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CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:

Unconstitutionality of a 10-hour labor law.....	33
Abuse of the Fourteenth Amendment.....	34
The Chicago Strike.....	34
Jefferson-day banquets.....	34
Mayor Rose's majority.....	35
Street car franchises in Cleveland.....	35
Tax reform in New York.....	35
Somers's land valuation.....	35
The taxables of Thos. F. Fitzsimons.....	35
Lawson and the insurance companies.....	36
Life tenures for public office.....	36
Joseph Medill Patterson.....	36
The "Secret" of Success.....	36

NEWS NARRATIVE:

Celebrations of Jefferson's birthday.....	37
Municipal Ownership in Chicago.....	38
Mayor Dunne's appointment of Patterson.....	38
Elections in La Grange and Elgin.....	38
Referendum movement in Cincinnati.....	39
Corporate Ownership in Philadelphia.....	39
Municipal Ownership in Great Britain.....	39
The British tariff question.....	39
Swedish-Norwegian union.....	39
Political Affairs in Russia.....	39
Labor Strikes in Italy and France.....	40
Strike in Porto Rico.....	40
The Chicago Strike.....	40
Unconstitutionality of a labor law.....	40
News Notes.....	41
Press Opinions.....	41

MISCELLANY:

Rags and Purple (poem).....	42
The New Birth.....	42
We are Violating Foundation Principles.....	42
America and Rome—a Parallel.....	42
The Trend toward Government Ownership.....	43
"Boyville," Cleveland's Farm for Character Cultivation.....	44

BOOKS:

Oscar Wilde's De Profundis—Dillard.....	46
Mrs. Maybrick's Own Story.....	46
Books Received.....	47
Pamphlets.....	47
Periodicals.....	47

CARTOON—"Rockefellerism".....48

For terms and other particulars of publication see cartoon page

EDITORIAL

An interesting legal situation with reference to labor laws is produced by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States—by a vote of 5 judges to 4—which holds that the 10-hour law for work in bakeries in New York is unconstitutional.

If this decision established the principle that State laws limiting hours of labor are invalid, it would have a certain general value, but it establishes no such principle. Having heretofore decided that an 8-hour law for work in mines is not invalid, and now

that a 10-hour law for work in bakeries is invalid, the other circumstances being the same in each case so far as legal effect is concerned, the court forces us to hunt for the distinguishing point somewhere in the difference between work in bakeries and work in mines.

And that is precisely where the court really places the distinction. It holds in the one case that work in mines for longer than 8 hours a day is prejudicial to health, and in the other that work in bakeries for longer than 10 hours is not prejudicial to health. Wherefore it concludes that an 8-hour law for miners is a police regulation for the public health and safety, whereas a 10-hour law for bakers is not a police regulation for the public health and safety. Having reached that conclusion, it further holds that the right of private contract, secured by the Fourteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution, is in the one case subordinated to the 8-hour labor law for miners; but that the same right, likewise secured, is superior to and controlling over the 10-hour labor law for bakers. Hence it has sustained the 8-hour miners' law, but nullifies the 10-hour bakers' law.

In the light of those two decisions of the highest court in the land—in effect only by one of its judges,—labor reformers and their lawyers are afforded a wide field for industrious guessing. How many hours in the heat of a bakery would be excessive? It was once supposed that every legislature is the judge of what is necessary to protect the health, morals and safety of the inhabitants of its own State. And this has long been held by the courts to apply to the regulation of working time. For many years Sunday laws have been enforced against Jews and Seventh-Day Baptists, pleading unconstitutional interference with religion, on the

ground that Sunday laws are public safety regulations for the prevention of overwork, and not religious regulations, the choice of Sunday instead of some other day as the day of enforced rest being in the eye of the law merely accidental. Laws that limit labor hours rest upon the same legal principle. Either they are reasonably necessary for the public safety, or they are totally without legal justification; and the only public body that can be fairly left to determine the reasonableness of the necessity is the legislature whose constituents are to be protected. Without the plainest evidence of false pretense on the part of that body, its police regulations ought not to be overridden by any body of judges. This has long been even the judicial view of the matter, prone though judges are to draw power to themselves. This was the view that influenced the minority judges in the case under consideration. But the majority—a majority of one in nine—decide that they are more competent than the legislature of New York to say whether a limitation ought for the public health and safety to be put upon hours of labor in New York bakeries.

Those judges do not assert that the New York legislature acted in bad faith and that the 10-hour law was a fraudulent police regulation. What they decide is that the legislature erred in its facts, or as to their effect,—that it was mistaken in regarding the bakers' occupation as one in which excessive work is dangerous to the public health. Consequently, their decision simmers down simply into this dictum: Whenever a State legislature fixes a limit to labor hours by police regulation for the public safety of the State, and the regulation restricts the right of private contract, the Supreme Court of the United States will pass upon the validity of that regulation in accordance with its own opinion of the reas-

ouble necessity for such a law, and not according to the bona fide judgment of the local legislature. With some activity in the enactment of labor-time laws, and litigation over them, it may come to be possible to make a schedule, approved by the Supreme Court, that shall specify the trades in which labor hours may be limited by law. Until a schedule so approved becomes possible, legislatures contemplating the limitation of labor hours by police regulation, will have to make shrewd guesses. They know now that an 8-hour limitation for work in a mine is permissible, and that a 10-hour limitation for work in a bakery is not. Beyond this all is guesswork. Every case will have to stand on its own bottom.

The labor case commented upon above is another instance of the abuse of the Fourteenth amendment. That amendment was adopted to secure certain results of the Civil War and to allay certain race evils growing out of it. No one thought of it at the time of its adoption as having any other purpose or effect than protection of the Negro citizen from hostile State legislation. Of course its terms are general and should be applied, if necessary, to the protection of white as well as of black citizens; but let us not forget that the evil to be remedied by it was State oppression of black citizens. Yet black citizens are unprotected in the civil rights which this amendment was expressly intended to secure to them. Those rights are notoriously denied them by some States, and they have never yet been able to get the ear of the Supreme Court of the United States for relief, though they have tried desperately. But corporations and plutocratic interests generally have had no difficulty in getting that ear and utilizing for their benefit this Negro amendment the benefits of which no Negro has ever been able to secure. This is the amendment which has been so construed as to place the Federal courts at the

service of great corporations. This is the amendment which has been so construed as to place local government at the mercy of Federal judges when great financial interests invoke their aid. This is the amendment which now affords a bare majority of the Supreme Court an opportunity arbitrarily to override the local health laws of a State. We might add the expression of a fear that this decision is designed to blaze the way under that amendment, for Federal interference with the police power of States whenever exercised against the interests of great corporations; but to do so might seem like a reflection on the judiciary. It is sometimes urged by some people that the Fifteenth amendment ought to be repealed. Wouldn't it be much better to repeal the Fourteenth? For its real purpose it has proved useless; for other purposes it has become dangerous.

Mayor Dunne has exhausted his powers with reference to a settlement of the strike in Chicago. All he can do now is to preserve the peace; for the employers' unions refuse his request that they submit the subject of dispute to arbitration. In those circumstances, public opinion ought to hold them responsible for every breach of the peace that occurs. Even if their cause were a good one, they ought to be willing, where the livelihood of great masses of ill-paid men are involved and breaches of the peace are consequently a natural effect of a continuance of the quarrel, to sacrifice something of pride and something of profit, to the maintenance of the public peace. The obligation is all the greater when, as in this case, their cause is not a good one.

Here are the salient facts: The garment workers' union and their employers' union were under contract. The employers' union broke this contract, and the garment workers' strike resulted. The teamsters' union and their employers were also under contract. The teamsters broke this contract in order to assist the

garment workers in enforcing theirs, and the teamsters' strike resulted. Thus there are two contracts involved in the present strike, one of which was broken by an employers' union, and the other of which was broken by a laborers' union. The laborers' unions offer to arbitrate the whole controversy, including the responsibility for both breaches of contract. This is manifestly a fair and reasonable proposition. But the employers' unions refuse to arbitrate both breaches of contract. They offer to arbitrate the breach by the laborers' union, but will not consent to any arbitration that would permit a consideration of their own breach. This is manifestly unreasonable and unfair, and should subject the employers' unions to the condemnation of public opinion. Of course it ought not to excuse breaches of the peace by those who physically break the peace; but it ought to bring under a heavier condemnation the arrogant employers' unions which provoke those physical breaches of the peace by their unfair and unreasonable refusal to terminate a state of affairs in which such disorders are almost unavoidable incidents. Wantonly to provoke public disorder is a worse crime than despairingly to engage in it.

At the Jefferson day banquet in Chicago, where such democratic leaders of Democracy as Bryan, Dunne, Williams, Darrow, and Tom L. Johnson were the speakers, a ringing note was sent out. For the Democratic party let us have democracy and not toryism, a government of equal rights and no special privileges, was the sentiment to which every speaker gave utterance in some form. In marked contrast with this spirit of progressive Democracy was the Whiggishly reactionary speech of Judge Parker at New York on the same evening and at a similar celebration. At Chicago the spirited cry was against reaction and for democratic advance. Mayor Dunne voiced it when he said, in comparing the 25,000 Democratic

majority at the mayoralty election in Chicago with the 110,000 Republican majority at the Presidential election a few months before:

The results of these two elections should teach the lesson to the men who stand high in the counsels of Democracy that evasion, insincerity and retrogression should have no place in the platform of the Democratic party. The party must take and hold to advanced positions. It must keep pace with the march of events. It must declare against monopoly in any and all forms, against special privilege in every guise.

What is much more to the purpose. Mayor Dunne defined the specific issues in national politics to which the Democratic party must be loyal in order to be worthy to win. He urged the adoption of one platform plank in favor of government ownership of public utilities, and another in favor of the abolition of tariff protection. That was a clarion call.

That the public sentiment for municipal ownership of public utilities, which elected Mayor Dunne in Chicago, was not local in character is indicated by the election of Mayor Rose in Kansas City, Kan. (p. 9), upon the same kind of platform but with specific reference to gas conduits instead of street car lines. At the previous election in this Kansas city, the Republicans went in with a majority of 3,369. But Mayor Rose, the Democratic candidate on a municipal ownership platform, has been elected by a majority of 887. The significance of that overturn should be easily understood.

"Our friends the enemy" may be depended upon to help us unintentionally as the great democratic fight goes on. There is a recent instance in Cleveland. Mayor Johnson had been baffled by the corporation majority in the city council, and further traction legislation was on foot in the corporate interests. But in this emergency public sentiment was aroused against traction franchises as it has never been aroused before, by an astounding argument, before a Federal court, by

the leading lawyer for the Cleveland traction companies. He argued that the street car franchises of the most important lines in Cleveland are perpetual. This impudent claim, which has never been set up before, has stirred public opinion in Cleveland to the depths and paralyzed the corporation majority in the council. It is believed to have made Mayor Johnson's reelection certain next Fall, and to guarantee him an anti-corporation council.

Tax reformers will be gratified to learn that the success of the new taxing methods in New York (vol. vii, pp. 402, 405), which require the valuations of land and of improvements to be made separately, is officially acknowledged. In the recent report of the State board of tax commissioners of New York, the following comment upon those methods appears:

The method of assessing the land separate from the buildings and improvements in New York city is approved in its practical workings by the tax department, values being ascertained with more accuracy, and the commissioners greatly aided in checking up the work of their deputies. The village of Cold Spring is the first rural district to adopt the method of assessing land and buildings separately. Graded values of land divided into blocks were established and thus reduced to lot value. We believe this method of arriving at values for purposes of taxation should be adopted by the assessors throughout the State. We note that the State assessors in their reports to the legislature for the years 1877, 1878 and 1879 make similar recommendation, urging upon all local assessors the separate valuation of land and improvements thereon in the towns, villages and cities of the State, as being the only way to arrive at a correct and satisfactory assessed valuation.

A method of valuing land for taxation, almost automatic, has been in operation in St. Paul for several years, and is about to be taken up in Chicago. This is the Somers method, the utility of which was demonstrated in Cleveland by Mayor Johnson. Mr. Somers has been invited to come to Chicago and apply his method here. The invitation was urged

upon the county assessors by the real estate board of the city. The characteristic of Mr. Somers's system is thus correctly though briefly described by the Record-Herald: "The carefully established value of a lot in the center of each block is used as a 'key valuation,' from which the valuation of the remaining lots in the block is determined mathematically upon an established ratio." By this means inequalities of taxation are approximately prevented, and favoritism without easy detection is impossible.

An extraordinary proceeding before the taxing authorities of Cleveland has been instituted by an extraordinary man—Thomas F. Fitzsimons. Mr. Fitzsimons is a large manufacturer who owns 11 acres of very valuable Cleveland land. He appeared before the board of tax reviewers a few days ago and demanded that this land, worth \$65,000, be taxed at that valuation, as the law requires, instead of being taxed at its present valuation of only \$5,100. Mr. Fitzsimons was not acting as a philanthropist; he was playing in the role of an honest citizen. He demanded not only that he himself be taxed on the full value of his land, but that his neighbors also be so taxed. And there was the rub. His neighbors didn't want to be so taxed, and they protested vigorously against the making of Mr. Fitzsimons a horrible example, even at his own request. But why isn't Mr. Fitzsimons right? Why should the owner of valuable land be taxed on a fraction only of its value? This is the sort of thing that encourages the non-improvement of land and thereby obstructs a city's growth. If land owners were taxed on the full value of their land they would hasten to improve it. But when they are taxed lightly on vacant land and heavily as soon as they improve it, they incline to speculate upon its increase in value as vacant land, rather than upon the possibility of profitably utilizing improvements. Local progress

and prosperity are consequently retarded.

Thomas W. Lawson's much criticised "assaults" upon the great insurance companies, as wanton libels calculated to undermine the sacred investments of "widows and orphans," have been speedily justified by the exposures of the very kind of breaches of trust in the Equitable which Mr. Lawson described. May it not be probable that other companies in the great insurance combine are as deep in the mud as the Equitable is in the mire, and that if there were a similar falling out in the management there would be similar disclosures? At any rate the Equitable exposure is a notable intimation to the open-minded to beware of warnings against Lawson's unverity. Whatever Lawson's reputation for veracity may be, confirmatory proofs of his accusations are piling up. His story of high-grade graft had better be listened to with an open mind and weighed without prejudice.

That Republican county convention of Erie, Pa., which formally declared on the 15th in favor of unlimited terms for all elective offices, including Congressmen, and of making breach of trust while in office the only reason for terminating official terms, spoke the true sentiment which now controls the Republican party. This is Hamiltonism undisguised; and the modern name for Hamiltonism is Republicanism. Life terms for judges, Hamiltonism has already given us; life terms for Presidents and Congressmen, it would like to give. Let the Republican convention of Erie county, Pa., be thanked for its indiscreet official formulation of the prevailing sentiment of its party.

In calling Joseph Medill Patterson into his cabinet as Commissioner of Public Works of Chicago, Mayor Dunne has further confirmed the confidence of his supporters in his determination to ex-

ecute the mandate of the people of Chicago regarding municipal ownership. Mr. Patterson's department already has general charge of the public water service and will doubtless have general charge of the public traction service. It is a department, therefore, which should be managed by an official in unmistakable and intelligent sympathy with the municipal ownership policy. This, together with the possession of business competency and public respect and confidence is the thing needful, and all three of these qualifications for the place are possessed by Mr. Patterson. At every step he has thus far taken Mayor Dunne has been conspicuously faithful to his campaign pledges to the people.

THE "SECRET" OF SUCCESS.

The mechanic who drops the uplifted hammer and turns from his work at the sound of the twelve o'clock whistle is not a writer of magazine articles on the "secret of success." It is the man who gets to his office at 9:00 a. m., and leaves it two or three hours before the whistle sounds at 6:00 p. m.—he it is who lays aside his golf sticks occasionally to publish to the world his indignation at the mechanic's want of careful interest in his employer's affairs.

Of course there are exceptions—on both sides, however.

No doubt it is very interesting to the young and unsophisticated starter in the race for the goal of commercial power and riches—very interesting to him, the stereotyped pipe dream of how Mr. Carnefeller rose to his commercial eminence via the rocky steeps of unremitting toil—"honest" toil, that took no note of time and that invariably subordinated all other interests to the supreme one of the employer. And of course, furthermore, the said unsophisticated, etc., is not likely to reflect that while Mr. Carnefeller was working as hard as he could, so also were some tens of millions of others; many of whom, at least, it were a base and cynical aspersion upon one's fellowmen to doubt, were quite as disinterestedly faithful and industrious; yet they

never reached the goal that is so confidently predicted for all the faithful.

Why did they not reach the goal? Because no such goal is generally attainable by honest labor.

The world of industry, familiar as we are with its practical detail, is nevertheless, in respect to the economic interaction of those details, a realm of mystery to the great majority of men. Else, how does it happen that intelligent, educated men credit the frequent statement of employers, that an advance in wages would wipe out profits, while at the same time they predict "success"—the kind of success their employers have achieved—for all who work as their employers think they ought to?

Think how greatly labor-saving machinery and other advanced economies of production have enlarged the whole industrial productivity, immeasurably beyond any possible achievement without these; and yet if the whole profits of competitive industry were added to wages, pro rata according to the different wage rates, the three-dollar man would not get more than \$3.30 per day, while the common laborer who receives a dollar and a half a day would get an increase of 15 cents, or a total of \$1.65 a day!

This is manifestly true, if the average rate of net profit in competitive industry does not exceed ten per cent. And the same persons who hold out to the laborer the promise of ample wealth—"success"—as the legitimate reward of faithful service, will assert, and prove, that profits are even less than that, in answer to the laborers' demand for an increase in wages!

No, the laborer is not a magazine writer; and so, when the space-filler pictures him in the act of dropping his uplifted hammer on the bench at the sound of the noon whistle, the poor fellow cannot answer back. The magazines are closed to him—all but the subscription books.

But here is the truth, namely: While the man who has achieved "success" is touring in his automobile, sailing in his yacht, rebuilding for his own glory some ancient European castle or squandering a hundred thousand dol-

lars on a dinner, millions who have worked as hard and as faithfully as he, are still toiling as hard as ever, ten hours a day, for wages inadequate to the needs of comfortable living. While the magazine writer is penning his studied insults to the American mechanic, he, the insulted, defenseless mechanic, continues to wield the hammer with such effect as to flood his country with riches, defying the competition of the cheap labor of Europe, and feeding gratuitously the famine-stricken peoples of the Old World.

While the monopolist—and the monopolist's press-writer flunky—are enjoying the fruits of his spoliation, the laborer toils on, and eats bread in the sweat of his face. He works the number of hours agreed upon for an agreed wage. Would you ask more than that? Then set him an example by paying him a penny more than his contract calls for! Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them—and do it first.

EDWARD HOWELL PUTNAM.

NEWS NARRATIVE

Week ending Thursday, April 20.

Celebration of Jefferson's Birthday.

Jefferson day banquets, which have come to be an occasion for burnishing up the democracy of the Democratic party, were quite generally celebrated on the 13th, the principal celebrations being in New York and Chicago.

In New York, the Manhattan Single Tax club gave its annual celebration of the day, with Benjamin Doblin as toastmaster and Charles Frederick Adams, Henry George, Jr., John S. Crosby, Lawson Purdy, Judge Seabury, Fred Cyrus Leubuscher and Chas. Sprague Smith as the speakers.

Also in New York there was a celebration by the Democratic Club, at which John Fox presided, and Mayor McClellan, Judge Parker, Senator Newlands of Nevada, and Congressman Rainey of Illinois were among the speakers. Judge Parker's address, which was very long, pointedly urged the Democratic party to avoid policies

calculated to alarm vested interests. Its spirit may be inferred from the following quotation with reference to the party:

It is not enough that it shall have a collection of fads—many of them useless and some of them dangerous and opposed to the historic party of our organization. We have already had too many of these, because it is safe to assert of a policy that if it is radical it is not Democratic; if it is Democratic it is not radical. . . . If we indorse, or accept, or even fail to oppose, any policy which shall directly or remotely suggest even the possibility of confiscation, or which, by any agitation so much as threatens the measures of values, we shall arouse the suspicions and invite the opposition of our people, whether their accumulations are invested in farms, town houses, mines, deposits in savings banks, insurance policies, or in our varied industries wherever found.

Senator Newlands' speech was set to a different key. He startled the Democratic audience by declaring that Roosevelt is the real chieftain of the Democrats; under whose courageous leadership "they will shackle greed and cunning, eradicate graft and fraud from the public service, and restore the simple ideals of the Republic." He continued:

The country demands democracy—whether under Republican or Democratic administration. Democracy is triumphant now if Roosevelt stands by democratic faith. If not, four years hence democracy will gird its loins for another struggle against plutocracy, which is strengthening in wealth and power every day and every hour. And its standard bearer will be the man who for years has been preeminent for steadfastness, for courage, for patience under defeat, for faith in the ultimate wisdom and power of the people; the man who has been undeviating, consistent, courageous; the man whose integrity nobody doubts and in whose sincerity everybody believes.

Congressman Rainey spoke in similar strain. Said he:

The election of last November demonstrates that there is no room in this country for two ultra-conservative parties. In the campaign last year the leaders of the Democratic party, local, State and national, were for the first time in many years working harmoniously together—all fighting for victory. We presented a strong candidate, most eminently fitted to fill the high office of President of the United States. But the Democrats who do the voting stayed at home or refused to vote. The Democratic party is nothing if it is not radical and progressive. The impression had gone out that the party was being made

a reflex of the Republican party. It was not a Democratic defeat—it was a Democratic default. . . . The aggressive element in the party must get together and conduct the fight in the future. There is no room now for conservatism. Nothing but aggressive, radical, concentrated action can successfully meet the problem of the future. We have enough enemies to fight in the Republican party—there ought to be no enemies to fight in our own ranks. The impression went abroad last year that we were simply fighting for the offices. We are fighting now for the right, and the air is filled with the shouting of triumphant Democracy."

Mayor McClellan's speech was cautiously platitudinous.

At the Chicago banquet (p. 9), under the auspices of the Jefferson Club, there were no discordant notes. Edgar L. Masters introduced to the guests that crowded the large banquetting room of the Sherman House, Howard S. Taylor as toastmaster, and Dr. Taylor presented in turn George Fred Williams of Massachusetts, Mayor Dunne, Mayor Johnson of Cleveland, Clarence S. Darrow, and William Jennings Bryan. From the first utterance to the last, all the speeches were pitched to the key of radical democracy. Mayor Dunne, referring to his own recent election in Chicago, said that—

the Democratic party won in the Spring election because its platform plainly, clearly, and truthfully declared for principles which were for the best interests of the people. It lost last Fall because its platform was a compromise and because the people believed it dealt in platitudes rather than principles. . . . The people have at last awakened to the fact that monopolies are unfair, iniquitous, and dangerous to the Republic. The blow struck in Chicago will be followed by blows of like character throughout the cities of the United States. It also will be followed, in my humble judgment, if the Democratic party is wise and prudent and incorporates in its next platform a ringing declaration in favor of government ownership of interstate railroads, telegraphs and express transportation, by a decisive victory in favor of the common people of this country. Aggressive democracy is in the saddle, and if it remains aggressive it will carry the country. If the Democratic platform contains one plank in favor of government ownership of interstate railroads, telegraphs, and express companies, and another in favor of the abolition of the protective tariff, I have no doubt that it will win.

One feature of this occasion was

the enthusiastic adoption by the banqueters of the following resolution offered by Mayor Dunne in honor of Judge Tuley, whose years and health had precluded his attendance:

Resolved, That our affectionate good wishes and grateful acknowledgments are extended to Judge Murray F. Tuley for his disinterested and distinguished public service in connection with the recent victory for municipal ownership in the city of Chicago.

Municipal Ownership in Chicago.

Tom L. Johnson's speech at the Chicago Jefferson banquet was devoted altogether to the steps which he, as a traction expert, regarded as advisable to secure the fruits of the municipal ownership victory at the recent election (p. 22). Mayor Johnson warned the people that—

there must come delay, which would, of course, benefit the companies, and during such delay they would not and could not give good service. But, if negotiations for purchase were supplemented with active proceedings to force a conclusion, a fair agreement for purchase might soon be made. As to the price, there should be no weak yielding to extravagant demands. A fair offer should be made by the city—an offer which would reasonably compensate for the physical property and the undisputed franchises, and allow something substantial for disputed franchises, by way of buying peace. To get early and unquestioned possession is worth something. To supplement purchase negotiations, Mr. Johnson advised condemnation proceedings. While the law's delays are involved in these proceedings, and every obstructive device would be resorted to by the other side, yet the condemnation proceedings, in conjunction with purchase negotiations, would co-operate to force an early settlement, if the city made a fair offer. A third course to be pursued concurrently with purchase negotiations and condemnation proceedings, would be the construction of competing lines. Even if four tracks were laid in the same street, the expense would not be great nor the inconvenience long continued. The companies cannot long meet the city's competition if the city offers a fair price to close up the whole dispute. Under this third head, construction, he advised the establishment and operation of a small system, with the lines where franchises have indisputably expired as the nucleus. Such a system could be run at a profit, and could be gradually enlarged. That act in itself would bring the companies to the point of accepting a fair purchase price. Mr. Johnson spoke highly of the Mueller law, except its provisions requiring more than a majority ref-

erendum vote to operate. He said the Mueller law certificates would be a good financial investment and could be easily floated. In conclusion he congratulated Chicago on its municipal ownership victory and the leader it had chosen to bring that victory to fruition. Chicago took the lead among American cities, he declared, in the direction in which all of them must go.

Both on the day of the banquet and on the following day, the 14th, Mayor Johnson was in consultation with Mayor Dunne, Clarence S. Darrow, Corporation Counsel Tolman, Comptroller Lawrence E. McGann and Bion J. Arnold, with reference to the details of plans for immediately promoting the policy of public ownership of the traction utilities.

Rumors regarding plans have been abundant, but most of them originate in guesses. Among the substantial facts is an offer made on the 17th by the New York brokerage firm of W. N. Coler & Co., of which Bird S. Coler, formerly Comptroller of New York city, is a member, to organize a syndicate for floating Mueller law certificates. Mr. Coler himself made the offer, saying in his letter:

I personally will be a subscriber for the securities which you intend to use for the acquirement of the Chicago street railways, and will in every way try to make your plan the financial success that it deserves to be.

Another offer indicating financial confidence in Mueller law certificates came on the 16th from John J. Cummings as president of the McGuire-Cummings Manufacturing Company. This concern is now preparing estimates upon which it will rehabilitate the traction service of Chicago, as municipally owned lines, and accept Mueller law certificates in payment.

A conference between the traction interests and the city was held on the 19th, at which there were present W. W. Gurley, R. R. Govin and J. S. Auerbach, for the traction interests, and Corporation Counsel Darrow, Special Counsel McGann, and Mayor Dunne for the city. The conference being informal, nothing was agreed upon, although it is intimated that a public and formal conference at an early day, may result.

Though nominally only the ap-

pointment of a supporter to an official position in his cabinet, Mayor Dunne's selection of Joseph Medill Patterson for Commissioner of Public Works, officially announced on the 17th, was doubtless made with reference to the policy of municipal ownership of municipal utilities. Mr. Patterson is a Republican in national politics but a firm believer in public ownership of public utilities (vol. vii, pp. 772, 825; vol. viii, p. 1), and although only 26 years of age was a leading figure and one of the most effective advocates of this policy in the recent campaign. He has served two terms as a Republican in the Illinois legislature; he is a grandson of the late Joseph Medill, principal proprietor of the Chicago Tribune, now controlled by his father, Medill's son-in-law; and he resigned an important editorial position on that paper in order to support Dunne's municipal ownership policy. The water service bureau comes immediately under his jurisdiction as Commissioner of Public Works, and it is not improbable that the traction bureau when organized will also be connected with his department. Speaking of this appointment in a newspaper interview published on the 18th Mayor Dunne said:

There is no politics in the appointment of Mr. Patterson. I have had him under consideration for this position from the first, and the more I see of him the more I am convinced he will be the right man in the right place. True, he worked hard for the success of the municipal ownership ticket in the campaign; but in making the appointment I was attracted to him by his thorough and practical understanding of municipal ownership problems as they apply to all branches of the public service. He has a trained executive mind.

Elections in Lagrange and Elgin.

That the significant votes for municipal ownership in Chicago (p. 22) and in Kansas City, Kan., (p. 9) were not of local significance only, is indicated by the local elections on the 18th in two Illinois towns where the question of public ownership has been a live one—Elgin (vol. vii, p. 794) and Lagrange (vol. vii, p. 764). In Elgin, a Republican city, the Democratic candidate was elected by nearly 1,000 majority, and in Lagrange, after the most hotly contested election ever held in the village, the ticket in opposition to turning over pub-

lic utilities to private corporations was elected.

Referendum Movement in Cincinnati.

The referendum movement, which has really brought the municipal ownership agitation to the point it has reached in Chicago, is reported to have taken promising shape in Cincinnati. At a largely attended public meeting at the Vine street Congregational church on the 13th, the Cincinnati Referendum League was formed, and the following voters' agreement adopted for general distribution:

I, the undersigned, hereby agree not to vote for any candidate for city council or State legislature, who fails to pledge himself to support, in office, the People's Veto and Direct Initiative as explained on the back of this card.

Name
 Residence
 Ward Precinct.....

The explanation referred to is to the effect that—

if 5 per cent. of the citizens petition for the right to vote on any measure passed by council or legislature. It shall be submitted to them not later than the next general election, and if a majority of those voting oppose the measure it shall be repealed. If five per cent. of the citizens by petition present to council or legislature any measure. It shall be submitted to a vote and if a majority favor it it shall be a law.

Corporate Ownership in Philadelphia.

In Philadelphia it is reported that the tendency is away from municipal ownership instead of toward it, one of the evidences of this trend being the proposed introduction in the Council on the 20th of an ordinance authorizing the extension of the lease of the city's gas works for fifty years from December 31, 1907, to the Equitable Illuminating Gas Light Company, which is owned by the United Gas Improvement Company, a Standard Oil connection. This concern now has a thirty-year lease on the city's gas plants which expires in 1927.

Municipal Ownership in Great Britain.

In Great Britain, however, the municipal ownership tendency appears to be setting in stronger than ever. According to a special dispatch of the 12th from London, published in the Chicago Daily News—

further heavy investments in tramways

have been decided on by the London County Council. The municipal lines north of the Thames are leased to private operators. The council purposes to pay \$600,000 for the four years' unexpired period of the lease. It will take over the horses and rolling stock at a valuation of \$16,500,000. The transaction involves the sacrifice of annual income of \$110,000. J. Allen Baker, chairman of the tramways committee, said: "The majority of the Council favors this step because we have amply proved the ability of the municipality to run trams profitably from every standpoint. The outcry of the private capitalists is natural. They see untold millions vanishing from their grasp. . . . Our lines, the assertions of private exploiters to the contrary notwithstanding, have been self-sustaining from the first moment of acquisition. The northern and southern lines together during the past eight years have reduced their rates after provision for interest and sinking fund charges to the amount of \$1,465,000. For four years forty-eight miles of tramways north of the river worked for the Council by private persons earned a profit of \$765,000. During the same period twenty-four miles south of the river worked by the Council itself earned a profit of \$360,000. Set against this comparison these facts: The Council's own lines carried 200,000,000 passengers at the rate of one cent. whereas the leased lines charged a minimum of two cents. This represents a big money value to the traveling public south of the river. Besides, the Council, unlike the lessees, provides workmen's cars running up to 8 in the morning, for 2 cents any distance for a single journey and 4 cents for return. This is a vast boon to workers. All-night cars are also provided. The municipal employes also have a ten-hour day for six day a week and the municipality has otherwise improved the conditions of labor, representing, all told, an expenditure in excess of the cost under this head, when the tramways have been acquired from the private owners, of \$150,000 a year. Our financial position is daily becoming sounder; it is the reverse with the companies. We are steadily paying off our capital expenditure, thanks to our constantly increasing surplus receipts. In other words, our leasehold property is being rapidly converted into freehold, whereas the companies are undertaking a perpetual leasehold. All the foregoing must be viewed in the light of the fact that during much of the time covered by the foregoing figures we have been engaged in substituting electricity for horse propulsion, necessitating occasional complete closing of parts of the system. London's experience has been paralleled in Glasgow, Liverpool, Leeds and scores of smaller cities throughout the United Kingdom."

The British Tariff Question.

Dispatches of the 14th from

London announce a compromise on the tariff question (vol. vii, p. 823) between Mr. Chamberlain and the Prime Minister, Mr. Balfour. According to these dispatches, Mr. Chamberlain agrees to support the Balfour ministry on Balfour's fiscal programme, which is reported to be in substance as follows:

First, such fiscal freedom as will permit of retaliation under the condition that no taxation be imposed except for revenue; second, closer commercial union with the colonies; third, convening a colonial conference unhampered by limiting instructions; and fourth, that home prices must not be raised for the purpose of aiding home production.

Swedish-Norwegian Union.

Some progress has been made in the adjustment of affairs between Norway and Sweden (p. 26), the special committee appointed to shape the course of action having been addressed by the Crown Prince Gustaf, who outlined the following plan:

1. A common Swedish or Norwegian foreign minister.
2. A special consular service for each country, the consuls to be under the direction of the foreign minister in all matters affecting relations with foreign countries.

Political Affairs in Russia.

Internal commotions in Russia, though less spectacular than the conflicts between mobs and soldiers (vol. vii, p. 805), are really of greater importance because they signify a set and strengthening purpose on the part of the people to abolish autocratic government. One of these significant events of the larger sort was reported early in the month. It was the wide circulation of the programme of the Social Revolutionary party, demanding democratic home rule for the provinces, municipalities and communes, and universal suffrage without distinction of sex, nationality or religion. The economic demands are numerous and specific, including socialization of the land.

A more moderate yet revolutionary organization has been formed by the lawyers of the Empire. A pan-Russian representative congress of lawyers which met at St. Petersburg on the 10th was dispersed by the police, but not until it had adopted resolutions providing for the formation

of an association to foster social and professional intercourse and to strive for the political freedom of Russia on the basis of a democratic constitution, and also to combine with other associations having the same aims. After being dispersed by the police this congress of lawyers, numbering 173 delegates representing every judicial district of Russia except Siberia, met secretly in private houses in St. Petersburg. It finished its work on the 12th, which consisted chiefly in the organization of a national professional reform league for uniting the activities of lawyers, doctors, teachers, engineers and other professional classes of Russia to bring about the democratization of the government and the institution of a representative parliament and a responsible ministry. The plan contemplates the formation of a national association of each professional class, all such bodies to elect delegates to a central bureau which is to direct and coordinate the efforts of the "intellectuals" in the direction of reforms. The leaders of the movement declare that they do not contemplate any assault on the monarchical form of government or disloyalty to the Empire, but the elimination of absolutism and the establishment of participation by the governed in the direction of affairs, especially in the budget and taxation.

The great success of this congress despite the difficulties it encountered, and the welcome given to its work among the professional classes, to whom it appeals, is believed to have been strengthened by a rescript issued by the Czar (without the knowledge of Mr. Witte, the president of the committee of his ministers) abolishing a peasant commission relating to peasant land tenure, of which Witte was chairman, and creating a special bureaucratic commission, with no popular representation upon it, and with Minister Bouligan at its head. This action has intensified the feeling that the Czar's promised reforms (vol. vii, p. 777) are all to be in the hands of the bureaucracy. When Mr. Witte learned of the dissolution of the peasant committee, on the 15th, he is reported to have asked the Czar for leave to retire from the ministry,

but of this there is no confirmation nor any news of his actual retirement.

Dispatches on the 13th reported the calling of another Zemstvo Congress (vol. vii, pp. 552, 732) to meet in Moscow May 8, in which representatives of the nobility also will participate. From three to five delegates from each provincial zemstvo have been invited. It is reported that an endeavor will be made to align the moderates with the nobility in favor of reforms without going to the length of the constitutionalism of western Europe.

Labor Strikes in Italy and France.

A railroad strike in Italy is reported from Rome, but not very clearly described. Apparently all the employes of the railroad objected to some feature of a municipal railway bill pending in parliament and upon the refusal of the Minister of Public Works to concede their demands with ferrency to the bill, they decided to strike. The strike began on the 17th and is reported to have caused an alarming condition of scarcity in some of the principal cities. At Foggia on the 18th three strikers were killed and several wounded by a volley from the troops.

A strike of porcelain workers at Limoges, France, was reported as violent on the 16th, and on the 17th there were collisions between the strikers and troops. In a debate in the Chamber of Deputies on the 18th, the Socialist leader, Jaures, denounced the government for using troops at Limoges, claiming that by doing so it had caused the riot. He argued that the Ministry ought to have advised the owner of the works to negotiate with his striking employes. Another Socialist deputy accused the owner, an American of the name of Haviland, of hoisting the American flag over his works in the hope that the strikers would insult it and thereby raise international complications necessitating vigorous repression of the strike. The cause of the strike is not reported.

Strike in Porto Rico.

A great strike of 14,000 men is

in progress in Porto Rico against a large French company—the Compagnie des Sucreries de Porto Rico.—in connection with which there has been rioting in Ponce. On the 19th the United States judge, McKenna, granted an injunction at San Juan, against Santiago Iglesias and other members of the American Federation of Labor, prohibiting intimidation and violence. Iglesias has appealed to President Gompers of the Federation for support, claiming that peaceable meetings of the strikers are being broken up by the police.

The Chicago Strike.

The teamsters' strike which broke out suddenly in Chicago last week (p. 23), still continues and Mayor Dunne has abandoned his efforts to bring it to a close by arbitration agreement. As Mayor Dunne describes the situation—

the employes offer to arbitrate the whole difficulty, while the employers do not. The employers informed me that they would be willing to arbitrate their individual differences with the teamsters. They wish to arbitrate independently of Montgomery Ward & Co. On the other hand, the employes offer to arbitrate not only their differences with the various firms, but also the situation as it pertains to Montgomery Ward & Co., in which is concerned, I am informed, the garment workers' strike.

Unconstitutionality of a Labor Law.

An important decision in a labor case was made on the 17th by the Supreme Court of the United States. As four judges dissented—Harlan, White, Day and Holmes—the decision is supported by a majority of one out of nine judges. The point in question was the constitutionality of the New York statute limiting labor time in bakeries to 10 hours a day, and 60 hours a week. An employing baker in Utica had been convicted of violating this law by permitting an employe to work in his bakery more than 60 hours in a week. By the New York Court of Appeals the conviction was sustained, Chief Justice Parker writing the prevailing opinion. That court held the statute to be constitutional, as a proper exercise by the legislature of the police power for the security of the public health and safety of the State. This decision is now reversed by

the Supreme Court of the United States, 5 to 4, on the ground that the statute interferes with rights of contract for service between employer and employe and is not an appropriate exercise of the police power. The majority judges hold that the statute in question does not have a sufficiently direct relation to the public health and safety as a means to an end, to be regarded as a bona fide police regulation, and that therefore it must give way if in conflict with the guarantees of the Fourteenth amendment with reference to civil rights. Finding then that the statute puts restraints upon private contracts (which are protected by the Fourteenth amendment) by forbidding employers from permitting workmen to earn extra money by working extra hours, the majority of the Court decides that the statute is unconstitutional. As a basis for their opinion that this intended limitation of working hours is not an appropriate public safety regulation, and therefore not a proper exercise of the police power, the majority judges conclude, as matter of fact, that more than 10 hours' labor daily in bakeries is not prejudicial to health.

NEWS NOTES

—The National Council of Women was in session at Washington on the 13th.

—Mayor Dunne, of Chicago, is to speak at Cleveland, upon Mayor Johnson's invitation, on the 3d of June.

—Moorfield Storey has become president of the Anti-Imperialist League, in the place of ex-Gov. George S. Boutwell, deceased.

—On the 16th the mints of Mexico were closed to the free coinage of silver and the finances of the country were officially put upon a gold basis.

—A bill has been passed in New York, signed by the governor on the 19th, which imposes a tax of two cents on the \$100 of par value, for every transfer of corporation stock.

—Control of all the stock of the Panama railroad having become vested in the United States government, Theodore P. Shonts, chairman of the Isthmian Canal Commission (p. 9), was on the 17th elected president.

—The New Jersey Single Tax League (M. T. Gaffney, M. D., secretary, 211 Plane street, Newark, N. J.), which was organized in December last, is systemat-

ically making an enrollment of the single taxers of the State.

—Gen. John Palmer, former commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, died at Albany, N. Y., on the 15th. Death resulted from a wound in the spine which he had received in the Civil War. He was 63 years of age.

—The sale of cigarettes in Indiana was prohibited by statute at the last session of the legislature, the prohibition taking effect on the 15th. On the 16th reports from all the large cities and many of the smaller county seats indicated that dealers were strictly conforming to the new law.

—The assassin of Grand Duke Sergius of Russia (vol. vii, p. 744) was sentenced to death on the 18th. He urged his rights as a prisoner of war, and when asked whether if given his liberty he would repeat his offense, he replied: "Without doubt I would repeat it if ordered by the revolutionary committee."

—The lower House of the Wisconsin legislature on the 13th passed the La Follette railroad rate bill. It goes now to the senate. The crucial points about this bill are that it gives the governor the power to appoint the railroad commission and enables the commission to set aside unreasonable rates on its own motion.

—After much difficulty, the body of John Paul Jones, the naval hero of the American Revolution, was discovered, under direction of the American ambassador to France, in an old cemetery of Paris, where it had been buried more than 100 years ago. Being identified by medical experts, it is to be brought to the National Cemetery at Arlington for honorable burial.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (vol. vii, p. 810) for the nine months ending March 31, 1905, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for March, were as follows (M standing for merchandise, G for gold and S for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M...	\$1,145,004,050	\$839,475,933	\$306,125,117 exp.
G....	86,776,798	46,261,710	40,515,088 exp.
S....	26,359,598	18,826,798	17,532,800 exp.
	\$1,268,740,846	\$904,567,441	\$364,173,405 exp.

PRESS OPINIONS

TAINTED MONEY.

Bergen County (N. J.) Democrat (Dem.), Apr. 7.—Whatever may be the result of the raising of the question of accepting Rockefeller money for religious purposes, it is a healthy sign that some clergymen have been roused to action. There is very great need for an awakening of public conscience and religious teachers should be foremost among the leaders in the work. The divine law is justice, and justice is not so hard to define that there should be any doubt as to what it is and what it is not. To pray for the Master's kingdom to come upon earth as it is in Heaven is well; it is also both well and necessary to do what we can to preserve equitable conditions. Justice demands the rendering of service for service, and, even if legal,

any procedure which interferes with free competition or takes enforced contributions from consumers, is a moral offense. This is sound doctrine for all religious bodies, and it is good democratic doctrine to boot.

WOMEN AND POLITICS.

The (London) Speaker (Lib.), Mar. 18.—It is sometimes said that women are more conservative and more obedient to authority than men. It is also claimed that they care more for the humane issues involved in politics, and that they are less deflected by the domination of "masked words," party watchwords and unanalyzed abstractions. If that is so, if the mind of woman works differently from that of man in political questions, that is only one more reason why it should be represented. Also the difference, probably, is mainly the result of lack of representation. A woman who has no political rights and no political interests naturally bows to authority and accepts convention.

ENFORCED VACCINATION.

Daphne (Ala.) Standard (Ind.), Apr. 15.—Some time during last December, J. T. Garrett, of Sandersville, Ga., in defending himself against being compulsorily vaccinated, killed the officer who undertook to carry out the order of the town authorities. He has been in jail and just recovered from wounds received in defending himself, and his trial on the charge of murder resulted in a verdict of acquittal, after the jury had deliberated "about three minutes." When the Constitutional rights of a citizen are sought by health boards, to be ignored and a particular kind of medical treatment forced upon the citizen, he not only has the right to resist, but it is his duty so to do, and it is certain that no sane jury would ever convict, under such circumstances.

The (Chicago) Farmers' Voice (ag.), Apr.—There is law and there are laws; and one of our troubles is that we do not distinguish clearly between them, but put man-made laws before those laws which are universal and eternal. To punish the packers for violations of law, assuming them to be guilty, even though we sent every one of them to prison for life, would not affect the larger facts connected with this case. Their gains have come not through technical violations of the anti-trust law, but through the possession, under man-made laws, of privileges that are in violation of universal law. But against this the community offers no word of protest, nor seeks to correct it. What we need to do is to establish principles in the life and conduct of the people; not compel the observance of laws and ordinances. A fundamental law, a vital principle, is violated every time a private monopoly is created or is permitted to exist. Let us see to it that this larger principle is recognized and preserved. If we do, we shall find that the causes so prolific of infractions of the laws, and suits and trials, and sensational charges against fellow-citizens, will have ceased to exist, not only in Packingtown, but in Standard Oil, in the coal fields, in railway rates and everywhere that power to extort and exploit are possessed by the few to the hurt of the many.

"Jimmy," said the teacher. "what's a cape?" "A cape is land extending into the water." "Correct. William, define a gulf." "A gulf is water extending into the land." "Good. Christopher," to a small, eager-looking boy, "what is a mountain?" Christopher shot up from his seat so suddenly as to startle the visitor, and promptly responded: "A mountain is land extending into the air." —Youth's Companion.

MISCELLANY

RAGS AND PURPLE.

For The Public.

Hoary with sorrows and cursed by fate,
I watched him sit at the palace gate;
I watched him mumble and mouth and
swear

At the pitiful dole of passing men—
God's image, set in the highway there
To mock the image of God again—
To mock the race in His image shaped,
A hideous sore of man's own bestowing:
When the impoverished mind's escaped,
They'll bury him where the grass is grow-
ing.

One wide gulf's prohibiting wave
Severs the freeman from the slave.
Hoary with honors and jeweled state,
I watched him pass through the palace
gate;

I watched him pass through the clanging
portals,

His features haggard with sin and care:
Yes, shut him safely from humbler mortals,
Yet do not yearn for his gilded chair.
Do not covet what he possesses—

Cancerous growth of man's bestowing:
When he dies from prolonged excesses,
They'll bury him where the grass is grow-
ing.

One wide gulf's prohibiting wave
Severs the freeman from the slave,
No broad gulf parts tyranny's spawn,
Lazarus, beggar, and Dives, knave:
The impassable chasm doth ever yawn
Between the freeman and the slave. —
GERTRUDE COLLES.

939 Eighth avenue, New York City.

THE NEW BIRTH.

Extract from a sermon preached in the
Church of the Advent (Episcopal), Birming-
ham, Ala., February 12, 1905, by the Rev.
Quincy Ewing.

Jesus answered and said unto him [Nico-
demus], Except a man be born again, he
cannot see the Kingdom of God.—John
3:3.

This is the trouble with most of us to-
day who are calling ourselves religious
—we have come to feel, somehow, that
the chief purpose of religion is to give
us, individually, comfort and consolati-
on; to assure us of our secret peace
with God. And it never occurs to us
that in this feeling the religion of
Jesus Christ is turned upside down and
wrong side out! It is so far from being
true that the chief purpose of religion
here and now, is to give us comfort, that
it is impossible to see how it can fulfill
its purpose in our lives without giving
us a great deal of heart-searching dis-
comfort. The chief purpose of it as it
concerns the world is the building of
the Kingdom of God to be the Kingdom
of God and man; and the chief purpose
of it as it concerns us individually is to
rouse, and waken, and urge, and com-
mand, and scourge us to be builders of
that Kingdom. And, unless we are be-
ing builders of it, we are not at peace

with God, and not at peace with our-
selves, whatever we may feel!

To be "born again" is to be born, not
into any spiritually exclusive set of a
"400," or 4,000, or 4,000,000, dictated
to by some Divinely-anointed Ward Mc-
Allister; but, rather, out of the spiritual
insanity of selfish exclusiveness; out of
the unholy realm where man builds up
barriers against his brother-man, and
dedicates his work to God; where hu-
man creeds are an insult to humanity,
and man decrees death for his fellow-
man, in order to live for himself—out
of that realm into the spiritual King-
dom of God, which is the true and eter-
nal democracy of men—that Divine
Kingdom and that human democracy,
where every sacred privilege enjoyed by
the individual soul is an obligation to
enlarge the common joy. And to be
saved, and to know oneself saved, there-
in, is to be and know oneself a sharer in
the beatific vision of a redeemed hu-
manity which one's own faithfulness
and one's own heroism has helped to
redeem.

Ay, not to be conscious, and at peace
in the consciousness, that the Divine
Spirit vocal to you is silent to others—
is to be born again. Not to be assured
that, in "the wreck of matter and the
crash of worlds," God's wrath will hurl
away pitiful thousands to their pitiless
doom, while His mercy holds you to
Himself—is to be born again.

Nay, but to be conscious that, if God
has spoken less clearly to others than
to you, it is because He has elected you
for some special ministry to them; to
be assured that, if He has endowed you
with powers, privileges, opportunities,
blessings, not possessed by most of
your fellowmen, it is because He has
chosen for them to be blessed through
you and such as you—that, that, is to be
born again!

WE ARE VIOLATING FOUNDATION PRINCIPLES.

The steps in written constitutional
government are Magna Charta, the
Habeas Corpus act, the Petition of
Rights and the United States Consti-
tution. This last re-wrote the princi-
ples of those older sacred documents,
and added the principles that the mili-
tary must be subordinate to the civil
power, that all men are equal before
the law, and there must be no taxa-
tion without representation. For these
principles our forefathers fought; and
against them their sons are fighting.
Are the Filipinos governed without
their consent or not? Are they taxed
without representation or not? No
matter how philanthropic our mo-

tives, our children will reap the har-
vest of repentance for these violations
of eternal justice.—C. E. S. Wood, in
The Pacific Monthly.

AMERICA AND ROME—A PARALLEL.

At the Vine Street Congregational
church, in Cincinnati, New Year's even-
ing the pastor, Herbert S. Bigelow, dis-
cussed the question: "Are we going the
way of Rome?"

If your house were on fire you would
thank a man for telling you. You would
not waste time abusing him for being a
pessimist and looking on the dark side
of things.

If your neighbor thinks the American
Republic is developing the same ten-
dencies which destroyed the Republic
of Rome, do not denounce him. Read
Froude's "Caesar," and see if there is
not some ground for his fears.

Between that Roman history and our
own there are points of contrast, to be
sure. But there are also points of like-
ness which should receive the attention
of all true patriots.

First let us note the state of religion.
Of the religion of Rome Froude has this
to say:

Religion, once the foundation of the laws
and rule of personal conduct, had subsid-
ed into opinion. The educated, in their
hearts, disbelieved it. Temples were still
built with increasing splendor; the estab-
lished forms were scrupulously observed.
Public men spoke conventionally of Provi-
dence, that they might throw on their op-
ponents the odium of impiety; but of genu-
ine belief that life had a serious meaning,
there was none remaining beyond the cir-
cle of the silent, patient, ignorant multi-
tude.

Of ourselves Tolstoi wrote only last
May:

The evil from which men of the Christian
world suffer is that they have temporarily
lost religion.

Some, he declares,

Live without religion and preach the use-
lessness of any religion of whatever kind.
Others holding to that distorted form of
the Christian religion which is now
preached, likewise live without religion,
professing empty external forms, which
cannot serve as guidance for men.

Said Froude:

The whole spiritual atmosphere was sat-
urated with cant—cant moral, cant polit-
ical, cant religious; an affectation of high
principle which had ceased to touch the
conduct, and flowed on in an increasing
volume of insincere and unreal speech.

Would it be necessary to do more
than change the tense to make those
words true of us?

The history of the Standard Oil com-
pany, written by the late Henry D. Lloyd,
is no doubt worthy of all confidence as a
painstaking and conscientious report of
the truth. How can one help recalling

this history when he reads these words of Froude:

To make money—money by any means, lawful or unlawful—became the universal passion.

In politics it is the same story. Lincoln Steffens' book, "The Shame of the Cities," describes a condition among us very like that which Froude described when he said:

The elections were managed by clubs and coteries; and, except on occasions of national danger or political excitement, those who spent most freely were most certain of success.

If Rome had her mob maintained at public expense, so has New York. The New York Times states that during the first nine months of this last year fifty thousand men sought shelter in the municipal lodging houses, and it was estimated that 500,000 people in the metropolis alone were dependent upon charity for their Christmas dinner.

The great economic question in the Roman Republic was the land question. "To rescue the land from the monopolists," that, according to Froude, was the aim of Rome's patriotic statesmen. In that they failed, and for that reason more than any other Rome perished. We have the same land laws that Rome had. Unless we mend those laws so as to prevent a private monopoly of the Nation's resources, we are as certain to suffer the fate of Rome as like effects are certain to follow like causes. We believe there is yet time for us to improve upon the Roman civilization by solving this basic problem of the ownership of the Nation's soil.

We believe there is yet time, but we know there will not always be time.

THE TREND TOWARD GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP.

The especial interest of the following article rests in the circumstances of its publication. It is the leading portion of a Washington letter from F. E. Sullivan, staff correspondent of the Chicago Chronicle, and appeared in the place of honor on the first page of the Chronicle of April 15. The Chronicle is a Republican paper, and is owned and controlled by John R. Walsh, president of the Chicago National bank, and one of the leading railroad financiers of the West.

President Roosevelt's purpose to demonstrate the utility of a railroad owned by the government has not the indorsement of all of his official advisers. These gentlemen are afraid that a practical trial of the government ownership idea will result in unfortunate political complications, which, if they do not destroy the Republican party, may leave it in a badly demoralized condition for many years to come.

"If the Panama railway is operated on government ownership lines the immediate result on the public mind will be to create a demand for control by the government of other railroads and there will follow chaos in our finances as well as our politics," said a gentleman, who, notwithstanding that he enjoys the president's confidence, is not in harmony with his plans for the Panama railway.

"Government ownership is not a new theory," this gentleman continued. "It has had ardent advocates for a great many years, but in the past the men who have urged the desirability of government control of our transportation facilities have not been regarded seriously. The recent election at Chicago, resulting as it did in a comprehensive, clean-cut victory for municipal ownership, is a clear indication of the trend of public sentiment in the direction of ownership of all public utilities.

"Mr. Bryan is traveling about the country speaking for government ownership and obviously he proposes to be the candidate of his party upon a government ownership plank in 1908. That is going to be one of the great issues of the campaign of that year, perhaps the overshadowing issue.

"If President Roosevelt persists in carrying out his programme to operate the Panama railway, with its steamship connections on the Atlantic and Pacific, as a competitor of the existing transcontinental lines, it is conceivable that he will add fuel to the flame which Mr. Bryan is now nursing with such infinite care.

"If the Panama railway will carry freights cheaper than the transcontinental roads, it will immediately become the popular transportation route between the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts. Shippers will hail it with acclaim. They are looking for cheap freight rates. Undoubtedly they will offer the road all of the business it can carry, and perhaps more. The public will be told that the experiment has been a great success, and perhaps truthfully. The public, however, may not care to look at the other side of the picture—the destruction of values in the stocks and bonds of competing transcontinental lines and consequent losses to the thousands upon thousands of investors who hold these stocks and bonds.

"That is the dark and threatening side of the government ownership idea at this time, and, when one takes into

account the temperamental characteristics of the American people, it is easy to foresee that the dark side of the picture is not apt to be lightened once the government ownership idea takes a strong hold upon their imaginations."

Secretary Taft, it is understood, is the only member of the president's cabinet who is in complete accord with his purpose to operate the Panama railway as a competitor of the transcontinental systems. The secretary believes that the president is right in his determination to cut freight and passenger carrying charges almost to the bare cost of operation.

It was his idea to double-track the line across the isthmus so that the movement of trains would not be hampered by the necessities of construction. The secretary is in favor of constructing a third and even a fourth track if the demands upon the facilities of the road should warrant such expenditures. It was also his idea that the terminal docks at Panama shall be enlarged to accommodate four or five times as many ships as can safely be moored alongside the existing docks.

Secretary Taft has his eye upon the Philippine traffic, and also upon the traffic of China, Japan and other Asiatic countries. All of this traffic at the present time is carried across the continent by the Canadian Pacific, the Great Northern, the Northern Pacific, the Union Pacific, the Santa Fe and the Southern Pacific lines. Ever since the United States assumed control of the Philippines the trans-continental roads have been vying with each other to enlarge their Asiatic tonnage, and, without exception, have increased their Pacific fleets.

The Panama railroad, under the terms of its agreement with these lines, has not undertaken heretofore to carry freights destined for Asiatic points, except in rare cases where permission to do so was first obtained from the other railroads. The president and Secretary Taft are of the opinion that the government, in its capacity as owner of the Panama road, can shortly build up an enormous trans-Pacific business by delivering freight destined for Asia on board of steamers prepared to receive it at Panama.

It is inconceivable that the railways can successfully meet this competition. Practically all of the Panama Railway company's haul would be by wa-

ter. The 47-mile haul across the isthmus by rail would be an insignificant item by comparison with the overland haul of its competitors.

The president has been informed that the Asiatic rates upon American manufactures and other products can, through economical operation of the Panama railroad, be cut at least 50 per cent. The railroads cannot make such a cut without destroying their capacity to earn dividends.

"BOYVILLE": CLEVELAND'S FARM FOR CHARACTER CULTIVATION.

J. B. Vining, Secretary of Charities and Correction Division of Cleveland's Public Service Department, in the Chicago Commons for Feb. 1905.

Two and one-half miles north of the quaint village of Hudson, O., there is growing up a unique home for Cleveland's unfortunate boys. Hudson's glories lie in the past. As a seat of learning since the establishment of the Western Reserve university, in 1828, she is proud of her record. Since the removal of the college to Cleveland, in 1883, and the closing of the Western Reserve academy, in 1902, the college buildings are falling into decay, the campus is grown with weeds. It would seem, however, that she is still not to be without distinction, for the building of the Cleveland Boys' Home, which is always spoken of as being at Hudson, the old town is again coming into prominence which will perhaps outshine her former renown.

"Boyville," as it is coming to be known, contains 283 acres of wood and meadow, hill and vale, of surpassing beauty. Giant maples are scattered along either side of Chapman road, which cuts the farm through the center from east to west. Living springs are abundant, and the creek which flows through the lowland is never dry. One large spring found in a maple grove, half a mile from any building, flows at the rate of 180 gallons per minute, winter and summer, standing at 48 degrees Fahrenheit throughout the year. The water in this spring is absolutely pure, containing lythia and other medicinal properties. In the past this water has been sold in the city of Cleveland for domestic use, and has the possibilities of a paying enterprise in connection with the home in case it is found advisable to put the water on the market.

The initiation of this school lies with Harris R. Cooley, for 21 years pastor of the Cedar Avenue Disciple church of Cleveland, and a man who has given social questions deep study, both at home

and abroad. Coming into the position of director of charities and correction during the first term of Mayor Johnson's administration in 1901, he took up the establishment of this home with vigor, so that by the fall of 1902, he, with the help of others having similar views, secured from the city council authority and funds by which 123 acres of land were purchased. The same fall, a contract for the building of the administration cottage, now known as the "Washington," was let. This was finished the following summer.

On the 18th of June, 1903, Rev. A. G. Lohmann, with his family, took up the work, he having been appointed by the board of public service as head master. He entered upon a pioneer work, for the one cottage not being yet completed, he was obliged to live with his family in tents and barns until it was ready for occupancy. Through his devotion and untiring efforts, improvements of all kinds have sprung up as if by magic.

Later 160 acres, an adjoining farm, were added to the original plot, thus giving a farm one-half a mile wide and a mile long. There is now, besides the administration cottage in which the head master lives, called the "Washington," the "Adams," the "Jefferson," the "Madison," the "Monroe" and the "Jackson." All these are completed with the exception of the "Jackson," which will be ready for use during this month.

The farm contains, besides the maple grove in which the large spring is located, a tract of about 30 acres of forest, upon which all of the original trees are still standing, consisting of white wood, beach, hickory and oak, besides a sugar bush of some 1,200 trees.

A bakery and store room have been built; also an ice house, adjoining the pond, so arranged that the skid upon which the ice is gathered makes a fine toboggan for the boys in winter and a shoot-the-chutes for swimming time. This is on the edge of a pond, which was made by throwing a dam across the creek, and gives a body of water 200 feet at the widest part, from four to six feet deep, and extending up to the road some 30 or 40 rods.

The water from the large spring has been piped from the woods to a tank over which is built the engine, pumping and boiler rooms, and in which also is to be established an electric light plant. This spring will furnish water to a standpipe that is erected on a knoll overlooking the farm. The standpipe is nine feet in diameter and 36 feet high, and affords not only an abundance of

fresh water, but also fire protection: A four-inch water main has been laid with fire hydrants at each cottage. Later a hose cart will be added to the equipment, and the boys will be organized into a fire company.

Back of the standpipe a gymnasium is under process of erection, containing two bowling alleys and a large room in which the boys can exercise during the stormy weather.

The place is well stocked with eight head of horses, a herd of 40 cows, 100 thoroughbred sheep, besides pigs, chickens, dogs, doves and other animals. The herd of cattle have been provided with a number of Swiss bells, ranging in size from a five-pounder to one weighing a few ounces. These are made to ring in harmony, and on the summer evenings make beautiful music for the ears of boys who have all their lives been accustomed to the noise and din of the dirty city.

After more than a year's trial this home is now beyond the experimental stage. It is universally acknowledged to be a step in the right direction, and meets with general approval.

The entire cost up to the present time of land, buildings, furniture, stock, implements and everything that has entered into the making of this home, is about \$50,000 a little more than the cost of an ordinary building in any of our state institutions, and about one per cent. of the amount that is oftentimes expended for the building of a magnificent jail. Considering the results, this is a small sum indeed, for here we touch boys at a time in life when they are easier helped and when more lasting good can be done them than ever again in after years.

After all, to get the true idea of the value of this work, it is necessary to learn something of the attitude and thought of the boy himself towards this home. A few days ago, when Judge Callaghan, lately of the Juvenile court, was laid to rest, 12 of these lads came in as a special escort at his funeral. These lads had last parted with Judge Callaghan in the court room when they were mingling their tears and lamentations with those of their parents. They had left him thinking he was a great and terrible man, who was banishing them to some forlorn country; and yet so touched by the new life were they, that in coming to his funeral they felt that they were doing honor to a friend whom they loved. Returning from the burial, Director Cooley said to me: "Those boys leading the march in Judge Callaghan's funeral made one of the most beautiful scenes that I have ever

witnessed, and I would rather have the honor of an escort such as Judge Callaghan's than to be the recipient of the greatest military procession that ever led the most honored soldier to his last resting place."

One of the lads, who had been a street urchin, coming and going through the offices of the City Hall, said to me not long since: "When I think how I used to bum around the streets and didn't know where I was goin' to sleep or when I was goin' to eat, it jes seems like a dream, and I couldn't stand for it agin."

The cottages are frame, plain but substantially built, costing from \$2,500 to \$3,000. They are grouped facing the road, and are back from 50 to 100 feet. A system of walks and drives connecting the various cottages is being laid out under the supervision of the Park Engineers. Each cottage contains from 10 to 12 rooms, a sleeping room being large enough to accommodate 15 to 20 boys in single beds, and a sitting room in proportion for a family of 20 to 25. Each have a suite of from three to four rooms for the occupancy of the Master and Matron—the cottages generally being in charge of a man and his wife, who live and work with the boys the same as parents in any large family. Some boys are assigned duties in the kitchen, dining room and bed rooms; others have charge of the cattle and cow stables and horse barns. Every boy is required to go to school at least half of each day during the nine months of the year; the younger boys going both morning and afternoon.

There are no guards nor restraint of any character whatever, the boys going and coming the same as children in any family. There is no attempt made toward military drill of any character; the boys are never lined up or counted. Of course, being distributed 12 to 15 boys to the cottage, the absence of a boy is as readily noticed as would be the case in any home group. The fear that to hold the boys would be one of the drawbacks of the School has been utterly dispelled, as very few have ever run away, and these generally boys who had been at the Farm for but a few days. After we have had a boy there for two weeks, the danger of his trying to leave is reduced to a very small percentage. A recent letter from a city official where they are discussing the question of a Boys' Home, asked Director Cooley if we kept guards to watch our boys, and if we had bars on the windows. Nothing could be more foreign to the general attitude of our Home than bars or guards.

Here, the most of these lads come for the first time in touch with Mother Nature; she knows them to be her children, as she does all of us, and her answer of motherhood can be read in their bright eyes and smiling faces, transformed from the dirty, grimy street urchin, not over attractive, to a clean, bright, lovable lad.

Building construction is under the supervision of Head Carpenter Sheehan, who, with his wife, lives in "Madison" cottage. No contracts are let for this work, the City buying its material in car-load lots, and carrying forward the work with such assistant carpenters as are needed. In all of this, the boys are given every opportunity to learn, some being assigned to the painter, others to the carpenters and masons, and such other work as is being carried on. The Head Farmer, whom the boys call "uncle," has charge of the general farming. In this work, he is assisted by the boys, who do such regular farm work as the raising of corn, oats, potatoes, etc. During the formation period, the boys are used in all of the various kinds of work as they are best adapted. Later on, manual training and wood-working will be taken up, as well as dairying and scientific farming. A Head Gardener will be installed in the "Jackson" cottage during the month, who will teach the boys gardening and horticulture.

"Jennie" and "Dewey," a pair of donkeys, the fun-makers of the Farm, are fitted up with harness and wagon, and are used in light hauling and for the boys' play hours.

Regular elections are held, the government of the place being conducted upon the Federal Plan. This consists of a Mayor and his cabinet; also Police Judge and Prosecutor. The Council meets at regular intervals, and questions pertaining to the control of the Home are placed before the boys. Offenders of the law are brought before the Police Judge and punishment is meted out to fit the crime. With the growth of the Home, it is proposed further to introduce self-government in the form of a money and credit system. To this will be added the plan of pauper and citizen management, as used by Mr. Bradley in his Boys' School.

So far, 138 boys have been sent to the Home by the Juvenile Court. The highest number on the Farm at one time was 85; this was during the summer months, when about 20 boys were being lodged in tents. With the opening of the city schools, 30 were paroled last September. There are now 68 boys in the Home, and it is hoped, by the end of this year, to have room for 100. Dur-

ing the city school vacations, there will probably be a large increase, the same as last year, as it is then feasible to house the boys in tents, and they can then be paroled at the fall term of school.

In the management and furnishing of these cottages, an effort has been made to make them as near the average home as possible, believing that the most important idea that could be inculcated was that of a place such as they might some day aspire to for a home of their own—to give them a home ideal, which is often lacking in many city boys, and to divorce every idea of an institution or any sense of restriction, except that which comes to the ordinary home life.

One lad, thought to be unusually vicious and hardened, was found one day in the cow stables crying. When asked what was the matter, he said that the calf was sick and in pain and he was sorry for it. Later on, the same lad asked that he might have the privilege of feeding the pigs, "Because," he said, "you see the boys forget to feed them sometimes and I don't like to hear them crying, and if you give me the job I will be sure and feed them every time." Among them were several litters of sucking pigs. He came one day to the Matron and said: "Ma, I have been watching the little pigs, and they never get to the trough for anything to eat. Can't I have a small trough and some milk for the little pigs?" A boy who is thus mindful of poor creatures is prompt to respond to kindness and discipline, and this lad has proved that instead of being specially wilful and disobedient, he is one of our brightest and most trustworthy lads. In fact, the general kindness of the boys towards the animals about the farm is very noticeable. They go into the herd of stock running in the field and walk up to almost every animal.

They have some peculiar methods of naming animals. One cow, they have named "Sweetheart." On being asked why they did this, one lad answered: "I'll show you." He reached his arm around the animal's neck, and she licked his face. He said: "That's the reason we call her 'Sweetheart,' because she kisses us."

Our cow stable, holding 40 head, will be found to equal in neatness and order that of the best regulated dairy. This is entirely in charge of one of the former city waifs, who has a number of boys under him. I asked them one day if they ever had to hit the cows to make them mind. One lad spoke up and said: "Catch us hitting these cows, and uncle

would go for us." Another replied: "We wouldn't hit these cows even if uncle wasn't here, because we likes them."

During the harvest season a rabbit was caught. On explaining to the boys that it would probably die if they kept it captive, they were all ready to let it go, and stood in a circle while they "shooed" it into the pasture lot. Another rabbit which was killed by the mowing machine was placed in a coffin and tenderly buried, after which flowers were laid on its grave.

No more interesting sight can be seen than the gathering of these lads on a Sunday morning in the summer, beneath one of the large maple trees, where singing and Sunday services are held, and no more appreciative audience could be addressed than these so-called bad boys. A glint of sunshine, a bright cloud, the song of a bird, the bleating of a sheep, the lowing of the herds—all join in making music and a picture which is food to the souls of these troubled lads. In the winter time, the coasting on the hillside, skating on the ponds, the game of "fox and geese," together with the work and study of the day, so unite in making happy hearts and sound bodies that within 15 minutes after the lights are out in the dormitory every lad is sound asleep.

I believe in the admission of women to the full rights of citizenship; womanly genius for organization applied to the affairs of the nation would be extremely economical and beneficial.—Theodore Parker.

With a novel written in the first person, there is the added comfort or discomfort, as the case may be, of knowing at once that the hero lived through it.—Puck.

BOOKS

OSCAR WILDE'S DE PROFUNDIS.

A book that tells the whole truth about a human heart, granted that the telling is straightforward and possesses that indefinable something which may be called art, is quite sure to be a book that will be read in many generations. Such a book is Oscar Wilde's *De Profundis*. (Putnam's, New York).

It does not matter that the revelations contained in such confessions shall make pleasant reading, or that the revealer shall be an admirable character. What the world values in this class of literature is the unveiled truth—something that it gets nowhere else. Rousseau's classic, for example, is sometimes disgusting, and reveals

excesses of contemptibleness that could hardly be imagined, and yet the ingenuous truth of the book has put it among the hundred in the great lists.

The world values these records of confessions perhaps, all the more because they defy it. They do defy it. They can be written only by those who are careless of the world or renounce its judgments. This is part of their power. For there is no doubt that a certain strength comes to one who has "overcome the world," in whatever way this be done; and these books, which set at naught the world's repressions and conventions, partake of this strength.

Oscar Wilde's *De Profundis carmē*, like the *Ballad of Reading Gaol*, out of his penitentiary life. He entered the depths during those prison years, and who can say that he did not come "through pain to gain?" He learnt the everlasting lesson; so that he was able to say, "I have got to make everything that has happened to me good for me."

There are many passages in this remarkable book that might be quoted in illustration of the author's new birth through disgrace, humiliation and sorrow. One at least must be given, which shows also how his own "revelation of suffering" brought to him a sense of the mystery of the life of the Supreme Sufferer. "His Miracles," thus he writes, "seem to me to be as exquisite as the coming of Spring, and quite as natural. I see no difficulty at all in believing that such was the charm of his personality that his mere presence could bring peace to souls in anguish, and that those who touched his garments or his hands forgot their pain; or that as he passed by on the highway of life, people who had seen nothing of life's mystery saw it clearly, and others who had been deaf to every voice but that of pleasure heard for the first time the voice of love, and found it as musical as Apollo's lute."

In another place he says: "People have tried to make him out an ordinary philanthropist, or ranked him as an altruist with the unscientific and sentimental. But he was neither the one nor the other. Pity he has, of course, for the poor, for those who are shut up in prisons, for the lowly, for the wretched; but he has far more pity for the rich, for the hard hedonists, for those who waste their freedom in becoming slaves of things, for those who wear soft raiment and live in king's houses. Riches and pleasure seemed to him to be really greater tragedies than poverty and sorrow."

To many, of course, this book will appear strained and abnormal, but none can deny that it is one of deep interest and peculiar power. When all shall have been forgot that Oscar

Wilde wrote in his pride, men will still read his *De Profundis*. Such is the power and recompense of suffering to those who can yield themselves to its revelations.

"Who never ate his bread in sorrow,
Who never spent the darksome hours

Weeping and watching for the morrow,

He knows ye not, ye heavenly Powers."

J. H. DILLARD.

PRISON INHUMANITY.

In Mrs. Maybrick's *Own Story* (New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls Company), Mrs. Florence Elizabeth Maybrick describes with dignity and pathos what she calls her "15 lost years"—the years in which she suffered as a convict in a British prison. They will not have been lost years, however, but, on the contrary, sorrowful as they were, they will have been the best years of her life if they result in impressing the public mind with the barbaric crime-confirming and character-destroying discipline to which convicts are subjected.

Whether Mrs. Maybrick was guilty or not is of secondary importance with reference to the first part of her book, the part which deals with her trial and punishment. She was evidently tried unfairly, cut off by the laws from any appeal, and brutally dealt with after conviction. This does not appear to have been from any vindictiveness against her. She was treated as all other convicts were. But that is the fact that makes her book valuable as an exposure. Had she been especially ill-treated the book would not have been an indictment of the system. But her case was typical and this makes one shudder at a penal system which is worse than the crimes it is established to punish or discourage.

Mrs. Maybrick was convicted of murdering her husband by administering arsenic. It does not appear that his death from arsenic was ever proved, nor that she administered it; but it does appear that he was an habitual arsenic eater. Yet the hostility of a judge afflicted with softening of the brain influenced the jury to convict her. She was sentenced to death, but life imprisonment, degrading and humiliating in its details of discipline, was afterward substituted.

That, however, was not the limit of her punishment. Her little children, renamed, were weaned away from her, and she knows nothing of them even now.

Every effort to secure her pardon was unavailing. Only at the expiration of the full term of 20 years (the period to which life sentences are usually commuted), less allowance for good behavior, bringing her imprisonment down to 15 years, was she released. This was in the summer of 1904.

Mrs. Maybrick's story of her experiences as a convict is all very interesting. The discussion of her innocence is not as interesting as it might have been made without varying the facts. But the interest which attaches to the story of prison life ought to secure the book a wide circulation. The indignation it cannot but arouse in the minds of all readers except the brutal ought to make it effective in altering penal methods.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—For To-Day. Poems by Frances Margaret Millne. San Francisco: The James H. Barry company. Price \$1.50. To be reviewed.

—My Country and Other Verse. By Robert Whitaker. San Francisco: The James H. Barry company. To be reviewed.

—The Recording Angel. A novel. By Edwin Arnold Brenholz. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., 36 Fifth Ave. Price \$1.00. To be reviewed.

PAMPHLETS

The labor controversy over "open shop" and "closed shop" would be better understood in some of its features if those who wrangle over it were to read Prof. John R. Commons's paper (Madison, Wis.) on "Causes of the Union Shop Policy." This paper was one of the essays read at the meeting of the American Economic association last December.

The people of Chicago have voted so emphatically against settling their traction question by renewing franchises, that George E. Hooker's pamphlet "Do We Want a Settlement Franchise?" may seem belated. But private interest in public rights, from the comparatively weak ones of the ordinary grafter to the enormous and dangerous ones of great financiers and their allies and defenders, never succumb easily. Mr. Hooker's pamphlet may not be so late, therefore, as it might at first blush seem; and quite apart from the question of timeliness, it is a valuable contribution. Mr. Hooker is one of the best informed men in the country on the details of the Chicago traction problem, and the experience of foreign cities with municipal ownership and operation.

Edward B. Whitney's discussion of "the doctrine of stare decisis"—"it has been decided;" or the legal theory of the potency of precedent—should interest laymen as well as lawyers. Mr. Whitney is a son of the distinguished Yale professor of an earlier day; he is himself a lawyer of the first rank at the New York bar; he won his professional spurs as assistant attorney general in Cleveland's second term; and unlike your cut-and-dried lawyer he has convictions of his own and the courage of them. The importance of the doctrine of "stare decisis" is not usually understood by laymen. They scoff at the idea of deciding a case, regardless of what they call its merits, according to like cases.

The point they miss is the danger of allowing to judges freedom of arbitrary decision, and the consequent inability of lawyers to intelligently advise clients. If the rule of law is to depend upon the conscience of the judge, unsteadied by prior decisions, then the lawyer must study the moral and mental idiosyncrasies of judges, instead of the solemn judgments of courts, in order to advise clients of their legal rights. Mr. Whitney fully recognizes the virtues of the doctrine of stare decisis; but owing to the augmenting mass of litigation, he doubts the possibility of its continuous recognition—in fact declares that "as the wilderness of authorities presented upon the briefs of counsel tends every year to become more hopeless, the courts in general tend more and more to decide each case according to their own ideas of fairness between the parties in that case." This revolutionary change has been apparent to thoughtful lawyers for 20 years or more, but no remedy has seemed probable. Mr. Whitney suggests a remedy through codification.

PERIODICALS

John Z. White's and the Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow's lecture tours are reported interestingly in the February Why (Cedar Rapids), to which is added an account, with an excellent portrait of H. H. Hardinge's single tax speeches in Chicago.

The March Cosmopolitan has an article on the "World's Most Advanced Government," meaning, of course, New Zealand. The article is scanty, but may be welcomed as an additional notice of the progress of these wonderful islands. The most valuable part of the article is the author's answer to those who speak of the government's debt, and at the same time neglect to speak of the government's revenues from railways, telegraph and telephone exchanges, collieries, etc.—J. H. D.

Whoever has access to the Westminster Review for March should not fail to read the article entitled "Free Trade, Free Land, Peace." It is a most enlightened account of present issues in English politics, showing conclusively the one line of any permanent liberal success. The writer quotes fully from Henry George, and urges his readers to make themselves acquainted with Protection or Free Trade. Will the Liberals be brave enough to follow the line of freedom? That is the great question upon which all hangs.—J. H. D.

Samuel Gompers, president of the Federation of Labor, has drawn a contrast between university students in Russia, defying the autocracy, and those in America, welcoming the opportunity, as at New Haven, to pose as scabs and strike-breakers. Speaking of this, the New York Independent attributes the

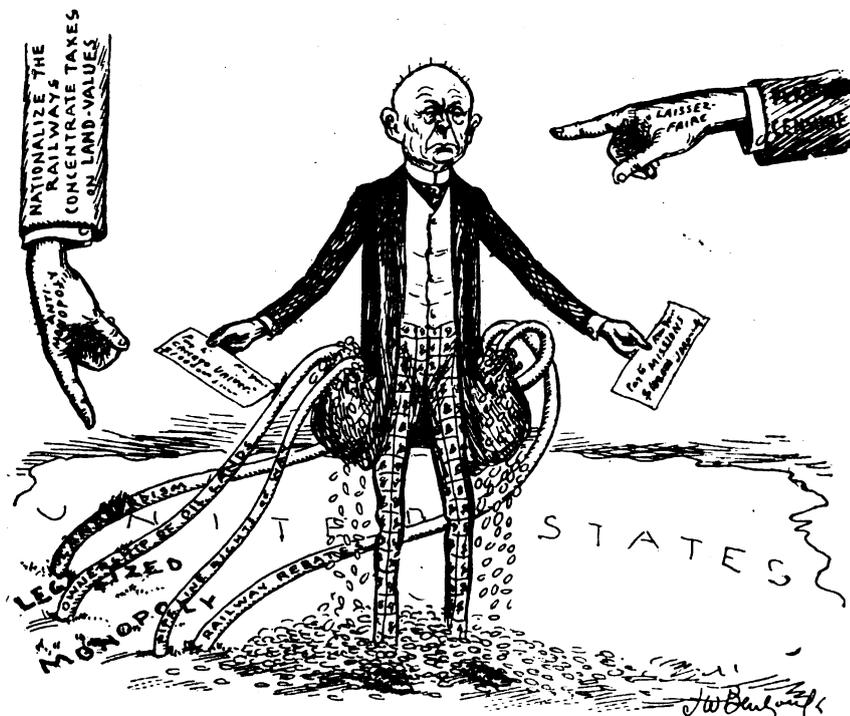
action in either case to the general spirit of revolt among young men "against any forcible restriction of action." Yet the fact remains that the American college student of to-day gives little evidence of a spirit of revolt against the restrictions of monopoly. Perhaps he does not see these.—J. H. D.

It is well known by all Dr. Osler's friends that he is a joker, as well as a surgeon. He has doubtless had "lots of fun" out of the newspaper editors who took him seriously. The Nebraska Independent deserves the palm for the best comment on the doctor's age limit. "It must have been," says the editor, "immediately after a visit to the United States senate that Dr. Osler delivered the now celebrated lecture in which he advocated chloroforming all men over 60 years of age." The fact that he is himself 56 ought to show that he is joking about his 40-year limit of originality and effectiveness.—J. H. D.

It would be hard to praise too highly the April number of McClure's. Probably no number of any magazine has ever been filled with contributions so substantially good in both form and matter. The article by Mr. Steffens on "New Jersey, the Traitor State," is one of the best he has written. Poor New Jersey! One wonders whether the State will not turn to some immediate action of repentance after reading this scathing rebuke. Then of matter of another kind we have the beginning of a series on great writers by ex-Prof. Woodberry, who is as well fitted as anyone in America to write on such a theme. And these are but two of the attractive list of contributions.—J. H. D.

Under the heading, the Death Roll in Industry, the New York Independent says: "The killings and woundings entailed by modern industry far outnumber the casualties of armed warfare. . . . The slave owner and the feudal baron protected the individual life, because it was valuable to them. But under the capitalist system the employer accepts no responsibility whatever for the maintenance and protection of the laborer. The laborer is to the employer a "hand," to be hired and discharged at will. If he is injured or killed it is, as a usual thing, no loss to the employer, for another is ready immediately to step into the victim's shoes." All of which goes only to show how we have halted half-way in the progress towards human freedom.—J. H. D.

A letter to Harper's Weekly signed "Satan," the authorship of which is laid on Mark Twain, is a rich contribution to the present controversy over the Rockefeller gift to missions. It begins: "Dear Sir and Kinsman: Let us have done with this frivolous talk. The American board accepts contributions from me every year; then why shouldn't it from Mr. Rockefeller? In all the ages, three-



ROCKEFELLERISM.

The Finger of Scorn vs. The Finger of Practical Sense.

fourths of the support of the great charities has been conscience-money, as my books will show." Further on in his letter Satan says: "It makes us smile—down in my place! Because there isn't a rich man in your vast city who doesn't perjure himself every year before the tax board. They are all caked with perjury, many layers thick. Iron clad, so to speak. If there is one that isn't, I desire to acquire him for my museum, and will pay Dinosaur rates."—J. H. D.

The Commons (Chicago) for April editorially discusses the point of view of those friends of municipal ownership who were on the other side when the fight was on. It is just a little shocking to find the implication that Mr. Harlan promised a traction referendum throughout the campaign when the reverse was the case notoriously, especially when that implication is coupled with the statement that Judge Dunne made only "slight and belated reference to any referendum." whereas he was in fact not only thoroughly committed to it, but his policy necessitated it under the law. However, allowance must be made, and as the comment of the Commons indicates a disposition to bury minor differences and uphold Mayor Dunne in carrying out what it rightly calls Chicago's "settled policy to own and operate its street railways," the historical error noted above may well be forgiven and forgotten.

A sympathetic article on "John Muir: Geologist, Explorer, Naturalist," with portrait and beautiful illustrations of those Western peaks

and canyons largely made known to the world through Muir's descriptions of them, and some of them nationalized by his efforts, leads in the always interesting Craftsman for March (Syracuse, N. Y.).—A. T. P.

And now comes Connecticut. Rev. Dr. Newman Smyth, of New Haven, who has shown himself to be one of the best citizens in America, has recently made an address before a committee of the legislature of his State, which is printed in full in the Springfield Republican. Dr. Smyth, in proposing certain amendments to the corrupt practices act, said: "I do not hesitate to say, with such information as I have from men in a position to know in many towns, and in

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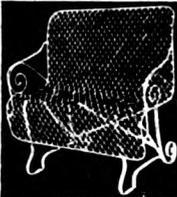
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