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A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

Eighth Year

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LOUIS F. POST
EDITOR

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The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

Volume VIII

Number 378

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EDITORIAL

The Norwegian Secession.

A great lesson in democratic government is probable from Norway and Sweden. All the hopeful lessons in government throughout history seem to have come, as this one promises, from the "little peoples." The "big peoples" have rushed the world along into the darkness and despair of imperialism and centralized power; only the "little peoples" have set the world examples of democracy triumphant. In ancient times it was little Rome that planted the seeds of liberty, and imperial Rome that brought on the blight of the dark ages; in more modern times it is little England that has lighted this darkness with inspiring examples of

democracy, and the British empire swaggering up and down the earth that has tried to snuff them out. If Sweden adopts the advice of her king and his ministry, then little Norway and little Sweden will have set an example in dissolving their imperial bonds, which, at this particular time, when the bigness and power of empire has not ceased to inflame the imagination, will be one of the best lessons in government the world has ever had.

Had the United States but set this good example half a century ago, American history would have been different and better. There would have been no fratricidal war with its horrors of destruction and its burden of debt. Slavery would have passed away, for it was already becoming unprofitable and would long ago have been economically impossible; but it would have passed away as it has in South American republics, where it was abolished by consent instead of conquest, and without leaving an inheritance of race hostility behind it. Imperialism would never have raised its head. Centralization of power would have been avoided. And yet all the advantages of union, plus the element of friendship, could have been secured by treaty federation. Of this outcome of a wiser course between our Northern and our Southern States, the course that Norway and Sweden are apparently about to pursue is highly significant.

Those two countries were bound together for certain purposes. As is always the case where inflexible bonds of union exist, the more aggressive country of the two began to acquire inordinate power over the other. The other gave notice of dissolution of the bonds, and made overtures for fraternal relations. When Norway did this, Sweden would, had she followed our example, have resolved upon force, and after plunging the two peoples into a

bloody war would have burdened them with an inheritance of hatred for generations to come. But Sweden's official advisers are wiser if not better. Declaring that a union without natural accord could bring no advantage to either people, they recommend acceptance of the fraternal overtures of Norway in the spirit in which they were made.

Out of the greater independence of both peoples that would result, a closer because freer union would almost certainly eventuate. By a defensive alliance of Sweden and Norway, with free trade between their peoples, the most perfect unity can be secured without prejudice to complete autonomy and without irritation. Should Denmark come into this alliance, which is not too much to expect eventually, a Scandinavian federation upon the basis of local autonomy would be effected, in comparison with which an imperial union maintained by coercion would be the last thing to be desired. In the first step towards this possible consummation, Norway is of course entitled to the credit of asserting her independence with dignity and in a spirit of fraternal good will; but Sweden, should she follow the advice of her king and his ministers, will have earned at least equal credit.

Single Tax Agitation in Denmark.

Slowly but all the more firmly for that reason, the central idea to which Henry George gave form and which has gained an influential position in the English speaking world, is making headway in the countries of other speech. To several instances (vol. vii, pp. 12, 28, 338, 346, 410, 618, 823; vol. viii, pp. 72, 103) we have heretofore called attention. Another is reported from Denmark. An excellent monthly magazine, "Ret" (Right) which comes to us from Slagelse, a city of about 20,000 inhabitants some 50 or 60 miles from Copenhagen, is the organ of the Henry George

association of that city. This association, of which nothing has heretofore been published in our country, was organized in 1902 with 24 members. In 1903 the membership had increased to 407 and in 1905 to 550. Its work has consisted in circulating literature, providing copy for the newspapers and magazines, and promoting single tax lectures. What must be even more encouraging to single taxers than the existence of so large a society in Denmark where the agitation is spontaneous, is the fact, for which "Ret" vouches, that the monthly magazines and weekly newspapers of Denmark open their columns readily and gladly to single tax contributions. The daily papers, however, are more cautious. Although they do not reject, they hesitate. The George idea seems so simple and plausible that they apparently harbor discreet fears that in some mysterious way it may be dangerously "loaded."

Juries in Criminal Trials.

Secretary Taft's attack upon the institution of trial by jury, in his address to the graduating class of the Yale law school on the 26th, affords another indication of the plutocratic drift away from popular government and toward government by judges and bureaucrats. True to that judicial instinct which found its most faithful exemplification in the career of Jeffreys, Mr. Taft regards "miscarriages of justice" and acquittals as synonymous terms. Jury trial, therefore, ranks with him as a fetish; and he condemns its adoption in Porto Rico and approves its exclusion from the Philippines. But jury trial in criminal cases is the palladium of personal liberty—and this is no parrot-like encomium. It is the palladium of popular liberties because it reserves to the people themselves, regardless of bribed legislators or class judges, the ultimate power of peaceable resistance to official repression. It operates as a referendum on the execution of every criminal statute. Let jury trial in criminal cases be abol-

ished, or the absolute rights of the jury be curtailed by judges, and personal liberty would soon depend, as it did in the past in similar circumstances, upon the grace of rulers or the mercy of judges.

Hadley's Baccalaureate Address.

Much better advice to young men going out into the world, than that of Mr. Taft to the law graduates at Yale, was that of President Hadley to the academic graduates. Dr. Hadley graphically distinguished the pharisee, who prides himself on his devotion to rules and observances, from the man who tries to govern his conduct by principles—him who keeps the letter of the law and kills the spirit from him who adapts the letter to the spirit. Noting the external fact that the breaking of one rule is demoralizing to the whole system of rules with those who place their trust in keeping the letter of the law, Dr. Hadley enlarged upon the vastly more important consideration of the dangers to character of adopting rules of conduct in stead of principles of life for guides. "Even if no emergencies or crises arise," he said, "which stretch our rules to the breaking point, there is another and more insidious series of dangers which beset the man whose morality and religion are matters of rule alone. The keeping of definite rules produces self-satisfaction; and self-satisfaction is but one step short of moral stagnation." There was in that baccalaureate address more human and civic and religious vitality than there could be in the whole college course without it. To absorb that vitality is not to choose what seems a flowery path to the hopeful but unsophisticated. As Dr. Hadley wisely explained, those who line up with principles of life instead of rules of conduct "will have to fight those who are opposed," and "sometimes be beaten, which is bad enough;" they will be "misunderstood by those who should be on" their side, "which is worse;" they will make mistakes of their own "in judging where the right

really lies, which is worst of all." But "through defeats and misunderstandings and mistakes," said he, "you will all the time be growing into something larger than you were before," whereas "if you choose the part of the pharisee, you will probably get something of the success which you desire, but in the very process of getting it you will become constantly narrower and meaner." How infinitely superior and more optimistic is that kind of admonition to the college graduate than the adjurations to strive for an ignoble success which in recent years have been the staple of college addresses.

Municipal Government in Ohio.

Another of Lincoln Steffens's exposures of civic corruption appears in McClure's for July. It bears this significant title: "Ohio: A Tale of Two Cities." No one need be told that the two cities are Cleveland and Cincinnati; nor will anyone familiar with the facts be surprised at the assurance that Cincinnati under Boss Cox is the worst, while Cleveland under Mayor Johnson is the best-governed city in the United States. Friends and imitators of Senator Hanna are outraged in their minds at Mr. Steffens's candor in dealing with the career of that "man of brains not of mind;" but the facts Mr. Steffens presents are indisputable and the inferences unevadable. There is no denying this pen portrait: "You can't understand the American people and the United States without seeing Hanna, as he was—good and bad, a delight and a danger, a business man in politics, a business man who dominated a city, became United States Senator and the boss of a State, became national head of the dominant national party and was the choice of big business and bad machine politics for the President of the United States." Boss Cox seems to be a worthy successor to Mr. Hanna as State boss of Ohio Republicans. Hanna's civic philosophy, as Mr. Steffens describes it, was "a government of the people

by politicians hired to represent the privileged class;" and the chief difference between Hanna and Cox is that Hanna came down from the privileged class to hire politicians, whereas Cox goes up to the privileged class to be hired.

Naturally Mr. Steffens approaches his report of conditions in Cleveland under Mayor Johnson, "with fear and trembling;" for he went to Cleveland with a ready-made notion, spread by frenzied financiers, that Mayor Johnson was "a dangerous theorist with a dangerous ambition;" but after long and painstaking investigation he concluded "that Tom Johnson is the best mayor of the best-governed city in the United States." Why he approached the disclosure of this optimistic fact with fear and trembling is easily explained. He had already learned that the "cheerful idiots who think themselves optimists" because they want investigators of conditions to "find something good now and then," really do not want to see the good where it exists; they want to be told of it where it doesn't exist. Mr. Steffens's fears, however, are not his most pronounced characteristic; and as of Folk, La Follette, and Garvin, so of Johnson, he tells the truth even if it does disturb the frenzied financiers and their "optimistic" hangers-on. An intelligent statement of the details of Johnson's career—not as just to Johnson in its earlier stages as the facts demand, yet as just perhaps as could be expected of any disinterested narrator who approaches the subject judicially but under the shadows of a hostile prejudice,—is concluded by Mr. Steffens with this acute summary: "Tom Johnson is the 'business man for mayor' that business men have been prophesying so long must come along some day to give us a 'good business administration of a city government;' and, now that he has come, Business hates him because he has given Cleveland not only good government, but representative government; not only clean streets, but

clean tax lists; he has stopped not only blackmail, but bribery; he tackled not only low-down petty police and political graft, but high-toned, big, respectable, business graft, both legitimate and illegitimate. Tom Johnson is a reformed business man. His reform began at home; he reformed himself first, then he undertook political reform; and his political reform began with the reform of his own class. And that is Tom Johnson's sin."

The Merit System of Civil Service.

In explaining its decision in a case recently before it, the Chicago Civil Service Commission confirmed our views (vol. vii, p. 773) as to the importance of protecting the civil service from abuses at the removal as well as at the appointive end, if a merit system is to prevail. It construes the Illinois law as contemplating—the complete and absolute protection of the employe while in the service of the city against any kind of political influence calculated to make any employe in the service feel he is in any way responsible to any political party or any person or persons connected with any political party. Unless the employe in the classified service of the city can feel that he holds his position solely as the result of his own merit and by virtue of his continued good service while in office, the civil service law does not afford to that employe the protection which the law contemplates. A certain indisposition of the present Commission to act strictly in accordance with this principle is to be regretted. Its tendency to defer to the wishes of heads of departments in approving removals is not well calculated to make the employe "feel that he holds his position solely as the result of his own merit and by virtue of his continued good service," but quite the contrary. The inevitable effect of such a practice is to foster among public employes an impression that they must keep their political "fences" in repair or lose their jobs.

Attacks Upon the Teachers' Federation of Chicago.

Persons with short memories may suppose that the attack made last week (p. 177) upon the Teachers' Federation by certain mem-

bers of the Chicago school board and certain newspapers was made for pedagogical reasons, and merely because the federation of teachers is affiliated with the Federation of Labor. But whoever recalls the origin of the Teachers' Federation, and the history of its fight for six years or more against the tools of the corporations—from the traction companies down to the Standard Oil University—will readily understand that the motive, so far from being pedagogical was fiscal, and that the offense, so far from being the affiliation of the teachers with the Federation of Labor, was their hostile attitude toward the tax-dodging interests whose sordidness has for years been strangling our public school system. The identical bitterness and substantially the same arguments which characterize the present fight against the Teachers' Federation, ostensibly for affiliating with the Federation of Labor, characterized the tax-dodgers' fight against them when they were exposing tax-dodgers in the courts four years before they affiliated with the Federation of Labor. The present objection to this affiliation took the form at that time of an objection to their concerning themselves at all with questions of taxation.

The argument against their affiliating with the Federation of Labor is on its face as puerile as at bottom it is insincere. The pretense is that such an affiliation is a participation of public employes who serve all classes, in a class struggle with one class against another. This is not true. The ideal of labor federation is to draw no line between different classes of laborers. Its ideal is to distinguish between laborers and parasites, and surely it is not a teachers' function to regard parasites as in a class to be respected. All laborers are not in the Federation of Labor, and all parasites may not be out of it, but its ideal is to draw the line between workers on the one hand and drones and grafters

on the other, and the affiliation of the teachers with it has been promotive of this purpose of good citizenship. That honestly meant objections may be made to such an affiliation is not disputed. That well meaning persons both in the school board and out of it may honestly entertain and act in accordance with such objections is true. It is also true that honest but unsophisticated members may become unconscious tools of the plutocratic ring that has dominated the school board, by raising plausible points of objection in innocent furtherance of an illegitimate crusade. But after all this is said and allowed for, the demonstrable fact remains that the impulse of the present concerted attack upon the Teachers' Federation originates in the same plutocratic sources from which it came when that body, against all the powers of city government and school board and subsidized newspapers that could be influenced, fought the tax dodgers of Chicago for withholding school funds and forced them to disgorge.

Official Contempt for Popular Suffrage

Alderman R. R. McCormick, whom the Republicans have nominated for an important office to be filled at the Illinois election next Fall, should take advantage of the opportunity for writing a letter of acceptance which this nomination offers, to disclaim the sentiments of the reports of a certain speech which he recently made, if they are not really his. No man who holds such sentiments is fit for public office in a democratic community. As reported by the Record-Herald of the 3d of June, in an address of the 2d at the Central Y. M. C. A., Alderman McCormick described organizations for pledging candidates as "lynching leagues," because they intimidate "honest" officeholders by going out "lynching, not with nooses, but with ballots"! He excepted the Municipal Voters' League from this animadversion. That league "is all right," he said, "because it is simply out to knock bad men;" but

such organizations as the Anti-Saloon League, the Firemen's Association, the Liquor Dealers' Association, the Wide Tire Association and the Referendum League, are assumed to be out to "knock" good men. They are so bad, in Mr. McCormick's view, that although "we can condone a vigilance committee for hanging a horsethief," we cannot condone the civic activity of such leagues for threatening a candidate for office that if he will not pledge himself to their views they will "beat him at the polls." Mr. McCormick's idea of popular government seems to be that candidates should be elected to office to do what they think the voters ought to have done and not what the voters themselves want done. This idea is at the bottom apparently of his reported dislike for the Referendum League, which has enabled the voters of Chicago to instruct officials, and which will in good time no doubt enable them to command officials. If Mr. McCormick's speech was unfairly reported, he should take advantage of the present opportunity to disclaim its un-American sentiments; if it was fairly reported, voters of Chicago should take advantage of the approaching opportunity to teach him that the man who regards appeals to popular suffrage for the regulation of official conduct as being in the nature of lynch law, is either too plutocratic or too young to merit the confidence of a democratic community.

A notable specimen of the public official who regards himself as empowered to use his office as he likes regardless of what the people want is Alderman Bennett, who was one of the most serviceable men in the Chicago Council in the promotion of that scheme for perpetuating corporation traction privileges which is known as "the tentative ordinance" (p. 8). Among other things regarding which it now appears that Alderman Bennett had thought himself a plenipotentiary, is the acceptance and

distribution of railroad passes. He is reported by a friendly paper, the Record-Herald, of the 21st, in connection with its exposure of a "get-rich-quick" affair, in this wise:

Names of many prominent Republican politicians have been used either with or without their permission to further the ends of the promoters. It was found that Lobb, who was the central figure of the scheme, traveled about the country on transportation said to have been secured for him by Alderman Frank I. Bennett. The name of the Seventh ward leader appears on a number of communications relating to transportation that have fallen into the hands of the receiver.

Alderman Bennett has made no public denial of this accusation; and accusation it is, for how could he secure railroad passes, for himself or anybody else, if he were not a public official or otherwise in position to serve the railway corporations giving the passes? Do they give passes for the fun of it?

Heroes Without War.

Another hero of peace went bravely to death when Allen Tyler, the engineer of the swift Lake Shore special between Chicago and New York which was wrecked at Mentor, stood by his post in the face of certain death to do all in his power to save his train full of passengers. By desertion, but only by desertion, he might possibly have saved himself. In the face of multiplying examples of courage like this, the theory to which President Roosevelt once tried to give currency, that wars are necessary to cultivate courage, has faded away—to return, let us hope, never again.

THE PARADOX OF THE GOOD.

Cicero in his speeches frequently used as a term of classification the word boni, the good. He meant the word to include the party to which he devoted his eloquence and his life. They were those who sympathized with the time-honored senatorial regime, those who upheld the existing order of things, those who for generations had enjoyed special privileges, together with their dependents and followers.

He, like the sturdy Cato, had

ideals for this party. He believed that the government should be administered with rectitude, as he understood the word rectitude, and that there were limits beyond which the processes of speculation and graft should not go. But in the main the old ways were all right; and in contrast with the restless, uncertain masses, concentrating under Caesar and meditating "new things"—which was the orthodox expression for revolution—in contrast with these, whose policy, so far as it could be understood, was subversive of ancient rights and privileges, the conservatives, who maintained the established order, were the good.

It is interesting to note in passing that Cicero himself was not of the nobility. But he had thrived. He owned not only a handsome residence in the city, but half a dozen country places, some in the mountains and some by the seashore. He was an educated gentleman, fond of literature, a senator in daily and intimate relations with the old families of the ancient regime. Whatever savored of vested rights and eminent respectability had his support, and all who agreed in this support were the good.

As I have intimated, Cicero believed that vested rights carried duties, and that respectability should be really respectable. He believed that wealth was a trust, that position had responsibilities, that a senator should do business in a senatorial way. What he could not see was that the nabobs of his party of the good, by their deft policy of amassing wealth in respectable ways, were the real enemies of the preservation of the constitution which he so eloquently upheld. He could not see—any more than his many likes since his day—that the policy of the good, whereby liberty is preached and private monopoly protected, good government proclaimed and special privilege fostered, is a paradox.

Will the good never learn this old Roman lesson? Will they never learn that they, and not Caesar or the proletariat, are the real enemies of the Republic? Will they never learn that the sanctimonious talk about riches being a trust has been rotten for

two thousand years? Will they never learn, now in our time, after all the lessons of the past, that unless justice be done—unless the means of respectable robbery be removed—there will roll up again a clamor of wrongs, with a clear summons for new things—once more?

J. H. DILLARD.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

JOHNSTOWN.

Johnstown, Pa., June 20.—Much disappointment has followed the victory of democratic Democrats at the February municipal election, which was reported in *The Public* (vol. vii. pp. 743, 755) at the time. Charles Young, the Democratic nominee, was chosen mayor by a majority in excess of 500. The normal Republican majority in the city is about 800. Mr. Young was permitted to formulate his own platform, and he made his race on the franchise issue, specifically pledging himself to submit questions relating to franchises to a referendum vote by means of postal cards. The postal card referendum in fact played a conspicuous and perhaps a determining part in the campaign. It was made prominent and was widely discussed. The vote seemed to be an emphatic indorsement of the referendum principle, and only less emphatically a public protest against the reckless bartering away of franchises.

Soon after his election, but not until some question had been raised regarding what seemed an unnecessary delay, postal cards were mailed by Mayor Young to the voters of the city, submitting the franchise question in its various phases. The exact result of this referendum is yet to be disclosed. Apparently the returns were general, although no effort seems to have been made to get the cards back.

At the first meeting of Councils after the inauguration of the new administration a committee was appointed to act in conjunction with the Mayor and the city engineer for the purpose of conferring with the Johnstown Passenger Railway and the Cambria Steel company in regard to the improvement of Maple avenue, the main thoroughfare between Johnstown and two of its most populous suburbs.

There was no hint in the resolution under which this committee was appointed that a franchise for the double-tracking of the traction line on that street was in contemplation. However, it was suspected that some scheme of this sort was on foot, and an effort was made by reporters to ascertain the real facts. But every effort in this direction proved futile, and it was not until the Mayor and the committee had entered into an agreement with the steel company and the traction company, under which the former was to fill Maple ave-

nue and bring it to grade at the expense of the traction company, the latter under this arrangement to receive a perpetual franchise for a double track line on that street, that it became known outside the committee and the persons immediately concerned that anything of the sort was in contemplation.

The agreement thus secretly negotiated was not read in open Councils. It was said that every one understood its terms, and it was adopted without reading, by a viva voce vote, the Mayor being authorized to sign it and thus bind the contract.

The reporters who tried to obtain a copy of the secret agreement the night of the Council meeting were unsuccessful. The Mayor flatly refused to permit representatives of the press to see the agreement. He stated, in effect, that it was none of the public's business until it had been signed. He put his name to the agreement the next day. Acting under this agreement the steel company and the traction company have proceeded with the work of filling Maple avenue.

Under the laws of Pennsylvania it appears that a franchise can be legally granted only by ordinance. And ordinances must follow a certain prescribed legislative course. After the first reading they must lie over and be printed. But it is held by the city solicitor, who does not seem to have been consulted about this singular proceeding until it had been practically consummated, that the agreement is substantially a contract entered into by the city to deliver a franchise to the street car company in consideration of the filling of Maple avenue. Other lawyers contend that the agreement is not worth the paper it is written on.

The severest criticism of the Mayor is heard on what is charged as his perfidy in abandoning the policy outlined in his pre-election programme. Others denounce the whole procedure as dangerous by reason of the secrecy which attended it and the irregularity that was permitted. It is pointed out that if a secret agreement may be entered into for the bestowal of one franchise, secret agreements may be negotiated under which every street and every privilege in the city may be alienated in perpetuity and without compensation.

The street car company has undertaken to defend the extraordinary course which has been followed, by setting up the claim that under its original ordinance it has the right to double-track Maple avenue. But it is pertinently asked if that be true why it thought it necessary two years ago to introduce an ordinance in Councils granting it the privilege of double-tracking that thoroughfare? Such an ordinance was introduced at the request of the traction company, and it was withdrawn only after it had been amended in one branch so as to require the company to bring Maple avenue to grade, to pave it from

curb to curb, and to maintain it in proper condition.

It is held that its rights under the old ordinance lapsed under the time limit. And obviously the company had no faith in the alleged rights under the former grant. It evidently regarded them as lost by reason of its failure to carry out the terms of the ordinance within the time specified; and it confessed the fact when it asked Councils to grant a new franchise. Even the negotiation of the secret agreement was a confession that it had no rights in the street.

The episode has caused widespread expression of hostile sentiment. The Mayor has been savagely criticised by members of his own party. His defenders are few and far between. He himself has undertaken no defense. The Johnstown Daily Democrat, which made his election possible because it believed in his pledges to the people, has exposed the transaction in all its apparent ugliness, and has stirred up a feeling on the subject that seems to be deep and general.

It is probable that the courts will be invoked to determine the rights of the people in the case. There is no public official who appears to be disposed to act in behalf of the city, and it must therefore devolve upon some citizen to initiate proceedings. There is also talk that Councils may institute an investigation; but this is not taken seriously, although Councilmen claim they were gold-bricked in the transaction, having been made to believe that the traction company already possessed the right to occupy Maple avenue with a second track.

S. R. BEEBE.

AUSTRALIA. (p. 22.)

Corowa. N. S. W., May 25.—The Federal Parliament is still in recess, but a good deal of discussion on politics has been going on in the press and on the platform.

At a conference of the Political Labor league, of New South Wales, held in Sydney in February, a motion was carried that the Labor platform should state that the objective of the party is "a cooperative commonwealth founded upon the socialization of the production and distribution of wealth." This produced a strong protest from a Roman Catholic delegate, who declared that Roman Catholics were debarred from being socialists by the encyclical of the late Pope Leo XIII. The Catholic Press, a leading Roman Catholic paper of Sydney, took the same view, saying that nine-tenths of the Catholics had supported the Labor party, but now it had cut them off. Afterwards, however, Cardinal Moran, the head of the Roman Catholic church in Australia, smoothed the matter over by announcing that while some persons had made extravagant utterances

and advocated false principles, it was not just to saddle the Labor party with the responsibility for them. A milder expression was finally adopted, instead of that above quoted: "the securing of the full results of their industry to all producers by the collective ownership of monopolies and the extension of the industrial and economic functions of the state and municipality."

Lately the labor leaders seem to think they have been going too fast, for they have repeatedly complained that they are misrepresented by their opponents, and that their aims are not to establish state socialism, but merely to abolish monopolies.

It is evident that before long great efforts will be made to combine the protectionists and the Labor party on the basis of mutual concessions, the tariff to be increased in return for increased labor and socialistic legislation.

A tariff commission was appointed last year to inquire into the working of the tariff. It has been taking evidence for some months, and when its report is received by Parliament there will probably be a great tariff discussion, which may be very awkward for Mr. Reid, the prime minister, as half his cabinet and a large number of his supporters are protectionists.

Mr. Max Hirsch, who was at one time in the woolen business, gave evidence before the tariff commission. He produced samples of Victorian made flannels which he had had analyzed, showing they contained a large proportion of cotton. He therefore argued that they did not deserve to be protected as woolen. Mr. Hirsch was treated by the chairman of the commission as a hostile witness, but he managed to make out his case very well.

There are several anti-socialistic organizations now, but they all have purely negative policies, and some are acting very foolishly by misrepresenting the Labor party. For instance, the Victorian branch of the Australian Women's National League employs a woman lecturer who frequently states that state socialism means the abolition of marriage and religion. State socialism might involve that ultimately, but it is not advocated nor even desired by the great majority of the Labor socialists.

Mr. G. H. Reid, the prime minister, is organizing an anti-socialist body called the Australian Liberal League, but he has not gone into details yet, and so far the programme of the league is vague and apparently negative, which indicates that it will be useless. Mr. Reid's only chance would be to adopt a positive, bold, democratic policy. The majority of our people, even those who support the Labor party, are

not really socialists, but they are dissatisfied with things as they are. The tariff question is a great obstacle, for a great many democrats are protectionists. Still, if Reid were to adopt a really democratic policy I believe he would draw a large majority. A purely negative programme will produce no enthusiasm.

ERNEST BRAY.

NEWS NARRATIVE

Week ending Thursday, June 29.

Norway and Sweden.

After exciting debates on the secession of Norway (p. 183), the Swedish Riksdag, at its session of the 27th, referred the ministerial bill for adjusting the details of separation to extraordinary committees of both houses. The committee of the upper house consists of 3 Ministerial and 9 Opposition members; that of the lower house of 5 Ministerial, 5 Opposition, and 2 independent members. The preceding debates brought out bellicose speeches from the Opposition, and the favor with which these were received indicated that the peaceable separation policy of the King and the Ministry might be obstructed by the Riksdag.

The King gave out a formal statement on the 27th to the effect that he does not approve the selection for King of Norway of a member of his family (Bernadotte), as the Norwegian Storting proposes, and that he will not consent to it unless the Swedish Riksdag expresses its wish for such a selection.

Official announcement of the independence of Norway reached the United States on the 22d, through the American consul general at Christiania, who transmitted a declaratory note from the Norwegian minister for foreign affairs. Presumably the same note has reached all the powers through like channels of communication.

Possible Revolution in Russia.

Dispatches from St. Petersburg tell of gloomy days for the Czar's government. Details are only meagerly reported, owing to the censorship at the various points of disturbance, but a state of almost open war is believed to

exist in Russian Poland and the Caucasus. Reports of strikes in the towns and outbreaks against landlordism in the country pour in from many regions of Russia proper, and a general mutiny in the Black Sea fleet is feared.

The first alarming report came from Lodz, a large manufacturing city of Russian Poland, where many persons were killed and many more were wounded on the 23d during a day of street fighting between the Cossack soldiery and striking workmen. The workmen marched under red flags and barricaded the streets, and the soldiery assaulted them with volleys. From an economic contest the strike, in which 60,000 workmen had been engaged for three days, developed into a vast political outbreak. Fighting was renewed on the 24th. The barricades had been strengthened and cries of "Long live the revolution" were incessant. From the windows and roofs of hundreds of houses, as well as from the barricades, the soldiers were fired upon by revolutionists. Bombs were burst among the soldiers with frightful effect, and vitriol was thrown upon them and their horses. There were 10 regiments of Cossacks against thousands of poorly armed and unorganized people, and the casualties were large on both sides. It is admitted by the authorities that 500 were killed and 1,000 wounded. The soldiers fired indiscriminately into street gatherings, and scores of victims were women and children. At night the city, its streets filled with debris and lined with the blackened ruins of burned stores, was described as resembling Paris in the worst days of the French revolution. On the 25th it had been transformed into an armed camp, but there were only isolated clashes between the troops and the people. Disaffection among the troops was reported on the 26th, the officers of one regiment, the Murom dragoons, having informed their commander that the regiment would refuse to fire on defenseless people. This regiment was at once transferred to Wloclawek and an inquiry ordered. On the 27th a complete embargo had been placed upon news from Lodz, and while subsequent reports are to

the effect that the populace have been put down, the trustworthiness of these reports is doubted.

The conflict in Warsaw (pp. 72, 104) was revived by the disturbance at Lodz, a proclamation having been issued there on the 24th by the Social Democratic party of Poland and Lithuania, calling out workmen as a protest against the brutality of the troops at Lodz. Crowds thronged the streets of Warsaw on the 26th, erecting barricades on which they placed red flags, and many arrests were made by the troops. Military law was proclaimed, business was at a deadlock, and at night the camp fires of the 34 battalions of troops blazed in every square. From this quarter, too, the later reports bear evidence of censorship.

Among the other places where popular uprisings are reported to have been precipitated by the outbreak at Lodz are Baluty, Czentschau, Pabjanice, Kovno, Saratoff, Karkoff, Minsh and Odessa. At the latter, armed workmen, participants in the general strike, barricaded a suburb and repulsed a company of Cossacks. There had been numerous encounters with the troops two days earlier. Near Karkoff the peasants were sacking estates and burning buildings, and in the region of Elizabetgrad on the 27th landlords were fleeing from their estates. Revolutionary proclamations urging the peasantry to rise are being distributed broadcast in country places and in the cities the popular demonstrations are made under the red flag.

What appears to be evidence of an extension of the Russian revolutionary movement to the Black Sea fleet was reported from Odessa by the American consul on the 28th. In his dispatch the consul said:

Russian battleship Kniaz Potemkin and one torpedo boat arrived here yesterday evening. All their officers had been murdered at sea and their bodies thrown overboard. The men threatened to bombard the town. Situation is serious. Black Sea fleet is expected at Odessa to-day.

It has since been learned that the commander of the Potemkin had wantonly murdered a sailor for complaining of the food supplied,

and that the crew had therefore mutinied and killed all the officers who refused to join them in taking command of the Potemkin. They then brought the body of the murdered sailor, Omiltchuk, to the wharf at Odessa, where they landed it under cover of their guns and a threat to bombard the city if disturbed by the authorities. The striking workmen passed by thousands in procession before the body of Omiltchuk, and during the day the red flag was raised over the battleship and her attendant torpedo boat. Meanwhile the strike had become more general and the uprising more overwhelming in Odessa, and in official circles at St. Petersburg fears of a general revolution are no longer disguised.

The Russian-Japanese War.

Reports from the seat of the war (p. 183) which has not only been disastrous to Russia in the field but appears to have lighted the fires of revolution at home, indicate a steady advance of the Japanese; but there are no reliable reports of any important event.

Hopes of an armistice pending the meeting of peace plenipotentiaries (p. 167) have been dissipated by the refusal of Japan to trust to Russia's good faith in acquiescing in President Roosevelt's suggestions. This refusal was communicated by Japan to the United States on the 22d in a diplomatic notification that she will not agree to an armistice with Russia until peace plenipotentiaries have met and found each other's credentials entirely satisfactory. Her willingness to do so, however, is intimated provided a guarantee of some kind can be given her that Russia will negotiate for peace in good faith. Preliminaries for the peace negotiations have been so far completed as to admit of the announcement of the Russian ambassador to Paris, Mr. Nelidof, as peace plenipotentiary for Russia, and, in case of two being required, of the newly appointed Russian ambassador to the United States, Baron Rosen; also of Baron Komura, the Japanese minister of foreign affairs, for Japan, and, if two are required, of the Japanese ambassador to the United States, Kogoro Takahira. The meeting

will take place at Washington during the first ten days in August.

American Politics.

Preparatory to the gubernatorial campaign in Ohio (p. 137), the Democratic convention of that State met at Columbus on the 28th. The principal figure at the convention was Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland. He was neither a candidate nor especially the supporter of any particular candidate, although he seconded the nomination of Brand Whitlock, of Toledo. He devoted his efforts exclusively to securing the insertion of home rule planks in the platform, and in this he was completely successful, notwithstanding the opposition of traction and other public utility interests. The platform as adopted—

praises the purchase of Panama Canal supplies in the open markets of the world; demands the enactment of laws by Congress to prevent rebates, giving power to fix rates to the Inter-State Commerce Commission; pledges the party to work for the elimination of graft and political corruption; demands county home rule in taxation; demands the taxing of local franchise privileges; says the party believes in free and unqualified home rule; favors the rigid supervision of State and private banks; favors the election of United States Senators by direct vote; favors the initiative and referendum; favors the repeal of all limitations as to time within which prosecutions may be begun for election bribery.

The home rule plank reads:

We believe in free and unqualified home rule. Free from State interference, each city, town and village should be allowed to decide for itself all matters of local policy, especially as between public or private ownership of all public utilities, including street railways as well as water works and lighting systems, and that provision should be made for submitting such questions to the people on request from a reasonable number of voters.

John M. Pattison was on the second ballot nominated for governor.

Political conventions in Chicago are of general interest because of their possible influence upon the administration of Mayor Dunne. They relate, however, only to judicial and sanitary nominations, to be voted on in November, and are held at this early day to avoid complications with refer-

ence to the new primary law, which by its terms goes into effect on the 1st of July. The Republicans nominated on the 24th and the Democrats on the 28th. R. R. McCormick is the Republican and Frank Wenter the Democratic candidate for president of the sanitary board. Judge Gary, of anarchists' trial fame, is prominent among the Republican judicial nominations, and Edgar B. Tollman and William A. Doyle among the Democratic. A peculiar fact was the marked refusal of the Democratic managers to permit the nomination of L. E. Cooley for the sanitary board, which controls the drainage canal. As Mr. Cooley is one of the most distinguished engineers of the country and has heretofore served on this board with especial credit for technical ability and personal integrity, and is besides a pronounced advocate of municipal ownership, his nomination would have brought to the whole ticket a degree of strength the ignoring of which is not generally understood.

The Chicago Traction Question.

Collaterally the election of sanitary trustees bears upon the traction question (p. 185), for it is Mayor Dunne's policy to utilize the water power of the drainage canal for the operation of the municipal traction system which his administration is pledged to the people of Chicago to establish. His progress toward the redemption of this pledge has been marked during the current week. The most important step, probably, has been the approval by the local transportation committee of the City Council, and the adoption by the Council on the 26th, of Mayor Dunne's recommendation that Mayor Harrison's project (p. 186) for inviting bids for the construction and equipment of a ten mile municipal traction system on Adams street be annulled. All bids were ordered returned and the acceptance of further bids under that project forbidden. This step is preliminary to Mayor Dunne's plan of inviting bids for the construction of municipal lines upon all streets not affected by the 99-year claim and upon which franchise rights expire this year or next. Mayor Dunne estimates that these streets offer opportunity for 150 miles of municipi-

pal trackage. It is with reference to this project that Mayor Dunne has been in conference with Mayor Johnson of Cleveland and A. B. Dupont of Detroit (p. 186), both of whom are expert traction managers of long experience.

What was reported at the time as a final cessation of negotiations between the Chicago authorities and the traction companies for the purchase of the whole traction system, occurred on the 22d, before the local transportation committee, the disagreement being on the price. One of the traction attorneys read a statement in which it was set forth that the companies had been invited to make a proposition for the sale of their properties; that the city had no money to pay for such properties; that the rights of the companies in the streets had been disputed by the city, and that therefore the companies did not think any progress would be made by their naming a price at which they would be willing to sell; but that the companies were willing to rehabilitate their lines, the city to pay the cost of this when the property was purchased, as well as the franchise rights. The outlines of the settlement to be as follows:

1. That steps be taken in the immediate future for a thorough rehabilitation of the properties, so that the service shall be of the best, all at the expense of the owners.

2. That such work be done upon plans to be agreed upon with the city and subject to the approval of the city's experts.

3. That the city shall have immediate representation upon the board of directors or otherwise provide for co-operation between the city and the companies to the common end.

4. That an ordinance be passed and accepted and submitted to popular vote providing that at the end of the period required for rehabilitation the city shall have the right to acquire the properties so rehabilitated, upon the following terms:

- (a) The amount hereafter expended upon the properties under the city's supervision.
- (b) The value of the present tangible properties to be determined by arbitration either now or later.

- (c) The arbitrated value of such franchise rights as the courts of last resort may determine the owners are entitled to. Upon the legal questions being finally determined the arbitrators to decide the values, based upon such decision. If desired, a number of names of men of high standing, well-known integrity and of experience, from whom such arbitrators shall be selected, to be agreed upon in advance.

5. Payment for the properties to be made in Mueller certificates, their val-

idity being sustained in the interim by the Supreme Court, with such provisions in connection with the same as to render them a reasonably safe security.

6. If an understanding can be reached on the foregoing, the city to join in urging a speedy hearing at Washington of the question of franchise rights; to make no fresh attacks upon the properties in the meantime, but to cooperate in bringing about at the earliest practicable moment the best of service for the public.

The statement included an explanation that as the Mayor objected to the suggestion that the rights of the companies should be submitted to the United States Supreme Court, the City Railway Company had finally decided to submit the following memorandum:

1. The value of its tangible property to be determined, if possible, by agreement; if not, the same to be determined by appraisers agreed upon prior to the passing of the ordinance for the purchase of the property.

2. Value of the rights of the company in the streets to be determined by appraisal immediately after the final determination of the suits now pending in relation to said rights; the appraisers to be agreed upon prior to the passage of the ordinance for the purchase of the property.

3. Plans to be prepared at once, under the joint supervision of the city and the company, for the rehabilitation of the railway property; also draft of mortgage to secure Mueller certificates; and ordinance, prescribing the terms upon which company shall operate until purchase by city is completed, shall be prepared. Upon value of company's property being ascertained, as above provided, city to purchase and pay for the same at the value thereof as so ascertained, either in cash or in Mueller certificates (provided the validity of said certificates shall have been sustained by the Supreme Court of Illinois), unless the city shall elect to have the property rehabilitated before purchase.

4. When the validity of the Mueller certificates shall have been sustained by the Supreme Court of Illinois, and plans for the rehabilitation of the railway property shall have been agreed upon between the company and the city, such rehabilitation shall, if the city shall so elect, be proceeded with at once under the supervision and control of the city, at the expense of the company, but such rehabilitation of the property shall not be proceeded with until an ordinance providing for the issuance of Mueller certificates to pay for the company's property shall have been submitted to a vote, and been ratified by such a vote, as required by law.

In the event of the rehabilitation of

the property at the expense of the company, the cost thereof shall be added to the purchase price of the property, and the city shall complete its purchase when the property shall have been rehabilitated.

In the event of rehabilitation of the property before purchase by the city, such rehabilitation may be made either by the company or its nominee or assigns, the company guaranteeing the performance thereof.

Mayor Dunne raised the following objections to these proposals of the companies:

First, that they provide for the settlement of the alleged rights under the ninety-nine-year act in the Federal courts at Washington as the tribunal of last resort. I am of the opinion that the State courts are the courts of proper jurisdiction in the determination of these rights.

Second, I am opposed to the propositions submitted by the traction companies because they provide for the arbitration of the so-called ninety-nine-year franchise at some time in the dim and distant future, thus leaving the value of the property to be acquired by the people of this city uncertain and undetermined, while in the meantime the city will be locked up by a contract with these companies under which they would have the right to occupy our streets without the people being informed as to what they would eventually have to pay for the property.

My proposition for the determination of the value of these unexpired franchises is to settle the value of these franchises by agreement now as follows: First, upon the assumption that the city's contention in reference to the ninety-nine-year act is correct; second, upon the assumption that the companies' contention is correct as to their right; third, upon the assumption that Judge Grosscup rightly and properly decided the ninety-nine-year question.

If the companies would agree to three prices in the alternative, and the three prices were fair, just and reasonable, it might be possible to arrive at some conclusion. Otherwise, I am not in favor of accepting the proposition in its present condition, providing, as it does, for the determination of the value of the ninety-nine-year franchises in the distant future.

An agreement was consequently regarded as helpless, but on the 27th there were indications that the local transportation committee would invite a resumption of negotiations.

The Chicago Teamsters' Strike.

Mayor Dunne's administration is still embarrassed by the long-drawn-out teamsters' strike (p. 168), which seems to necessitate the continued manning of non-

union wagons with policemen, although reports of violence have ceased. A new difficulty in the way of a settlement has been raised during the week. All other conditions having been yielded by the strikers, the employers have now demanded that union men shall not wear buttons exposed to public view. The reason is stated by John V. Farwell, Jr., of the employers' union as follows:

It is not because we wish to discredit the teamsters' union that we must insist upon barring buttons. It is as a means of protection to the nonunion drivers. When the strike is over every driver who does not wear a button will become a target. These men will have to mingle on the streets with the union teamsters, and we are not willing to take the risk of having them beaten.

It was not, however, until the strike was on the point of being discontinued that this additional obstacle to a settlement was interposed. A referendum of strikers was taken on the 26th upon accepting the following terms:

1. The existing strike to be called off at once. 2. The employers to fill vacancies among their teamsters without discrimination against union or non-union men or against their former teamsters. 3. No drivers to be discharged to make room for the strikers. 4. The wages and the hours of teamsters to be the same as before. 5. No teamsters to be re-employed who have been guilty of violations of the law. 6. All teamsters must make deliveries to and from all individuals, firms and companies as directed by their employers. 7. The Employers' Teaming company was not in existence when the strike was called, and it will continue to conduct its business indefinitely. 8. The employers will not discriminate between union or nonunion teamsters, but will run upon the open shop principle. 9. No buttons shall be exposed by the teamsters if their employers object thereto.

The proposed terms were rejected by the strikers by overwhelming majorities.

Further evidence of bribery of labor leaders by employers, and blackmail of employers by labor leaders leaks out of the grand jury room (p. 168), and rumors of indictments of employers and strike leaders are reported almost daily.

A New Labor Movement.

The convention for the organization of a world-wide labor union (p. 170), along general industrial

instead of particular trade lines, met at Chicago on the 27th, but its business has not been completed. Over 200 delegates were in attendance, about 70 of them representing labor organizations. William D. Heyward, secretary of the Western Federation of Miners, of Denver, was chosen temporary chairman on the 27th and permanent chairman on the 28th. Lawyers were barred as belonging to a parasitic and not a labor class.

NEWS NOTES

—Graeme Stewart, Republican candidate for Mayor of Chicago in 1903, died on the 26th.

—John D. Rockefeller gave \$1,000,000 on the 28th to the permanent endowment fund of Yale university.

—The 61st annual convention of the American Institute of Homeopathy opened at Chicago on the 26th.

—A new cabinet for Spain (vol. vi, p. 251) was approved by the King on the 23d. Gen. Montero Rios is premier and Gen. Weyler minister of war.

—John F. Wallace, chief engineer of the Isthmian canal and a member of the Commission (p. 41), resigned both offices on the 27th. His reasons are in dispute.

—The Supreme Court of Illinois on the 23d sustained the voting machine law of that State, holding that the mechanism is a ballot when used to express the voters' will.

—A new cabinet for Greece (vol. vi, p. 233), with Mr. Ralli as prime minister, was constituted on the 25th to succeed one formed by Mr. Ralli upon the assassination of Premier Delyannis.

—The Supreme Court of Illinois on the 23d affirmed the decision of Judge Holdom of Chicago against strike pickets in injunction proceedings (vol. vi, p. 503). This decision judicially establishes in Illinois the power of the courts to enjoin crimes and convict therefor in contempt proceedings without jury trials.

—The Supreme Court of Illinois decided on the 28th that the tenants of school lands of Chicago, leased by the Board of Education, cannot be taxed for the value of the lands. The decision was made in the case of the First National Bank. This is a unanimous reversal of a unanimous decision made by the same court last October.

PRESS OPINIONS

THE WHITEWASHING OF MORTON.
Cleveland Plain Dealer (Dem.), June 22.—No more glorious "send-off" was ever given a departing official, railway or governmental. The President dressed Mr. Morton with angelic wings, fitted a halo to his

head, and sang his praises to the twanging of a celestial harp. The moral of the 7,000 word story is that corporations are very wicked and ought to be sent to jail, but the men who manage them are saints worthy of adoration.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), June 23.—In the Santa Fe case, an injunction was issued. The officers of the road ignored the injunction, and are clearly in contempt of court. Yet they are not to be held responsible. When strikers violate an injunction they are summarily sent to jail. The Department of Justice does not content itself with a proceeding to have the labor union held in contempt and fined. The guilt then is personal. To protect Paul Morton, President Roosevelt has made a farce of the anti-rebate law and has dealt to his rate regulation policy a blow in the house of its ostensible friends. He has talked bravely, but when the time to act has come, he has shown that he has been vociferating to the galleries.

New York Nation (Ind.), June 22.—It is understood that Messrs. Judson and Harmon—the latter a warm friend of Mr. Morton's father, with whom Mr. Harmon sat in President Cleveland's second cabinet—wish to prosecute Mr. Morton for giving secret rebates, and that the exponents of the "square deal" at Washington are not in favor of this procedure. . . . As we have frequently pointed out, all the trust prosecutions in the world will not reach the real evil if the men behind them, those who violate the laws, grant rebates, take unfair advantages or corrupt public officials are to go free. When that eagerly desired day comes on which a corporation officer goes to jail for something less than cracking a safe, the common people will begin to feel that there is, after all, justice in America, and that the law is at last catching up with the new type of lawbreaker.

Johnstown (Pa.) Daily Democrat, June 23.—The pink and white Morton is the administration's latest work of art. The coat of whitewash applied so lustily by the President to the Secretary of the Navy is shaded by the soft and modest blushes that play upon the features of the man whose magic touch is to convert the Equitable dress into gold—for some one. Roosevelt has declared that Morton is above reproach; and what makes the testimonial the rarer and more precious is the fact that the President has founded his declaration upon the sayso of Morton himself. That prodigy has wiped out all the ancient forms of jurisprudence. He has rendered courts of justice unnecessary. He has cut short the tiresome machinery of the courts at the point where the plea of the defendant is virtually asked for. "Morton, are you guilty?" asks Roosevelt. "Mr. President," answers Morton, "I am not." "That is what I thought," answers the President. "Court is adjourned and the resignation of the district attorney is demanded." And so the incident closes.

Dubuque Telegraph-Herald (Dem.), June 23.—If the Attorney General and the President protect Morton from prosecution the case against the Santa Fe might as well be dismissed, as it probably will be, for the corporation will not be prosecuted. The President replying to Mr. Morton's letter of resignation was fulsome in his praise of that official. With his declared views in the matter of rebates it is astonishing that he should so highly eulogize this man whose violation of law is of public record. It is a disagreeable surprise to those who have followed the President's public addresses in which he so vigorously declared in favor of the law's enforcement and punishment for the guilty, and for a "square deal" for rich as well as poor, high or low. The President has done much to create the suspicion in the public mind that his promises, however well intended, are not made

to be kept. Messrs. Harmon and Judson felt that they could not honestly perform the duties assigned them without prosecuting the chief violator of the anti-rebate law and withdrew, as they were in honor bound to do.

NORWAY AND SWEDEN.

The (London) Speaker (Lib.), June 10.—It seems to us that actual separation is less of a danger to the independence of Scandinavia than war or acute ill-will between Norway and Sweden. The process of dissolution is attended no doubt by a certain degree of irritation and unfriendliness between the two peoples, but the act itself has been carried out with as little provocation as was possible. The Storting has called on the people of Norway to live on terms of peace and goodwill with the Swedish people, and it has invited King Oscar to help towards placing a prince of his own house on the throne of Norway. There is probably not nearly as much exasperation or hostility in the two countries as there was in 1895, when a civil war seemed to be within sight, or as there has been at earlier stages of this particular controversy. The gravest danger to the independence of Scandinavia would have been the disaffection and sense of injury of one of the Scandinavian peoples, and this danger was far more likely to arise from the effort to maintain a relationship which one of the two peoples found irksome than from the dissolution of a relationship which was a mere dynastic alliance.

JUDICIAL QUALITIES.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), June 28.—The law is so flouted and corrupted these days that a judge to be a just judge must be fearless and must be radical enough to enforce the law to the letter. He must stand between the privileged and the unprotected and see to it that no sharp lawyer between the suns twists the technicalities of the law into doing an unjust and inequitable act. There are some judges now in Chicago who are under the influences that prevent them from seeing the law clearly. There should be no back-door entrance to a judge's chambers, and no lawyer above another should be a power with a judge. Radical men these days are the men who stand for equal rights and the equality of all men under the law.

THE EFFETE MONARCHIES OF EUROPE.

Chicago Chronicle (Rep.), June 27.—There is an ant in tropical countries which eats the inside of wooden furniture without disturbing the surface, so that when a person throws himself on a chair it falls under him like so much paper. That is the condition of every throne in Europe. If anyone is skeptical about it, let him ask the Emperor Nicholas.

THE BASIS OF PROSPERITY.

The Machias (Me.) Union (Ind.), June 13.—Cheap land is the first thing necessary to the prosperity of any locality. . . . We want a whole lot of human hogs who own land that they can't use to open it up for people who will use it, at a decent price.

When the justices of the Supreme Court file into the court room to begin a session, an officer announces: "Hear ye, the Supreme Court of the United States is now in session," and then, as if inspired with prophetic vision or foreboding, he cries: "God save the United States."—Clipping.

MISCELLANY

MENTAL ARITHMETIC..

Suppose the oldest of old, old men had gone to work on the very day that Adam and Eve were exiled from Eden, and had worked and worked every day since then,

Sunday and holidays right along, Christmas and New Year's and Fourth of July, three hundred and sixty-five days in the year;

and suppose he got a dollar a day, which is more than the average wages to-day

and very much more than the average for any period preceding this,—suppose he had got his dollar a day, and never had spent a lonesome cent, never went to the theater, never bought him a suit of clothes, never paid for a thing to eat, nor drink nor smoke of course, nor house rent nor fuel nor all of that.

Imagine this ancient working man a thousand years old at the time of the flood;

another thousand or so again when Moses came, and thousands more to the rise of the Roman empire—the birth of the Christian era, the fall of Rome in its turn—still working on through the long dark years

hid in the mist of the middle age, never skipping a single day, still at his work when modern times began to shape through the veil of years;—King Alfred's reign was but yesterday in the long, long circuit of daily toil,—plodding along for a dollar a day while the feudal system gathered its coils, till the feudal system fell in a crash; plodding away as democracy came at last to a waiting world—engaged in his unremitting toil when America gave a new word to the world,

a flash of time in his endless drudge—what we look back on as history of a great and long founded nation through the terms of our twenty-five presidents that have already faded in shadowy past in the flight of onrushing time—

Centuries, ages, milleniads, this old, old workman sticks to his task, every day his dollar laid by, one upon other a countless pile, until to-day he would have—how much?

As much as Rockefeller perhaps? Far from it. As much then shall we suppose as Rockefeller in say ten years has added to his o'er bulky wealth? Nonsense, nothing at all like that.

In all these days in all these years in all these ages and centuries, the patient toiler would have earned as much as Rockefeller gets in a month, one month, every month of the year.

Eight thousand years,
three million days,

three million dollars in all that time, as much as Rockefeller gets twelve times a year for owning the earth. Tell me, where did he get it?—Goodhue Co. News, of Red Wing, Minn.

LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG ADDRESS.

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

WU TINGFANG AND JOHN SMITH.

It must be the Hon. Wu Tingfang who has plotted out the second retaliatory measure in the Chinese campaign against American Chinese exclusion—the scheme to hold up all American passengers at Chinese ports, fumigate them and determine their fitness to enter the country. It must have been a Chinese mind gingered up with American humor which laid out that beautiful scheme in all its subtle logic.

Doubtless the Hon. Wu Tingfang would like to go as far in this matter as the Americans have gone; perhaps when a more enlightened Government sits in Pekin he will be able to spring a Roland for every American Oliver.

Imagination travels forward to that happy time of great justice. Mr. John Smith of Broadway and Fifth avenue, tea importer, runs over to China to take a look at his Shanghai branch. Combining business with pleasure, he takes his wife and daughter along for the trip. At Shanghai the imperial immigration authorities hold him up. They ask for his passports. He is down as a merchant. The intelligent inspector notices, however, that the name on the papers is Smith. That name Smith has occurred a great many times on the papers of American coolies; and for the safeguard of Chinese labor the authorities decide to hold this Smith. He is put in the detention pen, where a contract cook feeds him his native dishes at a contract price of 50 cents a day. His wife and daughter are put in the women's pen. There is nothing else to do with them; besides, he may be bringing them into China for immoral purposes. The Pak Hust Tong has called attention to the increasing importation of American women for that purpose. Also the suspicious name Smith is on their papers as well, and, most suspicious fact of all, John Smith cannot produce a marriage license.

The agent and employes of Smith's Shanghai house come down and make a roar. They are willing to swear that Smith is a genuine merchant. But that doesn't count. American testimony is traditionally unreliable. The immigration inspectors of Shanghai must have some more tangible evidence than that before they can admit this Smith to be a menace to free Chinese labor.

So Smith lies in the detention pen and lives at the contract rate of 50 cents a day. His companions are four Italian-American railroad laborers and a Bowery thief. The companions of Mrs. Smith and Miss Smith are even less pleasant. Every few days a special writer for the Shanghai and Nankin native press drifts in to do a picturesque special Sunday story—with pictures—about the horrors of the American detention pen. On these occasions the immigration official who guards the gate seizes Mr. Smith by the ridiculous wisp of hair which he wears instead of a pigtail and kicks him into a standing position so that he may have his features extracted. While doing so he calls Mr. Smith a "fank-wai." That is the Chinese reverse English for "damn Chink." After months of investigation Mr. Smith is brought into court. There is really nothing to prove that he is anything but a merchant; and so, very reluctantly—for the officials get unpopular with the laboring class if they pass too many Americans—Mr.

Smith regains his wife and daughter and is turned loose to enjoy China.

Of course, this doesn't happen just now—in China. It is probable that it never will happen.—New York Sun of June 16.

MAYOR JOHNSON'S WAY.

A SIDEWALK EMERGENCY DEPARTMENT.

A sidewalk emergency department is the latest institution to be added to the city government. The department will be organized for business this week. Incidentally, other innovations in sidewalk matters will be made effective.

Inspector Bradbury is the originator of the emergency department idea. He proposed it to President Springborn, of the board of public service, and City Solicitor Baker, and so well was the suggestion received that it was decided immediately to present it to the council, in the meantime proceeding with the organization.

The city annually expends a sum of fully \$15,000 in adjusting and paying claims of persons injured by reason of defective streets and sidewalks. These defects are of all kinds, but for the most part may be classified as follows: Broken flagstones, displaced paving stones, insecure covers to coal holes and sewer catch basins, settling of earth filled into trenches and other excavations, and difference of grade between sidewalks in front of adjoining property. In almost every case of such defect temporary repairs could be made which would protect the city from liability and protect pedestrians from injury at little or no cost pending the necessary legislative and administrative steps for a permanent improvement. For such cases as these the emergency department is to be provided. The plan is to provide two or three sidewalk and street emergency wagons, with a complement of two or three men and the necessary tools and materials to make temporary repairs at once, upon the receipt of complaints or notices of defective conditions. These wagons would be sent out on the run as soon as complaint was made.

Street Superintendent Masterson has already been authorized to employ a man with a wagon, who is a stone cutter, and Inspector Bradbury is preparing estimates of the cost of instituting and maintaining such an emergency repair system, together with such statistical exhibits as to the number of complaints received as will enable the council to see the necessity for some such provision in time to provide for it in their next appropriation ordinance.

City Solicitor Baker has also prepared

an ordinance, which will probably be presented to the council by Mr. Hitchens, authorizing the city auditor to collect the cost of laying delinquent sidewalks from property owners in advance of the regular delinquent tax collection by the county auditor. This would absolve the property owner from the payment of a penalty, and in addition would be of considerable benefit to the city.

People often desire to make such payments when they find that the city is actually laying walks at their cost with the addition of a ten per cent. penalty. Under present conditions the payment cannot be received and the city cannot use money that would have been paid for other work.—Cleveland Plain Dealer, of June 4.

CLEANING UP UNSANITARY SECTIONS.

Changed from that which they claimed to be the dirtiest to the cleanest section of the city is what the health authorities assert has been accomplished in the Thirteenth and Fifteenth wards in the past two weeks. Sections of these two wards have been city eyesores for years. Health Officer Friedrich repeatedly tried moral suasion to effect a clean up, but without result.

Finally he decided to use force if necessary, and nearly two weeks ago a special detail of six sanitary policemen was detailed to work in these wards, with orders to have every yard, alleyway, corner, building and street cleaned. The men have carried out orders to the very letter.

The work was carried on vigorously and owners, tenants, etc., soon became busy about their premises with brooms, shovels, scrubbing brushes, soap, etc. Every day sanitary policemen visited as many houses and yards as possible to oversee the progress of the work. No effort was spared to bring about results. Arrests were freely threatened, and in some cases people were even taken to the police stations in order to impress upon their minds the fact that the city meant business.

Allowances were made in some cases and a fair chance was given every one to comply, but when it became necessary, forty-eight-hour notices were served. Failure to comply with such notices meant arrests, and they were universally effective.

"We have completed the cleaning," said Deputy Health Officer Ryan yesterday. "The wards, with one or two exceptions, wherein arrests will probably now be made, are thoroughly cleaned. These people must clean up by Monday or be arrested.

"How long the section will remain clean is a question. We intend, however, to attempt to keep it in good condition. Three men will now be assigned to the two wards for this purpose. Heretofore there has been but one man in each ward."

The two wards have been the most unhealthy in all Cleveland. The death records for years have shown that more deaths are reported every year from the Thirteenth and Fifteenth wards than any other in the city. This the health authorities say is partly due to the thickly congested population, but they also say that the record is beyond proportion, and say unsanitary conditions are responsible for the high rate.

The health authorities will probably now turn their attention to parts of the Eleventh ward, along St. Clair, Oregon, Hamilton, and near by streets. Much complaint relative to dirty conditions existing in these sections has been made recently.

JEFFERSON AND THE LAND QUESTION.

Introductory article to Volume XVI of the new edition of the writings of Thomas Jefferson, published under the auspices of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association, at Washington, D. C.

Jefferson is a pole star among political philosophers because he based his politics on the eternal, self-evident, fundamental truths that all men are created free and equal and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inherent and unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. How are the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness primarily to be exercised? Not in the political field, but in the underlying social field. How shall a man get an independent living? precedes, How shall he participate in general government? He cannot exercise, or fully exercise, his political faculties until, without let or hindrance, he can get sustenance.

Hence Jefferson's political axiom involves as a prerequisite a social or economic axiom, without observance of which political institutions can be only as a house built upon the sand. This economic axiom is that men have equal rights to natural opportunities, to land. On land mankind must have its habitation and from it it must draw subsistence. Nowhere else, from no other source, can it live. Therefore, the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness carry with them the inherent, unalienable, equal right of all to land.

If this economic principle is not in the general mind associated with Jefferson's doctrine of democracy, it is only

because he did not give it prominence. When there was a seeming need, he set it forth explicitly and clearly, but this was rarely. Was there not in his day unappropriated land in superabundance? Why inject into the domain of war issues, into the intricate and difficult business of the founding of a nation and the construction of a radically new form of government, the abstract question of equal rights to land, when as a practical fact plenty could be had by anyone for the mere taking?

In Jefferson's day a small population lay scattered along the Atlantic seaboard. The great virgin, unappropriated, and for the most part, unexplored, continent, three thousand miles broad, stretched west, open to the pioneer and the settler. Of land there appeared enough for scores of generations to come. The nation was agricultural, and whoever desired it could have a farm by moving into the trackless wilderness and making a clearing, which more and more were doing, thereby showing their freedom from dependence upon the established centers. They faced the sunset and moved out along the Ohio and the Mississippi.

Although a man of great and varied learning and polished culture, Jefferson was in spirit a frontiersman. He had a strong affinity for the rugged, independent pioneer and settler. He was a graduate of the oldest and, at that time, richest institution of learning in America, the College of William and Mary, near Williamsburg, Va. By inheritance he was for that day a well-to-do man. By this and marriage and social connections he belonged to the wealthy planter class, which, relieved from toil for subsistence, could yield itself to the ease, graces and refinements of life. Jefferson's alert, powerful, acquisitive, analytical mind found this a most suitable soil for its development.

An environment so stimulating to intellectual growth might also be expected to take a subtle, invisible hold on the mind, and make of its beneficiary its votary and creature. But while fully conscious of the charms of its warm and tranquil atmosphere, Jefferson was early aware that the wealthy planter class was the bulwark in Virginia and the South of the British Crown tyranny, and the buttress there of the Established Church, which falsely gave the sanction of religion to such tyranny and preached submission to God and to the rulers He had raised over the people.

The resistance that early germinated in the free, bold mind against the usurpations and abuses of the British Crown thus came at length to include as a

whole the planter class and their established priesthood. As Moses, adopted Prince in the House of Pharaoh, next in blood to Royalty, struck dead the Egyptian taskmaster, and, turning his back upon pride and circumstance of power, led forth the Hebrew slaves into the desert toward the Promised Land, so Jefferson, moved by anger and scorn against the planter class for its fellowship and partnership in the tyranny of the Crown, threw off its allurements, so congenial to his tastes and habits, and allied himself absolutely, unreservedly, actively, permanently with the wronged masses. In the struggle in that agricultural community between the "planters," or large landowners, and the "settlers," or small landowners, Jefferson's heart was always with the latter.

It was the old fight in a new form—the antagonism between the silkstockings and the wool hats, between the red heels and the sabots. Jefferson, by fortune and culture, of the silkstockings and red heels, consciously, deliberately, with definite and fixed purpose, sided with the wool hats and sabots. It was in some degree as if a French seigneur under the ancient regime had rejected place and power to preach the destruction of privilege on the one side and the upraising of the trampled and despised on the other.

But this comparison of Jefferson with the French noble can be only in degree, and in slight degree. The social disparity, so extreme in the old world, was but faintly marked in the new. The rich men of America were of but moderate means beside the rich of Europe, while the poor were greatly better off here than there. "From Savannah [Georgia] to Portsmouth [New Hampshire]," said Jefferson in his "Notes on Virginia," "you will seldom meet a beggar. In the large towns, indeed, they sometimes present themselves. These are usually foreigners who have never obtained a settlement in any parish. I never yet saw a native American begging in the streets and highways. A subsistence is easily gained here." And to M. Claviere he wrote: "I attended the bar of the Supreme Court of Virginia as a student and practitioner for ten years. There never was during that time a trial for robbery on the highroad, nor do I remember ever to have heard of one in that or any other of the States, except in the cities of New York and Philadelphia immediately after the departure of the British army. Some deserters from that army infested those cities for awhile." In some notes to M. Meusnier Jefferson compared social conditions. "So desirous are the poor of Eu-

rope to get to America, where they may better their condition," said he, "that, being unable to pay their passage, they will agree to serve two or three years on their arrival there, rather than not go. During that time they are better fed, better clothed and have lighter labor than while in Europe. Continuing to work for hire a few years longer, they buy a farm, marry and enjoy all the sweets of a domestic society of their own."

The fact that Jefferson always kept clearly in mind was that "a subsistence is easily gained here." He explained this by the first principles of political economy, namely, that men had easy access to natural opportunities. To John Jay he wrote: "We have now lands enough to employ on infinite number of people in their cultivation. Cultivators of the earth are the most valuable citizens. They are the most vigorous, the most independent, the most virtuous, and they are tied to their country and wedded to its liberty by the most lasting bonds." In the "Notes" he said: "In Europe the lands are either cultivated or locked up against the cultivator. Manufacture must, therefore, be resorted to, of necessity, not of choice, to support the surplus of their people. But we have an immensity of land courting the industry of husbandmen. . . . Those who labor the earth are the chosen people of God if ever He had chosen people, whose breasts He has made His peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue. It is the focus in which he keeps alive that sacred fire, which otherwise might escape from the face of the earth. Corruption of morals in the mass of cultivators is a phenomenon of which no age nor nation has furnished an example."

And because manufacturing called for condensed population and seemingly more or less dependence for employment, and since "dependence begets subservience and venality, suffocates the germ of virtue and prepares fit tools for the designs of ambition," manufacturing was to be avoided. But he explained later to J. Lithgow, concerning a revised edition of the "Notes," that he did not intend an indiscriminate denunciation of manufacturing, but had in mind the possible future repetition in this country of the conditions he beheld in Europe, where "the manufactures of the great cities . . . have begotten a depravity of morals, a dependence and corruption, which renders them an undesirable accession to a country whose morals are sound. But," continued the philosopher, "as yet our manufactures are as much at their ease, independent and moral, as our agricultural habits, and they will continue so as long as there

are vacant lands for them to resort to; because whenever it shall be attempted by the other classes to reduce them to the minimum of subsistence they will quit their trades and go to laboring the earth." And to James Madison, his closest friend, he wrote from Paris in this same line: "I think our governments [Federal and State] will remain virtuous for many centuries—as long as they are chiefly agricultural; and this will be as long as there are vacant [unappropriated] lands in any part of America. When they [our people] get piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe, they will become corrupt as in Europe."

These were not accidental remarks or passing views of the great American. They were the conclusions of observation and thought—thought that was extraordinarily far-reaching in its consequences. Writing to Madison from Paris, where, he said, they were immersed in a course of reflection "on elementary principles of society," he remarked that he was led to a consideration of the question, "Whether one generation of men has a right to bind another,"—a question "that seems never to have been started either on this or on our side of the water." "I set out on this ground which I suppose to be self-evident," observes Jefferson, "that the earth belongs in usufruct to the living; that the dead have neither powers nor rights over it. . . . On similar ground it may be proved that no society can make a perpetual constitution or even a perpetual law. . . . Every constitution, then, and every law, naturally expires at the end of 19 years. If it be enforced longer, it is an act of force and not of right. . . . This principle that the earth belongs to the living and not to the dead is of very extensive application and consequences in every country, and most especially in France. It enters into the resolution of the questions: Whether the nation may change the descent of land holden in tail? Whether they may change the appropriation of lands given anciently to the church, colleges, orders of chivalry and otherwise in perpetuity? Whether they may abolish the charges and privileges attached on lands, including the whole catalogue ecclesiastical and feudal? It goes to hereditary offices, authorities and jurisdictions; to hereditary orders, distinctions and appellations; to perpetual monopolies in commerce, the arts and sciences; and a long train of *et ceteras*; and it renders the question of reimbursement a question of generosity and not of right."

This argues that one generation has no right to make land laws, or any other kind of laws, for another generation. Far in advance of general thought as this was, Jefferson did not stop here, but pointed out the fundamental right to land of individuals composing any generation. This he wrote, also from Paris, to the father of Madison, the Rev. James Madison: "The property of this country [France] is absolutely concentrated in a very few hands, having revenues of from half a million guineas a year downwards. These employ the flower of the country as servants, some of them having as many as two hundred domestics, not laboring. They employ also a great number of manufacturers and tradesmen, and lastly the class of laboring husbandmen. But after all there comes the most numerous of all the classes, that is, the poor who cannot find work. I asked myself what could be the reason that so many should be permitted to beg who are willing to work, in a country where there is a very considerable proportion of uncultivated lands? These lands are undisturbed only for the sake of game. . . . Whenever there is in any country, uncultivated lands and unemployed poor, it is clear that the laws of property have been so far extended as to violate natural right. The earth is given as a common stock for men to labor and live on. If for the encouragement of industry we allow it to be appropriated, we must take care that other employment be provided to those excluded from the appropriation. If we do not, the fundamental right to labor the earth returns to the unemployed."

Could language be plainer or meaning clearer? "It is too soon yet," continued Jefferson, "in our country to say that every man who cannot find employment, but who can find uncultivated land shall be at liberty to cultivate it, paying a moderate rent. But it is not too soon to provide by every possible means that as few as possible shall be without a little portion of land. The landowners are the most precious part of a state."

Jefferson thought legislators could not "invent too many devices for subdividing" land holdings. Such a device was invented and eloquently advocated by the most learned men of France of that period, headed by Quesney, Turgot, Condorcet, du Pont and Mirabeau, with some of whom Jefferson was on terms of intimate acquaintance. This idea recognized common rights in land by appropriating ground rent through taxation. This rent of land they called the *produit net*—the net, or surplus, prod-

uct of land. Something of the same meaning the English political economist, John Stuart Mill, later gave to the term "the unearned increment of land." The French economists proposed in place of the many taxes falling upon production and upon wealth, one tax large enough to absorb the whole value of agricultural land. This tax, which they called the *impôt unique*, and which Mirabeau, the elder, accounted a discovery equal in importance to the invention of writing or the displacement of barter by money, the Frenchmen wished to apply to agricultural land, which they regarded as the only productive land. Today it is called the single tax and would be applied to all land that has value, regardless of improvements, whether the land be agricultural, mineral, timber, grazing, urban or suburban.

In 1774 Turgot had been appointed Minister of Finance by Louis XVI., and at once commenced to clear the way for application of the *impôt unique*, but the privileged nobility was yet dominant and overthrew him. Had he succeeded in applying it, he would have shifted taxation from the backs of the impoverished and embroiled masses to the game preserves and other great enclosures; would have forced the nobles to let go, and would have opened to users vast quantities of idle land. But the nobles made successful resistance to this policy. Turgot stepped down and the social and political revolution was not long deferred.

In the United States a distant adaptation of this idea occurred under the Articles of Confederation, in the provision to obtain national revenue through a tax on real estate and slaves. Subsequently under the Constitution other sources of taxation were provided, and most of the revenue came to be raised through a tariff, which is a tax upon production.

Thus the idea of recognizing equal rights to land and of penalizing the holding of land out of use, by treating rent as common property and taking it through taxation, was abandoned. The appropriator went ahead of the settler. All of the gigantic area westward from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific has long since been appropriated, or at least all of the accessible and valuable land, and millions are deprived of their "fundamental right to labor the earth." Can it now be said that "from Savannah to Portsmouth you will seldom meet a beggar?" Is there any part of the country that does not reveal them? Our farming regions contain thousands of tramps, and what were they originally but laborers searching for work? Do

not our cities contain multitudes out of employment or in fear of it, and thereby reduced to that "dependence" which "begets subservience and venality, suffocates the germ of virtue and prepares fit tools for the designs of ambition?" Indeed, are not our people "piled upon one another, . . . as in Europe," and have they not as a consequence "become corrupt, as in Europe?" Have we not one city with a larger population than the thirteen States contained at the time the "Notes on Virginia" were written (1781)? And so abjectly poor is a large part of that city's population that one in every ten who die each year in its principal and richest borough (Manhattan) is buried in Potter's Field at public expense!

Instead of our governments remaining "virtuous for many centuries," corruption like a worm has eaten its way to the core. Political bosses control wards, districts and States, and exert their baleful influence over national councils, as completely as English politicians in Jefferson's day ruled rotten boroughs and swayed the British Parliament. The mass of the people themselves were in the beginning virtuous. But they were reduced to dependence for subsistence, which corrupted them. They found difficulty in getting a living, and sold or became neglectful of those priceless political rights for which the Fathers of the Republic fought so hard and gloriously, and which they established with such great labor.

Jefferson said: "Our governments will remain virtuous . . . as long as . . . there are vacant lands in any part of America." There are vacant lands, thousands upon tens and hundreds of thousands of acres, agricultural lands, grazing lands, timber lands, mineral lands, urban and suburban lands. These lands, if thrown open, would not only engage the multitudes of hands now idle or insufficiently occupied, but would support in comfort and luxury many times the eighty millions of population this nation now embraces. There is no difficulty about finding abundance of valuable vacant land; the difficulty is to find it unappropriated. All the great territory that is available for any use has been appropriated and made private property, although vastly the greater part of it lies idle and is held merely for speculation.

Obviously "the laws of property have been so far extended as to violate natural right." And since by reason of this appropriation and non-use of land large numbers of men are prevented from finding their natural employment, and since "other employment" is not pro-

vided them, does not "the fundamental right to labor the earth" return to them, as Jefferson said it must under such circumstances?

Yet how effect this fundamental right to-day with our complex civilization? Not by dividing up the land and giving to each his share. The simple, easy, just way would be to divide the rent, or rather to take it for common uses, remitting all taxes that now fall upon production and various forms of wealth, and concentrating taxation on the value of land, regardless of improvements. This single tax would tax out the land grabber. It would tax idle lands into use. Millions upon millions of locked-up acres of every kind would be thrown open to the unemployed, there would be compliance with the "fundamental natural right to labor the earth," and our people would once again become, as Jefferson thought they would for centuries remain, virtuous and happy.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

New York, April 18, 1904.

To love is to live;
To love one's self is to live in hell;
To love another is to live on earth;
To love all others is to live in heaven.
—Unknown.

BOOKS

HENRY GEORGE.

Hardly more than twenty-five years have passed since Henry George was first heard of outside of his adopted State of California. His "Progress and Poverty," written from 1877 to 1879, which began to attract attention in the early 80's, soon made his name familiar wherever English is read, and time justifies the distinction he then attained. In honor of the twenty-fifth year of that book, Page, Doubleday & Co., have issued an anniversary edition of "Progress and Poverty," and also one of George's life, by his son, who contributes to the former volume a special introduction.

George was influenced to write, by his observation, when on a business visit

to New York, of the manifestations of great poverty in the midst of abounding wealth, and the explanation of this social condition is the theme of his book. He traces poverty, as a social evil, to progress in our powers of wealth production; and he accounts for this paradox by showing that the institution of land ownership, offering as it does limitless opportunities for forestalling land, the one factor on which all production depends, results in the monopoly of land to such an extent that its value tends to increase the difficulties of access to it in greater degree than enhanced productive power makes it available for human needs. Hence the exploitation and consequent impoverishment of laborers in spite of increase in the productive power of labor. To remedy this evil, George proposes that annual land values should be appropriated annually for public use, and taxation on production be abolished. The effect, as he explains, would be to make land monopoly unprofitable, and production profitable, which would maintain a constant demand for labor, in excess of the supply, and thereby secure to all who want to work limitless opportunity, and to all who do work their full share of the total product.

As this result would leave nothing for idlers, George's book has been sternly opposed by special pleaders for the privileges of the leisure class. As it simply seeks conformity to fundamental principles, it is not in favor of empirics. As it appeals to the moral law, most materialists sneer at it. As it leaves no place in the social system for complex governmental mechanism, but looks to the natural law of competition, freed from obstructions, to regulate private business, most socialists see no good in it. But the book more than holds its own, and all over the world its influence upon thought and legislation is evident. Not to know of it, is to risk a display of humiliating ignorance; not to know something of its teachings, is to be at a disadvantage in almost any discussion of civic subjects; not to understand it, is to be at a disadvantage in all economic study.

The life of the author, by his eldest

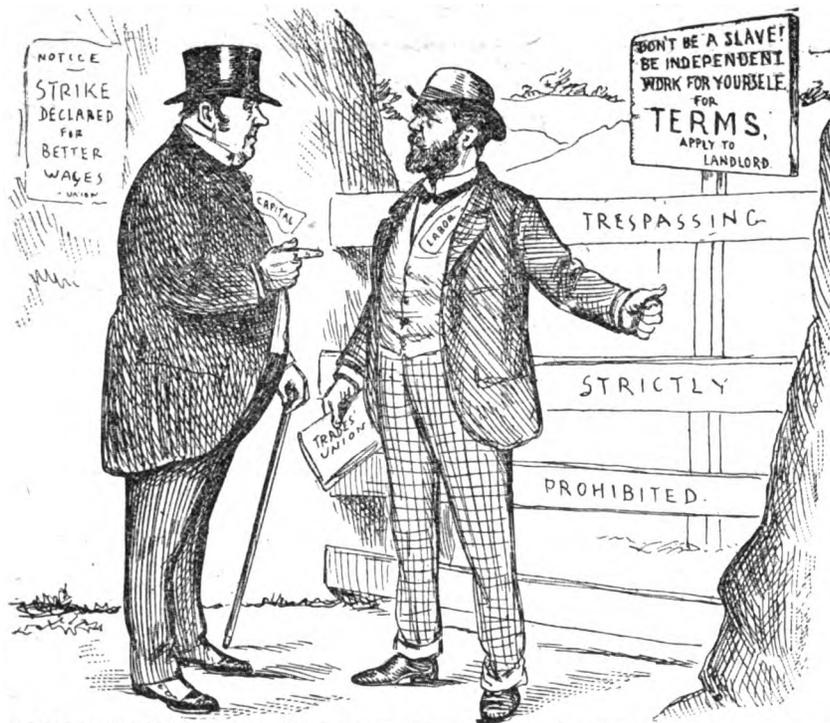
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I Am Desirous of Increasing Its Circulation ARE YOU ?

If you are you can get something of value for nothing, and no string to it.

Having come into possession of a number of authenticated maps of the United States (including all its possessions) mounted, measuring 7x5 feet, valued at four dollars each, I will send one to each of the first fifty who will send in five (5) yearly or ten (10) half-yearly subscriptions to THE PUBLIC, as per its offer of furnishing these at the yearly rate of \$1.20. These maps are especially valuable to schools, clubs, hotels, offices, etc., as also in homes. **Who Will Win First One ?** Single Taxers can bulk their subscriptions and so get one for their club rooms.

DANIEL KIEFER, 530 Walnut St., Cincinnati, O.



LABOR'S CORNER; OR, THE UNEQUAL CONDITIONS OF BARGAINING
Labor—Well, sir, what I ask is fair, natural wages, that is to say—not less than I could make employing myself and taking the whole proceeds of my toil.
Capital—Ah, but I don't have to come to your terms; the way to self-employment is barred up, you see!

son, is a valuable companion volume. No attempt is made, properly enough, to write a critical biography. The book is a simple but inspiring narrative of an interesting life. It tells who Henry George was, and how he came to do the public work he did do. It shows how he thought and how he worked; and it makes easier the reading of "Progress and Poverty," in itself one of the most fascinating books on a serious subject, by investing it with the personality of its author.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—"Broad-Cast." By Ernest Crosby, author of "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable," "Tolstoy and His Message," etc., etc. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company. To be reviewed.

—"Connections of English Speech. The Correct Usage of Prepositions, Conjunctions, Relative Pronouns and Adverbs Explained and Illustrated." By James C. Fernald, editor of "The Students' Standard Dictionary." "English Synonyms and Antonyms," etc. New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls Company. Price \$1.50 net. A comprehensive, well-indexed and instructive handbook on the subject described in the title.

PAMPHLETS

To persons who wish to know what the single tax is, without reading much about it, we commend a little 10-page pamphlet, "An Exposition and Defense of a Single Tax on Land Values," by Dr. J. C. Barnes, 520 E. North st., Indianapolis. This pamphlet would hardly satisfy such persons, for what most of

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