

# The Public

**LOUIS F. POST, Editor**

Volume IX

Number 418

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, APRIL 7, 1906

## EDITORIAL:

Mayor Dunne Wins Again.....	1
The Coal Strike .....	2
A Socialistic Trend .....	2
Personal Property Taxation .....	2
Back to the Land .....	3
Revival of the Land Question in Washington.....	3
Protecting American Labor .....	3
The Postal Censorship in St. Louis.....	3
The Philippines and the Vatican.....	4
Bryan's Friends .....	4
Valuable Speeches .....	4
The Use of the "Upper House".....	4
Mr. Jerome's Double Function.....	4
Elastic or Fluid Currency—Which? (Dublin).....	5

## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

Jamaica, B. W. I. (Colbron).....	5
----------------------------------	---

## NEWS NARRATIVE:

Municipal Ownership in Chicago.....	6
The Socialist Vote in Chicago.....	7
Municipal Ownership in Springfield.....	7
Municipal Ownership in Kansas City.....	7
The Milwaukee Election .....	8
Municipal Ownership in Cleveland.....	8
Municipal Ownership in Buffalo.....	8
Democratic Politics in New Jersey.....	8
Labor Legislation in Great Britain.....	9
Russian Election .....	9
The Moroccan Conference .....	9
The Railway Rate Bill in Congress.....	9
Beginning of the Coal Strike.....	10
Rupture of the Dowle Zionists.....	10
News Notes .....	10
Press Opinions .....	11
In Congress .....	12

## RELATED THINGS:

The Soul's Country (Muzzey).....	12
The Bishop Should Be Relieved.....	12
Anarchy on the Other Side .....	12
The Despotism of the Post Office.....	13
The Man Who Met His Character.....	13
Woman Suffrage .....	13
Oliver Twist Has Asked for More.....	14
Manifest Destiny (Ingham).....	15
The Moro Massacre .....	15
A Half Hour with Opie Read.....	16
A Chinaman on American Influence in China (Luther).....	17

## BOOKS:

Seven on the Highway (Dillard).....	19
Public Utilities and Politics.....	20
A Black Man's Plea (A. L.).....	21
The London "Who's Who".....	21
Books Received .....	22
Pamphlets .....	22
Periodicals .....	23

## CARTOON:

Never More Will the Tail Wag the Dog (Bengough).....	24
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## EDITORIAL

### Mayor Dunne Wins Again.

The true significance of the vote this week in Chicago on municipal ownership of the traction service may be inferred from the fact that on election day, in expectation of its defeat, traction stock jumped upward several points on the New

York stock exchange. "The rise was due," reported the Chicago Daily News of the 3d, "to large orders telegraphed from Chicago, where LaSalle street had been watching the progress of the election carefully and had reached the conclusion that the 'little ballot' propositions of the Mayor were snowed under."

An expenditure of money so lavish has never been witnessed before at a local election in Chicago. It is positively asserted that a corruption fund of a million dollars was thrown into the campaign. This is disputed and may be doubted; but there is no room for denying that there was a marvelous expenditure of money against the "little ballot," and by persons and organizations with no visible sources of pecuniary supply commensurate with such expenditures. The real source of supply may be inferred from the interests involved and the favorable effect upon traction stock of a reported defeat of the public ownership movement.

Not only was Mayor Dunne confronted by the corrupting methods of the traction ring, but all manner of herring trails were drawn across the path assiduously by pretentious representatives of "law and order." An anti-crime crusade was started to confuse voters; a saloon license issue was manufactured to distract attention; the pulpits were appealed to, and not in vain, to declare against the movement; both the Republican and the Democratic party machines worked against it; ex-Mayor Harrison rallied all his supporters as well as he could by issuing a proclamation against it on the eve of election; everything possible was done—bad and good, positive and negative—to defeat Mayor Dunne at this critical juncture. Even the Record-Herald, which, upon raising technical objections, the only kind it could raise, and being so conclusively answered in its own columns by Mayor Dunne that it expressed satisfaction and therefore could no longer oppose (vol. viii., pp. 854, 869), dropped into a position of neutrality, the strongest form of opposition it could interpose without self-stultification. Absolutely the only daily newspaper support the "little ballot" received was from Hearst's papers—the Examiner and the American. Even they, for several days at a critical time, went treacherously off after herring trails, although at the end and in the main they gave fairly vigorous support.

Yet a moral victory has been won on all three questions, and a legal victory on the only one of the three that is of present legal importance. On the advisory question of public policy, the city

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(RECAP)

authorities are forbidden by a majority vote to grant any franchises. On the question of municipal operation, a majority in the affirmative has been cast, and it fails only for the technical reason that the law requires three-fifths. But this question can await another election without the slightest embarrassment to the legal progress of the movement. The one important present question has been carried by the majority requisite to give vitality to the ordinance to which it related. Nothing now stands in the way of municipal ownership but mere administrative details, unless a hostile Council sees fit further to obstruct and baffle by an opposition which hereafter would be manifestly inane unless it were corrupt. With municipal ownership fairly under way and the issue clarified, there will be no difficulty in securing at an early election the necessary three-fifths vote for operation. Meanwhile Mayor Dunne, supported by more than a third of the Council, will prevent the granting of any franchise, and operation will proceed only under revocable licenses, in accordance with the Mayor's recent interview in the Record-Herald.

### The Coal Strike.

It was good tactics on the part of the coal miners when they decided upon a strike, to authorize settlements with operators willing to break away from the stubborn operators who have forced this strike upon the miners and the country. We speak of these advisedly as stubborn and as aggressors. The demands of the miners are reasonable. They assented to a reduction of wages in 1903, when the operators pleaded inability to continue the old rate, and they now demand a return to the old rate. In other words, they are not striking even for an increase of wages, but only for restoration. So much they concede to the plea of the operators that our "phenomenal prosperity" has not affected the mining industry. But it has affected the cost of living among the miners; and these men, the real producers from the ground of the coal the operators claim to own in the ground, are most modestly demanding only a return to the wages of the time when "our phenomenal prosperity" was less phenomenal. Some of the operators favored accepting this adjustment. But the others, intent on creating scarcity prices for an un-scarce commodity which they have stored up abundantly, insist upon forcing the strike. They are, therefore, very much incensed, as may well be believed, and very much disturbed, it may be added, by the unexpected decision of the miners to make no strike against the seceding operators. This decision discloses a good spirit on the part of the miners; and it puts them in a position to earn wages from some operators while striking against others, and at the same time to weaken their adversaries by providing a continuous supply of coal

for competition in the market with the stored-up coal of the conspiring coal operators and coal roads.

### A Socialistic Trend.

If those socialists who are playing at politics in a side-party segregated from the common thought were half as alert to the progress of their principles as they are loyal to their toy organization, they would turn their attention from their play to the serious work of promoting and conserving the really great tendencies now flowing in their direction. Here, for instance, is a report from Washington on good newspaper authority (Raymond, of the Chicago Tribune), that the most conservative men, even high officials almost within the walls of the White House itself, are demanding that if industrial operations are paralyzed by the coal strike, the government of the United States, "constitution or no constitution," must "take possession of the mines, operate them for the benefit of the people, and turn over the money to its proper owners, leaving the operators and miners to agree among themselves if they can." Such a sentiment is worth more to socialism than a socialist side party with two million votes would be worth to it. This sentiment draws no line between what is rightfully private property and what is not. It assumes that a coal deposit is as rightfully private property as anything else, and then proposes to divest its owners of authority over it, thereby denying, as the socialists also do, all proprietary rights with reference not alone to the natural materials and forces but also to the artificial implements of production. This would not be complete socialism, to be sure; but it would be revolution in the direction of socialism.

### Personal Property Taxation.

Discussions of personal property taxation are becoming unusually common. Within the week one is reported in Chicago and another from St. Louis. And it is gratifying to notice that the numerical strength in these discussions, as well as the weight of the argument, is in favor of abolishing that kind of tax. The objection offered to it is what is called practical, namely, that the tax cannot be fairly collected; an objection to which the other side retorts that it could be collected if taxing officials were honest and efficient. But this implies that taxing officials everywhere have always been dishonest and inefficient; for personal property taxes have never anywhere been fairly collected. The impossibility argument, however, is good only as it indicates injustice. Nothing that is just should be abandoned, though it seem impossible. But the impossibility of fairly collecting personal property taxes does indicate the injustice of such taxation. It is in reality a confiscation of private property. Government gives

nothing to personal property taxpayers in return for those taxes. It is supposed to give protection; but every one knows that the protection which government gives in any community is sold at a profit by real estate owners to buyers and tenants. Real estate prices and rents are high where the effects of government are good, and low where they are bad; and that is not true of personal property. The financial beneficiaries of public service are not personal property owners; they are real estate owners. Real estate taxes, therefore, are in the nature of compensation, whereas personal property taxes are in the nature of confiscation.

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### **"Back to the Land."**

The growing tendency of public opinion to discriminate more carefully with reference to property, between natural resources and artificial products, should be regarded by the followers of Henry George as of the utmost importance. It is true that the argument is not fully carried out and that originators of the idea anterior to George's time are mentioned by way of evasion; but all this makes no difference. The essential thing is that the line between "mine" and "thine" on the one hand and "ours" on the other is being clearly drawn. Take for illustration the staid old *Journal of Commerce*, conservative to the last degree, and influential accordingly. It has come to recognize distinctly—and in its issue of March 22, in the leading editorial, we find an instance—the all-important fact that natural resources were never intended for individual advantage, but were intended primarily for the common good. These recognitions of a fundamental principle heretofore obscured, which are becoming more and more general, are encouraging because they are prophetic of right thinking in general, and with right thinking in general we shall have right action by society. Both the *Independent* and the *Outlook* are also showing favorable symptoms, and in a marked degree.

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### **Revival of the Land Question in Washington.**

When Tom L. Johnson, now mayor of Cleveland, was a member of the Fifty-second Congress, the speaker placed him on the committee on the District of Columbia, and in a little while Johnson had secured the appointment of a special committee on tax valuations, which exposed the great graft of the land monopolists of the District. His valuable report has now been supplemented by a similarly valuable speech, delivered in Congress on the 26th of February by Edward DeV. Morrell, a Republican member from Pennsylvania, and reported in the *Congressional Record* of March 16. Mr. Morrell's exposure of undervaluations is starting. One site assessed for taxation at \$253, was condemned by the government for a street at a

valuation of \$10,063, probably a fair estimate. The property in one section which was condemned for street purposes at an aggregate valuation of \$796,000, was taxed at only \$108,000. Numerous instances of like character are given by Mr. Morrell. The effect upon his own mind of his extended investigation into the subject may be inferred from his sensible observation that if the national government were to pay all the cost of the government of the District of Columbia instead of half, "no one would be benefited except the landowners."

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### **"Protecting" American Labor.**

Like all other superstitions protectionism makes fools of its votaries. We find an interesting example in "The Merry Idea," a trade paper published by the Merry Optical Company, of Kansas City. A correspondent had asked why no opera glasses are made in the United States, which is so far ahead in everything else optical. Note the reply. Labor in Europe is so cheap that we cannot compete in opera glasses, though the protective tariff is 45 per cent. That is, a pair of opera glasses made in Paris can be imported under a tariff duty which, with freight, etc., will add fully one-third to the Paris price, and yet be sold cheaper here than American glasses can be made for at American wages. Think of it. A duty of 45 per cent too low to tempt American workmen to avail themselves of its protection! And now mark the sympathetic note for American workingmen which this optical instrument paper strikes. "With the great influx of cheap labor from foreign countries," it observes, "possibly the time is not far distant when such labor will enable us to make this line of goods." So it appears that the protective tariff, instead of improving wages, only enhances prices to American consumers, while stimulating demand by employers for cheap foreign labor to keep American wages down.

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### **The Postal Censorship in St. Louis.**

Appearances are turning strongly in favor of E. G. Lewis, of St. Louis, whose right to the use of the mails has been arbitrarily denied by Postmaster General Cortelyou (vol. viii, p. 814), and whose business, apparently in order to give color of legitimacy to Cortelyou's arbitrary act, was thrown into the hands of a receiver. Not only has this business, alleged by the postmaster general to have been insolvent and fraudulent—not only has it been pronounced legitimate by Alexander Del Mar, of the American Banker, not only has the receiver paid all its creditors in full and returned 85 per cent of the stock investments, but now the Supreme Court of Missouri has decided that the grounds alleged for the receivership were inadequate and the appointment of a receiver without

authority. Yet Postmaster General Cortelyou continues to prohibit the delivery of letters to Mr. Lewis, and Congress refuses the country relief from this Russianistic postal censorship. The inside history of the Lewis case would certainly be interesting and its publication might be useful. Mr. Lewis's business was in conflict with the express business, which is especially represented in the Senate; also with the banking business, from which large political donations came in 1904; and those donations were received by the very postmaster general who has assailed Lewis and his business by arbitrarily cutting them off from postal rights. Who it was that instigated the unfounded receivership proceedings and why he did it, remains to be told.

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### The Philippines and the Vatican.

In explaining her connection with the episode of her husband's peremptory recall by President Roosevelt, Mrs. Storer, the wife of Bellamy Storer, American ambassador to Vienna, states that Mr. Roosevelt, when Governor of New York, in 1900, wrote her a letter of which she says:

This letter was written to me so that I might show it to Cardinal Rampolla, then papal secretary of state, in order to convince the Vatican of the friendly attitude of prominent Americans toward Archbishop Ireland's policy. It was all done to help our government in its relations with the Philippines.

One would hardly suspect that in that final sentence there is an allusion, whether conscious or unconscious on Mrs. Storer's part, to what is probably the most scandalous politico-ecclesiastical affair in American history. Some newspaper men know all about it, but they are pen-tied, if not tongue-tied. Others might find out were they to try. It would be easier than unravelling the circumstantial threads of a mysterious homicide.

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### Bryan's Friends.

That the wave of public sentiment toward a democratic Democracy is carrying Bryan upon its crest is one of the most obvious of facts. So obvious is it that enemies of genuine democracy and enemies of Bryan are professing a friendliness which they do not feel and by which no one can be deceived. One of their transparent tricks is to assume that Bryan is becoming conservative, or, as one of them puts it, "is rebuilding his reputation." But Bryan's reputation needs no rebuilding. He is not becoming conservative; he has always been conservative in the right sense of that much abused term. His conservatism is of the kind that would have his country hold fast to what is good; his radicalism of the kind that would have it strive for what is best. Though he is changing, in the sense that he is growing, he is not changing in the sense of reaction or of rebuilding or recant-

ing. The masses of the people are advancing to his side and looking forward to his ideals of Democracy. There is no retreat on his part toward the commercialism out of which his voice has been leading the people these ten years past. Those conservatives who sincerely think he is altering his course to go their way, will realize, if they reflect upon what has really happened, that they have altered theirs to go his. The plutocrats who only pretend to think he is "rebuilding" on their pattern, will find in him the same vigorous and effective enemy of plutocracy who has heretofore threatened their unjust privileges and filled them with anger.

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### Valuable Speeches.

Among the Senators who have spoken with great pains and ability in opposition to the Hepburn railway rate bill in the United States Senate are Spooner of Wisconsin and Knox of Pennsylvania. In commending those speeches the *New York Times* remarks that they "would, in the case of a private client, be moderately compensated by a fee in each case of \$100,000." Surely not unless the client were a corporation with highly valuable franchises. At any rate, it is dangerous for a paper in the inner circles of plutocracy to indulge in financial comparisons, when the speeches in question reached the conclusions that such corporations would require were they indeed clients of the honorable Senators.

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### The Use of the "Upper House."

"Upper houses" in legislative bodies are nominally intended to prevent sudden frenzies in "lower houses" from disturbing settled conditions. The use they really serve, and it is an ill use, is to block popular legislation, not temporarily and while the "frenzy" lasts, but permanently and when there is no frenzy. A recent example is reported from far-away Tasmania. A bill to perfect election methods by establishing what is known as the Hare-Clark system of "effective voting," which had passed the "lower house," by 20 to 7, was defeated in the "upper house" by 8 to 6.

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### Mr. Jerome's Double Function.

The county of New York is badly in need of two prosecuting attorneys—one to "railroad" poor and friendless persons accused of crime, and the other to protect prominent and influential offenders. Mr. William Travers Jerome appears to be quite competent for either service, but no one can perform both at once and in the same official character without embarrassment.

## ELASTIC OR FLUID CURRENCY— WHICH.

Various proposed solutions of the currency problem are predicated on the idea of an elastic currency; that is, a currency which is ordinarily sufficient in volume to meet the ordinary demands of trade, and will automatically shrink or stretch in harmony with variations of demand.

Forced remedies are urged, depending on humanly devised and operated checks and counter-checks to anticipate conjectured abuses. The co-operation of the Federal treasury is considered necessary to the success of these plans,—an idea no doubt fostered by the anomaly of a swollen treasury with a depleted market supply.

Confronted by a condition and not a theory, reduction in indirect taxation has been suggested as affording a ready means of relief; but no adjustment of schedules in a scheme of indirect taxation can be efficacious. Revenue from indirect taxation is uncertain, increasing as trade increases and falling as trade slackens; thus expanding prosperity is bedeviled by the fear and the certainty of a diminishing circulating currency when trade needs are most urgent, and commercial expansion produces currency contraction. If, to avoid congestion, indirect taxation should be scaled down, the danger of a deficit in revenues when trade reaction sets in would induce shrinking, timid market conditions accelerating the evil and destroying confidence. Before any other remedy is adopted, then, it is essential that a Federal tax system be instituted competent to provide sufficient revenue under all conditions, and to prevent congestion during active trade periods. For if this power of absorption be unrestrained it must impound any increase of the currency. And what is to prevent an asset or other emergency currency from being impounded in the Federal treasury, while gold, the basis of public confidence and credit money, is being withdrawn for export and hoarding. Any emergency currency must necessarily be of doubtful security, for its issue would be forced by unusual conditions.

Instead of an elastic currency let consideration be given to an elastic Federal revenue system, one that will not corral in the government vaults the currency needed in trade. The Purdy plan of apportionment for State revenues, which levies on the counties a percentage of the proportion of each county's own revenue to all the counties' revenue, can be extended in its application to Federal needs. If the Federal government levied the larger portion of its needed revenue by apportionment among the States, collecting in periodical installments, then the currency needed by the general government would remain in active circulation until actually needed, whereupon it would at once flow back, through government expenditure, into the

channels of trade. At no time would it be playing "slow coach," and block the highways of national finance.

This, too, would divorce the operations of the national treasury from the speculations of the money and security market; destroy the favoritism of the secretary of the treasury to pet banks acting as depositaries of Federal revenue; establish a correspondence between Federal "need and feed;" do away with alternating feasts and famines of revenue, and arrest the tendency to extravagant national expenditure which by our present system is encouraged in order that favored private interests may be advantaged through the unseen incidence of indirect taxation.

Before embarking upon any of the unknown seas of "elastic" currency, let us establish conditions calculated to make our currency fluid. If currency flows freely, more good currency can be pumped into the volume if it falls below the level, or out of it if it becomes redundant. What we need first is not elastic currency but unobstructed circulation.

BENJAMIN DOBLIN.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### JAMAICA, B. W. I.

Kingston, Jam., Mar. 25.—The problem of the colonies is one of the questions of the day—a burning question. Taxation is at the root of it, of course. A great deal of talk goes on in Parliament, Council and press; a beating about the bush in many tongues; and all in the attempt to prove the impossible possible, to prove the wrong right. Starting from the premise that it is right to bleed the colonies to furnish revenue for the motherland, legislators can naturally find plenty of material for discussion as to just how the bleeding shall be done. They do not get as far back as the discussion of whether the bleeding of itself is justifiable or not. Not recognizing that their premise is false, they wonder that their carefully elaborated theories do not work as expected.

Jamaica, one of the most beautiful, fertile tropical countries, greatly favored as to climate and soil, is in a very bad way financially. The island is losing in wealth and producing power every year. Many are the theories advanced here and elsewhere as to the cause of this. The protective tariff in the important buying countries, which ruined the Jamaica sugar industry; the lack of up-to-date methods of cultivating the land; the laziness of the black population; and many more such reasons, none of which except the first, perhaps, could hold against an argument. The people themselves, the more intelligent of them, are beginning to have a dim realization of the truth, inasmuch as they see that they are over-taxed.

Their point of view was expressed to me in a clear intelligent fashion the other day by a colored man of education, who had evidently given the matter some thought. A "colored" man in Jamaica, it must be explained, is not a black man, but one of mixed race. They use the term "colored" here in contradistinction to "black" for the pure Negro, or to "white." This particular man was verger of the Cathedral in Spanish Town, the former capital, now falling slowly into decay.

After giving me a most interesting account of the

history of the Cathedral, which is one of the oldest religious sites in the West Indies, and of the town in which it stands, my friendly guide came to talk of the Island itself and its affairs, economic and political.

He deplored the gradual decline of prosperity, and acknowledged that many intelligent native Jamaicans did not hesitate to express their dissatisfaction with the English government. "We really think we would rather be Americans," he said, with a fine politeness.

I was obliged to tell him that in my opinion Jamaica would not gain much by the change, and that I didn't see why the Jamaicans should be anything but just Jamaicans. This gave him confidence to talk more freely, and he soon got on the subject of taxation. Naturally I asked about taxes on unimproved land, and on improvements.

"There is very little tax on unimproved land, but they tax every improvement, everything a man does to make his land more fertile, or his house more comfortable."

"Do you think this is a good plan?" I asked.

He looked astonished, then said it didn't exactly seem to be good.

"How does it work?"

"Why, I think it makes a man lazy," he replied promptly.

"If a planter has four acres of land, he usually cultivates one acre and lets the rest stay wild. Because when the tax collector comes round, then he only has to pay taxes for the improvements on the one cultivated acre."

"But that keeps him poor," I said. "Wouldn't he do better to cultivate the other acres?"

"What would be the good?" was the immediate answer. "He wouldn't have much more left after he'd paid his taxes on his improved acres. And then he'd be working hard. This way he takes it easy."

And yet they talk of the laziness of Jamaicans as one reason for Jamaica's decline! This was my thought, and I gave utterance to it.

My guide smiled and said that he had a special story to tell to illustrate the point. "My wife, who is a very industrious woman," he said, "went to work and cleaned all the windows in our house the other day. The next day the tax collector called, and seeing the clean windows, told me that if I could afford to have new glass in my windows, I could afford to pay a higher tax rate. He charged me this higher rate, but I went to court about it, for I am a poor man, and can't afford to pay any more taxes than I pay now. Only when they tax us for trying to keep things nice, they shouldn't talk about us being lazy."

Here was fertile ground for a little single tax propaganda, and I did not neglect it. My guide was much interested in what I said, as his complete understanding of the harmful result of wrong taxation made it all the easier for him to understand right taxation.

There is a most fertile and promising field for single tax work in the colonies, particularly among the population of mixed blood. These colored people, as they are called here, combine the initiative of the white, with the love of the soil, the simple good nature, and the immunity to climatic conditions that characterize the black of the West Indies. If a little understanding of this simple fundamental principle of taxation were spread among these people who suffer most from abuse, due to wrong taxation, they would advance a long way towards a capacity for self-government; and the knowledge must be spread among the people themselves, not dealt out to them, ration-wise, by any governmental agency.

The experimental character of all colonial government makes it just as easy to try a good experiment as a bad one. Before our present rampant spread-

eagelism grabs any more colonial territory it would be a good thing to have the ground sown with the right kind of seed. I was unpatriotic enough to tell my Jamaican friend that just at present I did not think the United States had anything better to offer Jamaica than England had, and I cited New Zealand as an example of what an English colony can do. But I told him that when the single taxers had somewhat leavened the lump of political and economic conditions, then it might be worth while for Jamaicans to become American citizens—although I still didn't see why they shouldn't be just Jamaicans.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before; continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.

Week ending Thursday, April 5.

### Municipal Ownership in Chicago.

At the municipal election in Chicago on the 3d (vol. viii., pp. 854, 873), the one important issue was on what is locally called the "little ballot." This name comes from the fact that referendum questions in Illinois are required by law to be printed on a ballot separate from the ballot bearing the names of candidates, and as a rule this separate ballot is much smaller than the other. There were three referendum questions at this election, all of them relating to the controversy over the traction problem, which for full five years has intensely agitated public opinion in Chicago and been strongly felt throughout the country.

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The first of the three questions on the "little ballot" was in terms as follows:

Shall the City of Chicago proceed to operate street railways?

This question called for a popular vote on an ordinance previously adopted by the City Council (vol. viii., pp. 705, 710, 729), which authorized municipal operation. Under the State statutes, the Mueller law, such an ordinance requires, after its adoption by the City Council, an affirmative vote of 60 per cent of all the votes cast on the question at a referendum. The vote on this question, as reported by the local press of the 4th was:

Affirmative .....	120,911
Negative .....	110,260

Majority for the ordinance .....

10,651  
As the affirmative vote was 52 1-3 per cent instead of 60, the ordinance for municipal operation does not become legally effective; but it is rightly regarded (except among the advocates of private franchises) as a popular vote in favor of municipal operation.

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The second of the three questions was as follows:

Shall the ordinance entitled "An ordinance authoriz-

ing the City of Chicago to construct, acquire, purchase, own and maintain street railways within its corporate limits and providing the means therefor," passed by the City Council of said city on the 18th day of January, A. D. 1906, making provision for the issue of Street Railway Certificates not to exceed in amount \$75,000,000, be approved?

On this question the following was the referendum vote:

Affirmative .....	110,008
Negative .....	106,669

Majority for the ordinance ..... 3,339

As only a simple majority is required by the statute for the adoption of this ordinance, it was legally adopted by the above vote and is now fully operative as a law.



The third question had been formulated under the advisory referendum law, and presented by petition at the time when the City Council seemed about to grant a further franchise for 20 years to the existing companies. It read as follows (vol. viii., p. 749):

Shall the City Council proceed without delay to secure Municipal Ownership and Operation of all Street Railways in Chicago under the Mueller Law, instead of passing the pending franchise ordinances or any other ordinances granting franchises to private companies?

On this advisory question the following vote was cast:

Affirmative .....	111,862
Negative .....	108,025

Majority against franchises to private companies 3,837



Upon the announcement of the above result, Mayor Dunne made a public statement in which he said:

The program for the acquirement of the street railway properties I do not care to discuss at present. I first wish to ascertain the attitude of the street car companies and to consult with my advisers before announcing my plans. It is up to the street car people to make the next move. They now know that Mueller certificates can be issued for the purchase of the roads and that by virtue of the approval given the third proposition on the little ballot no more franchises will be granted private street car companies. Before I take any further step toward carrying out the will of the people I want to find out what terms the companies will make. Under the law as interpreted by the Supreme Court they can occupy the streets until they sell out to the city, and now that the city has the authority to purchase, it is up to the companies to state their terms. Of course, I am disappointed that the victory is not a greater one. I am disappointed that the proposition authorizing operation of the lines did not carry by the legal majority of three-fifths of the vote cast on it, but I do not regard this as a real setback. The problem of securing possession of the roads is a tremendous one and cannot be solved in a hurry. We shall begin on the task of acquiring ownership, and by the time we are in possession I am confident that the people will have voted to give the city the right to operate. Operation always comes with ownership. It was so in London, Glasgow, and other large cities. The proposition to operate can be submitted at the first election at which it seems advisable—next Fall, perhaps. This time it had a clear majority of 10,000 votes, still I regret that it did not receive the majority of about 28,000 which would have been necessary to make it effective. I am convinced, however, that the people will vote for municipal operation at the proper time, which will be when the city gets possession of the lines. You may retard the principle of municipal ownership, but you cannot defeat it.



Half of the City Council was chosen at this elec-

tion, and on the question of co-operating faithfully in the execution of the municipal ownership ordinance adopted at the election, the Chicago Tribune, an advocate of private ownership regardless of the ordinance just adopted and the public policy vote, estimates in its issue of the 4th the attitude of the new Council as follows:

For municipal ownership .....	28
Against municipal ownership .....	32
Doubtful .....	10

Of the ten alderman here accounted "doubtful," two were supported by the Municipal Ownership League, to whose platform they are pledged; one made his campaign as a municipal ownership candidate without that endorsement; and one is a hold-over member who voted in support of Mayor Dunne's traction policy when a large majority of the Council voted against it. The other six voted against the Mayor's policy until the collapse of the opposition, when most of them came to his support. It would seem, therefore, that as the result of the aldermanic election Mayor Dunne will have the co-operation of about 32 aldermen out of a total of 70—a majority against him of only 6. It is not probable, therefore, that any reactionary ordinance will secure the necessary two-thirds vote to pass it over the Mayor's veto, and it may be that affirmative steps will be immediately possible.



**The Socialist Vote in Chicago.**

The aggregate Socialist vote for Chicago aldermen, as reported, is 27,715, an increase of 7,382 votes over the vote of 20,333 for mayor (vol. viii., p. 7) at the municipal election of 1905.



**Municipal Ownership in Springfield.**

In Springfield, Ill., on the contest led by the Mayor in support of municipal ownership and operation of the electric lighting system (vol. viii., p. 345), the voting on the 3d resulted in the election by the Democrats of a two-thirds majority of the City Council. They carried all but two wards. In one of these Joseph Farris, a single tax Democrat, was defeated by a small plurality through Democratic defections; but the strongest Republican ward of the city, one that has always heretofore been carried 2 to 1 by that party, was wrested from it by a plurality of 47 by Frank Bode, another single tax Democrat: Municipal ownership and operation is assured.



**Municipal Ownership in Kansas City.**

Elections were held on the 3d in the two Kansas Cities which are separated by the Kansas-Missouri line. In Kansas City, Mo., the Republican candidate for mayor, Henry M. Beardsley, was elected. Both the Republican and the Democratic platforms declared for the principle of municipal ownership, regarding which Mr. Beardsley is reported as the more satisfactory leader. Municipal ownership Democrats are glad of his election.



In Kansas City, Kan., where Mayor Rose, a single tax Democrat, was elected mayor a year ago on a municipal ownership issue (vol. viii., pp. 9, 855), a prohibition issue was stirred up, the closing of the

saloons being demanded of Mayor Rose by the State authorities, although all other river towns in Kansas are "wide open" and Kansas City also has been for 20 years, and this became an issue of the election for aldermen on the 3d. Aldermen opposed to Mayor Rose's policy were elected, and he thereupon resigned as mayor with a view to raising the issues more distinctly by becoming a candidate for re-election at the special election to be held at an early day to fill the vacancy. Meanwhile, E. E. Venard, president of the Council, a Republican and opponent of Mayor Rose's local policy, will be acting mayor, with authority to enforce the prohibition law as its enforcement has been demanded by him and his followers of Mayor Rose. Mayor Rose's chief of police, Vernon J. Rose, has also resigned.

\* \* \*

#### The Milwaukee Election.

At the mayoralty election in Milwaukee on the 3d, Mayor Rose, who secured the Democratic nomination for re-election by a bare plurality, was defeated by Sherburne M. Becker, a wealthy young Republican, of whose purpose in politics there are as yet no other indications than of personal ambition. Following was the vote:

Becker, Republican .....	22,565
Rose, Democrat .....	21,010
Arnold, Socialist .....	16,720

The Socialist vote is reported as about the same as for mayor two years ago. It is 2,000 less than for President in 1904. There will be eleven Socialists in the next Council. In the present one there are ten. The Socialist leader in the Council was defeated for re-election, but two new candidates were elected.

\* \* \*

#### Municipal Ownership in Cleveland.

By a vote of 21 to 11 on the 2d, the City Council of Cleveland adopted Mayor Johnson's ordinance appropriating \$40,000 for the extension of the municipal lighting plant. This plant was established by the city of South Brooklyn, which has been annexed to Cleveland (vol. vii., p. 633), and through the annexation has brought over what Mayor Johnson regards as the nucleus for a complete municipal lighting system for the whole city, to be owned and operated by the city. The ordinance was bitterly opposed by the minority of the Council on the ground that municipal ownership of public utilities is more inefficient than private ownership.

\* \* \*

In his movement for municipal ownership and operation of the traction system (vol. viii., p. 806), Mayor Johnson is opposed by the report of the franchise committee of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, made on the 3d which recommends that—

a new franchise be granted to the Cleveland Electric Railway Company over its entire system within the city for a term of twenty-five years, upon the basis of fare as follows: Five cents for a single cash fare and the same rate if transfer is desired; transfer upon a transfer to be given on all cross-town lines; tickets to be sold without transfer rights at the rate of three for 10 cents, or fifteen for 50 cents, or thirty for a dollar.

\* \* \*

#### Municipal Ownership in Buffalo.

In Buffalo the movement for a municipal lighting

plant (vol. viii., p. 541, 595), while supported by Mayor Adam, is reported to have encountered the opposition of a majority of the aldermen in violation of election pledges. At the municipal election in November, 1905, most of the candidates elected were of the party pledged in its platform to the immediate establishment of a municipal electric lighting plant and to the referendum principle; and at the same election the establishment of this plant was advised by popular referendum. Accordingly, the Comptroller, with the sanction of the Mayor, inserted in the annual estimates an item of \$250,000 for the purpose of buying a lighting plant; but the aldermen struck it out. To denounce this as disloyalty on the part of the pledged aldermen, a large mass meeting was held on the 29th at which ex-Congressman Robert Baker was the principal speaker. Mr. Baker expressed the sense of the meeting, subsequently declared by resolutions, when he said:

The people of Buffalo have spoken. They spoke with no uncertain voice on November 7th. By a vote of four to one they gave directions to their servants that certain things should be done. The question, therefore, is why are these demands not heeded? Why are these orders not carried out? Are the people paramount or are the special privilege corporations the controlling force in your government? Why is it that in every large city in the union we witness the spectacle of this defiance of the people's will? The cause is not difficult to discover. It is found in the fact that our big cities offer opportunities for loot beyond anything that the world has ever known before. Everywhere the condition is the same; everywhere the same spectacle is presented. New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Minneapolis, Saint Louis and countless other cities of lesser importance all display this same seeming contempt by public officials for those who have elected them to office. "Scratch a Russian and you find a Tartar" is a common saying. With equal truth and probably with greater accuracy one could say, "Scratch a sore in the body politic, delve for corruption in our municipalities, and you will inevitably find the slimy trail of the special privilege corporations." . . . Do you realize that the great insistent, persistent corrupting force in our large municipalities springs from the action of probably not to exceed a score of men, the multi-millionaires of the United States. I have just returned from Chicago, which is in the throes of what appears to be a political contest, but which is nothing more nor less than an economical contest, a contest by J. P. Morgan and his friends to retain the power to tax the people of Chicago millions a year through their control of its public utilities. In like manner your contest is one by Morgan to retain control of the power to tax you through the General Electric and International Traction companies. I am glad to say, however, that the signs of the awakening of public intelligence on this subject are wellnigh universal. The people are getting educated as to the "benefits" they receive from private exercise of government functions, and the size of this meeting indicates that Buffalo is not going to lag behind in the race in which our great cities are engaged to see which shall be the first to take back to itself control over all its public utilities and operate them for the common good. When they do that we may expect a healthier political condition, a higher moral tone among our public servants, and I also think that many who are now engaged in thus exploiting the people will then turn around and become its most efficient and truest public servants.

\* \* \*

#### Democratic Politics in New Jersey.

Following the convention of Democrats at Newark, N. J. (vol. viii., p. 856), at which a permanent organization "for true democracy in New Jersey" was formed, with John Moody as president, Mr. Moody has issued an address defining the character and purpose of the organization. He states that:

there were 206 men in attendance; the conference was

called to order by Judge George H. Lambert of Newark, who briefly stated its object and introduced Hon. Allan Benny of Hudson County as temporary chairman. Mr. Benny . . . was named by the conference as permanent chairman on a vote of 95 to 59 for Thomas A. Davis. . . . The conference has resulted in the formation of a State organization, and the adoption of a platform of principles on which it is believed a large body of sincere Democrats can unite. The planks on municipal and government ownership and direct legislation are . . . progressive, perhaps in advance of the views of a good many, but I thoroughly believe that they represent the ideas of a vast and increasing number of the citizens of the State. The plans of those who are responsible for the launching of the new organization, do not involve the formation of "a new political party," notwithstanding all statements to the contrary. Nor do they involve the "harmonizing of the voters with the bosses," nor the "uniting of contending factions." Nor yet do they involve the promotion of the political fortunes of any one individual or set of individuals, either in or out of this State or this organization. The entire purpose is, as the original call so emphatically stated, to organize "for true democracy in New Jersey." The conference decided, by an overwhelming majority, on the accompanying platform of principles, as true democracy. The work of the organization, then, is the popularizing among Democrats of these principles, to the fullest extent possible, with a view of keeping them to the front in future political contests in city, county and State campaigns. The organization will be completed and perfected entirely with this object in view; county organizations will be formed, and all voters who will subscribe to the general program of the State organization will be enrolled. . . . It is hoped and intended that within six months this movement will be organized in all the counties of the State, and the enrolled members be able in many places to name candidates and frame county platforms which will command the respect, as well as gain the votes of a large number of the earnest and sincere citizens of New Jersey. The first step for union is to admit sincerity in those of diverse views; the next step is to respect those diverse views; and the third step is to work in harmony to the greatest extent possible for the practical application of our different views. There is little difficulty in this. I am a free trader, but I can work with a sincere tariff reformer; I am a single taxer, but I can work with a far less radical advocate of equal taxation; I am a believer in municipal ownership of all public utilities, but I can work heartily with a man who accepts only a portion of this program, and we need not part company until we cross the further bridge that may some day separate us.

Among its demands the platform referred to in the foregoing address, favors "municipal ownership and operation of all local public utilities, and government ownership and operation of all railway, express, telegraph and telephone lines"; the extension of the civil service merit system accordingly; only short term franchises meanwhile; "reasonable and equitable taxation of all franchises;" the "initiative and referendum and the right of recall;" the "longest possible extension of home rule;" the "immediate abolition of all tariff duties on the products of protected trusts sold at lower rates to foreigners than to Americans, and a gradual reduction of all other tariff duties;" "direct nomination by the people of all candidates for public office at the primaries," and the "universal adoption of the eight-hour labor law."

\* \* \*

#### Labor Legislation in Great Britain.

Predictions of an embarrassing split of the Labor members from the Liberal members in the British House of Commons were made in the dispatches on the 28th, when it was reported that the Labor members would not accept the trades dispute bill as presented by the ministry. But the matter was quickly

adjusted. On the 30th the Prime Minister advised the Commons to substitute for the measure of the ministry the measure proposed by the Labor members. This was forthwith done, the Labor bill passing its second reading by 456 to 66. The two measures were substantially alike, except that the Labor measure contained this clause:

No action shall be brought against a trade union or other association for the recovery of damages sustained by any person or persons by reason of the action of any member or members of such trade union or other association.

\* \* \*

A bill on land value taxation is now before Parliament. It was introduced by Mr. J. D. White and is supported by Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. Findlay, Mr. Sutherland, Mr. Rainy, Mr. Molteno, and Mr. Wedgwood. The essential features of this bill are, in the case of each property, that the land shall be valued on the basis of its market value, that the buildings and other improvements shall be valued separately, and that the combined amount of these two valuations shall also be set out. The objects are reported by the London New Age to be to secure a more accurate valuation of each property as a whole, and to prepare the way for taxing land values and untaxing buildings and other improvements.

\* \* \*

#### Russian Elections.

Elections for the first national parliament of Russia (vol. viii., p. 821) began at St. Petersburg on the 29th when twelve members of the Council of the Empire were chosen by a congress composed of representatives of associations of trade and industry throughout European Russia. The members chosen are described as well-known men of affairs of high standing in their respective communities and all conservatives. The constitutional democrats won a sweeping victory in the municipal elections in the cities and towns of the St. Petersburg district outside of the capital, held for the purpose of choosing electors to select members of the lower house. Elections for the same purpose were held in the city on the 1st, at which the victory of the constitutional democrats was overwhelming. These elections are now in full swing throughout the empire, and on the 4th it was reported from St. Petersburg that the balloting has been generally favorable, both in the cities and in the country, to the constitutional democrats.

\* \* \*

#### The Moroccan Conference.

An adjustment of the Moroccan dispute before the conference in session at Algeiras (vol. viii., p. 764) has been reached, and a protocol is now in preparation. According to the American dispatches the representative of the United States government is entitled to the credit of having prevented an international rupture.

\* \* \*

#### The Railway Rate Bill in Congress.

An arrangement is reported from Washington as having been arrived at regarding the railway rate bill now pending in the Senate (vol. viii., p. 857), whereby President Roosevelt agrees to a modification that will permit of appeals to the Federal courts

from orders of the Interstate Commission fixing rates. The arrangement is said to have been made at a confidential White House conference on the 31st, between the President and a few Republican senators, including Senator Long, who was chosen to present the Presidential amendment.

\* \* \*

#### Beginning of the Coal Strike.

Failing to agree upon a wages schedule, the joint conference at Indianapolis (vol. viii., p. 871) dissolved on the 29th, and the miners' convention resumed its separate sessions. On the 30th it adopted the following resolutions:

Whereas, the operators of the central competitive coal district have as a whole refused to grant our demands and restore the 1903 mining and day wage scale; and, whereas, many individual operators have expressed their willingness and desire to grant the restoration of the above scale, therefore, be it resolved, that this convention now assembled do authorize the national and district officials to make agreements with any and all parties engaged in the operation of coal mines, the same to provide for the restoration of the scale paid in 1903 for mining and day labor and dead work for a period of two years beginning April 1, 1906, in the central competitive field, and the equivalent of the above demands to be the basis in all other bituminous districts; and be it further resolved, that where such agreements are secured the miners and mine laborers shall abide thereby and work in accordance with the same.

The resolutions were adopted by an overwhelming majority, and will minimize the effect of the strike, it is estimated, by 60 per cent. They were adopted as the result of an offer by Francis L. Robbins, the Pittsburg operator, whose company produces about one-half of the total tonnage in western Pennsylvania. As the independent operators in the same district will be forced to keep their mines running to protect their markets, it is believed that this action practically removes western Pennsylvania from the strike situation. The strike began on the 2d.

\* \* \*

#### Rupture of the Dowie Zionists.

Startling reports have come from Zion City, Ill., the seat of the religious organization of which John Alexander Dowie is the founder. He has long been in the West Indies and Mexico, presumably on business connected with his organization, and it has been understood that he had called Wilbur Glenn Voliva from Australia to take temporary charge of Zion City. On the 2d Mr. Voliva formally announced to the assembled organization his refusal to obey Dr. Dowie's orders sent him by telegraph, and the congregation, including Mrs. Dowie and her son, approved. It was then decided to depose Dr. Dowie and accordingly the following message was sent him on the 3d:

Dowie, Ocotlan, Jalisco, Mexico—Telegrams read here Chicago. Practically all, including Cincinnati representatives, indorse Voliva's administration, Speicher's reinstatement, Granger's retention, emphatically protesting against your extravagance, hypocrisy, misrepresentations, exaggerations, misuse of investments, tyranny and injustice. You are hereby suspended from offices and membership for polygamous teaching and other grave charges. See letter. You must answer these satisfactorily to officers and people. Quietly retire. Further interference will precipitate complete exposure, rebellion, legal proceedings. Your statement of stupendously magnificent financial outlook is extremely foolish in view of thousands suffering through your shameful mismanagement. Zion and creditors will be protected at all costs.

To this message Dowie replied to his Chicago counsel on the 3d:

Guadalajara, Mexico, Province of Jalisco.—Judge V. V. Barnes: Consequent upon the ungodly and illegal action of Voliva, I now inform you that I hereby cancel power of attorney of W. G. Voliva and confer the same upon Fielding H. Wilhite. Inform the clerk of Lake County and all concerned that any exercise of 'by power of attorney' by Voliva will now be a criminal action. Act promptly and inform me immediately that you have done so. Address me to-morrow and Thursday, Palace Hotel, City of Mexico. I hold you strictly responsible in law in this matter.

He also telegraphed to each of the "overseers" as follows:

Your rebellious, treacherous and ungodly telegram received containing false charges and impotent attempts to suspend me from an office to which God appointed me and which is clearly beyond all your assumed jurisdiction. It becomes my duty to remove you one and all from the office of overseer in the Christian Catholic church in Zion and from all other offices. I also suspend you from fellowship for cause. I cancel hereby my power of attorney to Wilbur Glenn Voliva and have informed General Counsel Barnes that he may act accordingly and see that Fielding H. Wilhite is recognized as my power of attorney pro tem. I warn ex-Overseer Voliva and every member and officer that further exercise of his power of attorney is a criminal action. May God in His infinite mercy lead you all to a deep and true repentance.

It is understood that Dr. Dowie is about to return and make his fight in person. Mr. Barnes has notified him that he—

will not act on your instructions; am acting in interest of Zion; it will be your advantage to confirm agreement.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—The Ohio legislature adjourned on the 3d.

—The rate for gas in New York city (vol. viii, p. 104) was fixed by law on the 3d at 80 cents per thousand feet.

—Of 1,200 miners entombed in a coal mine by an explosion on the 10th (vol. viii, p. 840), fourteen were rescued on the 30th.

—Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland spoke before the Pittsburg chamber of commerce on the 30th in favor of municipal ownership of public utilities.

—Walter L. Fisher, for six years president of the Municipal Voters' League of Chicago, resigned on the 3d. He is succeeded by Frank H. Scott, the vice president.

—Judge Mack of Chicago decided on the 1st that the city ordinance prescribing a fine of from \$25 to \$100 for overcrowding street cars is invalid for excessive penalty.

—According to officials of the De Forest wireless telegraph system, 572 words out of a total of 1,000 were successfully sent on the 28th, without cable, across the ocean from Coney Island to Ireland.

—At the township election at Harvey, Ill., on the 3d, the only Democrat elected was J. J. O'Rourke, a single tax Democrat, who was elected assessor by a plurality of 175. He had promised in his campaign to apply the single tax method as fully as the law permits.

—The bill for the exemption of real estate improvements to the extent of \$3,000, introduced in the New York legislature by Assemblyman J. Sidney Bernstein and Senator Hawkins (vol. viii, p. 870) was

discussed before a joint committee of both houses on the 29th.

—Miss Nora Stanton Blatch, a granddaughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, has been admitted to membership in the American Society of Civil Engineers. She is the first woman member of that society. She was also the first woman to take a degree as civil engineer at Cornell University.

—After a strenuous debate on the 3d the lower house of the New York legislature, by a vote of 86 to 47, killed the bill providing for a recount of the votes at the mayoralty election last Fall (vol. viii, p. 857), when McClellan was declared elected as mayor of New York by a small plurality over Hearst.

—The Woman's Democratic Club of New York, Mrs. John S. Crosby president, celebrated Jefferson's birthday on the 2d with a dinner at the Hoffman House. Judge Parker and Mayor McClellan were unable to attend. The principal speakers were Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. Lease, John S. Crosby, Wm. H. Wood, and John Quincy Adams.

—A delegation of 120 labor leaders representing unions in New York and other eastern States, headed by former Mayor John C. Chase of Haverhill, Mass., have notified Governor Gooding of Idaho that they will accept his invitation to visit Orchard, whose alleged confession accuses Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone (vol. viii, p. 858) of the murder of former Governor Steunenberg.

—At the Yale-Harvard debate at New Haven on the 30th the Harvard team had the affirmative of the proposition that New York city should adopt municipal ownership of street railways, and won the debate. The Harvard team consisted of E. E. Elder, G. W. Hinkley, and A. P. Matthew; the Yale team of E. H. Hart, J. N. Pierce, and H. D. Smith. Melville E. Stone, Rev. R. S. McArthur, and Rev. James M. Buckley were the judges, and over 3,000 people were present.

## PRESS OPINIONS

### THE CHICAGO ELECTION.

Chicago Chronicle (Rep. and pro-franchise), April 4.—While regretting that any of these propositions carried, the Chronicle regards the great vote against the municipalization folly with keen satisfaction, as it is the only Chicago newspaper which has antagonized this delusion from the first.

Chicago Inter-Ocean (Rep. and pro-franchise), April 4.—The thing for the City Council to do now is to let the dead bury the dead, get down to business, make the best bargain possible for the city, settle the traction question as it is settled in other American cities, and thus give Chicago a transportation service worthy of the name.

Chicago Record-Herald (ind. and pro-franchise), April 4.—The ordinance won, and the way is now open for proceeding along the lines that have been indicated in the editorial columns of the Record-Herald.—(April 5.) After a consideration of Tuesday's traction votes it should be clear to the Mayor and the traction companies that they should at once proceed to negotiate contracts in harmony with the suggestion made by the Mayor in his Record-Herald interview.

Chicago Tribune (Rep. and pro-franchise), April 4.—When the ordinance which barely escaped defeat reaches the Supreme Court it will be declared null and void. The Mayor says he will have the ordinance tested at once. That is for the Council to say. The matter cannot easily be taken into the courts until it shall have taken some action looking to the issue of certificates. Even if the court should declare the ordinance valid, the Council is

under no obligation to issue the certificates it provides for. The new Council will be less friendly to the Mayor than the present one. . . . Aldermen studying yesterday's vote, and observing the ebbing tide of municipal ownership and operation sentiment, will set their course accordingly.

Chicago Daily News (ind. and pro-franchise), April 4.—The voters want a wise solution of the traction problem in order that they may have good service upon fair terms to themselves and to the city. But they do not demand persistently some particular solution. They desire their official representatives to act wisely and honestly and as free moral agents in solving the vexatious puzzle for the good of the community. They want immediate action as well. Approval of the \$75,000,000 ordinance settles nothing except that the way is opened for a lawsuit to test the validity of the ordinance. . . . The Mayor and the Council must get together on some plan which will be acceptable to both. The traction lines must be reconstructed and a unified system must be brought into existence. Fortunately, Mayor Dunne has declared in favor of a policy of reconstruction which furnishes hope of early and marked progress along the line of good service and full compensation to the city. The public desires to see him strike out with intelligent boldness in this direction, subordinating his municipal-ownership theories to constructive work under well-considered plans.

Chicago American (Dem. and M. O.), April 4.—Municipal ownership yesterday triumphed over boodles, over treachery and over villainy. The treachery was the work of Carter Harrison, Tom Carey, Solon and others of that gang of machine politicians who call themselves Democrats. Harrison protested his opposition to traction, but, at the eleventh hour in this fight, he came out for traction and for all the infamy that the traction crowd stands for. Carey remained quiet until the day before the election when he tried to throw the vicious vote which he controls into the arms of the traction thieves. Solon was barking for traction all the time. This is the crew that has charge of the machinery of the Democratic party in Chicago. . . . But municipal ownership is stronger than the treachery of Harrison—is stronger than boodles, and is stronger than the whole set of political pirates that set out to destroy it. The machinery of the Republican organization was against it yesterday; so was the machinery of the Democratic organization; money was against it and no money was for it; shrewd political machine management was against it. It won simply because the great mass of people in Chicago believe in it and are going to have it in spite of the treachery of the Harrisons, Solons and Careys—in spite of the boodles of Morgan and Powers and in spite of the villainy of a lot of men who are in politics in Chicago instead of being in jail, where they belong.

### MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP IN BUFFALO.

Buffalo Times (Dem.), March 30.—Former Congressman Baker delivered a very interesting address upon the methods of those who are continually seeking special privileges from the government. . . . In order to solve this problem the city must either have competition as proposed by the Chamber of Commerce or must have a municipal plant on broader lines than the one proposed. Municipal ownership is the only avenue of relief offered to the people after competition has been denied.

### YELLOW JOURNALISM.

Collier's Weekly (ind.), March 31.—Yellow has generally been applied to publications which, with excess of murders, and excess of lies, bend every energy to playing on the baser interests. Whoever applies it to the journalism of conscience is welcome to his phrase. To Mr. Addicks and Mr. Harriman, to Senators Hopkins, Aldrich, Depew, and Platt, such men as Folk, La Follette, Tom Johnson, Secretary Taft, and Mr. Roosevelt are very yellow men, indeed; and the leadership of these statesmen has been inseparable from the press. Never could their accomplishment have been so great had not the opposition of money and machines been counteracted by the strong and fighting organs of actual human needs and thoughts. Collier's hopes never to be yellow, in the sense of pandering to envy, hatred, or the jaded love of crime. It hopes always to put the man above the dollar, and

the fact before the dead or dying superstition. If this be yellow, make what you will of harping on that word. Speak, if you like, for privilege and moral death, against fairness, living justice, and the happiness of mankind. Taking their part in the effort to make democracy a synonym for true equality before the law, magazines and newspapers of sympathy and ideals will not be injured by an appellation that may bring comfort to empty hearts or shallow brains.

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#### BRYAN'S "SOCIALISM."

Chicago Chronicle (Rep.), April 4.—The man who teaches that government should "take over" every business in which he thinks competition is stifled is a teacher of socialism. And he is all the more dangerous because his plan is to advance toward the socialistic goal a step at a time and not startle people by proposing to go at once to the collective ownership and management of all capital and that slavery of the individual which would necessarily accompany the active management and direction of all branches of production. Mr. Bryan is one of the most dangerous of socialists because he pretends not to be one while he advocates practical socialism.

Springfield Republican (Ind.), March 29.—To those who seek the political bearings of the essay, it may be said at once that Mr. Bryan, in a modified yet broad sense, adheres to the side of individualism. . . . Yet even under this classification, Mr. Bryan would be called a radical, perhaps a dangerous radical, by those who hold that private monopoly is not to be condemned. There are two kinds of individualists—those to whom state interference is always abhorrent, especially when it attacks a private and exclusive "snap," and those who refuse to follow the principle when competition reaches the vanishing point. The individualist who has his private monopoly to defend is, of course, an individualist under false pretenses, and he who abandons the principle wherever it vanishes in monopolistic conditions, whether public or private, is the true and consistent one. For individualism minus competition is a self-centered fraud. Yet such is the present state of things that he who sustains the private monopolies that have grown up about us is commonly regarded as a conservative, while he who would socialize only where monopoly cannot be uprooted is often regarded as a "menace to society."

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## IN CONGRESS

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This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the official report of Congressional proceedings. It includes all matters of general interest, and closes with the last issue of the Record at hand upon going to press. Page references are to the pages of Vol. 40 of that publication.

Washington, Mar. 26-31.

#### Senate.

The railway-rate bill was under consideration on the 26th (p. 4371). Its consideration was continued on the 27th (p. 4450), 28th (p. 4484), and 29th (p. 4556), and on the last of these days the Senate adjourned to the 2d.

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#### House.

No business of general interest was done on the 26th. On the 27th, after the urgent deficiency bill had been considered (p. 4452) and passed (p. 4469), consideration of the legislative, etc., appropriation bill was resumed (p. 4469), and continued on the 28th (p. 4507), 29th (p. 4470), and 30th (p. 4606), the bill being passed on the last of these days (p. 4640). Only private bills were considered on the 31st, when adjournment was taken to the 1st.

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#### Record Notes.

Speech of Senator McCumber on railroad rates (p. 4537).

\* \* \*

"I thought you were coming home early to punish Willie for telling that lie?"

"I was, but I had to stop at the city hall and swear off my taxes."—Life.

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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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#### THE SOUL'S COUNTRY.

For The Public.

We who relax our grip on the king's lands  
And yield to each and all an equal share,  
Have still a larger claim to abdicate  
In the unbounded country of the soul.

To seize upon a strip of ancient truth  
With confidence that we possess the whole,  
Is to contest the privilege of those  
Who, seeking foothold in this shoreless realm,  
Pluck fruits of wisdom that serve equal use  
In the divine unfolding of the man.

Are we the lords and arbiters of thought?  
Hold we the only title in the law  
To the vast bounty of the upper world,  
That we should count the goods of others' dress?

In the soul's country each must take his own  
Unhindered by his brother's broader claim.  
There are no smothering walls of code or creed  
That shut the free soul in, but each has part  
And purpose in the universal plan.

Religions, politics, philosophies,  
Are named for men as if they held the right  
And title deed to whole estates of truth.  
Yet every soul must fashion his own house,  
And breathe the breath of life in liberty  
To think sincerely and to follow close  
The Light that shines in the immensity.

Brahmin or Christian with their thousand sects,  
Seeking in deserts for the One's One—  
Let them alone. The Father feedeth them,  
And only when they snatch each other's bread  
They violate the freedom which is law  
In the soul's country.

ANNIE L. MUZZEY.

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#### THE BISHOP SHOULD BE RELIEVED.

Alice Stone Blackwell in the Woman's Journal of Feb.

24, 1906.

Bishop Doane, at the meeting in Albany the other day of the "New York Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women," proposed that the association change its name to S. O. C. W.—Society Opposed to Cruelty to Women. Now let someone organize an S. O. C. B.—Society Opposed to Cruelty to Bishops—for the purpose of relieving Bishop Doane of the burden of the ballot. The reasons commonly given for denying a vote to women apply quite as strongly to Bishops. They are exempt from military service; they have more cares already than the average mother of a family; and their high and holy sphere is not in keeping with the filthy pool of politics. But imagine the wrath of Bishop Doane if anyone seriously sought to relieve him of his right to vote! He would rather a highwayman should relieve him of his watch and purse. And the Bishop professes to believe in the Golden Rule.

\* \* \*

#### ANARCHY ON THE OTHER SIDE.

On a street car in a capital city a business man said to a monopolist:

"Well, I see the labor unions are going into politics. They may make things interesting. They have great power."

"Yes," said the monopolist, "they have too much power. Force is the only thing they will respect,"

"But force is out of the question," said the business man, "that will not work in this country."

"Bah!" said the monopolist, "it worked in Colorado; it worked in Idaho."

"Then you are an anarchist," exclaimed the business man.

"Yes," answered the monopolist, "I am an anarchist on the other side."

Grattan declared in Parliament a century ago that the "treason of a minister against the liberties of the people was infinitely worse than the insurrection of the people against the minister."

Hunger talking revolution is bad enough; but Privilege defiant and blood-thirsty is infinitely worse. It was the stubbornness of the princes of the old regime, more than the Marats and the Robespierres, who were responsible for the Reign of Terror.

A man becomes a revolutionist when he sees no lawful means of protecting life and property. The surest check upon the growth of anarchy is that labor should find some plan of action through which the forward movement may find expression. If it is intelligently directed it may lead a successful fight upon Privilege. If badly led, disappointment and exasperation may result, and revolution come as with hurrying foot.

HERBERT S. BIGELOW.



**THE DESPOTISM OF THE POST OFFICE.**

Hon. J. W. Bailey, of Texas, in U. S. Senate, Feb. 21, 1906.

Mr. President, I doubt if there is a despotism on the earth to-day that holds any single man in its dominion, with the same power over the business of its citizens, as the United States vest in the Postmaster-General of this country. He can close any man's business by simply saying that in his opinion it is fraudulently conducted. A clerk, upon an insufficient examination, can order a man's mail discontinued, interrupt the current of his correspondence, destroy his standing in the business community, and the citizen is absolutely without access to the courts to right the wrong. His business can be destroyed, his reputation can be ruined, his profits can be diverted to his competitors; and yet he is powerless to appeal, except to the same officer under whose order he has suffered this great wrong.

Now, undoubtedly it is true that the Government of the United States ought not to allow its service to be employed by scoundrels and cheats, but this way of lodging in the hands of one man the power to destroy the business of many men is un-American. You deny the man whose business is thus assailed resort to the courts of this country. If you take his horse, even for a public purpose, without making him just compensation, he can call you to the bar of justice; but a single individual, responsible to nobody but his own conscience, can destroy a man's business, injure or ruin his good name, and drive him into poverty and disgrace, from a business that he has built up by his industry and sagacity, leaving him without a remedy in the courts.



**THE MAN WHO MET HIS CHARACTER.**

The Man was on his way to business. He felt very satisfied with himself. He still smiled at the recollection of the scene at the breakfast table. His wife had spoken to him with deference and the children had stared at him with awe.

During his walk the homage continued. Those who met him, bowed low and doffed their hats, which the Man returned with a slight nod of his great head.

Close to the great place of commerce and industry

which bore the name of the Man, a fearful, nondescript thing placed itself in the way.

"Get out of my way, you horrid object!" cried the Man indignantly.

"Oh, no," chuckled that other, "we're too closely related to part so quickly."

"You fool, what are you talking about?" growled the Man, threateningly. "How can I, with my stainless reputation—"

"That's it," grinned that other. "You're ashamed of me and hide me with your fraudulent reputation, but I'm your character, your true self."

But the Man declined to recognize himself and went on to his office, where a fawning servant opened the door wide for him without receiving a word of thanks.

Alone in the sanctum of his private office, the Man stepped to his desk, on which a mass of checks was awaiting his endorsement. A smile of satisfaction came to his sallow face on beholding the goodly pile before him. Triumphant he glanced from his window to the shop of a rival money-lender—and beheld his character, that horrible thing, crouching in a doorway.

It shocked the Man—for he went to church each Sunday.

"What an ugly beast I am," he murmured confessedly, to change immediately to a tone of relief, "but, thank heaven, I need not care, I have my stainless reputation."—Pearson's Magazine.



**WOMAN SUFFRAGE.**

**Full Suffrage.**

- 1869—Wyoming gave full suffrage to women.
- 1893—Colorado gave full suffrage to women.
- 1893—New Zealand gave full suffrage to women.
- 1895—South Australia gave full suffrage to women.
- 1896—Idaho gave full suffrage to women.
- 1896—Utah gave full suffrage to women.
- 1900—West Australia gave full parliamentary suffrage to women.
- 1902—Federated Australia gave full national suffrage to women.
- 1903—Tasmania gave full suffrage to women.

**Municipal Suffrage.**

- 1861—New Zealand gave municipal suffrage to women.
- 1867—New South Wales gave municipal suffrage to women.
- 1869—Victoria gave municipal suffrage to women.
- 1871—West Australia gave municipal suffrage to women.
- 1880—South Australia gave municipal suffrage to women.
- 1884—Ontario gave municipal suffrage to women.
- 1884—Tasmania gave municipal suffrage to women.
- 1887—Kansas gave municipal suffrage to women.
- 1887—Nova Scotia gave municipal suffrage to women.
- 1887—Manitoba gave municipal suffrage to women.
- 1888—British Columbia gave municipal suffrage to women.
- 1888—Northwest Territory gave municipal suffrage to women.
- 1901—Norway gave municipal suffrage to women.
- 1894—Iowa gave women a limited municipal suffrage.

**Municipal Suffrage to Widows and Single Women.**

- 1869—England gave municipal suffrage to widows and single women.
- 1881—Scotland gave municipal suffrage to widows and single women.
- 1886—New Brunswick gave municipal suffrage to widows and single women.

- 1886—Ontario gave municipal suffrage to widows and single women.  
 1889—Province of Quebec gave municipal suffrage to widows and single women.  
 1898—Ireland gave municipal and county suffrage to widows and single women.

#### School Suffrage.

- 1850—Ontario gave school suffrage to women.  
 1861—Kansas gave school suffrage to women.  
 1875—Michigan gave school suffrage to women.  
 1875—Minnesota gave school suffrage to women.  
 1876—Colorado gave school suffrage to women.  
 1877—New Zealand gave school suffrage to women.  
 1878—New Hampshire gave school suffrage to women.  
 1878—Oregon gave school suffrage to women.  
 1879—Massachusetts gave school suffrage to women.  
 1880—New York gave school suffrage to women.  
 1880—Vermont gave school suffrage to women.  
 1883—Nebraska gave school suffrage to women.  
 1885—Wisconsin gave school suffrage to women.  
 1886—Washington gave school suffrage to women.  
 1887—North Dakota gave school suffrage to women.  
 1887—South Dakota gave school suffrage to women.  
 1887—Montana gave school suffrage to women.  
 1887—Arizona gave school suffrage to women.  
 1887—New Jersey gave school suffrage to women.  
 1891—Illinois gave school suffrage to women.  
 1893—Connecticut gave school suffrage to women.  
 1894—Ohio gave school suffrage to women.  
 1838—Kentucky gave school suffrage to widows.  
 1898—Delaware gave school suffrage to tax-paying women.

#### Miscellaneous.

- 1888—England gave county suffrage to women.  
 1889—Scotland gave county suffrage to women.  
 1894—England granted parish and district suffrage to women.  
 1898—Ireland gave municipal and county suffrage to widows and single women.  
 1887—Montana gave tax-paying women the right to vote on all questions submitted to tax-payers.  
 1898—Louisiana gave all tax-paying women the right to vote on all questions submitted to tax-payers.  
 1898—Minnesota gave women the right to vote for library trustees.  
 1898—France gave women engaged in commerce the right to vote for judges of the tribunals of commerce.  
 1901—New York gave tax-paying women in all the towns and villages of the state the right to vote on questions of local taxation.  
 1902—New South Wales gave women state suffrage.  
 1903—Kansas gave women bond suffrage.—Chicago Teachers' Federation Bulletin.

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## OLIVER TWIST HAS ASKED FOR MORE.

### For The Public.

In the patois of Jamaica the term "buckra" signifies white fools. So says Mr. W. E. D. Scott, author of "The Story of a Bird Lover," a book in which he records the life history of a naturalist. The dictionary says that on the Calabar coast of Africa the term signifies a demon. "In the days of the colonial slave trade its African center was the region about the mouths of the rivers Calabar and Bonny, whither the captive Negroes were brought from great distances in the interior. \* \* \* Their sufferings on the route are dreadful; many succumb and are abandoned. Rohlf's informs us that 'any one who did

not know the way' by which the caravans pass 'would only have to follow the bones which lie right and left of the track.'"

So the Calabar Negro called the white man a demon—not knowing any better, but in the West Indies and in the southern United States it means "white man."

Time was when the black man, or "nigger" (this form was not originally opprobrious) appeared as a demon to the ignorant imagination of the white man. Troublesome children were rendered "good" by the frightful warning: "The black man'll git ye!" But the white man and the black have grown to know each other better with the passage of time, with the result that the terms by which they describe each other have undergone a radical change of significance. In either case the original term for fear has come to express contempt. In the sentimental race-venedetta the black man's "buckra" matches the white man's "nigger."

In the "Story of a Bird Lover" men and their social relations are only touched upon incidentally. For instance, the author quotes a fellow-passenger on the boat that was conveying his party to Jamaica as saying: "The privileges of a white man in Hayti are not numerous, but exemplary conduct on his part always enables him to overcome the social disadvantages attaching to his unfortunate color." He dismisses the subject with the final statement that "our own amusing, amazing, not to say humiliating experiences later on in an island whose black population is six hundred thousand and whose resident whites number less than fifteen thousand, made the story quite credible. We came to understand how a black man may feel in a white man's country." A philosophic and manly view of the case.

Again, the author remarks that "Mr. W—— finds life very dreary here because of the social privations. Relations with the blacks are trying; one must not treat them with too great indulgence as they interpret this to mean fear. Some years ago Mr. W—— was employed as attorney for a Quaker firm in Portland, and they, wishing to act with great humanity, had toasted bread and coffee served to the employes on a cotton plantation every morning, and in other ways treated them with great consideration. As a result, the Negroes, thinking their owners were trying to propitiate them, called their employers 'buckra,' white fools. The enterprise failed."

Those three words, "the enterprise failed," were the only comment of our author; which was quite appropriate, for he was not writing a treatise on sociology, but a story of bird life.

But are not those words, in conjunction with the circumstances on which they formed a comment, profoundly significant to the student of sociology?

A few years ago a great manufacturing concern in the state of Ohio deplored the inefficacy of an experiment similar in kind, the employes in this case being intelligent, educated, high-class white mechanics. I refer to the case of the National Cash Register Company, which tested, on a somewhat expensive scale, the value of paternalism toward its employes, and was greatly pained when those employes, later, struck, to enforce a demand for an increase in wages. Many newspapers were surprised at the apparent ingratitude of the workmen. It was too bad (they thought) that the workmen should be so rude as to look the gift-horse in the mouth. However, the "enterprise" failed; that is, if the "enterprise" was intended to forestall an ocular inspection of the horse's mouth. And if it was not so intended, why such a hubbub about that particular strike?

Human nature is alike the world over. The Jamaican Negro laborer and the Ohio white mechanic are like Oliver Twist—they both "want more." And

when the mechanic gets to be a rich capitalist he still wants more; and if he cannot get it in fair business rivalry, he is not always above securing it through railroad rebates, private car "blinds," "icing" charges, ship subsidies, etc. Indeed, they do say that he has been known to go to the extent of "influencing" legislatures to help him to more than he could otherwise get. And "the more he gets the more he wants." But no matter how much he gets—one million, two million, ten million, twenty, fifty, one hundred million dollars—the "cupidity" of the man who gets the least, and asks for more, surprises him; grieves him sorely!

Yes, give a Jamaican Negro laborer toast and coffee, and it's more than likely he'll be asking for sugar and cream.

Give a banker the right to issue bank notes to the face value of his government bonds, and he's sure to ask the privilege of issuing "asset currency" to boot!

Give the earth to a railroad magnate, and he'll demand that it be exempt from taxation—and he'll get pretty nearly what he asks for.

Still, it fairly stupefies Mr. Bumble when Oliver asks for "more"!

EDWARD HOWELL PUTNAM.

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**"MANIFEST DESTINY."**

For The Public.

"Benevolent assimilation"  
Is still at its grewsome task;  
Not once in its manifold efforts  
Has fallen the pious mask.

Nor even when torture of natives  
Was woven into a jest,  
Nor at capture of Aguinaldo  
Through cunning ruse of a guest.

Each act was extolled in its season,  
In a series of similar crimes  
On our history's page recorded,  
Of these most prosperous times.

Meanwhile we are gazing at Russia,  
Aghast at her frightful scenes,  
The blackest of which can but rival  
Our own in the Philippines.

Where "benevolent assimilation"  
With Machiavellian wiles  
Still remembers the first "plain duty"  
We owe to our stolen isles.

Where, under a "strenuous" ruler,  
But lately, for duty's sake,  
Six hundred more natives were lying  
Like grass in the mower's wake;

With their women and children mingled,  
Crushed into the common grave,  
Close clinging to husbands and fathers,  
Out of the question to save.

And the wholesale feat was accomplished  
At only a trifling cost;  
Of our brave American soldiers  
Only seventeen were lost.

The cheap-won, blood-dyed laurels  
Belong to General Wood;  
And our worshipful spoil-appraisers  
Still call his handiwork good.

We boast of our peace-loving rulers,  
And gains of one-sided war;  
Our long-sighted national conscience,  
Spying but evils afar.

We are used to the trick of glamor,  
To the windings of disguise,  
To the steering of wily pilots  
Through a mist of goodly lies.

D. H. INGHAM.

**THE MORO MASSACRE.**

Letter by Moorfield Storey, President of the Anti-Imperialist League.

The cable from Manila brings us the news of an exploit by which, in the words of the President, our soldiers "have upheld the honor of the American flag" and over which this civilized Christian nation is expected to rejoice. What is it?

The island of Jolo is one of the smaller Philippine islands. Its area by the last encyclopaedia is given at 333 square miles, and its population cannot be large, as the same authority gives the population of the whole Sulu archipelago, consisting of 188 islands, with a total area of 2,029 square miles, as 22,620. In a crater at the top of a steep mountain were gathered a body of Moros, or, as Gen. Wood in his official report says, the position was "defended by an invisible army of Moros." This place was attacked by our troops, and, to quote the official report, "all the defenders of the Moro stronghold were killed. Six hundred bodies were found on the field. \* \* \* The action resulted in the extinction of a band of outlaws."

What was their offense? Gen. Wood describes it by saying that they were men "who, recognizing no chief, had been raiding friendly Moros, and who, owing to their defiance of the American authorities, had stirred up a dangerous state of affairs."

A later unofficial report says that "the families of the Moros remained in the villages located in the center of the crater at the apex of the mountain, and the women and children mingled with the warriors during the battle to such an extent that it was impossible to discriminate, and many were killed in the fierce onslaught."

The severity of the resistance may be gathered from the fact that though the Moros were described as having an almost impregnable position, our forces lost only 18 killed and 52 wounded.

No prisoners were taken. No wounded remained alive when the conflict was over and 600 human beings were slain without mercy. Not even women and children in the villages were spared. Every American must regret deeply when any of our brave countrymen are killed or wounded, but that regret must be far greater when they are sent to their deaths for such work as this.

Suppose we had heard that the British had dealt thus with a Boer force, that the Turks had so attacked and slaughtered Armenians, that colored men had so massacred white men, or even that 600 song birds had been slaughtered for their plumage, would not our papers have been filled with protests and expressions of horror? They "recognized no chief and had been raiding friendly Moros." What was their side of the story? No man lives to tell it. They have been exterminated. Is it possible that this is all the greatest and freest nation in the world, as we like to believe ourselves, can do for a people over whom we insist on extending our benevolent sway?

This outrage unhappily is only one in a series. The bloody record of Philippine conquest tells of many battles where Filipinos were killed, but none were wounded and no prisoners were taken; of systematic torture, of villages destroyed by wholesale, of cruel reconcentrations, of brutality in every form. The responsibility for this cruel policy—certainly the responsibility for this last crime—is with the President and the secretary of war. If they had really desired to stop this work, they could have done it, but they have taken the opposite course. Save Gen. Smith, who was made a scapegoat when the public conscience was aroused by the horrors of Samar, no officer has been punished for cruelty. Bell, Waller, Howse and

others who were the immediate actors have been honored and promoted. Miles, Hunter and others who pleaded for humaner methods have been discredited and abused. Brutality has been rewarded, humanity has been punished. The President now congratulates Gen. Wood on his "brilliant feat of arms" and praises this wholesale murder. It is idle to claim that it was a battle. There is no body of men, women or children not one of whom will ask for mercy. In no desperate battle are losses so unequal.

The spirit which slaughters brown men in Jolo is the spirit which lynches black men in the South. When such crimes go unpunished, far more when the men who commit them are praised and rewarded, the youth of the country is taught an evil lesson. Race prejudice is strengthened and the love of justice, the cornerstone of free institutions, is weakened. When a man is lynched the community which tolerates the offense suffers more than the victim. When we honor brutality in our army we brutalize ourselves. Our colleges have failed if they have not taught a better civilization than this, our churches have failed if this is their Christianity.

These Moros were robbers, it is said. Alas, what are we? We who went as their allies and friends, who made a treaty with them to be kept while it suited our convenience and then repudiated, and who now have robbed them of their country, their freedom and finally of their lives. Have they ever injured us that we invade their little island and kill them in their homes? "They do not know how to govern themselves." That is our excuse, and how do we govern them? We have shown them how little we regard our agreements, and when they "stir up a dangerous state of affairs" we exterminate them. Thus we teach the Filipinos what American civilization means.

This nation cannot escape the inexorable law, which was stated by Emerson, "The dice of God are always loaded. \* \* \* Every crime is punished. \* \* \* Every wrong redressed in silence and certainty." Why must we persist in a policy which is repugnant to all our beliefs, which has lowered all our standards, which brings us no material profit, which has reduced the unhappy Filipinos to misery and which has placed upon our flag so many indelible stains of which the blood shed in the massacre of Jolo is the latest! Are we so low that we must applaud such deeds?

The responsibility for them in the last resort rests upon the American people. They cannot shift it to their servants unless they condemn such acts. Their silence is approval. Their approval makes them partners in the crime.

\* \* \*

## A HALF HOUR WITH OPIE READ.

The Distinguished Novelist Believes with Leo Tolstoy That Land Monopoly Is the "Great Iniquity."

Reported by J. L. Caldwell, for the Amarillo (Tex.) Herald, Dec. 1905.

On Sunday last, at the Amarillo hotel, I was granted an interview with Opie Read. But your space being limited—as well as my capacity for repeating his elegant English, it must suffice to submit only the substance in a crude way of the main points as follows:

"Mr. Opie Read, I suppose?"

"Yes, sir," kindly responded the great lecturer and novelist.

"Caldwell is my name—a newspaper man—now out of commission."

"Happy to meet you, be seated, have a cigar?"

"Thanks, and later on you may be made happy again—to part. You must understand at the start that I am a self-confessed crank, and as they are becoming so common, such men as yourself always meet them, and find no dearth of gratuitous suggestions."

"Oh, but remember, I am a student, seeking information, and must look to the cranks for the freshest. Proceed."

"You are from Ohio, I am told."

"Well, while being a native of Tennessee, I am mostly from Chicago, some from Ohio, more from New York, and a good deal from Philadelphia, with a smattering from San Francisco."

"Indeed! Following the wake of the recent political cyclone."

"Following the wake? No, sir, not in the wake but in the thing itself—and it was a waking up, too, you may be assured. But the political sky is clearer."

"Correct, Mr. Read, as to the political sky, but your time being precious, I must hurry to my theme. Of course you know of Tom L. Johnson, the mayor of Cleveland?"

"The mayor of Cleveland! Yes, and he has been mayor of Cleveland several terms, and getting more so every year. It is refreshing, too, to know of such a democratic Democrat running the Republican town that matured a Mark Hanna, and is now nursing a Rockefeller. Fact is there are lots of democratic Republicans in Ohio and Tom is corraling them. It was Tom's automobile hitched onto Paterson that pulled him into the governorship."

"Yes, Mr. Read, but Mayor Johnson is afflicted with a special hobby that is catching; has even hobbled me and I am here to diagnose you. Johnson is a single taxer."

"Give me your hand! Mr. Caldwell, I am glad of meeting you. Yes, sir. Mayor Johnson's democracy culminates in the excellence of the single tax."

"But Mr. Read, do you differ in no respect with him regarding the doctrine of equal free access to the earth?"

"Well, Opie Read isn't up to differ with Tom Johnson on that point, nor with the Prophet of San Francisco, nor with Tolstoy, nor with Paul either, for that matter."

"Then, Mr. Read, tell me why there is anybody who should not see the justice, the righteousness of the doctrine."

"Why, the reason is plain. It is according to nature for the physical eyes of puppies to be days opening; and so it is just as natural for the political eyes of men to open by degrees."

"Thank you, that reminds; the truth was so exemplified right here in Amarillo on Thanksgiving day. Ex-Governor Browning, one of the best men in all Texas, in his address on 'Reasons for Thanksgiving on Economic lines,' among other things in substance said: 'Why, you people in the Panhandle know that five years ago lands brought only one dollar an acre, and now the same cannot be got for less than ten or fifteen dollars, a marked evidence of prosperity.'

"Well, Judge Browning was right in its being prosperity for the land speculator, but that is a one-sided, jug-handled kind. The land dealer speculates on the necessity of the people until he gets all there is in it, then he silently folds his tent and as silently steals away to other and greener fields only to repeat his forestalling process. Else, holding more than he himself can use, he demands annual, aye, monthly,

tribute, from the producer. When Gov. Browning's eyes get open he will see that speculative enhancement of the price of land has 'prosperitized' your boys and girls out of the danger of ever getting homes and becoming independent citizens, as well as all danger of losing the 'incentive to labor,' and being bossed—as God in His infinite wisdom has ordained they should."

"Now, Mr. Read, I want to shake—both hands with you! You say poverty causes more sin and crime than all things else combined. Now tell me what is the cause of poverty? We must get to the bottom."

"Why, it is clearly the title deeds fencing off the land—making land so costly it cannot be had, or if had, cannot be used profitably."

"You say there is a greater evil than poverty causes. Tell what it is."

"That can be answered in a breath, but it fairly takes my breath to do so. Look at the houses of ill-fame! Who peoples them? Women. Women, the greatest blessing God has ever provided for the happiness and advancement of the world—they are the inmates of those houses—and sunk in defilement, loathsome, devilish, irretrievable depths! Why offend me, or mankind, or our God by denying that the robbing of those women of a possible home, is the fundamental cause."

"Mr. Read, I see you are pretty well equipped for the campaign that must soon inevitably follow."

"Equipped? There is more armor to be added. I am now playing to the galleries—catering to prevailing taste. People want it."

"Doing as the churches are, eh?"

"Well, for the time being, I can afford it; so can newspapers; there is a demand for such. But, Nicodemus like, I do come occasionally at night, as it were, and I want you to know there are thousands the world over doing the same. The single tax will wipe out the 'problems' by undermining monopoly; and it is the only thing on earth that will arrest socialism, the earthquake that folly in blindness is praying for to supplant the prevailing tornado—anything for a change! Watch the leaven in New Zealand, where already some 75 localities, under local option, raise all revenues from land values; same of the German colony in China. Why, over five hundred principal cities in England, Ireland and Scotland are committed by popular vote to the single tax, including the County Council of London; and the British House of Parliament stands now for it by 13 majority, and several cities in Germany have voted in the method. Yes, I have read Count Tolstoy's recent letter to the London Times, saying there can be no permanent peace for Russia save through Henry George's doctrine. It's coming, don't you mistake. Judge Browning, too, will come, as some of the brightest of your other lawyers have done. But regarding Thanksgiving, Mr. Caldwell, did you give thanks on Thanksgiving Day?"

"Not publicly. You see the program was filled with conservatives, as the very conservative churches are always careful to do. No Vine street church with a Bigelow in Amarillo. We radicals, however, are yet privileged to howl on the highways and byways, and we howl. We give thanks in the same places. Now, at discovering that Opie Read, the greatest American novelist, is heart and soul with us, we will bring out our calliope lungs, and awaken the welkin—round about."

The parting hand shake! Well, nothing equaled its heartiness since I separated with Henry George at Waco in 1887.

## A CHINAMAN ON AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN CHINA.

An Interview with Dr. F. F. Tong, Especially Reported for The Public.

Dr. Froman F. Tong, a member of the Department of Commercial Treaty Revision of China, is in this country as the special representative of that department, to study commercial relations between China and the United States, and to make recommendations. Dr. Tong has explained to me that the threatened boycott against American goods is not due alone to ill-treatment of Chinese arriving in the United States. He says the Americans in China, embracing both the mercantile class and the missionaries, are a potent factor in promoting outbreaks against foreigners.

Many thousands of the American and European merchants in China, says Dr. Tong, do the great bulk of their business on Chinese capital, their almost universal rule being to secure the services of a Chinese "Comprador." He is required to furnish security in the shape of money, to the extent of many times the amount of the capital invested by the foreign merchant, and this security money is used in conducting the business. The threatened boycott, if made effective, will ruin this class of merchants, and they are doing what they can to have the American government take some action to prevent disaster to their interests. Their arrogant assumption of superiority, and their treatment of the Chinese as an inferior race, has caused a dislike to grow into a hatred. It is not unusual, Dr. Tong remarked, for an aged Chinese man or woman, struggling under a heavy load, to be run down by the families of these merchants out driving, with no more consideration than if the person were a big burly dog that would not get out of the way.

The same spirit is manifested, according to Dr. Tong, by foreign missionaries in China. They hold themselves aloof, he says, from the people as if they were superior mortals, allowing the native missionaries to do the work among the people. The American missionaries direct the work, acting in the capacity of general overseers. Dr. Tong related several incidents illustrating this spirit of aloofness and superiority. Even the Chinese missionaries who have been educated in other countries are discriminated against by the foreign missionaries. An exceptionally bright one, who had been educated in America and was allowed the same salary as his denominational brethren, was the cause of a warm protest from the Americans. They wrote to the missionary board at home criticising the payment to this Chinaman of as high a compensation as they themselves were receiving. They thought they should have higher salaries as payment for the sacrifice they were making in leaving their native country. Dr. Tong intimated in relating this incident that he thought that the protesting missionaries, rather than making a sacrifice, were much better off in China than if they had remained in their own country. The fact is that the Chinese missionaries, according to Dr. Tong, do all the difficult work and receive scarcely any remuneration. Most of them when they die are heavily in debt, and the burden of paying the indebtedness devolves upon their children. The laws of China require children to pay the indebtedness of their father after his death.

Dr. Tong related an incident that occurred not long ago in China, as a sample of what causes uprisings against our missionaries. The Chinese were holding a religious festival contiguous to a Mission Station. The missionaries claimed that the Chinese pavilion

encroached on their premises, and demanded its immediate removal. While the Chinese were considering the matter and before they had time to take action, one of the missionary party entered the Chinese pavilion and carried away some of the paraphernalia used in religious ceremonies. To a Chinese this was the worst kind of sacrilege. A blow was struck, a quarrel ensued and a massacre followed.

The manner of the missionaries, says Dr. Tong, seems ludicrous to educated Chinamen. They approach them as though they considered them barbarians, much as they would go to an American Indian or an ignorant black man in Africa, forgetting that the Chinese have a philosophy preceding the Christian era thousands of years, and without a trace of barbarism in it.

These criticisms of our missionaries come with peculiar force when the source is considered. For Dr. Tong is himself a Christian, and the son of a Chinese Baptist clergyman, now pastor of a Baptist church in Canton, China. His father was in early life converted to Christianity, and consecrated himself to the ministry. For five years he was pastor of a Chinese Baptist church in Portland, Ore., and for fifteen years had charge of a church in San Francisco.

Dr. Tong studied Chinese in the Baptist Mission at Canton until he was nine years old. He then came to America and attended the Baptist Mission School in San Francisco, and then the public school, and later the Baptist College. He returned to China and entered the Imperial Medical College at Tien Tsin, graduating from there in 1900, a few months before the Boxer outbreak. He was on duty in the hospital at Tien Tsin during the Boxer trouble. The hospital was thrown open to the Red Cross Society, and in one day three hundred wounded men of the allied forces were brought into the hospital. Dr. Tong assisted in dressing their wounds. Subsequently he was assigned as medical adviser to the Chinese legation at Tokio, Japan. He remained there two years, and returned to fill an assignment to the Department of Commercial Treaty Revision, of which he is now the official representative to this country. Dr. Tong speaks English, without a trace of foreign accent, and as fluently as any American, and dresses in American costume. He is proud of the Orient. "If a nation," he says, "should have any right to be proud of its history China's certainly could be mentioned with pride. The period of barbarism which marked the history of most nations is not known to her. Before the birth of the once mighty nations of Egypt, Assyria and Babylon, China was an established nation. While the inhabitants of Europe were in savagery China was in the glory of civilization and was the home of inventions. Her cornerstone was laid five thousand years ago, and an uninterrupted history may be traced to two thousand years before the Christian era. Her early history shows that instead of her people being barbarians they were so simple minded that no prison was needed, but instead, a certain area of ground was marked out where offenders were confined without walls or fences. The entire land was government property, and was divided into tracts, each again divided into nine equal sections. Every male when of age would receive a section free. The only rent or tax required was the common service for the cultivation of the center section for the government by those who received the eight bordering ones.\* Peacefulness and contentment reigned over the

whole nation until about eighteen hundred years before Christ.

"The Emperor became tyrannical at this period, and an insurrection followed led by Wu Whuong, who succeeded the tyrant. He divided the country into many feudal dukedoms, each governed by a brother of his or a worthy kinsman of his predecessor. From this time culture and refinement were rapidly developed. A brother of Wu Whuong, the emperor, wrote the book of etiquette which the people of the present day still follow. It was at this period that Chinese inventors produced the mariner's compass, gun powder, cannon, paper, and the stone printing process. It was four centuries later, however, before wood type printing was invented.

"During the latter part of this dynasty, Confucius, the greatest of all philosophers, was born. He traveled the length and breadth of the land, teaching moral doctrines which were epitomized in, 'Do not unto others what you would not have others do unto you.' His teachings embraced the actions and rewards of this life. Of the future he claimed to know nothing. In reply to a question as to the future he replied: 'Not being able to learn all I should know of the present life, I dare not venture on the subject of the future.' Confucius lived to the age of seventy-two, and through all the centuries that have elapsed since his life of good works, his name and teachings have been revered by Chinese and Japanese alike.

"About the year 1300 B. C., Chan the Great subdued all the dukedoms, and proclaimed himself emperor, and formed the first autocratic government. The practice of idolatry was unknown in China until about 300 years B. C., when a party of Buddhist priests from India came to proclaim their religion. Prior to this it was the custom of the Emperor to enjoin the people to offer a burnt offering, consisting of a selected calf and the products of the field, after each harvest, and to pray for a blessing from the unseen Power in the heavens. China gave to her neighbors literature and protection, following the teaching of Confucius which said, 'When Heaven has bestowed on us strength, it is no merit that we have protected the weak.' Her neighbors were so grateful for the peace, literature, philosophy, and laws received from China, they regarded her as a heavenly established power, and gave her the title of 'Celestial Kingdom.'

"In the year 1625 the seclusion of many centuries was broken by a party of English traders arriving with a fleet laden with goods. Again in 1750 they came with 200 chests of opium; in 1796 with 4,000 chests, and in 1836, 20,000 chests. To Christian civilization is China indebted for this horrible scourge. Not heeding an appeal from the Chinese officials for other goods instead of the opium, the people were commanded in 1839 to throw the opium into the river, and 21,000 chests approximating three million pounds were thrown into the water. As a result China had to pay England \$21,000,000, concede the island of Hong Kong, and open five ports for foreign trade, the first treaty being signed in 1842. Under this treaty missionaries were sent to proclaim the gospel of Christ. With the Bible and opium China caught its first glimpse of Christianity.

"In 1896 two German Catholic priests were murdered in a riot in the province of Shang-tung. The murderers were punished by death, the local officials punished for not protecting the foreigners and a heavy indemnity paid to the families of the victims. Notwithstanding this reparation, Germany seized the territory of Kiao-Chow; Russia occupied Port Arthur; England took Kowtoon and Wei-hai-wei, and France helped herself to Kwong-Chow-Wan. The

\*For Dr. W. E. Macklin's interesting account of this system of land holding, see vol. viii. of *The Public*, page 533.

excuse made for these seizures was to maintain political equilibrium.

"China has minerals of every description equal to those of all Europe and Africa together, yet untouched. She is favored with every quality of climate and soil. Ex-Minister Wu Ting-fang is vice-president of the Board of Punishment, and is revising the penal code of China, conforming it to that of the western nations. A Board of Trade has been established in Peking to promote commerce. Government schools and colleges are being established throughout the entire Empire, with modern standards. A standing army of thirty thousand men in each of the twenty-four provinces is being recruited and drilled according to Japanese tactics. Besides the students at home, eight thousand young men are studying in Japan, five hundred in America, and nearly five thousand in Europe. Many of the harmful customs are disappearing rapidly, among which is the binding of women's feet. Female education is now not overlooked."

My interview with Dr. Tong came about through the courtesy of the Rev. Tung G. Mow, who is in charge of the Morning Star Mission, 17 Doyers street, in the Chinatown of New York. The Rev. Dr. Mow is a convert of Dr. Tong's father, and a strong bond of affection exists between them.

Dr. Tong had an interview recently with President Roosevelt and discussed the boycott with him.

D. S. LUTHER.

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He wears a fine, distinguished air  
As down the street he's walking,  
And all the busy folks give ear,  
Enraptured with his talking.

For in a tree the other day,  
Its little tall a bobbin',  
He saw, he gives his word for it—  
The very first spring robin.  
—Chas. R. Barnes, in New York Sun.

\*\*\*

In the Bavarian city of Munich the streets are cleaned by women. They are kept in such an immaculate condition that they are a constant source of surprise and delight to visitors. The work, after all, is in a way house cleaning on a large scale. No American wishes to see his womankind at work on the streets, but why would not a capable woman make a good superintendent of street cleaning? The public could depend upon it that the pavements and gutters would be kept clear of all defilement to the full extent of the means at her disposal. And the men under her would have to work at cleaning streets instead of working at politics.—Cleveland Leader.

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During one of the sessions of the late Parliament it is said that an influential constituent of a certain honorable member came up to town.

"I say," the constituent remarked confidentially, "I never see your name in The Times. Don't you ever make a speech?"

"Certainly," replied the member, who is a humorist in his way. "Look here. Here is a full report of the speech of the Prime Minister, and at the end you will notice, in brackets, 'Murmurs.' Well, I was the man who murmured."—Tit-Bits.

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"Why do you want to reform our spelling?"

"Because," answered Mr. Dustin Stax, "that's the only way I can be an out-and-out reformer without hitting some of my financial friends."—Washington Star.

## BOOKS

### SEVEN ON THE HIGHWAY:

*Seven on the Highway.* By Blanche Willis Howard.

Houghton, Mifflin and Co., Boston, \$1.25.

Each of the stories in this little book has a fine ideal of substantial character as contrasted with the shallow life. The story entitled "Thalatta" is a good illustration of this contrast of character which is to be found in almost every family and household. I do not believe that there is any circle of society, not even the gilded society of New York, which is entirely without this saving contrast. And this is the point in which I think the "House of Mirth" failed. I think Mrs. Wharton should have brought out a contrast. In the review of the book, which appeared in these columns (vol. viii, p. 736), the idea aimed at was to show that our modern realistic artists neglect, while showing the base, to show the contrast.

This idea points to the only disagreement we need have with the criticisms of our criticism of Mrs. Wharton's book. I take the liberty of quoting in full, one of these most interesting criticisms, by Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff. Mr. Woodruff writes as follows:

"The moral effect of 'The House of Mirth' is to strip the gilded society of New York of its glitter and apparent charm. Therefore, in my judgment, Mrs. Wharton's book has a distinct ethical purpose.

"While I am free to confess myself as more sympathetic with the older forms of literature in which romance plays so large, and properly so large, a part; and while I fully sympathize with Prof. Dillard's general contentions in his review, nevertheless, I differ with him in his application to Mrs. Wharton's book.

"Lily Bart's life is a tragic failure, and why? Because it lacks religion and principle. She is a 'Main-Chance' girl; and loses because she misses. There is no real sorrow for her, because she sinks from level to level through failure to play the game according to the rules.

"Young Rickman in 'The Divine Fire' touches the bottom of human loneliness and drinks the dregs of poverty—but he carries with him the respect and true sorrow and sympathy of the reader. Why? Because he is true to his ideals; true to his conception of right and duty. There is no such element in Lily's character or career.

"If there is anything attractive in the society which Lily frequents, it is not disclosed. It is one unending, unvarying gratification of false and futile desire. As a horrible example it is a great success and we have Mrs. Wharton's superb art to thank for making the story so vivid, so forceful, so effective. I do not believe that any one after reading will be filled with a desire to follow either Lily's or Rosedale's career."

This is all quite true; but Mrs. Wharton nowhere shows us the contrast of which I have spoken. There is no heaven, it is all hell. Now the stories at present under review do show us, as we see in life, a heaven as well as a hell—something for guidance and aspiration as well as something for disgust and avoidance. The author's insight into what makes strong, earnest character is one of the points that marks her stories above the ordinary grade. The appreciation of character, the portrayal of an ideal, the recognition that there is an earnest, happy life apart from, however mixed with the superficial materialism of society—are notes that are too much

absent from our modern fiction, and these notes are found in these stories. For this reason, as well as for their touch of genius, they make healthy reading and are to be commended.

We need not claim that the present little book, consisting of seven short stories, is a high work of genius; but it has the genuine touch which puts it quite out of the class of the ordinary collection of stories. Though it was published in 1897, it seems not to have enjoyed very wide reading. It came to my knowledge quite by accident. Several weeks ago the Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones preached a sermon prefaced by a story, translated, he said, by Blanche Willis Howard. It was the story of a young ragamuffin promising St. Peter to let him spin his top, if he would admit a certain count who had heavy scores of ostentatious charity against him. The count was permitted to enter on the one favorable score of having given the little fellow a humming top—the one he offered to let St. Peter spin—and taught him to manage it. In hunting up this story I found "Seven on the Highway." Each of the seven is a good story, well told and worth reading. They are the kind of stories that we need in practical America.

Best of all, the stories are nearly democratic. The motto of the book is taken from Edward Carpenter's "Towards Democracy"—"You try to set yourself apart from the vulgar. It is in vain. In that instant vulgarity attaches itself to you." This approach to democracy is a part of the genius of the little book. All genius is democratic, because genius by its very nature ignores adventitious distinctions. This little book almost ignores such distinctions, and only misses doing so by a sort of consciousness that it is doing so. There is just a little touch of sentiment that rings false. Take the first story for example, and we can easily see that Marigold-Michel's democratic life is far better, and fuller of fun and joy than any other course of life could have been for him. There is, therefore, an ancient false note in speaking of it as a great renunciation. The democratic reader will see that the author is almost emancipated, but not quite. Yet her stories go so far beyond the ordinary false standard of the best sort of life that they shine by comparison.

J. H. DILLARD.

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### PUBLIC UTILITIES AND POLITICS.

**Bossism and Monopoly.** By Thomas Carl Spelling, author of "Trusts and Monopolies," "Law of Private Corporations," "New Trial, Appellate Practice," etc. Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York. Price \$1.50 net. For sale by The Public Publishing Co., Chicago.

Mr. Spelling's experience as a successful law-book writer has served him well in this work, which is an excellent antidote to all that class of railroad literature of which Prof. Hugo R. Meyer's much exploited book on railroad rates, heretofore reviewed in these columns (vol. VIII, p. 737), is a type.

From a state of contentment with existing economic conditions, Mr. Spelling became convinced that dangers to republican institutions from trusts are imminent, and that "It is better to know the worst and to apply the remedy than to go straight to destruction under a delusion." He has therefore approached the problem without timidity. Regarding the steam railroads as the most oppressive of all trusts, and discerning a political partnership between them and party bosses, he unfolds the related facts voluminously and explains their bearing with painstaking care and lawyerlike and statesmanlike ability.

Mr. Spelling does not allow himself to be misled

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The Pioneer Organ of Anarchism,  
the article entitled

### A Nation Kneeling at the Cannon's Mouth.

by the Great Russian Novelist, Vladimir Korolenko,

Being an open letter to State Councillor Filonoff, who was assassinated shortly after its publication. Korolenko is now under indictment for inciting to the murder of Filonoff. This document is paralleled only by Zola's famous "J'accuse," and reveals as no cable dispatches can the tragic situation of the Russian people. Send 10 cents for a copy to

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by the assumption, which even Gov. La Follette has admitted, that railroads are entitled to a reasonable profit upon their actual investment. With great force he argues that it is no more the business of the government to insure railroad investments than any other investment. Reasonable rates, not reasonable profits, is the fundamental consideration. "If private ownership will not manage and operate the property except at a profit," he writes, "and if to insure a profit, a rate must be exacted which is unreasonable, it is the obvious duty of the government to do that which is necessary to provide the service at a reasonable rate, and to that end construct new plants with modern equipments or take over existing plants at their true value regardless of cost."

Practicable plans for financing government ownership are outlined, and as a legal problem, government ownership of railroads is advised as more easily possible than the legal regulation of trusts, which after all are mere results of railroad monopoly.

In expounding his subject, and in meeting legal, financial and economic objections, Mr. Spelling's work is as admirable as the judicial and patriotic spirit which dominates the book. To students of this burning question, whether they accept the author's conclusions or not, the book must prove of much value, both as a guide with reference to the law, and as a repository of well digested facts.



**A BLACK MAN'S PLEA.**

The Hindered Hand; or, The Reign of the Repressionist. By Sutton E. Griggs. Published by the Orion Publishing Company, Nashville, Tenn.

This story, by a Negro, gives his picture of the race problem in the South at the present time. The scene is presumably, Nashville. The interest of the story centers about the members of a white family newly arrived in the town, who, after becoming prominent, are discovered to be of Negro blood. Negroes are shown to suffer social and legal injustice, although many Southern white men are ready to be fair, and there is chaos of liberal opinion, North and South, among white and black. In the telling, the author falls into the revivalistic style. Murder, riot, outrage, thicken the plot which, however, is interrupted with pages of argument over proposed remedies. With the faults of most "problem" stories, this one nevertheless leaves the reader in no doubt of the author's sincerity. His familiarity with actual conditions is obvious. The motives he attributes and the remedies he proposes are questionable, but the book is a Negro's heartfelt plea for his race; and the black man's brief, as well as the white man's, must be read by every fair-minded judge.

A. L.



**THE LONDON "WHO'S WHO."**

Who's Who (British), 1906. The Annual Biographical Dictionary. Fifty-eighth year of issue. London: Adam and Charles Black; New York: The Macmillan Company.

The credit of having established a periodical dictionary of biography, on the lines subsequently adopted by "Who's Who in America," belongs to the British "Who's Who," which has held a useful as well as honorable place in London for upward of half a century. It is very much like the American publication in appearance and general plan (vol. viii, p. 828); and while, as might be expected, it is sprinkled with titles, it seems to cover almost as broad a field as to grades of celebrity as does the American book.

British affairs are becoming so familiar to American readers of magazines and newspapers that this

**A Review of a Book by the Grandson of the Author.**

A large number of the fables in "The Game of Life" appears to have been published in "Life," "The Outlook," and other comic and religious papers.

Those who are familiar with Hall's earlier book "Even as You and I" will find in some of the fables (such as "How the Doctors at Last Agreed") a forecast of the humor of his last work.

The humor of the earlier book, however, is grim and the pathos is perhaps too deep. It is therefore remarkable that an enterprising publisher contrived at the end of the nineteenth century to unload 2,000 copies on an unsuspecting public before it found that the book was loaded. It is not wonderful, however, that, thereafter, this first book was a dead failure from a financial point of view, and that the later one seem even to have surpassed it in that particular.

There is an old verse—

"The world of fools has such a store  
That he who would not see an ass  
Must shut his window, bolt his door  
And break his looking glass."

Now Hall's books are the looking glasses and the publisher of the first one understood that, because he put in the back of it a picture of the looking glass, which, as we learn from an old folder, the "New York Sun" irreverently described as "a Sixth avenue girl looking at herself in an Eighth avenue mirror."

All the same, though the author is long dead and almost forgotten, those who have dug up these fables say,—"It is curious that nobody to speak of has noticed these things. They are quite out of date now because we can hardly realize the follies he satirized, but as satire some of them could not have been done better."

It was in fact a change in the author's point of view that lit up the last book with that type of humor for which the "Ram's Horn" and other funny papers paid their good dollars a hundred years ago. He discovered that the world was as well made as it could have been made then, and that if it had not been so bad then we could not have made it so much better to-day. The potato only sprouts after it gets rotten.

The first book was intended to sweeten or conceal the dose of Tolstoy's treatise on life, and that purpose it served, though the sale of the second part published in a separate pamphlet, "Life, and Love and Death," showed that perhaps the medicine would have been better without the emulsion.

BOLTON HALL, 3rd.

We received the above, but we incline to think that the signature of "Bolton Hall, 3rd," must be a forgery, as that gentleman has not yet been born.

The District Attorney, however, refuses to take any action, on the ground that the statute of limitations will bar prosecution before the plaintiff can come into court—besides which, the District Attorney will be dead before he can clear his calendar now.

The books the reviewer is discussing are:

"The Game of Life," by Bolton Hall, \$1.00, postpaid.

"Even as You and I," by Bolton Hall, 50 cents, postpaid.

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publication is only less a necessity in the United States than in England itself. To be able to turn to a volume which is almost certain to contain a trustworthy outline biography of every person who has come into prominence within a year or two, is a convenience which those of us who have formed the habit of keeping "Who's Who in America" on our ready reference shelves, appreciate. But the habit is not completely formed until it has necessitated the placing of its British progenitor by the side of the American volume:

A peculiarity of the British book is its notes as to the recreations of the personages named. We are too raw, as yet, on this side of the globe, to acknowledge that we have the recreative habit. But our British cousins specify not only their clubs, a habit we have fully acquired, but their devotion to "riding," "driving," "cycling," "cricket," "shooting," "hunting," "golf," "tennis," and so on.

Although this is a British book, names of foreigners of international distinction are included, Roosevelt's and Bryan's being among the American names.

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## BOOKS RECEIVED

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The Gospel of Love. By the Rev. Edmund G. Moberly. Published by the Nunc Licet Press, Philadelphia. Price, \$1.00. To be reviewed.

Josiah Warren, the First American Anarchist. A Sociological Study by William Ballie. Published by Small, Maynard & Company, Boston. To be reviewed.

Marriage and Race Death. The Foundation of an Intelligent System of Marriage. By Morrison I. Swift. Published by The Morrison I. Swift Press, New York. Price, \$1.10. To be reviewed.

The Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of the Jews in the United States. Addresses delivered at Carnegie Hall, New York, on Thanksgiving Day, 1905, together with other selected addresses and proceedings. To be reviewed.

Irrigation in the United States. By Frederick Haynes Newell, hydraulic engineer and chief of the hydrographic branch of the United States Geological Survey, etc. Revised edition. Published by Thomas A. Crowell & Co., New York. Price, \$2.00 net. To be reviewed.

Municipal Ownership in Great Britain. By Hugo Richard Meyer, sometime assistant professor of political economy in the University of Chicago, author of "Government Regulation of Railway Rates." Published by the Macmillans, New York and London. Price, \$1.50 net. To be reviewed.

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## PAMPHLETS

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The address on "The Scientific Spirit," by Dr. Victor C. Alderson, president of the State School of Mines, at Golden, Colo., is a tribute to the value of specialization, in which emphasis is laid not upon the memorizing of facts but upon accuracy of perception and capacity to think.

✽

Municipal ownership in Great Britain is the leading subject of the Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor for January, the author being Frederic C. Howe, author of "The City the Hope of Democracy." Mr. Howe divides British opinion on this subject into three classes: A limited class that opposes all public ownership; the class which has been most influential in bringing about municipal ownership and would limit it to natural monopolies; and a class which favors municipal ownership without limitation. A comparison of enterprises municipally owned, with those privately owned, is interesting and instructive.



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# THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

3 Park Street, Boston, Mass.

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devoted to women's progress and  
especially to woman suffrage.  
Editors, Henry B. Blackwell and  
Alice Stone Blackwell. Three  
months on trial, 25 cents; per  
year, \$1.50.

Of the water supplies 1,045 are public and 251 private, of gas 256 are public and 454 private; of electricity 334 are public and 174 private, and of street railways 142 are public and 154 private.

✽

"Ancient Wisdom Explained" is the title of a series of pamphlets comprising a six months' correspondence course of twelve lessons, "linking the golden age of the past with the golden age of the future." Three have appeared. They are written by Estelle Bachman, and are published by the Bachman-Brokaw Publishing House, Sta. A, Pasadena, Cal., being sold at 25 cts. each. These lessons appear to be based on the writings of Isaac Newton Vail, author of "Earth's Annular System," "The Misread Record" (an explanation of the Deluge), and similar books. Mrs. Bachman has a facile, yet well condensed literary style which makes easy reading; but there is a lack of proof regarding unfamiliar propositions which subjects the lessons to fair criticism. As an example of unsupported assertions we quote: "We know from the records of 'blood rains' and 'dust showers,' in which many species of life have been found that are not known on earth, that life can exist in interplanetary space." Perceptive truth-seekers, however, do not like to be called upon for proofs and for logic; and it is to be admitted that perception sometimes reveals truths which ordinary reason fails to discover.

## PERIODICALS

The Golden Elk (Los Angeles), though a lodge organ, is peculiarly interesting regardless of its mission. Its moral horizon extends far beyond the tiled doorway and its quaint style lends emphasis to the sensible ideas it addresses to thoughtful men.

The Living Age of March 24 has an interesting note on Robert Burns. It goes to show that Burns took an interest in local affairs wherever he was, and that this interest was on the side of democratic education. The record is that he presented to the Dumfries Public Library a copy of De Lolme's "British Constitution," with the following inscription on the fly-leaf: "Robert Burns presents this book to the library, and begs they will take it as a creed of British liberty—until they find a better." The last clause is good. The poet knew that the creed of liberty would grow.—J. H. D.

The conflict between Austria and Hungary is as inevitable as that between Ireland and England. It is even more so, since the constitutional union in the former case is by no means so intimate as in the latter. A writer in the London Outlook states the facts in the case which are not generally known. "Hungary," he writes, "is an independent kingdom. For certain purposes and under certain conditions it has allied itself with the equally independent empire of Austria. It has done so by an act of sovereign will and without abdicating the smallest part of its sovereignty as an independent nation. Hungary is the oldest constitutional country on the continent of Europe."—J. H. D.

Now and then, in "letters from the people," the papers and magazines publish something which has a genuineness and a touch of eloquence which are rare in the regular fraternity of writers. Mr. Watson, with his own fine sense of sentiment and eloquence, must have been struck by a letter in the March number of his magazine. "I am an old and very poor man of 73," says this correspondent. "Had I the means I'd buy and send you George's 'Condition

## THE SHASTA DAISY.

Luther Burbank's pet flower, is the largest Daisy in the world. It is perennial and very hardy and is very readily propagated by division. It will bloom the first season and continue in bloom till hard frost comes. I will send well rooted plants by mail postpaid, one for 25 cents, two for 45 cents. Stamps taken.

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of Labor.' The letter is made up of simple statements like this, but the whole of it is so ingenuous and sincere that, poorly constructed though it be according to rules of rhetoric, it is worthy of a master in English.—J. H. D.

Mr. Charles Q. De France, in Watson's Magazine for March, has an article on the name of the new party which he thinks is inevitable, and he favors the word "radical." He mentions the suggestions made by a writer in The Public a year or so ago, namely, "isocrat," one who believes in equal rule, and "orthocrat," one who believes in good rule, but objects that these words are unusual and unfamiliar. The fact is that no better word for a popular party can be found than "democratic," and whether or not this old familiar name shall survive we may be sure that no academic discussion will determine the designation of a party. Such names are spontaneous, and come not with observation.—J. H. D.

"There is no experience for which man or woman may not in the end find cause to be thankful, provided it is experience not of stagnation but of life. Pain also no less than joy is a form of intense living." These are the closing words of an excellent article in the Edinburgh Review on "Novels with a Purpose." The author is right in seeing that a great novel must have a great purpose, and he is also right in seeing that the best of modern novels have taught intensesness and strenuousness. Whether this is the best teaching is another question. If one of our great novelists would write a book in praise of the quiet life, in praise of being rather than of doing, in praise of humble goodness rather than of problematic strenuousness, it would be interesting to see what its reception would be.—J. H. D.

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Published weekly by The Public Publishing Company, First National Bank Building, Chicago, Ill.

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