drew, 13 E. Ave.
TUESDAY, APRIL 18th—Binghamton, N. Y. Fred E. Kennedy, 271 Front St.
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 19th—Binghamton, N. Y.
THURSDAY, APRIL 20th—Binghamton, N. Y.
FRIDAY, APRIL 21st—Schenectady, N. Y. Andrew Hutton, 554 Western Ave.
SATURDAY, APRIL 22nd—Rochester, N. Y. John Campbell, 231 Webster Ave.
SUNDAY, APRIL 23rd—Rochester, N. Y.
MONDAY, APRIL 24th, to SUNDAY, APRIL 30th—Buffalo, N. Y. C. D. Blackhall, 10 Lock St.
MONDAY, MAY 1st—Hamilton, Ontario. E. S. Gilbert, 164 W. King St.
TUESDAY, MAY 2nd—Hamilton, Ontario.
THURSDAY, MAY 4th—Grand Rapids, Mich. Jesse Orton, Houseman Bldg.
FRIDAY, MAY 5th—Grand Rapids, Mich.
SATURDAY, MAY 6th—Elkhart, Ind. G. A. Briggs.
SUNDAY, MAY 7th—Elkhart, Ind.
MONDAY, MAY 8th—Ft. Wayne, Ind. Henry Cohen.
TUESDAY, MAY 9th—Ft. Wayne, Ind.
FRIDAY, MAY 12th, and SATURDAY, MAY 13th—Rock Island and Moline, Ill. J. A. Logsdon, Moline. C. R. Walker, 1517 3d Ave., Rock Island, Ill.
MONDAY, MAY 15th—Grinnell, Iowa. C. H. Verbeck, 720 Spring St.
WEDNESDAY, MAY 17th—Emporia, Kans. E. E. Soderstrom.
FRIDAY, MAY 19th—Pueblo, Colo.. B. D. V. Reeve, 114 Central Blk.
SUNDAY, MAY 21st, to TUESDAY, MAY 30th—Denver, Colo. John B. McGauran, 716 Lincoln St.
THURSDAY, FRIDAY and SATURDAY, June 1st, 2nd and 3rd—Colorado Springs, Colo. Geo. H. Sinton, 431 S. El Paso St.
JUNE 10th to JULY 20th—Pacific Coast.

F. H. MONROE, President
The Henry George Lecture Association
610 Steinway Hall, CHICAGO, ILL.

Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to advertisers.

Digitized by Google

AN EXCEPTIONAL OPPORTUNITY

The New Library Edition of the Complete

Works of Henry George

Including the

LIFE OF HENRY GEORGE

By HENRY GEORGE, Jr.

Just Published. In ten volumes, 12mo., handsomely bound in buckram, with gilt tops, untrimmed edges, etc. It contains a full set of portraits, and is in all respects equal to the well known MEMORIAL EDITION, issued in 1898, which is now out of print, and which sold for $25.00 per set.

What Tom L. Johnson Says of This New Enterprise

"Gentlemen:—

"I wish to congratulate you on bringing out a new library edition of the Works of Henry George. The day is not far distant when the professional or business man who does not understand the philosophy of Henry George will stand discredited in any intelligent community.

"A knowledge of this philosophy will broaden and strengthen any man, morally and intellectually; will make him a more public spirited citizen, and better equip him for the activities of business and professional life. It will give him a clearer comprehension of his duties to his fellow man, to the State and to the Great Ruler of the Universe; lifting him immeasurably above the plane of vanity, sordidness and selfishness which now seems to be the chief end of man.

"I hope and believe that your enterprise will be a success beyond your most sanguine expectations."

"Very truly yours,

TOM L. JOHNSON.

LIST OF THE VOLUMES:

Volume I. **Progress and Poverty.**

Volume II. **Social Problems.**

Volume III. **The Land Question.**

This volume contains three short works: (1) A brochure of seventeen short chapters and entitled "The Land Question;" (2) "Property in Land," a passage-at-arms with the Duke of Argyle; (3) "The Condition of Labor," an open letter to Pope Leo XIII., in reply to the Pope's encyclical letter on "the condition of labor."

Volume IV. **Protection or Free Trade.**

Volume V. **A Perplexed Philosopher.**

Volumes VI. and VII. **The Science of Political Economy.**

Volume VIII. **Our Land and Land Policy.**

This volume contains, besides selected speeches, lectures and miscellaneous writings, the pamphlet which, first published in 1871, was the forerunner of "Progress and Poverty" eight years later.

Volumes IX. and X. **The Life of Henry George.**

TERMS OF PURCHASE

This handsome set of books, of uniform size and boxed, will be delivered free of all further cost to any address in the United States (with customs duties added to Canada and Mexico, and to other foreign countries at the extra expense of foreign expressage and customs), for $15.00, CASH WITH ORDER, or for $17.50 IN INSTALLMENTS, payments to be made $2.00 on delivery and $2.00 thereafter monthly until the set is paid for.

AGENTS WANTED

In every locality for the sale of these and other important books. Descriptive circulars on application.

The Public Publishing Co.,

First National Bank Building, Chicago, Ill.

A word to those who value THE PUBLIC and wish to see its influence grow.

From a time shortly after its publication began, THE PUBLIC has been constantly receiving letters from its readers, approving its form and content and commending its moral spirit and editorial strength as an economic and political review. It has not been possible to acknowledge individually more than a few of these letters, but every one of them has been much valued by the Editor and publishers.

A large number of such letters, more numerous recently than before, have urged that the time is ripe for a great extension of THE PUBLIC'S circulation, and that this would be of much service to the American public by promoting the principle of equal rights and pointing the way to the only possible means of relief from great and burdensome abuses. Some of these letters have urged that a convenient method be adopted by which the writers and others of like mind might work to secure new subscribers. To meet these requests we have established the simple method of selling subscription cards, which we offer at a discount.

On this plan we offer cards, each good for a subscription to THE PUBLIC (a white card for a yearly subscription, a blue card for a half-yearly one), in lots of five, at the rate of $6.00 a lot for yearly subscriptions and $3.00 a lot for half-yearly ones. This makes the rate for subscriptions in these groups $1.20 a year, or 60 cents for six months.

Anyone ordering these cards may sell them at $2.00 each for yearly subscriptions, or $1.00 each for half-yearly, thereby earning a commission of $4.00 a lot on the former, or $2.00 a lot on the latter; or, the cards may be sold at the cost price, if the purchaser wishes, for the purpose of aiding to disseminate THE PUBLIC'S teachings.

A special group of three yearly and two half-yearly subscription cards will be sent for $4.80.

These cards may be paid for when ordered, or they may be ordered and the remittance sent pro rata upon each sale.

For convenience in sending orders, a coupon is printed below. If you believe THE PUBLIC is doing a work that merits encouragement, fill out the coupon at once and mail it to

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY,
FIRST NATIONAL BANK BLDG.....CHICAGO, ILL.

THE PUBLIC, Louis F. Post, Editor

APPLICATION FOR SUBSCRIPTION CARDS

No.	Yearly	Half-Yearly
5		
10		
15		
20		
25		
50		
75		
100		

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY:

I wish to assist in increasing the circulation of THE PUBLIC, and ask you to send me a supply of Subscription Cards as indicated on the margin. I agree to use every effort to sell the Cards as soon as posible, and will remit for them as sold.

NAME .....

STREET AND NO .....

(OR BOX) .....

P. O..... STATE.....

Indicate the number of cards and class wanted by marking X opposite the number in the appropriate column.

Mail to The Public Publishing Company, First National Bank Building, Chicago, Ill.

Digitized by Google

The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

Volume VIII Number 369

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, APRIL 29, 1905

CONTENTS.

EDITORIALS:
The street car situation in Cleveland....49
Valuable street permits in Chicago.....49
Banker Bigelow's defalcation.....49
Public and private functions.....50
New Jersey franchises.....50
Standard Oil carrion and the buzzards..51
H. H. Rogers as an example.....51
Roger Foster and Thomas W. Lawson..51
Taxing transfers of stock.....51
Taxing corporation capital stock.....52
The craze for criminal convictions.....52
Denial of native rights in Africa.....52
The specialization fad.....52
John R. McLean's advice.....53
Edward F. Dunne, Mayor of Chicago....53

NEWS NARRATIVE:
The traction question in Cleveland.....57
The traction question in Chicago.....58
Public works department of Chicago....58
The Chicago gas question.....59
The Philadelphia gas question.....59
The teamsters' strike in Chicago.....59
"Closed shop" builders' contract in New York.....60
News Notes.....60
Press Opinions.....60

MISCELLANY:
Revolutions (poem).....60
Not by Bread Alone.....61
The Electoral Wisdom of Japan.....61
Those Flats (verse).....62

BOOKS:
Fechner's Little Book of Life After Death (Dillard).....62
Crosby's Edward Carpenter.....63
Pamphlets.....63
Periodicals.....63

CARTOON—The New Dunciad.....64

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT:
Increasing the Circulation.....64
Two months for 25 cents.....64

For terms and other particulars of publication see cartoon page

EDITORIAL

On the heels of the victory for municipal ownership in Chicago, come reports of a vastly improved outlook for traction matters in Cleveland.

—

After years of conflict with the Cleveland traction company, for the protection of public rights (vol. vii, pp.632, 713), in the course of which the courts and the legislature have been pliant to the demands of the corporate interests, even to the extent of "rippering" the municipal governments of the State, Mayor Johnson has at last forced a situation which gives fair promise not only of reduced fares but of municipal ownership as soon as the legislature will permit it.

—

The company got a paralyzing blow when the Federal court failed it. In that tribunal it had counted upon plain sailing. This it found until the Federal judge resigned, under an intimation from the President that he might refuse and fare worse—an intimation that could with advantage and propriety be extended to other corporation tools on the Federal bench. The successor of that judicial derelict belongs to a different judicial class, as the corporation's lawyers discovered when they began with him their lofty pettifogging over traction franchises. They claimed perpetual franchises by implication (p. 35), but he decided that their franchises are at an end when the expressed terms expire. Accordingly the injunction of this court is dissolved and the way thrown open for the coming of a competing company and not improbably of municipal ownership.

—

Negotiations are now under way on the basis of a plan which Mayor Johnson has long favored as presenting the fairest and most frictionless method of passing from private to public ownership. This is the "holding company" plan—a company to "hold" for the benefit of the public during the transition period. The plan would differ in details, of course, with differences in local circumstances. Mayor Johnson's proposal for Cleveland appears in full in our News Narrative. His proposition is now looked upon with favor by the present company, as indicated by a meeting with its representatives on the 24th at Mayor Johnson's office; but they want compensation on the basis of stock market values, and that basis of value Mayor Johnson refuses to consider. He proposes fair values and not stock-jobbing values.

—

Mayor Dunne, of Chicago, and his Commissioner of Public Works, Mr. Patterson, have instituted a reform which will be differently appreciated according to the interests it affects. The financial interests which thrive upon public plunder will appreciate it as a "menace to business;" but whoever believes in protecting public as well as private interests, will appreciate it as a good omen of future reform in the City Hall. It relates to the granting away of valuable property rights of the public, in the guise of permits. Under the franchise of the company which owns the freight tunnel beneath Chicago's streets, either the Mayor or the Council may permit the digging of spurs, and it was customary under the recent administration for the Commissioner of Public Works, to grant, in the name of the Mayor, such permits in his own discretion. It made a fine orchard for grafting purposes, because it afforded extraordinary security from publicity. Mayor Dunne and Mr. Patterson have terminated this custom. Hereafter such permits must be granted openly by the Council, and the Council itself must shoulder the responsibility.

—

For Frank G. Bigelow, the distinguished banker of Milwaukee, a very type and exemplar of the "safe and sane" business man, whose enormous defalcations have just been exposed—for him and his family, few can have and none ought to have any but the most sympathetic of feelings. He is doubtless not a man of criminal mind, as criminality is understood by a generation which sees only virtue in success and nothing criminal in any man who gets rich but keeps out of the penitentiary. As Mr. Bigelow did not intend to earn a place in the penitentiary, he is not a man of criminal mind in the conventional sense; but as he is a spectacular example of the prevalent craze for success in wealth-getting, he is a man of criminal mind in a more profound and much more dangerous

Digitized by Google

sense. The witty saying can apply to him, that he "is not a good man gone wrong, but a bad man found out;" and his kind of bad man is so common that if possession of the criminal mind were a crime and all of them were found out, the bench, the bar, the pulpit and the counting room, would lose many of their finest ornaments, just as the banking fraternity loses one of its models in the Bigelow exposure. Mr. Bigelow is no worse than other men of his class. He has only been more indiscreet in risking a clash with the criminal law, or perhaps only more unlucky in the encounter. When all of us are trying to get something for nothing without tumbling into the jaws of the criminal law, exposures like that of the Bigelow defalcation are only unhappy incidents of the main thing. He is but a conspicuous soldier falling in a battle in which all are engaged. It is not Bigelow but business ethics that needs reforming most; and not he but those who succeed in the greedy, grasping struggle who most deserve punishment. As a millionaire banker, reflecting respectability upon the conventional processes of getting something for nothing, and preaching platitudes designed to prove by his own life that the getting of something for nothing is consistent with good-character building, he was a more dangerous enemy to society than he is now as a confessed defaulter on his way to prison.

One of the peculiarities of the discussion now so general in the United States over the subject of public ownership of public utilities, is the at-oneness in which plutocrats and socialists find themselves in ignoring the vital distinction between public functions and private functions. Socialists regard all the larger functions of social life as public—even to the production of a pork chop, as it has been our fortune to hear the doctrine declared. Plutocrats, likewise ignoring the essential differences, regard all functions that are profitable as private. One of the spokesmen for this view is the New York Times. Another and more recent one is the New York World. The topsy-turveyness of the latter's thought may be inferred from this sapient remark: "Cities generally have taken out of the hands of private corporations the business of supplying water." This is like saying that cities generally have taken out of the hands of private corporations the business of policing the streets and collecting taxes. The function of supplying water to a city, necessitating as it does a monopoly of the city's streets for that purpose, is a function of the city. No one can perform it without a grant of the city's own inherent governmental power. And this in the very nature of things. What other test is there of a public function than that in the nature of things it is one which necessitates the exercise of governmental power? A water supply for a city must either be provided and operated by the city government itself, or it must be provided and operated by private enterprise acting under the grant of a power which in the nature of things inheres not in private enterprise but in the city government. That being so, cities do not "take out" of the hands of private corporations the private business of supplying water; they merely refuse to put into the hands of private corporations the public business of supplying water. And this suggests the natural line of demarkation between all public businesses and all private businesses. It is an answer, on the one hand, to socialists who aim to governmentalize every function of social service, and on the other to plutocrats who hysterically exclaim that governmental management of government functions implies governmental management of private functions. Let public business be administered by governments and private business by individuals.

It has become so common in some States to regard highway functions as opportunities for private exploitation, notably so in New Jersey, that even an attempt to limit the duration of franchises for such exploitation is looked upon in that State as extremely radical and shockingly socialistic. Thanks, however, to the New England Society of Orange, something has been done to jar this Jersey bourbonism. That society appointed a committee, with Frederick W. Kelsey as chairman, which set vigorously and intelligently to work to secure legislation. It proposed a bill prohibiting highway franchises to any person or corporation other than a municipality for a longer period than 25 years. This ought to have been mild enough for the mildest mannered corporationist who ever plundered a community by law. But it was not mild enough for the corporation jackals who make up the New Jersey legislature. They refused to enact it. Yet a rising tide of public opinion had become too strong to be altogether ignored. The leading papers of the State, the leading civic associations, boards of trade, etc., and the public spirit of some municipal officials, notably Mayor Fagan of Jersey City, whose good work is commended by Lincoln Steffens in the May McClure, had created a pressure to which the legislature yielded to the extent of providing for an inquiry into the whole subject and a report to the legislature. By this bill the governor is required to appoint a commission of five, with power to compel testimony, to investigate the facts, and to recommend legislation. As part of its subject of inquiry the commission is to report upon the advisability of taxing the values of such franchises. No report of appointments on the committee is yet at hand, and whether the men selected will be corporation tools or not is unknown. But it will make little difference. Should the commission be a good one and make a full investigation, its exposures in the rich diggings of New Jersey will tend to stimulate popular hostil-

Digitized by Google

ity to franchise thieves. The same result may be expected if the commission is composed of men who set out to thwart the present demand for mild legislation. All chances are that when the friends of the franchise corporations in the New Jersey legislature substituted this investigation bill for the franchise limitation bill of the New England Society of Orange, it unintentionally pitched a dynamite bomb into the franchisers' camp.

Where the carrion is, there do the buzzards congregate. The popular revolt against corporate domination has caused the corporations to throw out much carrion for buzzards whom they can utilize. Several birds of this kind are retained by the Standard Oil crowd. One of their masked organizations is the Civic Association of New York. It is like those faked labor leagues, of which railroad corporations especially are the patrons. Ostensibly a society for the general good, nominally an association of public spirited men who stand for principles in public affairs, it is in reality a sordid agency for the distribution of corporation literature. Frank B. Thurber's name appears as the president of this association, another of the officers of which, as well as the association itself, is most deservedly even if mercilessly dealt with by Lawson in the May "Everybody's." Men whose memories run back to the beginnings of the popular movement now coming to fruition against corporation rule, and recall the splendid and devoted work which Frank B. Thurber then did as the guiding spirit of the Anti-Monopoly League, will learn only with sorrow of the use of his name as president of this Standard Oil adjunct. Verily, death is not the greatest calamity a man may suffer, as many a one who has outlived his better self must realize.

The satanic character of the Standard Oil crowd is circumstantially portrayed by Lawson's May article, with "Amalgamated Copper" as the epic and H. H. Rogers as its hero. To understand Rogers is to understand the business impulses which lead to the making sometimes of a convict, as with the banker Bigelow, and sometimes of a captain of industry like Rockefeller or a pirate of finance like Rogers. And Rogers can be understood even without the scintillating pen of a Lawson. The World's Work for April prosaically pictures him in a performance of the boy who was father of this man. He had a monopoly as news agent for the good people of Fairhaven, Massachusetts. Day after day he met the early morning train from Boston, received the newspapers and distributed them to the public. Thus the merchants of Fairhaven were on an equal footing in regard to knowledge of the latest commercial news. If anyone failed to keep posted, it was his own fault. The newspapers and their agent, young Rogers, performed their implied contract in placing the news impartially before the subscribers. As the story goes, one Bartholomew Taber, at that time a leading merchant in Fairhaven, was awaiting the arrival of the Nancy James with a cargo of sperm oil, before filling a contract for 500 barrels of oil with the New York firm of Charles Pratt & Co. Young Rogers met the early morning train, as usual, with the Fairhaven consignment of Boston papers. Glancing over the headlines, he saw that the Nancy James had gone down with her entire cargo. Only the captain and the crew were saved. Knowing of the oil contract he hurried at once to Taber and imparted the news. At the same time he offered to sell him the entire consignment of morning papers for permission to invest in Mr. Taber's oil deal. It would be fully three hours before another delivery of papers could arrive, since a storm was delaying the other trains. The shrewd oil merchant quickly saw and grasped the opportunity. Reasonably sure that the loss of the whaling vessel would not be known for two or three hours, he set about quietly buying oil enough not only to fill the contract, but for speculation. Naturally there were inquiries for the morning papers, but by the time Fairhaven learned of their disposition, and, incidentally, of the fate of the Nancy James, the oil deal had been consummated. In this deal Rogers invested $200, which he had saved by taking care of the pence, and before night his speculation had quadrupled the amount. Unhappily such stories are told not as warnings against cultivating the criminal mind which they reveal, but as laudable landmarks in the careers of successful men!

In publicly exonerating Roger Foster from his accusations, express and implied, regarding the Delaware court episode in which a dress suit case of legal tender figured, Lawson has at least shown a disposition to avoid mere scandal. Foster's connection with the matter was immediately and satisfactorily explained by himself (vol. vii, p. 594) on the ground that he had acted simply as an attorney and had done nothing but legitimate attorney's work. He was the only one implicated who did explain. The others took refuge either in silence or behind a rampart of vituperation.

The law imposing a tax upon stock transfers, which has been enacted in New York, is another example of tax-dodging legislation. Its effect, of course, is to obstruct the exchange of property represented by stock certificates. More accurately, perhaps, that would be its effect if it were large enough to produce its normal effect visibly. As it is a very low tax, it may have no visible effect in discouraging stock transfers; but in that case it will lessen, to the extent of its revenue producing power, the taxes that ought to be paid, not by trading transactions, which should be encouraged, but by valuable legal privileges which

Digitized by Google

ought to be the sole source of public revenue.

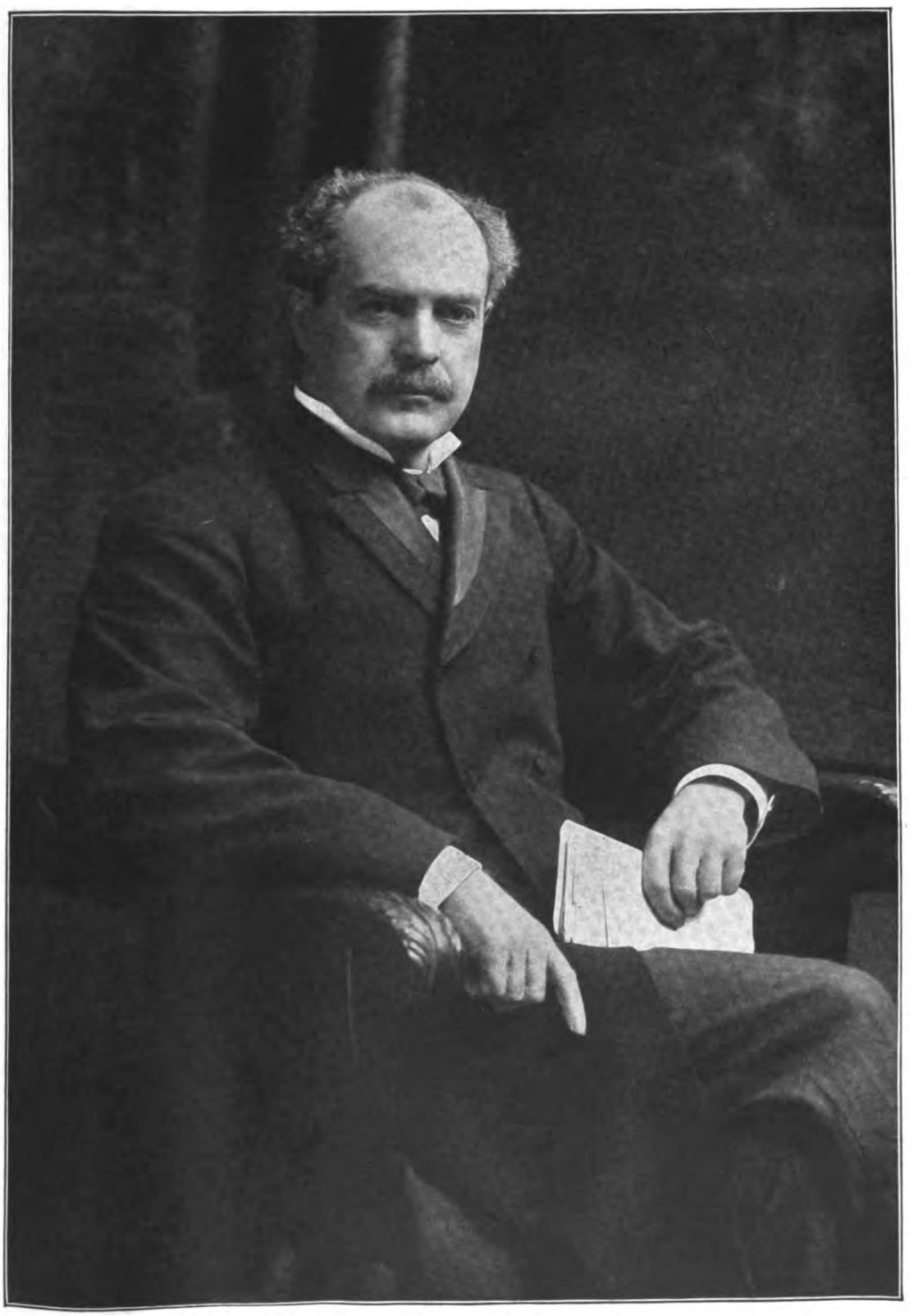
Of the same character is the opposition in the Illinois legislature to the exemption of manufacturing and mercantile corporations on the value of their capital stock. The motive of this opposition is tenderness for the tax-dodging beneficiaries of valuable privileges. No privilege is represented by the value of a mercantile or manufacturing company's capital stock. That value consists in the value of the company's tangible property, which is already taxed as such. To that extent the taxation of the stock of those companies is double taxation. Moreover it is a tax upon something which the company does not receive from the public. It is their own product. If the value of the capital stock represents anything more than this, it is either the value of their landed property or the value of good will. The landed property can be taxed directly with greater fairness; and good will ought not to be taxed at all. Good will value is the value which a business house secures by earning a reputation for good service; and everybody ought to be encouraged to acquire that kind of value. To tax the good will of a store is as idiotic as it would be to tax the attentiveness and politeness of its clerks. The effort to show that the stock of a mercantile or manufacturing concern is the same thing as the stock of a street car company is arrant nonsense. The value of street car stock represents but little tangible property and no good will. It consists, in enormous proportions, of the mere vested legal right to the exclusive use of the public streets for street car service at extortionate rates of fare. The tax that justly and wisely reaches such capital stock becomes both unjust and unwise to the extent that it reaches the capital stock of unprivileged corporations.

An Illinois Judge, Henry V. Freeman, of Chicago, has plainly spoken a word that has long been wanted from the bench, in a city where prosecuting attorneys count their fidelity by the number of their convictions, and policemen turn torturing inquisitors instead of performing their single function of arresting persons accused of crime and holding them in custody until released by due process of law. Judge Freeman expressed himself in a lecture on "Legal Ethics" at the University of Chicago on the 20th. "In many cases," said he, "facts in favor of the accused are purposely and wrongfully withheld by lawyers and police in their efforts to secure convictions regardless of justice." This criticism upon the mania for conviction, as if conviction and justice were interchangeable terms, was peculiarly well-timed, though doubtless unintentionally so, for on the very day of Judge Freeman's lecture one of his associates on the bench, Judge Barnes, insulted a jury for finding a verdict of not guilty in a case in which he, had the law imposed that duty on him istead of imposing it on them, would have found a verdict of guilty. The accused was charged with larceny. He proved, evidently to the satisfaction of the jury, that he was too drunk at the time of the act to have formed the intent to steal, without which intent the taking of the property was not larceny. So the jury acquitted. And thereupon this judge denounced them from the bench with language and in a manner that ought to subject him to impeachment if indeed it would not. The craze for convictions has demoralized policemen, prosecutors, some juries and some judges. Isn't it high time, as Judge Freeman intimates, to inculcate a wholesome sense of the importance of administering justice regardless of convictions instead of piling up convictions regardless of justice?

The facility of the white man at finding excuses for doing by others what he strenuously objects to having others do by him, is a curious study. Here in our own Southern States, for instance, the native American Negro is solemnly assured that this country is a white man's country, with a white man's civilization, and that the Negro must not be allowed to participate in its government because, whether intentionally so, or not, he is an intruder. In Africa, on the other hand, the white intruder as solemnly assures the native African Negro that Africa is a country where the white man is called to bear the burden of civilizing the Negro, and that the Negro must not be allowed to participate in its government because he might interfere with the beneficent purpose of the intruders. So here you see it and there you don't, and it all comes to the same thing in the end—a civilization which, in one form or another, makes slaves of the many and masters of the few. White civilization has gone so far in South Africa now that, not only are the native Negroes not allowed to vote on the laws that govern them, but the white intruders alone are allowed to own land. A native who has no right to any place on the soil of his own country seems anomalous, and no wonder the native papers are cynical about it. But then it is true of this country also, and not with reference to Negroes alone, but whites as well. The majority, the vast majority, of American children are born landless and remain landless unless they give their labor to some fellow mortal and compatriot for the right to a place on their common earth and in their common country.

The dean of the University of Chicago School of Education, Prof. Geo. H. Locke, hits the mark in the center when he advises his students to shun specialization, predicting that the age of the specialist has gone, and characterizes specializing as knowing only one one thing, which "is just as bad as knowing nothing." Of course comprehensive knowledge and special skill in one line is a good thing. It is what makes division of labor effective. But it has been

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

turned into a fad, so that your specialist rather prides himself upon his manifest ignorance of and incapacity in everything but his specialty. This is degeneration, not development. Excessive specialization, like the fatalistic theory of evolution, is a perversion; and the signs of its passing are encouraging.

Very good advice is that which John R. McLean's Cincinnati Inquirer gives to Mayor Dunne—good, that is, by the McLean standards. It advises him, instead of sending to Glasgow for a street car expert, to consult Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, or Mr. George J. Gould, or one of the Vanderbilts, or Alexander J. Cassatt. But the advice is inapplicable. As Mayor Dunne is not trying to rob the people of their rights he needs a different kind of expert from any that John R. McLean would be capable of suggesting. You don't consult crows about planting corn, nor foxes about chicken roosts.

EDWARD F. DUNNE, MAYOR OF CHICAGO.

The circumstances of the election of Edward F. Dunne as mayor of the second city of the United States (pp. 22, 37) have invested his personality with a national interest which his administration, charged as it is with the execution of a peremptory popular mandate for municipal ownership and operation of traction facilities, is likely to enhance. We therefore offer our readers a portrait* of the man, along with this sketch of his career.

I

Mayor Dunne's full name is Edward Fitzsimons Dunne.

His parents, Patrick W. Dunne and Delia M. Dunne, came to New York from Ireland in 1849, and were living at Waterville, Conn., when their son was born, October 12, 1853.

Within a year they moved to Peoria, Ill., and here the son spent his youth and earlier manhood.

The father became a prominent citizen of Peoria. He served as alderman several years, and was for one term a member of the Illinois legislature. Also a prosperous business man, he was able, when his son had graduated from the public schools at Peoria, to send him to the world-famous Trinity college at Dublin to complete his education.

Doing his work at Trinity with such marked success for three years that he became first honor man of his class, young Dunne expected to graduate with distinction at the close of another college year. But this ambition was balked by financial reverses suffered by his father at the beginning of the long and desolating business depression of the '70's.

Obliged for that reason to return to Peoria, the young man served one year in his father's mill, meanwhile pursuing, however, a course of reading with reference to the legal profession. In 1876 he regularly began the study of the law at Chicago, and in 1877 he was admitted to the Illinois bar.

In partnership with such distinguished lawyers as Judge Scates, formerly of the Supreme Court of Illinois, and Congressman Hynes, Mr. Dunne built up a large practice, to which he devoted his energies for fifteen years. He withdrew from practice in 1892, upon being elected to fill a vacancy on the Circuit Court bench. Here he soon began to make a record for judicial ability and fidelity, which, strengthening as it grew, secured his reelection in 1897 and again in 1903. His nomination for the latter election was indorsed by the bar association and the various good government organizations and newspapers, and was confirmed by a popular vote which fell but slightly short only of the highest—that which was cast at the same time for the venerable and revered Judge Murray F. Tuley.

Judge Dunne had meanwhile married with Elizabeth J. Kelly, of Chicago, at Chicago in 1881. They have had 13 children, of whom 10 are still living. These range in years from 17 to 2.

In the course of his thirteen years' service on the bench, Judge Dunne decided many important cases, some of them involving clashes over partisan and class interests; but he never fell under suspicion of bias, and only a small percentage of his decisions were reversed. His judicial reputation, no less with the judiciary and at the bar than among the people, measured up to a high standard. Yet he always refused conformity to judicial conventionalities that tend to alienate the sympathies of judges from the common life and the common interests, and are therefore supposed to shield them from demoralizing influences. His insistence upon his freedom as a citizen notwithstanding his judicial office, did not disturb his judicial balance. Throughout his career on the bench, he was a worthy example of the citizen-judge.

II

When the movement for municipal ownership of public utilities passed from the academic to the practical stage in Chicago, Judge Dunne did not hesitate to enter into it actively and conspicuously. His interest was awakened by his investigations as a member of a committee of aldermen and citizens appointed by Mayor Harrison in 1902 to suggest plans for dealing with the street car franchises, most of which were soon to expire. The committee consisted of Aldermen Finn, Beilfuss, Hermann, Dunn, and Daugherty, and Gen. Hermann Lieb, A. M. Lawrence, Daniel L. Cruice, Edward Osgood Brown and Judge Dunne. In December, 1902 (vol. v, p. 569) it recommended two bills for municipal ownership and operation, one for street cars and the other for gas, which were largely Dunne's work. The one relating to street cars came to be known in the City Council, to which it was presented for approval, as the "Finn bill." It was rejected by that body, under the leadership of Aldermen Jackson and Bennett, and the "Jackson bill" (vol. v, p. 663) was substituted for it for recommendation to the legislature. The "Jackson bill," recommended by the Council in the interest of the traction companies, was displaced in the legislature by the Mueller bill, which became a law and is now in force in Chicago.

Judge Dunne's earliest contribution to the municipal owner-

*The portrait of Mayor Dunne, published with this issue of The Public as a supplement, was made expressly and exclusively for The Public by Morrison, the photographer, at a sitting given by Mayor Dunne for that purpose, on the 17th day of April, 1905. Especially characteristic in pose and expression, this portrait is in all respects an extraordinarily faithful likeness.

Digitized by Google

ship movement, after his work on the committee mentioned above, was a speech on the subject of public ownership of public utilities in general (vol. v, p. 732), which he delivered before the Henry George Association of Chicago in the Winter of 1903. But his most valuable and timely service in the matter was rendered in August, 1904. This was when he and Judge Tuley courageously attacked and exposed (vol. vii, p. 357) what was known as "the tentative ordinance."

That ordinance, designed for the settlement of the traction question, was ostensibly a municipal ownership measure. It seemed to quiet litigation by commuting all franchise claims in one new franchise grant for a term of thirteen years; it seemed to assure rehabilitation of the physical property, and to enable the city to enforce good service with universal transfers during the commuted term; and it seemed to guarantee to the city the right to purchase for the purpose of municipal ownership at the end of the commuted term, upon payment of the appraised value of the physical property.

All this was deceptive, whether so intended or not. For the ordinance did not eliminate old questions for litigation, and it did create new ones; it gave the city no better right to enforce good service than it already possessed; its terms made purchase by the city practically impossible, irrespective of the possibilities of litigation; and it would have continued corporate ownership by force of law certainly for 20 years, probably for 40, and possibly for an indefinite period beyond. It was not a municipal ownership ordinance.

Yet it was urged as such by one of the strongest combines ever formed in Chicago. It had the support not only of bad government interests but also of good government interests. The dominant influences of the Municipal Voters' League, no less than those of the gray wolves' lair, were behind it. Mayor Harrison strove to secure its speedy adoption, and to that end treated with indifference his campaign pledges and with contempt the heavy referendum vote cast less than five months earlier against all franchises. In this course he was encouraged by the Republican and the independent press, by pseudo municipal ownership advocates and candid franchise grabbers, by business and professional classes irrespective of party and by partisans irrespective of principle, by grafters of all degrees and reformers of many shades, with singular unanimity. Few opposed the measure but "hair-brained cranks," as those who did so were frankly told, and as the fact seemed to be. A set purpose to "jam through" the vicious ordinance was manifest, and the business, official, political and journalistic forces back of that purpose were truly formidable.

Such were the forbidding circumstances when Judge Tuley, in a newspaper interview from his Summer home at Mackinac (vol. vii, p. 343), and Judge Dunne in a speech in Chicago (vol. vii, p. 357), each without consulting the other, broke through the conventional dignity of the judicial office and asserted the independence of their citizenship. They denounced the character of this ordinance and warned the people against the conspiracy to "jam" it through.

Having thereby excited the wrath of the traction companies and their allies, these public-spirited judges were in consequence roundly abused. In the luxurious surroundings of plutocratic clubs, where judicial inspiration is more easily tainted than by any open participation of judges in political controversy, and also in newspapers which reflect club opinion and call it public opinion, their act of good citizenship was considered as a flagrant instance of dragging the ermine of the courts into the mire of politics. The hysterical wrath they aroused in those quarters may be considerately excused; for they had thwarted a great conspiracy which but for them would have been immensely profitable. If these two judges had honored the judicial ethic of silence on political matters, above the civic duty of honest speech, if they had not spoken when they did and as they did, the "tentative ordinance" would have been passed by the Council and signed by Mayor Harrison, and the traction corporations instead of the people would be "in the saddle" in Chicago today.

Thanks to their brave and timely utterances, a great referendum petition against the ordinance was secured, the passage of the ordinance was consequently postponed pending the referendum vote, the vote was overwhelmingly against the ordinance, and the ordinance is now conceded to be hopelessly dead. No good citizen deplores its death. Even the mourners dissemble their grief.

III

The "tentative ordinance" having been referred to popular vote, Judge Tuley and Judge Dunne were warranted in supposing their volunteer service in the traction complications at an end. But it had in fact only begun. They were soon confronted with the alternative of losing all they had gained for the municipal ownership cause, or of participating in the wrangles of a political campaign.

John Maynard Harlan had been generally regarded as the coming Republican candidate for mayor, and his election was conceded. There was, indeed, no strenuous opposition to him in either party. Although he was the favorite of men and newspapers which had tried to "jam" through the "tentative ordinance," although he had not uttered a word in public distinctly for municipal ownership since 1898, and although he had refused to assist the municipal ownership movement at a critical juncture even to the extent of making a public speech in favor of a referendum upon it, nevertheless his earlier activities in the matter had created a degree of confidence in him which made organized opposition, even among alert and active advocates of municipal ownership, an exceedingly difficult undertaking. The difficulties in the way of opposing Harlan were enhanced by the fact that the choice would almost certainly lie between him and some indifferent or objectionable Democrat.

As the time for nominations approached, reasons for distrusting Mr. Harlan multiplied and pronounced opposition set in. Among other things, a conviction gained ground that his election would mean the adoption of the "tentative ordinance," no matter how

Digitized by Google

the referendum vote might go. "The tentative ordinance is beaten," said one Chicagoan to another after the referendum petiton had been secured. The person addressed was an uncompromising advocate of the ordinance. "By no means," he replied. "It certainly is," responded the other; "the referendum petition has been obtained, the passage of the ordinance will be delayed until after the April election, the people will then vote heavily against it, and the ordinance will be dead." The frank explanation by the ordinance advocate in reply seemed to disclose the situation as it was then understood by Mr. Harlan's immediate supporters. In substance he said: "It makes no difference how the people vote on that referendum. Harlan is in favor of the ordinance, and he will be nominated and probably elected; but lest he fail, the Democratic candidate, whoever he may be, will be pledged for the ordinance; an ordinance majority of the City Council will be nominated and so supported as to make their election sure; and as soon as the election is over, the tentative ordinance or one like it will be adopted by the new Council and approved by the new mayor, regardless of the referendum." The purpose indicated by that conversation was scarcely concealed by Mr. Harlan's supporters, and the necessity of forcing a municipal ownership candidate for mayor upon the Democratic convention became increasingly apparent.

At that time there were only two men who possessed all the indispensable qualifications: availability for the Democratic nomination, ability and fidelity with reference to the municipal ownership policy, and the popularity requisite to win the election against a candidate as strong as Harlan was believed to be. One of the two was Judge Tuley and the other was Judge Dunne. As Judge Tuley's advanced age made it unfair to him, notwithstanding the tenacity of both his physical and his intellectual powers, to draft him into a service so exciting and arduous, Judge Dunne was really the only available man.

But Dunne's nomination, notwithstanding his preeminent availability, was not to be had for the asking. The Democratic managers had decided to let the election go by default. It was even suspected that this was part of a programme—Mayor Harrison to stand aside while a Republican administration granted the traction franchise, and to return in two years with the street car question out of his way. However unjust this suspicion may have been, the cold fact was that the Democratic managers officiously conceded the election to the Republicans "this time," and were rather frankly preparing to make a weak nomination. Whether for that reason or some other, all efforts to bring about Dunne's nomination met with studied discouragement. To arguments for it, the dominant politicians turned what is known in the language of the man in the street as the "wooden ear."

A very possible reason may have been Dunne's own emphatic refusal to solicit the nomination; for while he declared his willingness to respond to a call of the people to him to leave the bench for this new service, he steadfastly refused to make himself a candidate for the nomination. Whatever the reason, however, the movement for his nomination could not be made to move.

While this inertness controlled with reference to Dunne, and just as Harlan's nomination was gliding majestically along the lubricated rails of his party machine and the Democratic rails were being laid and greased for some unknown light weight, the courage of Judge Tuley again served and saved the cause of municipal ownership in Chicago.

He had observed the course of events with much concern. He realized that Harlan's election had been assured. He knew that only a weak adversary was to be named. He felt that an independent nomination would be futile. He grasped the sinister significance of the appearance of J. Pierpont Morgan's syndicate and its purchase for millions of dollars, of street car interests which would be almost valueless without new franchises. He foresaw the granting of such franchises, regardless of the referendum vote, immediately upon the coming in of a new city administration. He was appalled by the monstrous yet delicately adjusted mechanism, with its massive parts and subtle forces, that was grinding out this result. He was keenly conscious of the more than doubtful event and the almost certain danger of attempting to block that fateful mechanism. But he cast personal prudence to the winds and rose to the altitude of that highest type of courage, the courage of the man who fears a danger yet dares to meet it. Defying the combination of forces, he published his Emergent Letter to the people of Chicago (vol. vii, p. 669), calling upon them regardless of party to save the cause of municipal ownership by demanding Judge Dunne's nomination by the Democratic convention.

Judge Tuley had not overestimated the dangers of his imprudence. His letter was met with an outburst of rage at his "descent from the bench into the mire of politics." But that storm did not have time to gather before it was dissipated. Judge Tuley had said the word which had only needed the right man to say it. He had touched a popular chord. The response of the public was almost instant. It was so magnetic that the coolness of the Democratic politicians quickly turned to fever heat, and the "wooden ear" became a microphone. In due time a Democratic convention that was to have made a weak and fraudulent nomination under orders from a party boss, made a strong and honest one under the pressure of public opinion.

Mr. Harlan's defeat was foredoomed and Judge Dunne's nomination and election assured, when Judge Tuley strode forth from the judicial bench to the public forum to warn the city of its danger. And so it came about. After an exciting campaign, wherein Judge Dunne clung tenaciously to the issue on which he had been nominated—municipal ownership and operation of traction facilities at the earliest possible day and with no dilatory settlements nor any further franchises—as the Democratic candidate for Mayor he was elected by 24,518 plurality in a city which had been carried six months before for the Republican candidate for President by 109,924 plurality.

Digitized by Google

IV.

The triumphant election of Edward F. Dunne as Mayor of Chicago, while due to his thorough identification with the particular reform his candidacy represented, was logically a tribute also to the essential democracy of his character. Always a Democrat by party affiliation, he has never swerved from the principles of democracy as a political conviction.

The colonial programme of American imperialism, exhibited in the plutocratic policy of Philippine subjugation, was revolting to his political conscience, and his voice rang out against it from its inception.

The subjugation of the Boer republics in the march of British imperialism was equally revolting to him; and he stood by the side of John P. Altgeld in lending aid and encouragement to the victims of that benevolent assimilation. This was not because he felt the tingle of Irish blood in hatred of Great Britain; it was because he felt the surging tide of Jeffersonian democracy. His resistance to British imperialism in South Africa sprang from the same impulse as his resistance to American imperialism in the Philippines.

It was for the same reason that, in a public speech at the time, he severely criticized the Roosevelt administration for conspiring to wrench territory from a friendly neighbor in connection with the Isthmian Canal. Mayor Dunne favored the building of the canal, but he did not favor the disgraceful plot for dismembering the Republic of Colombia by conniving at the secession of Panama. He wanted the canal, but he wanted it with national honor and not at the price of national turpitude.

Because he is a Jeffersonian democrat and opposed to paternalism, he is a free trader. According to his political philosophy, government should leave individuals to their own business so long as they respect the rights of others. And just as he believes that government should leave individuals untrammeled in their functions, so he believes that individuals should leave government untrammeled in its functions. For that reason he believes in the public ownership and operation of public utilities. He realizes that it is just as undemocratic to allow a privileged few to control public functions, as to allow government to control private functions. His political creed in this connection may be summed up in these words: Public ownership and operation of public utilities; private ownership and operation of private utilities.

In religion, Mayor Dunne is a Roman Catholic. This fact doubtless lost him many votes. For even among Americans extremely tolerant of religious differences, mild hysterics are not uncommon at any suggestion of the possible civic influence of the Pope of Rome otherwise than as a moral policeman for the regulation of "the lower classes." In connection with Mayor Dunne, this trepidation relates especially to the public school system.

Strangely enough, non-Catholics appear very generally to regard Catholicism and hostility to the public schools as convertible ideas. Yet it is a fact that sentiment in favor of the American public school system is perhaps as prevalent among Catholics as among non-Catholics. There are public school Catholics in plenty.

Mayor Dunne is of that type of Catholic. There is no more sincere supporter of the public school system. Himself a public school graduate, he and his wife have sent to the public schools all their large family of children but one. The baby of the family, too young to go yet to the distant public school, attends a parochial kindergarten which happens to be near by; but she too will doubtless in good time answer to roll call with the other nine as educational products of the American public school.

Not alone in his personal and family life has Mayor Dunne shown that he finds fidelity to his religious convictions in no wise inconsistent with loyalty to what he regards as one of the noblest of American institutions. He has shown it also in his public declarations and in his official service.

As a speaker Mayor Dunne's style, both in composition and in delivery, is entirely matter of fact. He makes no effort to charm or amuse, but labors solely to enlighten and to convince. Not that his speaking is without charm; but that he subordinates everything else to his dominant purpose of lucidly and forcibly presenting the material with which he always supplies himself abundantly in advance.

This intensity of concentration and aggressive seriousness characterizes his manner at all other times of responsibility, as well as when he appears upon the platform; but it is never at the expense of his native good humor, which borders upon a gayety quite foreign to his speaking style, whenever he finds himself free from responsibility.

An excellent "mixer," who pleases without "blarney" and discriminates without offense, he is also what every really good mixer must be, a man of consummate executive skill.

In his administration Mayor Dunne's executive dexterity will be taxed to its utmost. He confronts a double problem, each branch of which offers in itself a delicate and trying task.

Primarily he must carry out his programme for immediate municipal ownership and operation of traction facilities. This is the task he was elected to perform. Forces the most powerful will oppose him. Influences the most subtle will try to divert him. Gigantic interests will gather to overwhelm him. Against it all he may not be able to succeed. But if he fails he must leave no doubt that the fault is not with him.

That primary task is a special trust. It takes precedence of everything else. It is more important than good and clean government, for good and clean government we cannot hope to have while great private interests can acquire government privileges by corrupting government officials. It is a task, therefore, which must be performed even at the risk and cost of "good and clean" government. But in reality a good and clean general administration is one of the necessary conditions for the performance of Mayor Dunne's principal task. By convincing the people that the era of graft and inefficiency and peanut politics in the City Hall went out at the window when he came in at the door, he will go far to guarantee not only the accomplishment

Digitized by Google

of his municipal ownership task, but also the success of the policy of municipal ownership and operation when that task shall have been accomplished.

This is what makes his problem a double one. His is the duty of giving Chicago a clean and confidence - inspiring government; and, borne forward upon the confidence so established, it is his to wrest from the traction corporations the public rights they are withholding from public use.

Thus far everything he has done has strengthened public confidence in the scope and integrity of his purpose and his ability to promote it. Those who know him best believe that this confidence will grow in strength as his period of service lengthens.

NEWS NARRATIVE

Week ending Thursday, April 27.

The Traction Question in Cleveland.

As the excitement over an acute stage of the traction controversy in Chicago (p. 38) subsides while the work of actual adjustment proceeds, the older but for some time quiescent controversy over the same subject in Cleveland (vol. vii., p. 632, 713) revives. This is chiefly due to a heated controversy between the traction monopoly and the city authorities, regarding renewals of franchises, which culminated in a formal conference, open to the public, in the Mayor's office on the 24th. The conference was largely attended by city officials and citizens.

—

At that conference Horace E. Andrews, president of the Cleveland Electric Railway company, represented the monopoly interests, and Tom L. Johnson, the mayor, stated the policy of the city. The discussion, as reported by the Plain Dealer of the 25th, was conducted on the basis of the following plan submitted by the mayor after Mr. Andrews had consented to consider anything except a 3-cent fare proposal:

That a company, working in the interests of the people, be organized to lease the property and rights from the present company, guaranteeing the present stockholders a certain stated profit on the investment, and that all profits above that sum be used for the benefit of the people, either in lower rates of fare, extensions over greater territory, betterment of service, or other matters.

Mr. Andrews offered to consider the plan provided a fair price were fixed as the basis for the stated profit to be paid to the stockholders of the present company. Mayor Johnson replied to this that the price ought to be fair and liberal, but that stock market prices could not be allowed to govern. After a conference with his directors Mr. Andrews is to resume the negotiations.

—

Meanwhile Mayor Johnson has explained his plan, which would approximate municipal ownership as closely as the laws of Ohio allow, and would serve as a transition method if a municipal ownership enabling act were passed. As reported in the Plain Dealer of the 25th, he said:

I have simply applied the recognized rules of modern finance to our local situation, only, for the first time so far as I know. It is proposed to work the trust idea backwards, so that the public may get the benefit instead of paying the freight. I am applying the same laws and rules by which the United States Steel company acquired and operates all the steel mills of the country; it is the same way that the American Stove company is operating half a dozen stove factories in this city; it is the plan by which all modern trusts are formed. The scheme as applied to street railways is now in operation in Cincinnati, where the Elkins-Widener syndicate of Philadelphia has leased all the lines and property of the Cincinnati Traction company. In brief, it is not municipal ownership, but private ownership without profit. It will absolutely take the street railroads out of politics and will also take their securities out of the speculative stock markets. Here in brief is my plan: Let the city and the Cleveland Electric Railway company agree upon a fair valuation for all its stock and bonds and a fair dividend upon the stock; in arriving at this valuation we must count in (1) the cost of reproducing the present tracks, power houses and equipment; (2) value of unexpired franchises, based on their earning capacity; and (3) a reasonable payment for the good will of the company and for peace and immediate possession. In arriving at this valuation the city should be liberal and the Cleveland Electric Railway company should be fair and just. Having arrived at a valuation, let the city (through the Council and Mayor) and the Cleveland Electric Railway company select five or seven men who are acceptable to all parties. By this I do not mean that each side should select half, but each man must be acceptable to both sides and trusted by the public. Let these men secure a charter from the State for a company of small capitalization, and let the Cleveland Electric Railway company lease all its lines and property to this new company. The new company will be bound under its lease to pay a fixed interest on the Cleveland Electric Railway company bonds, fixed dividends on its stock, and to provide a sinking fund to retire the bonds. The Cleveland Electric Railway company is to give the leasing company an option to buy its stocks at the agreed price at any time. Under the terms of the lease, if the interest and dividends are not kept up or the property is allowed to get out of repair, the Cleveland Electric Railway company would have a right to come in, as under a mortgage, and take possession of the property. As a bond or guarantee, the City Council should pass a new blanket franchise for 25 years, six tickets for a quarter, and with all the other terms and conditions the same as are in existing franchises. This franchise will become of full force and effect if the leasing company fails in its obligations. The new company would execute to the city an option, in turn, of all the rights it may have under the lease agreement so that the city could buy at any time and without paying any profit all these rights. The members of the new company should be paid liberal salaries and should not be allowed to make any other profit out of the operation of the property. This would secure the services of the very best street railway and business men. Neither the city nor the Cleveland Electric Railway company can name any future members of the operating company. They will select their own successors just as members of sinking fund commissions or the trustees of the Society for Savings do. All profits left after paying dividends, interest and sinking fund charges are to be expended in one of three ways: First, in extending and bettering the service; second, in reduction of rates of fare; and third, in buying the property under the terms of the option in the lease. The operating company would be absolutely free of politics and would be free from the temptation to squeeze the public in order to increase dividends or affect the securities on the stock market. Under the State law, municipal ownership is impossible, but this plan gives the city all the benefit of municipal ownership, and at the same time avoids an increase in the number of city employes, which by some is urged as an objection. It is really equivalent to the best civil service regulation. Mr. Andrews has said that he, as one of the large stockholders of the Cleveland Electric Railway company, is willing to try the scheme if a fair valuation can be arrived at, and I feel sure that if we all work honestly and

Digitized by Google

sincerely to a common end a fair, liberal and just bargain can be made that will (1) fully respect the property rights of the Cleveland Electric Railway company; (2) take the street railway forever out of politics; (3) give the people who pay car fare the benefit of all future increase of franchise values and of future inventions which may lower the cost of street railway service; and (4) keep the street railways out of the stock markets. With the stock of the street railway tied up by options and its earning and sale value absolutely fixed; with a disinterested commission running the road, not for profit; and with the car-riding public practically buying the property with every fare they pay, all hands should be contented and the vexed problem forever solved. As to the rates of fare under the new plan they would be worked out within six months and would of course be the lowest possible with the best and completest service.

—

On the very day of the abovementioned conference a decision of vital importance was made by Judge Tayler, of the Federal court at Cleveland, in the injunction suit (p. 35) of the Cleveland Electric Railway Company, the owner of all the old franchises, against the City authorities and the Forest City Railway Company. The latter company was incorporated after Mayor Johnson's first election, for the purpose of bidding for Cleveland franchises under the policy of reducing fares to three cents, upon which Mayor Johnson had been elected. The bidding was ignored by the old company until bids by the new one, at 3-cent fares, had been accepted by the city, and then injunction suits were brought, some of them by the old company and others at its instigation. One of these suits resulted in nullifying the bids because, for other reasons, the city had required the bidders to name terms for restoration to the city upon the passage of a municipal ownership enabling act by the State legislature, the courts holding that in the absence of an enabling act for that purpose no municipal ownership conditions could be inserted in the bids. Accordingly new bids, omitting the municipal ownership feature, were called for, and again the Forest City company was awarded the franchise at 3-cent fares, the other company still refusing to bid. One of the injunction suits, the one which has just been decided, was brought in the Federal Court to restrain the 3-cent company from building and operating on Woodland and Central avenues on two grounds, first, that the franchise of the old company would not expire until 1914, and second that it was perpetual. The Federal Court now holds that the franchise of the old company which affects those streets expired on the 22d of last month.

—

The decision is summarized as follows by the Plain Dealer of the 25th:

1. Prior to the act of May 14, 1878, it was competent for the Council to make grants for street railway purposes, either with or without limitations as to time.

2. Whatever be the duration of a grant, whether limited or unlimited, it may be changed by contract between the city and the grantee of the right, subject only to the proviso now in force, that no grant shall be valid for more than 25 years.

3. Neither the consolidation of street railway lines into one company and one system, nor the transfer of the obligations imposed by the Wilson avenue ordinance, operates to prolong the life of any prior grant.

4. An extension of the life of a grant by implication is not favored, and will not be declared except when clearly manifest and obviously necessary; and this rule is invoked with special propriety where the implication is sought to be made in ordinances not one of which in its title gives the slightest intimation of a purpose to deal with the subject of the life of a grant.

5. Permission to extend tracks and operate them, "in connection with main line," for a period which endures longer than the right to operate the main line will not have the effect of extending a life of the main line grant.

6. The ordinance of March 6, 1890, authorizing a substitution of electricity for horse power on the Garden street (Central avenue) branch fixed a uniform period for the termination of the franchise of the Garden street line over its entire length to Woodland Hills avenue, and abrogated, by consent of both parties, any prior contract for a different date, if any such there was.

7. An "extension" is not a new route, it has not an independent life; it depends upon, and is a part of, the line to which it is added; and, as it could have had no legal existence without the original line, so it can have no tenure of life beyond that of the original line.

8. The Garden street branch was established as a "route" and is an original line, the franchise to operate it including all of its extensions and additional tracks, expired March 22, 1905.

Accordingly the injunction is dissolved. The case will doubtless be carried to the United States Supreme Court, and the injunction will meantime probably be continued. The operations of the Forest City company are also tied up by a State court injunction involving the validity of its 3-cent fare franchise.

—

The Traction Question in Chicago.

The counsel for the Union Traction Company of Chicago, Mr. Govin, was reported on the 26th as having the day before announced the willingness of that company to sell to the city at "a fair price" on the plan proposed by Mayor Johnson of Cleveland, of which he is quoted as saying that it "would enable the city to enter upon municipal ownership at once and pay for the properties out of the profits of operation." Conferences between the city officials and traction representatives of Chicago (p. 38) have been reported during the week, but nothing definite is disclosed.

—

Another decision by Judge Grosscup (vol. vii, p. 778) bears upon the Chicago traction question in its fundamental legal aspects. He made permanent on the 20th an injunction restraining the enforcement by the city of the universal transfer ordinance (vol. vii, p. 732), holding that it is confiscatory. This decision is based upon the conclusion that what is known as the 99-year franchise constitutes a contract between the State and the street car companies which does not expire until 1958, and that under this contract the companies have the indefeasible right to charge 5 cent fares. Consequently, an ordinance requiring one company to accept transfers from another, as he decides that this ordinance does, is in abrogation of contract rights.

—

Public Works Department of Chicago.

In the administration of municipal ownership affairs in Chicago, a reform is being instituted by the new Commissioner of Public Works, Mr. Patterson, for the better management of the public water service. This reform includes an adaptation to that department of the financial methods prescribed by the Mueller bill for municipally operated street rail-

Digitized by Google

ways, under which the financial accounts of this service are to be so separated from the general accounts of the city as to show the true and complete financial results of city ownership; the cost of the utility to the city; the disbursements for maintenance, extensions, and improvements; the operating expenses; the sinking fund; the services rendered by and to other city departments; the interest, depreciation, and insurance; and the taxes on the property of the utility if it were owned by a private corporation.

—

Another reform in the department of public works, adopted by the Commissioner and Mayor Dunne upon consultation, relates to the connection of the freight tunnel system with adjoining properties by means of branch tunnels. An application for a permit to establish such a connection with the Union Depot was made by the tunnel company. Heretofore the mayor, through the commissioner of public works, has granted these permits, the Council having given them authority to do so. But Mayor Dunne and Mr. Patterson decided to reform this practice. Refusing to grant the particular permit, they announced that no more permits for tunnel digging would be granted except on specific orders from the City Council.

The Chicago Gas Question.

A parliamentary storm has arisen in the Illinois legislature over an agitation against the gas monopolies. Two bills were pending in the lower house on the 19th on third reading. One, the Church bill, enabled city councils to fix the price for gas and electric lighting; the other, the McGoorty bill, empowered cities to acquire, own and operate gas and electric lighting plants. Opposition from the gas companies resulted that day in the reference back, without a roll call, of these bills to the municipal corporations committee, where it was understood they were to be buried. As the bills deeply affected Chicago and the policy of public ownership of public utilities which has been several times approved by the people here, Judge Dunne promptly appointed a citizens' committee of fifty to act in the matter, explaining:

> We ought to go down and revive those gas bills. I am anxious to secure the passage of any bill which will enable the city to manufacture and sell gas or fix its price. The gas company here has a perpetual franchise, and the only way for the city to get municipal gas is to start in competition. As we have no enabling act for this purpose, I am anxious for the passage of an act that will permit the city to manufacture and sell gas. I prefer an act authorizing municipal ownership and operation.

This committee was headed by Judge Tuley and included Graeme Stewart, the Republican candidate for mayor two years ago, and John M. Harlan, the Republican candidate this year. At a meeting of the committee Graeme Stewart was made chairman of a "steering" committee of twelve, which was instructed to advocate such measures as it sees fit, provided that the measures are in furtherance of the following propositions:

> Regulation of the price of gas, by statute, or by power invested in the City Council.
>
> Right of the city to manufacture gas.
>
> Right of the city to sell gas and electric light and power.
>
> Consolidation and revenue legislation asked by the city.

—

On the 25th an offer before the municipal corporations committee of the lower house of the legislature to substitute a municipal ownership bill for the price-regulating bill was defeated, on a motion to table, by 19 Republicans to 13 Democrats. A bill fixing gas rates at a maximum of 90 cents was rushed through the Senate committee on municipal corporations on the 25th; and on the same day rumors were rife that a bill providing for a State commission to fix rates for each city according to local conditions would be reported out of the House committee. Both measures were under suspicion of being in the nature of a flank movement by the gas companies. The situation had become so critical by this time that the Chicago committee were hastily called together and embarked for Springfield. The response was general. Among the prominent members to go being H. R. Eagle, Joseph Donnersberger, John E. Traeger, John E. Owens, David Rosenheim, George E. Hooker, Aldermen Dever and Kohout, City Attorney Smulski, Emil W. Ritter, and Walter L. Fisher. Mayor Dunne accompanied the committee. Graeme Stewart, Daniel L. Cruice and John Maynard Harlan were prevented from going by private engagements, but Mr. Stewart declared himself as in full accord with the purpose of the committee to secure regulation of gas rates and municipal ownership. Only Alexander H. Revell declined to respond on public grounds—his opposition to municipal ownership. Mr. Fisher was appointed chairman of the delegation.

The Philadelphia Gas Question.

The move in Philadelphia noted last week (p. 39) to further tie up the municipal gas plant now under lease to the United Gas Improvement company, took shape on the 20th in the adoption by the Select Council of a resolution designed to commute the rentals ($650,000 in 1905) into the lump sum of $25,000,000 for an extension of the lease, to expire December 31, 1907, for 40 years. Gas stock immediately rose $6.00 a share.

The Teamsters' Strike in Chicago.

An end came apparently to the teamsters' strike in Chicago on the 24th, but it broke out again and with greater force on the 25th. On the 20th an injunction had been granted by Judge Brentano against the strikers, forbidding their attempting to influence any person in the employment of the business house which was the object of the strike, against that person's will; and on the 22d another attempt had been made by Judge Dunne to induce arbitration. The strikers had agreed with him to accept Judge Tuley as arbitrator on all points involved in the dispute, after having been told by Judge Tuley that if he acted he would settle the matter on principles and merits as he would a case in equity. The employers' organization refused to join in this arbitration. Two days later, the garment workers' organization, in whose behalf the teamsters' strike had ostensibly been started, expressed their dissatisfaction with the good faith of the latter strike and withdrew their representatives from the general strike committee, whereupon the

Digitized by Google

teamsters declared their strike off, publishing the following explanation:

Owing to the fact that the teamsters refuse to spread the strike to other houses than Montgomery Ward & Co., and as the United Garment Workers were positive in their belief that they could not satisfy their members unless the strike was extended to the larger clothing-houses, and since the committee could not harmonize on that proposition, it was decided best for the teamsters to withdraw from the fight.

On the 25th the teamsters revived and extended the strike on their own account. Members of the employers' union having decided to discharge teamsters who had refused to carry goods to Montgomery Ward & Co., during the strike against them, the teamsters made those employers the object of their strike. Action to this end was begun by the Department Store Drivers' union who, on the night of the 25th, voted for the strike unanimously. The principal houses involved in this strike are Marshall Field & Co., Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co., and John V. Farwell & Co. Retail as well as wholesale deliveries are affected. by the inclusion of the Field and the Carson-Pirie houses.

"Closed-Shop" Builder's Contract in New York.

An agreement between the building workmen and the building employers of New York was effected on the 23d. Under this agreement all labor disputes are to be settled by joint action, for which purpose an arbitration board the secretary of which is to be a joint employe instead of an employe of the employers as heretofore is to be established. Strikes and lockouts are forbidden and organized labor only is to be employed.

NEWS NOTES

—Joseph Jefferson, the eminent actor, died at West Palm Beach, Florida, on the 23d, at the age of 76.

—The National Municipal League, which met in Chicago last year (vol. vii., p. 72), met on the 25th in New York.

—Mr. Shipoff, leader of the moderate Liberals of Russia, has been appointed as minister of the interior in place of Mr. Boulegin.

—A railroad congress, representing practically the entire mileage of the world, is announced to meet at Washington on the 4th.

—The walled city of Jolo, in the Philippines (vol. vii., p. 647), was attacked by Moros on the 9th, as reported from Manila on the 22d.

—The official draft of a constitution for the Transvaal (vol. v., pp. 184, 257, 325, 340, 392; vol. vi., pp. 200, 753, 758) was made public on the 25th.

—A movement has been started in Pittsburg looking to the creation of the new State of Allegheny, to be composed of the 23 counties of Pennsylvania lying west of the crest of the Allegheny mountains.

—Theophile Delcasse resigned on the 21st as French minister for foreign affairs; but on the 22d, yielding to the personal assurances of President Loubet that his resignation at this time would seriously imperil national affairs, he withdrew it.

—A State banquet of Democrats was given at Springfield on the 26th. Lawrence B. Stringer, Democratic candidate for governor last Fall, was the principal speaker The burden of his speech was for public ownership of natural monopolies. Among the other speakers were Samuel Alschuler, John P. McGoorty, Judge Thompson and Walter I. Manny. Mayor Dunne was unable to attend.

—An enormous defalcation by Frank G. Bigelow, president of the First National Bank of Milwaukee, and one of the most distinguished bankers of the United States, was discovered on the 24th. It amounted to $1,410,000. Mr. Bigelow, upon being arrested, was placed under $25,000 bail. Through the intervention of Chicago bankers a heavy run on the bank was checked.

PRESS OPINIONS

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

(Chicago) Record-Herald (ind. Rep.), April 26.—The people of Chicago are strongly in favor of a municipal lighting plant. Naturally the corporations which are engaged in the business of selling light are unfavorable to the city's plans. It will be interesting to see whether the members of the legislature line up with the people or with the corporations. The outcome so far as the fate of the legislators is concerned may be reminiscent of the lady and the tiger. One way stands Miss Chicago with open arms. The other way stands—the Allen law's supporters know what. Which?

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), April 21.—Following the 1902 public policy vote on municipalization of utilities, former Mayor Harrison appointed a commission to draft public ownership bills for both traction and lighting. It was from this commission's work that the Mueller traction law sprung, but the lighting bill, drafted by the same commission, went down to defeat as usual. . . . The same perfunctory effort to pass municipal ownership bills for the gas and electric lighting utilities have been repeated in the present legislature. . . . The burial of the municipal ownership bills was decreed at the headquarters of the lighting trusts. The campaign was managed without a hitch, and the generals gave their orders from Chicago. . . . Wednesday's vote to bury the lighting bills destroyed the possibility of reelection for several score members of the present legislature. The subterfuge of dodging a roll call, and thus going on record, will not avail. The real campaign for municipalization of gas and electric light plants in Illinois dated from the hour when the present legislature smothered the bills demanded by public sentiment. . . . The real fight for cheaper and better gas, cheaper and better electric light, centers in the municipal ownership bills. The issue has been joined, and present defeat merely makes future victory the more certain. . . . Chicago, with its traction battle but freshly won, has not yet entered the lists against the lighting trusts in earnest. Their day is coming.

THE SACRED RIGHT OF FREE CONTRACT.

The Akron (Ohio) Democrat (Dem.), April 22.—The decision [against the New York ten-hour law] is put upon the ground of the sacred right which every man has to be free to contract away his labor upon any terms as to hours and the like that may suit himself. . . . It is curious to see how solicitous the courts are to secure this inestimable right of freedom of contract. They have thus in many ways perpetrated wrongs in permitting the laborer to barter away—under stress of circumstances which he could not resist—safeguards to life and limb, and his right to recover for the otherwise wrongful loss of either at the hands of his employer. As a matter of fact and everyday experience, it is well known that the individual laborer, as against his corporation employer, has no freedom of contract whatever. What is this right of free contract, to preserve which the court upsets a solemnly enacted statute of the first State of the Union, in the face of the steel trust, for instance? Is it of any value to him when he seeks employment and runs up individually against a combination of every obstacle to free contracting which force and fraud can suggest? . . . The man who has nothing but his work to sell cannot compete equal-handed with great aggregations of capital, protected by all the privilege which special legislation can confer upon them, without at least such countervailing laws as shall protect his health, without the risk of having some weak brother contract his life away in the keen race to obtain needed employment.

MISCELLANY

REVOLUTIONS.

For The Public.

Turn, turn, turn, O Wheel,
With the problems we would solve,
With the emigrants to the land of hope—
Affairs of man—revolve.

Turn, turn, turn, O Wheel,
Turn through the clay and sand,
Turn and toil through the heavy soil
On the road to the better land.

Turn, turn, turn, O Wheel,
Though your spokes be clogged with mire,
Though your axle speak with groan and creak,
And your box be hot as fire.

Turn, turn, turn, O Wheel,
Be your progress swift or slow;
Poor turn rich, and rich turn poor,
As low-high turns high-low.

Turn, turn, turn, O Wheel,
Turn with your grievous load;
Fool turn wise, and wise turn fool,
For such is the law of the road.

Turn, turn, turn, O Wheel,
The oil of love will aid,
But the heart will break with your axle creak,
If you be not justly made.

Turn, turn, turn, O Wheel,
With your axle true and round,
And our hearts shall sing like the joy of spring
As we journey over the ground.

Digitized by Google

Turn, turn, turn, O Wheel,
By rut and path progress;
Turn to the land of light and love
From the land of wickedness.

CHARLES HOWARD FITCH.
124 South Grove avenue, Oak Park, Ill.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE.

On April 23, at the Vine Street Congregational church, Cincinnati, the pastor, Herbert S. Bigelow, spoke of the deeper needs of man's nature which make religion a necessity.

It was not said: "Man does not live by bread." He lives by bread and something more.

It is a tragic thing when a man must choose between the satisfaction of his body and the integrity of his soul. When this choice must be made, mankind are a unit in praising those who starved in their garret or died on a scaffold rather than save the body at the cost of the soul. If the soul is the immortal part and the body but the tenement of a day, then, if both cannot live, it is better for the body to die.

In a well-ordered society, however, there could be no such discord. Both soul and body would be nourished. There can be no health of one without the nourishment of the other, as Browning would say: "Nor soul helps flesh more, now, than flesh helps soul."

Those who insist upon social justice that all may have their daily bread—they are the friends of the soul. Moreover, when we insist upon the needs of the soul, we do not deny the needs of the body.

First among the needs of the soul is a clean conscience. It is man's glory that he knows the meaning of that word, "ought." Guilt is a yoke that enslaves him. Remorse rises like a tide within him. He alone is free who can look his fellow-man full in the face; who hides no ugly secret in his heart; who respects himself and has none to fear in all the universe.

A man may have bread enough and to spare, but he will starve without that inward peace. He may have linen and fine raiment, but he will be a naked, shivering soul, if the sense of wrong is rankling in his heart.

The salvation of the soul, what can it mean but the normal life and growth of the soul? Conversion, what is that but the discovery that a man has a soul which must be fed with its own food? There is no true life until the soul comes to a realization of its sovereignty. Redemption is a waking of the desire and determination to be a man, not a wolf nor a swine, but a man, conscious of his divine heritage and his lofty purpose on this earth. Such a man cannot live by bread alone.

Another need of the soul which bread cannot supply is love. Love, also, is meat and drink, and without it the gifts of the world are dry husks. The wife has put the house in order. She has removed the dust from a hundred places which might have been passed over. She has created an atmosphere of welcome by countless little obscure services. Does the husband take it all as a matter of course? Has he no loving sign of recognition of that thoughtful, heartful ministry? A sign of appreciation may crown the labor of a day, and a grateful word feed the hungry heart with happiness.

Another need of the soul is religion. Men may live without creeds and without churches, but there come times when they ask themselves sad questions, and they would give much to know that life has a rational meaning and that man is not mocked by his immortal hopes.

The atom trembles at the thought of the Infinite. The mind craves a reason for things. The heart cannot become reconciled to a loveless universe. The philosopher who traces the course of the stars, the martyr who bears witness to his truth on the uplifted cross, these mighty thinkers and lovers of mankind, these august souls—are they all the prey of maggots in the end? That thought would kill humanity. Bread alone will not do. We cannot cease to ask questions. We cannot live without hope.

THE ELECTORAL WISDOM OF JAPAN.

It has occurred to me that the old wars of Spain and England, about the time of Queen Elizabeth, furnish an interesting historical parallel with the present war between Russia and Japan. In each case we have a huge despotism unsuccessfully fighting a small maritime power with its face set steadfastly towards constitutional freedom. Since Elizabeth's time England has attained by slow and painful steps the measure of representative government which modern Japan has had the good sense and good fortune to secure almost at a bound. But Japan has done more than this. She has adopted an electoral method which gives her a Parliament more truly representative of the people than the Parliament of England or the Congress of the United States.

Japan's Parliament or "Diet" consists of an upper and a lower house, called respectively the House of Peers and the House of Commons. The Japanese House of Peers corresponds to the House of Lords in England, or the Senate in America—more closely with the former than the latter, because it represents an aristocracy rather than a plutocracy. This article will deal with the House of Commons and the wise principle upon which the election of its members is based. That principle is proportional representation.

The essential facts may be stated in a few words. Japan's House of Commons consists of 379 members, elected by ballot for four years on a very liberal franchise. There are 47 "prefectures," or electoral districts, giving an average of eight members to a district. These electoral districts vary in population, and the number of members elected from each varies accordingly; the smallest number being five and the largest 13, except in the case of the city of Tokio, which has 15 members to represent its 1,500,000 of souls. Like the others, it is one electoral district.

In every district each elector has one vote only. That is the proportional feature. The very simplicity of the plan stands in the way of a full apprehension of the great political reform which it involves. I shall therefore devote some space to an elucidation of the principle of proportional representation, with brief sketches of the more important systems by which that principle is put into operation. There are several such systems, and that used in Japan is the simplest of them all.

The keynote of proportional representation is the single vote in large electoral districts. By that I mean that each elector casts only one vote, although in his voting district several members or representatives are elected. Unproportional representation is for each elector to cast as many votes as there are members to be elected in such a district, or to vote in a single-member district if he has but a single vote. This is a broad statement, and does not quite cover the ground; but it is a sufficient generalization for my present purpose.

Much puzzlement has resulted from multiplicity of systems and complexity of detail. One purpose of this article is to reduce proportional representation to its simplest terms, both in principle and methods. Before going further, I will summarize briefly the defects of the systems of voting generally used; because the reader new to the subject will ask why any change is needed. With these defects I present also the expected remedies. My statements here are merely dogmatic, but can be amply verified by argument and experience:

1. Nominations, under the present system, are in the hands of the managers of the party machine.

Proportional representation would place nominations in the hands of the people at large.

2. Gerrymandering pays and is practiced under the present system.

Proportional representation would make gerrymandering useless.

3. Bribery pays and is practiced under the present system, because a few purchasable voters can turn the scale. Drinking and treating come under the same category.

Proportional representation would make bribery and treating unpractical.

4. Disfranchisement of nearly half the electors takes place at every general election. An unrepresented minority is created in every district.

Digitized by Google

Proportional representation would represent all the voters, a very small percentage of lost votes excepted.

5. The two main parties unjustly monopolize representation. They squeeze out minor parties, and all independent candidates.

Proportional representation would give minor parties the number of members that their voting strength entitled them to.

6. Reform movements are now blocked and hindered, because their advocates cannot get a voice in parliament, legislature or municipal council.

Under proportional representation any reform which was supported by a quota of electors in a few districts would be heard, would be treated with consideration, and would become a political force, if inherently strong and worthy.

7. Party splits are caused by the nomination of independent candidates under the present system.

Proportional representation, on the full plan, would enable two Democrats to run without the risk of giving a Republican a seat, even although only one Democrat could be elected. Similarly in the converse case.

8. Intense party bitterness is caused by the present system, because elections are fights in which the beaten party is disfranchised and humiliated.

Proportional representation disfranchises nobody. No vote can kill any other vote.

9. Dodging, shuffling and evasion are prompted by the present system, because every candidate has to appeal to electors holding opinions diverse from his own on various public questions.

Proportional representation promotes straightforward politics because each candidate appeals only to that group of electors who are in general accord with his views, and he need not truckle to the others.

10. Many good men are excluded under the present system, because the first requisite is to get the candidate who has the best fighting chance of carrying the constituency, and often that does not mean the best representative.

Proportional representation does away with this necessity, and promotes the election of the best men.

11. The evils of civic and municipal misgovernment have their main cause in a faulty method of election.

Proportional representation is just as applicable to the township, the village, the town, as to the great city. In each it is the foundation of good government.

The formidable indictment contained in these paragraphs will, I hope, induce readers unfamiliar with the subject to give it some study.

The above is a rough generalization of the proportional method. We need now a generalization of the proportional principle, which can best be made by basing it on specific cases. The intelligence of the reader will easily make further application of the principle. It is this:

In a seven-member district, any one-seventh of the electors must be able to elect one representative.

In a five-member district, any one-fifth of the electors must be able to elect one representative.

In other words, the electors, by the act of balloting, must be able to divide themselves into as many groups as there are members to be elected; each group being represented by the one man of its choice, without interference or dictation from the other groups. The individual units of each group may come from any part of the electoral district. The electors are not divided on territorial lines, but on lines of principle and preference. In speaking of a "group," I mean the voters who have in a sense grouped themselves together by voting for the same man.

A member of the South Australian Parliament put the idea very happily when he said: "In proportional representation, the voters divide themselves into equal, voluntary and unanimous electorates."

Let us now see how the proportional method carries out the proportional principles. What enlargement of our rough generalization of method is necessary?

In the first place, the single vote may be either transferable or untransferable. It may either stay where it is put or be subject to transfer from one candidate to another.

The untransferable single vote in a large electoral district is the simplest form of proportional representation. This is what Japan uses. In four cases out of five—perhaps in nine cases out of ten—it gives a true proportional result. Here is the reason.

Let 14 candidates contest the seven seats in a seven-member electoral district on the single-vote plan, without ballot transfer; and suppose that 35,000 votes are cast. These votes are divided amongst the 14 candidates, in numbers varying from, say, 600, the lowest, up to 6,000, the highest. The voters have divided themselves into 14 unequal groups, the smallest of which contains 600 and the largest 6,000. Then the seven highest candidates are declared elected. That is, the seven largest groups are represented; they put their men in; but the seven smaller groups are apparently unrepresented. How can this ever be true proportional representation?

For this reason: Experience shows that in most cases the transfers are from the seven smaller groups to the seven larger ones, so that the transfers make no difference. "To him that hath shall be given." If this were always so, we could go on our way rejoicing and advocating nothing but the single untransferable vote in large districts. But it is not always so; hence the need for some system of transfer. Here is where our troubles commence; for, roughly speaking, the different "plans" and "systems" of proportional representation are but different ways of transferring votes; whilst the fearful and wonderful complexities that mathematicians have introduced are but endeavors to obtain an absolute mathematical accuracy of transfer, which, if obtained, is not worth the trouble that it entails and the mystery with which, to ordinary minds, it is enwrapped.—Robert Tyson, in the Arena.

THOSE FLATS.

For The Public.

Some are too low and some are too high;
Some are too wet and some are too dry;
Some are too hot and some are too cold;
Some are too new and some are too old;
Some are too large and some are too small;
Some are too nice and some not nice at all;
Some are too dark but none are too light:
Some are too noisy and some are too quiet;
Some are too far from the murderous class;
Some are too near to the scintillant stars;
Some must be plastered and some must be tinted,
But the flat that you want is unfinished or "rented."

WILEY WRIGHT MILLS.

They stood at the foot of the Alps.

"They are no higher than many buildings in New York," said the woman.

"It must be the amount of ground they cover that makes them remarkable," said the man, who was more discerning.—Puck.

"Children don't seem to have as much respect for their parents as formerly."

"No," answered the cynic; "and I have never quite been able to make up my mind whether this is because modern children are less dutiful or more discerning."—Washington Star.

BOOKS

THE LITTLE BOOK OF LIFE AFTER DEATH.

There are evidences that we are coming into a time of increasingly active curiosity in regard to the problem of the future life. In the Atlantic Monthly for April the publishers devote a page of advertisement to books on immortality, and in the same number there is an article entitled the Eternal Life. Among other indications of the revival of interest and discussion is the republication of Fechner's Little Book of Life After Death (Little, Brown and Co., Boston).

This little book, by the German philosopher, Gustav Theodor Fechner, was first published in 1836. The present edition is a translation by Mary C. Wadsworth, with an introduction by William James. It is in fact a little book, containing about a hundred short pages, and can be read in a couple of hours—if the reader is satisfied with failing to com-

Digitized by Google

prehend, at first reading, about a third of it. Professor James speaks of "its somewhat oracularly uttered sentences," and calls it a "dogmatically written little treatise;" but it is not so much the oracular and dogmatic utterances that are hard reading as the awkwardly involved, expository sentences, which sometimes reach almost to the length of the page.

"Man lives upon the earth," says the author, "not once, but three times . . . The passing from the first to the second stage is called birth; the transition from the second to the third is called death." This is oracular, but it is easy to understand what is meant. It is not so easy to take in the following: "How otherwise could these glorious realms, based upon such unalterable principles, be formed out of the tangled egotism of individuals, who, with their short-sighted eyes, from the center could see no circumference, and at the circumference could discern no center, if the higher spirits, seeing clearly through the whole, did not control the machinery, and, while they all press around the common divine center, and so in their godlike part meet together, also lead the men whom they influenced, united on to higher goals." For such a sentence as this it would hardly be just to blame the translator. We must remember Schopenhauer's modest remark, that he himself was the only German philosopher who could write clearly. In this book, then, as well as in other books of German philosophy, one must not expect the hard parts to be made easy by clearness of style.

Yet in spite of its occasional mistiness and its inherent mysticism, the book will be welcomed by many readers, not only as good medicine for a materialistic generation, but also for its many suggestive thoughts, which are worthy of the best philosophy of any age. And in spite of criticism on the style, most of the book is simple enough to make a good tonic for one who will take it so. "He who has clung to the earth," says the author, "and has only used his powers in pursuit of the material life, the pleasures and needs of the body, will find but an insignificant remnant of life surviving. And so the richest will become the poorest if he has only his gold to lean upon, and the poorest the richest if he uses his strength to win his life honestly."

J. H. DILLARD.

EDWARD CARPENTER.

Ernest Crosby's little book on Edward Carpenter as poet and prophet (London: Arthur C. Fifield, 44 Fleet street, E. C.), is a bit of reading which, like all Mr. Crosby's writings, is delightful. It is none the less so for its fine quotations from Carpenter.

While Mr. Crosby evidently does not look upon Carpenter as a model in everything, he likes him—perhaps "like" is not a strong enough word—likes his spirit and admires his ways as well as his poetry. Considered as poet and prophet simply, Mr. Carpenter appeals readily to us all, as he does to Mr. Crosby; but when the poet and prophet makes himself a member of the ways and means committee in human affairs, one could wish his mind might be less "woolly on the edges."

Yet there is much in Carpenter's writings of which this cannot be said. His larger analysis of life, for instance, as desire taking form in thought and expressing itself in bodily action is as perfect as one could wish.

It inevitably suggests, moreover, what he declares, that a "purely intellectual representation of the universe is simply impossible," and that the science which rejects human feeling, as distinguished from thought and body, must fail. Such a science ignores one of the great facts.

While Carpenter's understanding of some of the minor matters in economics is distorted, his vision of many of the larger ones is full and clear, as when he describes private ownership of land as "the power to turn all the inhabitants off your land" and proclaims as self-evident the absurdity of such a "right." It is when he attributes the same principle to all private property that he loses clearness. There must be a defect in the nearby vision of a man who sees no difference in principle between the power to deprive others of natural opportunities which none can reproduce, and the power to deprive them of artificial products of one's own activity which may be readily and abundantly reproduced.

But it is the sweeping long range vision, rather than minute observation and analysis, that belongs to prophets and poets. So we must not be too exacting of one of these, with reference to the minor and more nearby things, to which the poetic and the prophetic vision are not adapted. Especially so, when, as in Carpenter's case, the man really is both poet and prophet.

PAMPHLETS

Chilton Bowe's pamphlet, "Is It So Impracticable? or A Trust for All the People," is presumably not a subtle satire on socialism, but a serious and sympathtic representation of what socialism aims to do, as the pamphleteer understands it. Regarded in that light, however, the pamphlet tends strongly to confirm the predictions regarding socialism that it will not be able to endure general discussion. If a plutocrat were designing a plan of government which would most quickly and most surely ripen into intolerable absolutism, he could hardly improve upon Mr. Rowe's conception of socialist government.

Andrew Jay Frame's defense of railroad interests, "An Appeal to Reason," is really an appeal to sympathy for the "widow and orphan." His pamphlet undertakes to show that the railroad magnates who are acquiring a political power that no monarch knows, "are simply the captains of industry whose guiding genius manages these great corporations for their real owners, who are numbered by the millions and scattered from Maine to California. If Mr. Frame had written before Lawson's revelations, which the row in the Equitable is confirming so forcibly, he might have been effective. But even the millions who are "real owners," are learning through such developments, that the captains of industry are using their "guiding genius" to produce infinitesimal dividends for the owners and rich swag and great power for themselves.

PERIODICALS

C. E. S. Wood discusses the "use-and-occupation" title to land, in the Pacific Monthly for April. While he proposes a method for maintaining land titles on that theory alone, the larger part of his article deals with the absurdity and the evils of vacant land monopoly.

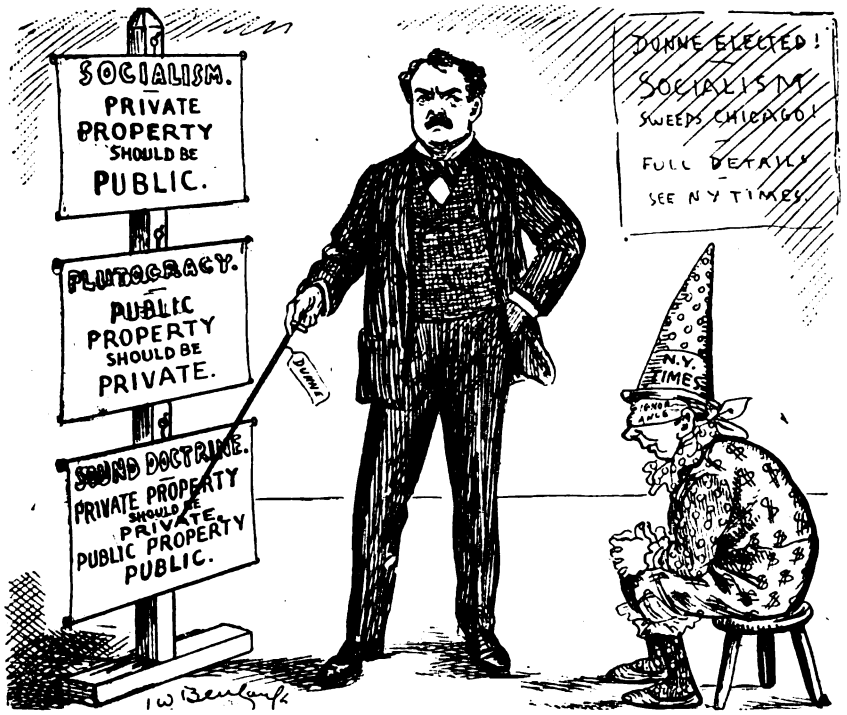
The April Recreation (New York) emphasizes the fact that, with the second number of that magazine under his editorship, Dan Beard has begun to get his hand in. Unless our guess is much amiss, this unique illustrator, happy story teller, and inventive pastime-engineer has found his true vocation as a recreation editor. Even in this supplemental winter season Beard's magazine makes you feel the freedom of the camp and enjoy the shadows of a hot day.

Wayside Tales, an old Chicago magazine, which has been reinvigorated by the new owners, Mrs. Warren Springer and Murray S. Schloss, has become an attractive periodical with a socialistic flavor. Seymour Stedman's paper in the April number on the "Salons of Yesterday and To-Day," is an interesting excursion through salon history, culminating in the notable Chicago gatherings at the home of Mrs. Corinne Brown. The superintendent of police of Chicago, Francis O'Neill, explains what science has done for the police, and a variety of short stories add to the interest of the current issue.

In the World's Work for April an anonymous writer of keen perceptions and extraordinary powers of exact expression begins "The Confessions of a Commercial Senator—A Study from Life." The first installment tells how "I enter politics and politics thereafter becomes my business." This first installment is one of the best serious satires in print, and the very best we know of the pluto-political life of our time. It is so typical of a general condition that the details cannot be located, yet it is true to the life and very interesting.

Although the Chicago stockyards strike of last year is fast passing out

Digitized by Google



THE NEW DUNCIAD.

The "Scholar"—I don't see no difference 'twixt 'em.

of memory, the facts about it cannot lose any of their value while the labor conflict lasts. For this reason Prof. John R. Commons's painstaking inquiry, the results of which appeared in the Quarterly Journal of Economics for November in a paper now republished in pamphlet form—"Labor Conditions in Meat Packing and the Recent Strike"—is welcome. Prof. Commons does not and cannot in this way expose some of the worst conditions which provoked that strike; but he does disclose in judicial spirit and with great circumstantiality, a state of affairs that is far from flattering to the packers.

The Public

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT

James G. Parsons, Manager

INCREASING THE CIRCULATION.

All readers are requested to note carefully the special announcement on advertising, page IV of this number, addressed to those who value The Public and wish to see its influence grow. The subscription cards there announced afford a very convenient method of winning new subscribers. In everyone's experience people are constantly being met who need and would like The Public, and whose subscriptions could very easily be obtained if some kind of an order form were immediately available. The subscription cards are of a size convenient for the vest pocket, and it is no trouble at all to carry a package of them anywhere. The price is easily collected at the time of sale. It is hoped that a great many will be disposed of during the next few months.

TWO MONTHS FOR 25 CENTS.

In another column will be found an announcement of trial subscriptions for a term of two months, for 25 cents, to introduce THE PUBLIC to new readers. Two months' reading by one to whom the paper is new, will lead to real appreciation of its merits. Twenty-five cents is an easy investment. Five such trial subscriptions will be sent for one dollar, all, of course, to names not now on the subscription list.

BOUND VOLUMES

Volume VII of The Public

Was Complete with the Issue of April 1, 1905

COMPLETE VOLUMES

including index, sent postpaid at regular subscription price,

$2.00.

BOUND VOLUMES, $3.00

By express, prepaid in United States, Canada, Cuba or Mexico, $3.50.

Only a limited number can be furnished. Each contains a complete narrative history of an eventful year: very valuable for all homes and libraries. Orders should be sent early. Address

THE PUBLIC, Box 687, Chicago

The Public

is a weekly review which prints in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value. It is also an editorial paper. Though it abstains from mingling editorial opinions with its news accounts, it has opinions of a pronounced character, based upon the principles of radical democracy, which, in the columns reserved for editorial comment, it expresses fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without hope of discreditable reward. Yet it makes no pretensions to infallibility, either in opinions or in statements of fact; it simply aspires to a deserved reputation for intelligence and honesty in both. Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department of original and selected miscellany, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest. Familiarity with THE PUBLIC will commend it as a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

TERMS:—Annual Subscription, $2.00; Semi-Annual Subscription, $1.00; Quarterly Subscription, 50 cents; Trial Subscription (4 weeks), 10 cents; Single Copies, 5 cents. Free of postage in United States, Canada, Cuba and Mexico. Elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week. All checks, drafts, post office money orders and express money orders should be made payable to the order of THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO. Subscribers wishing to change address must give the old address as well as the new one.

Published weekly by The Public Publishing Company, First National Bank Building, Chicago, Ill. Post office address, THE PUBLIC, Box 687, Chicago, Ill.

TERMS OF ADVERTISING

Per agate line,	each insertion,		$0.05
Per inch, (14 lines),	"	"	.70
Per column (133 lines),	"	"	6.65
One-quarter page (100 lines),	"	"	5.00
One-half page (200 lines),	"	"	10.00
One page (400 lines),	"	"	20.00
Front cover page,	"	"	25.00
Front cover half-page,	"	"	15.00
Last cover page,	"	"	25.00
Last cover half-page,	"	"	12.50
Last cover quarter-page,	"	"	6.25

Advertising Forms Close on the Tuesday Preceding the Saturday of Publication.

To Introduce It to New Readers

THE PUBLIC

Will be sent to any address not now on the subscription list, for **TWO MONTHS**, for

Twenty-Five Cents

FIVE SUCH SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR ONE DOLLAR.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.

First National Bank Building, CHICAGO

Everyone in any way interested in

Public Ownership of Any Public Utility

should have a copy of

THE CITY FOR THE PEOPLE

By Prof. Frank Parsons, of the Boston University School of Law. "Considered one of the great books of this age."

It is clear in principle, wonderfully comprehensive in its array of facts, and thoroughly indexed; invaluable for reference, or to the general reader.

Revised Edition; over 700 pages, 8 vo. In paper, 50 cents, postage paid. In cloth, $1.00; by mail, $1.20.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.

Box 687, CHICAGO, ILL.

Digitized by Google

The New Star Chamber and Other Essays

By EDGAR LEE MASTERS

NOTE WHAT THE CRITICS SAY OF THIS BOOK

"The author is an ultra democrat and anti-imperialist."—SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE.

"It is a book which thoughtful Americans ought to read."—JOHNSTOWN DEMOCRAT.

"Nothing has been published in years that goes so far in so little space."—CHICAGO DAILY NEWS.

"Noteworthy in every respect."—CHICAGO AMERICAN.

"Clothed in the form and style of the eloquent rhetorician."—NEW HAVEN UNION.

"Mr. Masters' book is one to be read."—BOSTON TRANSCRIPT.

"A collection of forcibly written essays. * * Much sound doctrine upon imperialism."—THE DIAL.

"Open-minded readers will find much in it to awaken thought."—CHICAGO RECORD-HERALD.

$1.00 NET

ORDER OF

THE HAMMERSMARK PUBLISHING CO.
151 Wabash Avenue, CHICAGO

Just Published

A sample book of letterhead designs appropriate for different classes of business, containing samples of many grades and styles of paper used for office stationery. The paper is selected from the leading mills in the country and represents the best values. The book contains fine specimens of printing, engraving and embossing, with suggestions as to type and ink to be used. It is intended to help those who like to make their stationery attractive. Quality and style in paper and printing are of much importance as giving character to your correspondence. The book will be sent free to those who are interested.

SAUL BROTHERS
PRINTING AND EMBOSSING
47 PLYMOUTH PLACE CHICAGO

TO CITY ENGINEERS AND PUBLIC SERVICE OFFICIALS:

BEFORE DRAWING SPECIFICATIONS

FOR STREET SIGNS, COMMUNICATE WITH

THE INDESTRUCTIBLE STREET SIGN CO.

Newkirk Ave. and East Thirty-Fifth St., BROOKLYN-NEW YORK

for particulars and samples. Our street signs are designed to overcome deterioration by climatic action, which is the main defect in the best of all others, as they will never check, crack, fade, rust, become discolored or otherwise injured by heat, cold or dampness. They will stand the impact and other tests.

The administration which adopts our invention will leave no legacy to a succeeding one of street signs that need attention. It will settle effectually a vexatious and ever recurring problem.

Correspondence is invited with Municipal Improvement Leagues and other bodies which are interested in a street marking device that is artistic, legible and durable.

H. B. MAURER, Secretary.

We Make

TENTS, AWNINGS, FLAGS, YACHT SAILS AND CANVAS COVERS

FOR WAGONS, HORSES, BUGGIES, FLOORS, THRESHERS, BINDERS, STACKS, AND ALL CANVAS WORK.

Different grades of material and prices to correspond.

One grade of workmanship and that the best.

Our tents are not the cheap "Mail Order" kind. If you need one, write us for price, giving size and particulars.

THE AKRON TENT & AWNING CO.
AKRON, OHIO

Digitized by Google

THE LUCKY BOY

The Romance of Mica

How a Boy Secures Thirteen Million Dollars

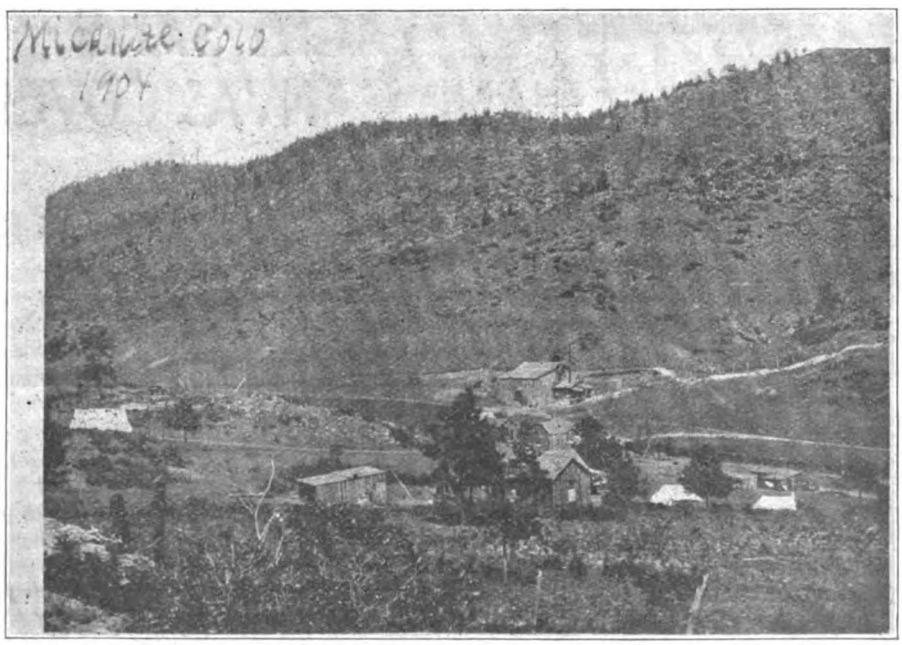
A YOUTH in his teens went to the State of Colorado to spend a year in the mountains. Although a "tenderfoot," he was very observing. While others were intent upon locating gold claims this lad was attracted by every and anything new. While out for a hunt, he discovered immense beds of Mica (sometimes called Isinglass) in Fremont County.. A survey of their extent showed 210 acres running from the grass roots to 150 feet deep with no sign of it petering out at that depth.

EXPERTS ESTIMATED THE VALUE $13,000,000. This youth found the natives, not knowing the real value of Mica or its various uses, uninterested and indifferent to this find. Finally the lad induced his mother to go west to see these remarkable deposits. His mother learned the various uses—more than 150—and found not a flake was wasted. Think of mountains of Mica, every grain valuable, as all the scrap is ground into powder or diamond dust, used on wall paper, bronzes, fire-proof paint, roofing, lubricant, etc.

She bought the property, intending to secure miners to dig it out of the earth, haul it to Canon City, and then sell it. She knew nothing of Stock Companies and did not think to divide with others for mutual benefit, so miners were hired. It was at once discovered that they must be housed, that wagon roads must be built, teams bought, a mill erected, engine, boiler, etc. In fact, much capital was needed to perfect as simple a plan as this seemed. Grinders must be imported, an air-floated process must be perfected to separate the flakes into perfect grades, so a Stock Company was organized, and named the United States Mica Mining and Milling Company.

The Boy's Mother.

By the sale of stock money was secured to make the necessary developments. The Mill is now in operation both night and day, with an electrical department where Mica is made into various devices for electrical purposes, as Mica is the most perfect non-conductor and resistant known, used in making electric lights, telephones, telegraph instruments, phonographs, electric street cars, automobiles, in fact every electrical invention must have Mica in its construction. This Colorado Mica is MORE VALUABLE than Eastern Mica, which is hard Mica with magnetic iron in it, and therefore not a positive non-conductor—good only for stoves and lamp chimneys, etc., while this Mica is free from iron.



Digitized by Google

Mica is also the most up-to-date lubricant known. No train of cars would ever be held up because of a "hot box" if the journals were packed with Mica Flake. When fully understood, Mica Flake is bound to take the place of Graphite and Cotton Waste as a lubricant on rolling stock.

This Mica costs to mine and grind less than $20.00 per ton and sells for $200.00. Electrical Mica that costs $140.00 per ton sells for $800.00. Sheet Mica sells for from $1,700 per ton to $26,000 and costs $35.00 to mine.

FIGURE THE PROFITS FOR YOURSELF; imagine the dividends. You will hardly credit it.

Where there was naught but buried Mica a few years since, there is now organization and comforts —a thriving settlement called "MICANITE." Uncle Sam has established a bonafide post office and Micanite is on the map. A stage runs from Canon City to Micanite, bringing mail, passengers and supplies. A general store supplies the camp with all necessities. Micanite has a school, an amusement hall with dance hall, and a church has just been dedicated there, given to the camp by a Milwaukee stockholder.

This Company has a hotel and many nice little homes, a blacksmith shop, barns, corral, a mill in operation night and day, a supply of Mica unlimited and a hungry market.

Already this Company have shipped their product to England, France and Germany.

THE STOCKHOLDERS' MONEY HAS BEEN USED JUDICIOUSLY and no more stock will be sold than is absolutely necessary. The Management does not desire to let any more people into this than they are obliged to, but it is now impossible to supply the demand for electrical goods with the present equipment of the Mill, and thus it has been decided to sell a small allotment more of the stock to put in more machinery and quadruple the output.

THIS WILL BRING IMMENSE PROFITS TO DIVIDE; the exact amount is almost unbelievable. It is certainly an opportunity and may be the chance that will land you on Grand Boulevard in a mansion drawing dividends.

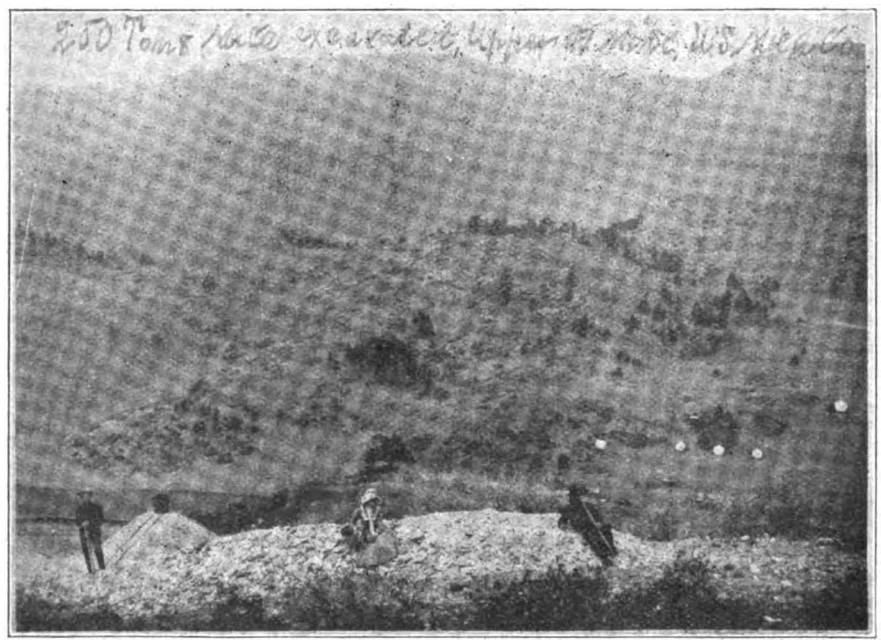
This opportunity is made to fit the size of your pocketbook, as you can secure a large or small interest. Every shareholder owns an interest in the whole town of Micanite, in its mountains of Mica, in its Mills, and homes and conveniences.

This chance would not be open if it were not desired to hurry along the dividend period.

THE FINDING OF THESE WONDERFUL DEPOSITS OF MICA by this youth has changed or affected the lives of thousands of people, and every stockholder has already been benefited thereby. There is a way for you to get into this—the terms are easy. No Gold Mine in this country can compare with the profits that will be derived from these mountains of Mica.

WHEN WALKING DOWN THE GRAND BOULEVARDS or resident avenues of our great cities doesn't it keep you guessing how so many people acquire sufficient wealth to build such colossal palaces, such magnificent homes, own such turnouts, automobiles, and yachts and even private railway coaches?

INVESTIGATE THE SOURCE OF THIS WEALTH. Ninety times out of one hundred it will be found these fortunate people "took chances." They were not contented to hand over their savings to a banker to "take the chances" and give them



the miserable three per cent.; they were not satisfied to hand over to the president of a bank for him to "take the chance," but they took a chance themselves in some corporation, generally mining—sometimes manufacturing—and the corporation was successful, profits enormous.

No one can become rich by manual labor, but A LITTLE MONEY WELL INVESTED WILL WORK FOR YOU NIGHT AND DAY. More beautiful homes have been built from dividends on stock than any other way.

Many people are prejudiced against a Stock Company. They would not invest in a proposition as honest and straight as 2x2 equals 4. Such people do not reside on Grand Boulevard or own splendid homes on resident avenues; such suspicious or overcautious people will always work hard for a living and be forced to economize.

The neighbor or friend who advises, on general

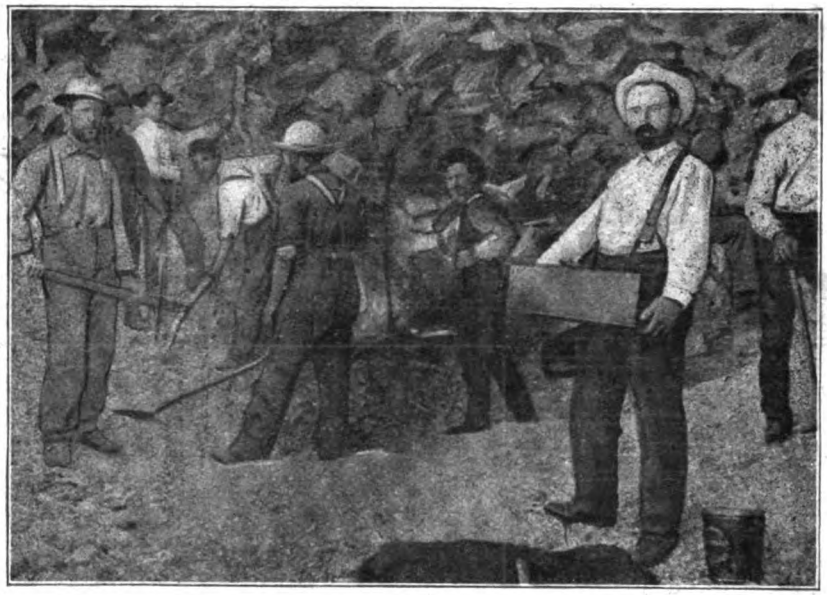
Digitized by Google

principles, to have "nothing to do with Stock Companies" you will notice never lives in one of these fine homes and never will, as MONEY TO-DAY IS ONLY FOR THOSE WHO VENTURE and take chances. The time is now past to make money by the sweat of your brow.

CAUTION IS NECESSARY, certainly, for there are stock companies and stock companies. Those organized for the purpose of stock gambling get their stocks listed and then run the price up or down for profit. Such companies as "Lawson" exposes in his "Frenzied Finance" never pay honest dividends.

It is only the Stock Company that sells its Treasury Stock to raise sufficient means to develop and build up an industry to the point where the product mined or manufactured is put on the market and sold at a profit and these profits are divided with the shareholders.

MINING MICA AT
LOWER No. 1
MICA MINE,
U. S. MICA CO.,
MICANITE,
COLO.



Frank W. Jones

President U. S. Mica Mining and Milling Co., Chicago, Ill.

COLORADO ENTERPRISES ARE PAYING LARGER DIVIDENDS than any other State in the Union. There are scores of legitimate enterprises in Colorado to-day where $100 invested will pay at no distant day $100 monthly in dividends. This Mica Company is one of them—established, reliable, no mortgages or bonded indebtedness, a mining and manufacturing industry, a combination that cannot fail.

NEXT THING TO OWNING A BUSINESS IS TO BECOME A PARTNER IN ONE. This you can do by securing some shares in this Mica Industry with mountains of Mica in great demand and large profits.

AN UNUSUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR YOU.

Five of the officials of one of the largest Banks in Chicago have recently invested in this stock. Bankers being the most conservative investors on earth, this speaks for itself.

The Mill and Mines are now turning out four tons daily. We shall increase to twenty.

We are the exclusive manufacturers of Mica Flake Lubricant. Output now on dividend paying basis. An unusual opportunity for you.

Shares non-assessable, par value $1.00.

SPECIAL PRICE TO READERS OF THIS EDITION OF THE PUBLIC.

Officers of the United States Mica Mining & Milling Co.:

Frank W. Jones, Chicago, Pres.
T. W. Williams, Milwaukee, Wis., Vice Pres.
Minona S. Fitts, Chicago, Secy. and Treas.

Office 1704 and 1706 Railway Exchange, Chicago, Ill.

SEND YOUR NAME AND ADDRESS FOR FURTHER INFOR. MATION

Digitized by Google