

# The Public

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## CONTENTS.

### EDITORIAL:

Bryan's Leadership .....	409
Campaign Funds .....	409
Senator Howe's Story .....	409
The Open Door to Wealth .....	410
Taxation in Illinois .....	410
Successful Municipal Ownership in Chicago.....	410
Labor Corpnership Societies in Great Britain (Scanlon) .....	410

### EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

Italy (Dillard) .....	412
Direct Legislation and a Constitutional Convention in Michigan (Orton) .....	413

### NEWS NARRATIVE:

Mayor Johnson's Contempt of Court.....	416
The Cleveland Traction Question .....	417
The Pan-American Conference .....	417
The Interparliamentary Union .....	418
In the Parliament of Great Britain.....	418
Russia Restive Under Autocracy.....	418
William J. Bryan Abroad.....	419
Mr. Bryan's Reception at New York.....	419
Bryan and National Politics.....	419
The Hearst Movement .....	420
Republican Politics in Iowa.....	421
Mayor Johnson's Greased Lightning.....	421
News Notes .....	421
Press Opinions .....	422

### RELATED THINGS:

Have Faith (Catlin) .....	423
Secretary Shaw's Bond Juggle.....	423
Growth of Democracy in Oregon (Cadman).....	424

### SERIAL:

The Confessions of a Monoplist (Howe) .....	425
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### BOOKS:

Scientific Philanthropy .....	430
Books Received .....	431
Pamphlets .....	431
Periodicals .....	431

### CARTOON:

"More Radical Than Ever" (Bengough).....	430
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## EDITORIAL

### Bryan's Leadership.

In his letter to Judge Thompson and his address to the Democrats of Illinois, published in our News Narrative this week, Bryan again confirms the confidence of his friends and demonstrates the worthiness of his leadership. To huckstering politicians, this is a new and puzzling kind of politics. They stand aghast at what they regard as the fatuity of Bryan in pointing his fin-

ger at a skillful political organizer of his own party, who is withal a wealthy monopolist, and with whom Bryan is not on hostile terms personally, and telling him that in official position in the party he discredits its declarations of principle, and that he must leave its national committee or Bryan himself will appeal to the Democratic voters of Illinois to oust him. But this is typical of Bryan. He is a Democrat who is democratic, a man who wishes to be right, and a leader who knows how to lead and dares to lead in the right way regardless of consequences to himself. Once more Bryan proves that his first consideration is not for himself but for his cause.

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### Campaign Funds.

It is gratifying to learn that the campaign committees of both political parties are suffering for want of funds. This is gratifying because it means that the plunderous financial interests that have been in the habit of bribing public officials through large campaign contributions have drawn in their purse strings. But unless the people now support their party organizations, these financiers will be stronger than ever with political managers. If legitimate funds cannot be obtained in small sums from the rank and file of the parties, then the politician who quietly collects them in large sums of beneficiaries of special privilege will again have an advantage, both within his party and without, over the honest politician who serves the public faithfully but at his own expense. In these circumstances we advise every democratic Democrat, rich or poor, who reads these lines to send one dollar (net), neither more nor less, to J. M. Griggs, chairman of the Democratic Congressional Committee, Munsey Building, Washington; and we hope that every Democratic editor who is working for genuine democracy will not only send his own dollar, but will pass the word along through the columns of his paper.

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### Senator Howe's Story.

In this issue of The Public we begin the publication of "The Confessions of a Monoplist," an original serial story of business in politics, by Senator Frederic C. Howe, of Cleveland, the author of "The City the Hope of Democracy." No subject could be more opportune for a capable writer of fiction, and few if any writers are as

well equipped with both political knowledge and literary skill as Mr. Howe. Only two chapters of this story have been published before. They appeared as independent short stories in *The World's Work*, where they attracted marked attention for their shrewd insight into political and economic conditions and their faithful and picturesque character drawing. The serial now appearing in these columns is as interesting throughout as were those two short chapters; and the picture of business and political conditions and leaders is vastly improved by the greater variety and complexity of political incidents and business experiences which it enables the author to introduce. "The Confessions of a Monopoliſt" invites the reader in charming fashion into the sanctum sanctorum of the business man to whom politics is a valuable commercial asset.

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#### The Open Door to Wealth.

When any bright young man can make \$30,000 in a few days at an outlay of a 2-cent postage stamp, what is the use of pitying the poor? Are they not poor because they lack business intelligence? Behold! One bright young man, Samuel Beverly, to be specific, put in a bid for \$5,800,000 Panama canal bonds. No deposit was required; he couldn't have made one if it had been required. So the bid cost him only a 2-cent postage stamp. A few days later he sold his bid for \$30,000 profit. As long as men are so dull as to overlook opportunities like this, is it not folly to pity them? Nobody is so poor that he can't get rich in a country like ours, if he has a little capital and the gumption and energy to use it wisely. Beverly's case proves it. Go to!

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#### Taxation in Illinois.

As Mr. Lawson Purdy of the New York tax commission points out with reference to Prof. Merriam's proposal that the Charter Convention of Chicago recommend a tax commission for Illinois, there is nothing of importance that such a commission could do so long as the Illinois Constitution forbids every departure from the antiquated, unfair and impracticable personal property tax. This tax increases the tax burdens of the farmer, the small business man, and the thrifty wage worker, and is dodged by the privileged rich; the richer the man, the easier and the more fully does he escape his share of personal taxes. But true as all this is, it does not minimize the importance of a tax commission for Illinois. Even if such a commission adjourned

within an hour, yet if it sat long enough to discover its own weakness under the present Constitution and to make the deplorable situation known, it would have served a most useful purpose.

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#### Successful Municipal Ownership in Chicago.

Critics of the municipal ownership movement will find still further food for reflection in the ninth annual report of the department of electricity of the city of Chicago, which has just been issued. From this report it appears that in consequence of owning and operating a city lighting plant for the last 18 years, Chicago has saved \$323,305 in comparison with what it would have been obliged to pay if it had procured all its public lighting from private corporations. This estimate of saving makes full allowance for interest on the plant, and the taxes that would have been received from private companies. The only item it omits is depreciation charges. The report estimates that the cost of operating the municipal plant last year, was \$352,547 less than the city would have had to pay a private corporation. This is especially worthy of consideration in view of the fact that one of the criticisms of the department is that it pays higher wages than are paid by private companies. Isn't it better for the city to pay high wages to workmen than to pay enormous profits to corporations that pay lower wages? Considered with reference to the expenditure per lamp, the cost to the city for its own plant during the past year is reported to have been \$52.63, whereas the amount it paid to the private company for lamps needed in excess of its own during the same year was \$103.

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#### LABOR CO-PARTNERSHIP SOCIETIES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

In the opinion of many shrewd economic thinkers the ultimate solution of the labor question will be some form of industrial co-operation which will break down the hard barriers between capital and labor; some arrangement not necessarily amounting to state socialism, but working rather along voluntary lines, which would attract the intelligent sympathy of both interests and make them see the true line of their common advantage. Of course not much has been done in this direction up to the present, especially in the United States, where the gigantic industrial factors act as if they believed that the interest of each lay in reducing the other to impotence. The idea of labor being a partner in production has

not appealed to the American laborer. He believes, rightly or wrongly, that he could get more advantage as the result of a successful strike than he could out of any profit-sharing plan that might be presented to him. And even though he might not be able, taking it all the year round, to increase the sum total of the wages paid to his trade, he often is able, through strike conditions, to work considerably less time for the same amount of wages; a result not to be despised from the militant labor standpoint. Many workers, however, belonging to the conservative element, are getting sick of strikes and are beginning to recognize the costly and somewhat demoralizing nature of the remedy which they have been employing and are not indisposed to listen to alternative schemes of a constructive rather than a destructive character.

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One of the most promising schemes of this kind is the labor co-partnership movement, as it is known in Great Britain. The Labor Co-Partnership Association, of which Mr. Henry Vivian, M. P., is secretary, aims at enlisting the interest of the worker in the profits of the firm employing him, by arranging for his participation in those profits after fair wages and other concessions have been conceded to him. Thus he has a permanent interest in the success of his employer's business.

A beginning is generally made by a simple profit-sharing concession on the part of the firm, after which comes in due time the accumulation of workmen's capital which is invested in the business, ultimately leading to joint-control of the business by having workmen's representatives serving on the directorate. In 1889 the London South Metropolitan Gas Company instituted a scheme on the above lines. Since that time the employes have received over \$1,500,000 in profits and over 5,000 of them have standing to their credit in the capital stock of the company the sum of \$1,320,000. In the year 1905 a sum of \$210,000 was divided amongst the workers as profit in addition to the wages usual in the trade. Out of a total of nine directors, three are chosen now by the workmen share-holders. In at least two other gas companies in London substantially similar schemes are in operation.

Another interesting profit-sharing experiment is that in use in the firm of Messrs. J. T. & T. Taylor, Limited, of Batley, Yorkshire. The distinctive feature of this scheme is that after paying the regular wages and 4½ per cent. dividend on capital, the balance of profit available for dis-

tribution is divided at the same rate per pound of wages as per pound of capital. This arrangement resulted, last year, in an extra dividend of 10 per cent. being paid both to the wage-earners and stockholders in addition to the regular wages and dividend above referred to.

While the direct participation of workmen's representatives in the directorate is encouraged in these co-partnership schemes, yet it has been found necessary to guard against the possibility of workmen with deficient managerial ability being chosen to act as directors. The difficulty is got over in some such way as this. The workmen individually do not take shares in the firm, but they put their little capital together and form an investment society, which invests its funds in the business. As members of this society they draw their share of the profits accruing to them, and through its officers they have a voice in the management. A plan of this kind has been for some time in operation in the building firm of Messrs. Foster, Sons & Co., of Padiham, Lancashire.

The above instances furnish some indication of what has been done by employers to meet the demands of workmen, and to identify the latter with the business interests of the firm. There are, however, other forms of co-partnership of a less complex character, where the workmen themselves supply the whole capital and manage the business. It is estimated that there are in Great Britain over 120 such organizations established and run successfully by workingmen. The profit is divided in pretty much the same way as above mentioned, interest is paid on capital at 4 or 5 per cent., and any surplus remaining is paid to the workmen as workmen. Sometimes this surplus or a portion of it is applied to provident or educational purposes.

Of course it is not every industry that admits of being handled and managed exclusively by workmen. As a general rule, those industries which are of a highly speculative character, or which require large capital for their development, are unsuited for this form of co-operation. It is best adapted for those businesses which do not demand high organizing ability, but do demand a fair share of skill and intelligence from the individual workman. Hence we find it successfully employed in boot and shoe-making, metal-working, building and wood-working, printing, etc.

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The above experiments are significant. They have an educational value which is not to be measured by the modest scale upon which they are at

present conducted. They show that when capitalists and workmen rise above the narrow prejudices of their class they can, with a little patience, solve those problems which generations of militant industrialism could not settle. They show to what extent workmen are at present capable of industrial co-operation, and tend to moderate the extravagant notions of those who hold that a co-operative commonwealth is within measurable distance of realization. If, as so many think, we are to reach that stage some day, we cannot do better in the meantime than study the working of the co-partnership system.

THOMAS SCANLON.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### ITALY.

Florence, July 12, 1906.—Mr. Howells has written nothing more delightful than the Florentine Mosaic in his little book on Tuscan Cities, which I bought yesterday, and could not put away until I had read the last of the 137 pages on Florence. When I had finished it I felt that I should like to tell him with what delight I had followed the charming touches with which he passes through the mazes of the streets and palaces and memories of Florence. No one who is not so good a democrat as he, could possibly appreciate with insight and proper intelligence the history of the Florentines; for Florence perhaps came nearer at one period to the point of realizing some approach to the democratic idea than had ever been known in history. "I was with them," he says, "all through that dim turmoil of wars, martyrdoms, pestilences, heroisms and treasons for a thousand years, feeling their increasing purpose of municipal freedom and hatred of one-man power." How Florence maintained her independence and established her democracy, and thus laid the foundation for her great achievements in letters and arts, is one of the greatest chapters in all history.

Another great chapter, one that has not yet been satisfactorily written, is the failure of the Florentine attempt. For it failed utterly—not indeed in the results upon the minds of her great producers whose works are a possession forever, but as a government it failed utterly. "What is certain," says Mr. Howells, "is that the one-man power, forboded and resisted from the first in Florence, was at last to possess itself of the fierce and jealous city." Here were a people, who for a thousand years had constantly before their minds the ideal of a government of the people by the people for the people, who during this time, in spite of all the strifes and treasons and cruelties, continued to advance in wealth, and even more in noble arts; and yet the collapse came.

Neither Mr. Howells nor any of the historians can be said to have given a satisfactory explanation. Mr. Howells says: "It appears that if there had been no foreign interference, the one-man power would never have been fastened on Florence." By which he seems to mean foreign interference of a

political nature, and this explanation is not satisfactory because the people would have been able to resist what external pressure there was, had not there come a change within themselves. Nor is it a satisfactory explanation to dismiss the fact, as some historians do, with the commonplace assertion that Florence is but another instance of the folly of the democratic experiment. The truest and deepest explanation seems to me to be implied in the sermons of Florence's great preacher and prophet, Savonarola.

From the year 1490 to 1498 Savonarola preached to the people of Florence such sermons as have rarely been heard in any place or age. By this time the new learning, the renaissance of the classical spirit, was spreading its influence far and wide. The council of Florence, called for the purpose of uniting the Eastern and Western branches of the church, had been held in 1439, and had brought to the city many Eastern ecclesiastics who were full of Greek literature and Greek philosophy. Cosimo de' Medici in this same century had established a new Platonic Academy, where men of light and leading met to spin anew the threads of sweet philosophy. And even before this time, by various means, the influence of classical learning, classical art, and classical philosophy had been gradually permeating and upsetting the unquestioning faith and fervor of medievalism. The powerful restraints of religion were gradually relaxing, and this relaxation began to show itself in the manners and morals of the people.

We are not speaking here of the advantages that came with the Renaissance, nor of its scientific importance, but of its inevitable effects upon religion and art. This effect was most keenly felt by Savonarola, and so, as an eloquent writer has expressed it, "in 1490 a spiritual tempest burst over the gay, pleasure-loving people of Florence, and the cry of faith raised by one mighty voice came to drown the intellectual speculations, the dilettante appreciations of philosophy and culture." We can see from his words how Savonarola feared the encroachments and influences of the "new" learning. "Have not Aristotle and Plato," he cries, "been preached to you from this pulpit? Worse than that, has not Ovid been quoted to you from here? Tell me, is this the place to preach Ovid to you, or to exhort you to the Christian life? O would that I might persuade you to turn away from earthly things and follow after things eternal."

May it not be that in this preaching of Savonarola, narrow though it may be accused of being, we may catch a glimpse of the ultimate cause of the decline of Florence's democratic strength? Is it not true that, in its ultimate effects, the paganism of the classical influence tended among the masses of the people to relax their moral nature and to promote an enervating sensuousness and love of pleasure? Savonarola's preaching could not check the inevitable trend of influences and events, and under the Medici, who sweetened their tyranny by the promotion of the fine arts, how surely can be traced in the great art productions of the period the struggle that ensued between soul and sense.

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It is the representation of this struggle that forms one of the supreme features of the ever-abiding and

world-famous interest that students of humanity and art find, as nowhere else, in these wonderful galleries of Florence. It is impossible to think of Florence without thinking of art. It was an essential part of the life of the people—not a thing for millionaires, aristocracy, and private galleries. The best of it was done in and for the churches where all men saw and felt it. In Santa Maria Novella there still hangs a picture of which the story is told that it created such enthusiasm that the whole people turned out and bore it in triumphal procession from the painter's shop to the church.

It is not easy for us to-day to understand such a scene, because for us art has become a thing apart. We think of it in connection with some rich man's collection or some art institute. It has not been so with these Florentines. Art was a part of their life; they loved to do beautiful things and to do all things beautifully. And this feeling must have been a common possession, for one is amazed at the number of great artists that have been born and done their work here; and these artists have been men of the people, sons of blacksmiths, tanners, and wool-dealers, not the products of schools. When one goes through these galleries in Florence and studies these greatest pictures that have ever been painted, he is looking at work that was done here by the men born and brought up in the next street, and this can be said of no other galleries in the world.

And when we say that these pictures, the product of the people of Florence, are the greatest that have ever been painted, it means that these men have expressed in most beautiful and impressive manner the highest thoughts and feelings and enthusiasms and aspirations of humanity. It means also to the student that they tell the history of the human spirit in its many struggles, and especially in its supreme struggle between the delights of the soul and the delights of the flesh. Nowhere else, as was suggested above, can this struggle, and the effort to conciliation between the two, be seen and studied so vividly as in the art galleries of Florence. One can follow from period to period the growing effect of the Renaissance, see the increase of knowledge, the truer anatomy, the more shapely form, the gradually more sensuous pose, and then a corresponding loss. "Sit," says Grant Allen, speaking of the later pictures in one of the halls of the Belle Arti, "sit in front of them and then look through the open door at the great Ghirlandajo, if you wish to measure the distance that separates the 15th from the later 16th and 17th centuries." The great problem of modern art is, with the new light of the new centuries, to get back to something of the spirit of that 15th century, and there are signs of promise.

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In almost every street of the old part of Florence the visitor finds some tablet set in the wall of an ancient building to tell its connection with a name that has become familiar in history, literature, or art. On Tuesday I went to the house where Dante was born in 1265, and then a few paces across a very small square to the little Church of San Martino, where he was married, not to Beatrice Portinari but to Gemma Donati. In the Church of Ognis-

santi you may see the round tablet that marks the grave of Amerigo Vespucci, and also his picture painted with many others in one of the sacred scenes along the wall. You may go to the Monastery of San Marco, and see Savonarola's cell and the cross that went with him wherever he preached, and in the square in front of the Signoria a busy life goes on over the bronze medallion that tells the spot where, on the 23d of May, 1498, "per iniqua sentenza," as the inscription reads, he was hanged and burned. You may go to the house of Michael Angelo, and near San Miniato you may stand on the fortifications which he built in 1529, and by the same car you may go on to the Torre del Gallo, which Galileo is said to have used as an observatory. These are but the beginning of the great associations which the visitor meets with in Florence; and to say a word about some of the beautiful and interesting buildings of Florence one would know where to begin—with Giotto's marvelous tower, as beautiful in every detail as it is in its completeness—but he would not know where to stop.

The people of Florence seem to have carried down, and on through time, into what are called the little things of life, something of the fine art spirit of their great history. The attentive visitor must be struck with what Mr. Howells nicely calls the "democracy of good looks which one sees in no other land," and with what he also mentions as the "union of grace with sympathy" which one finds here. What the people of our northern States observe in New Orleans, a universal courtesy, is found here even more generally. If you ask a Florentine where some place is, when he cannot tell you himself, he will go with you around the corner to somebody who can. If it be raining in torrents, with no prospect of clearing, and you ask him about the weather, he will predict you sunshine within the hour. It is impossible not to love Florence and the Florentines; and this afternoon, as I stood on the height by San Miniato and looked over the city, and down the lovely valley of the Arno, and across to the higher height of Fiesole, and around towards Milton's Vallombrosa, I could not but wonder why all the world did not migrate in a body and come to live in Florence.

J. H. DILLARD.

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## DIRECT LEGISLATION AND A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION IN MICHIGAN.

Grand Rapids, Mich., July 29.—The coming election of members of the legislature in this State will be exceptionally important; for the next legislature is to provide for a convention to revise the State Constitution. This was demanded by a large majority of the people, to whom the question was submitted at the election held April 2, 1906. The work of the convention will be submitted to the people for final adoption.

The present Constitution was adopted in 1850 and can be amended only by the concurrence of two-thirds of all the members in each house of the legislature, followed by the approval of the people at a general election. The demand is now made and will undoubtedly be vigorously urged, that the peo-

ple be given power to amend the Constitution without action by the legislature. It is proposed that amendments be submitted to a vote of the people on petition of 5 per cent. of the electors. Without doubt there will also be a strong demand for a provision establishing the initiative and referendum with reference to State legislation.

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In addition to the frequent use of the referendum in the submission of local measures to the electors of the locality affected, and the submission of constitutional amendments to the people of the State, Michigan has already made a beginning in the application of the principles of direct legislation. In June, 1905, the people of Grand Rapids, a city of about 100,000 inhabitants and the second in the State, obtained from the legislature a charter providing for the optional referendum on ordinances, franchise grants and contracts involving large amounts of money. A petition signed by 12 per cent. of the electors will compel the submission of any such measure to a vote of the people. The charter also contains the advisory initiative on charter amendments. On petition of 12 per cent. of the electors, any proposed charter amendment must be submitted to the people; and, if approved by a majority vote, it will be transmitted to the legislature with the official request of the city that it be made a part of the charter.

Under the optional referendum on ordinances, the action of the council has undoubtedly been influenced by the expected or threatened action of the people, and positive action has also been taken. In April, 1906, the council passed an ordinance to prevent the opening of theaters on Sunday. A referendum petition has been filed, demanding the submission of this ordinance to popular vote, and it will be voted on at the general election in November.

In September, 1905, the council granted to the Standard Oil Company certain special privileges with reference to maintaining its warehouses within the city limits. The ordinance granting these privileges had to do with the protection of the city against fire, and was special in its nature. The initial steps were taken to compel its submission to the people by means of the referendum. As a result the ordinance was reconsidered and the matter was referred to the proper committee for preparation of a general ordinance affecting all companies alike.

Under the advisory initiative on charter amendments the city has taken definite and decided action. At the election held April 2, 1906, three charter amendments were voted on and were carried by a majority of about three to one. They will be transmitted to the legislature which convenes in January, 1907, and, if approved, will become a part of the city charter. The first of these amendments provides for the advisory initiative on ordinances, so that 12 per cent. of the electors may petition for the submission of a proposed ordinance to popular vote. If it is approved by a majority of those voting, it will go to the council with the official request of the electors that it be enacted as an ordinance. On account of possible constitutional objections, it was thought best to make this advisory rather than

mandatory upon the council. The second of these amendments provides for the popular recall of elective officers, so that 25 per cent. of the electors of any ward, and 3,000 electors of the city, may petition for the recall of any elective officer and compel him to appeal to the people for a vote of confidence. At the special election held in consequence of such a petition, the incumbent may be retained in office or another may be elected in his place. The third of these amendments applies the recall principle to appointive city officers who have a term of office longer than one year.

The city of Grand Rapids has therefore obtained, what so many cities are now desperately in need of, the power to prevent the granting of improper franchises, the passage of undesirable ordinances and the making of improvident contracts by its common council. Submission to the people is mandatory on petition of 12 per cent. of the electors. The city of Detroit has for some years had a so-called rule of procedure adopted by its council, providing that franchise grants shall not become operative until opportunity has been given for the presenting of a referendum petition, and on the filing of such a petition the ordinance shall be submitted to the people. The rule of procedure is simply a self-imposed rule and may be abrogated by the council at any time; and in May, 1906, it was suspended for the purpose of allowing an amendment to the gas company's franchise to go into immediate effect without opportunity for submission to the people. The danger of relying on the protection of a mere rule of procedure, is apparent.

In addition to this mandatory referendum at the option of 12 per cent. of the electors, Grand Rapids is likely to have a much more complete application of the principles of direct rule by the people, through the advisory initiative on charter amendments. Besides the three charter amendments already described, which will become effective on approval by the legislature, a movement is on foot to submit to the people, at the coming November election, a charter amendment providing for the election of all municipal officers without reference to political parties. It is proposed to have a general primary election at which all electors may vote, the candidates to be placed on the ballot by petition and without reference to party affiliations. The two candidates standing the highest at the primary election for any office, will go on the ballot as candidates for that office at the ensuing city election.

The objection is sometimes made that, if the people be given power to adopt constitutional amendments, or enact statutes, or pass ordinances, on the petition of a certain number and without submission of these measures by a legislature or council, it may happen that measures will not be carefully prepared and that possibly two measures approved or enacted at the same time may be contradictory. With reference to careful preparation of measures thus submitted, persons familiar with the work of legislatures and councils may be inclined to doubt whether it would be possible to frame measures that would be more hastily and poorly drawn than many which are now found in books of statutes and ordinances. It seems likely that measures presented by

petition will, on the average, be drawn with greater care than those passed by official law-making bodies. They will be framed by the friends of the principles to be applied, who will have no motive to insert such provisions as are often placed in the acts of legislative bodies, designed to nullify or render them unconstitutional. Measures presented by petition will usually have the benefit of high legal talent and professional skill, working without haste and under more favorable surroundings than the average committee room; and they will, at least after some experience, be thoroughly discussed by a considerable number of people before being put in final form. All this has been true of the charter amendments already proposed and voted on by the people of Grand Rapids.

With reference to the possible adoption, at the same election, of measures dealing with the same subject matter and contradicting each other in their terms, it is certainly an easy matter to prevent any difficulty. It seems unlikely that measures adopted at the same time would be contradictory except in minor details. But however this may be, if it is provided that when two such measures are in any way contradictory, the one shall prevail which received the greater number of votes in its favor, there will be no confusion or uncertainty and the will of the people will be carried out.

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The proposition which is being urged in Michigan at the present time and which is similar to the existing provision in the Oregon Constitution, is to permit 5 per cent. of the electors to submit, by petition, a constitutional amendment to the people of the State. This is criticised on the ground that it allows too hasty action in changing the fundamental law. This method by which the people may vote on a constitutional amendment within a few months after the filing of a petition, is certainly in decided contrast with the usual method requiring an amendment to be passed by a two-thirds majority of both houses of the legislature, or to be passed by two successive legislatures, before submission to the people. In looking over the experience of the State and national governments during the last generation, the thoughtful student will discover that existing facilities for making necessary changes in constitutions and laws, have been insufficient to enable them to keep pace with the industrial and economic changes that have been so rapidly taking place. The real conservatives are those who would allow and provide for such changes in government as will preserve the old relations of citizens to each other. Those who would allow governmental forms to become petrified are among the radicals. They object to change in the forms of government, while industry and commerce are constantly changing and require corresponding changes in government to preserve just relations among citizens. For example, if we consider the national government, it will appear that the development of the system of railroad transportation has been so rapid and its transforming effects upon industry have been so radical, that corresponding changes in Constitution and laws, impeded by existing constitutional obstacles, have been utterly unable to keep pace. Fifty years ago

transportation was open to all citizens on fairly equal terms and industry was not oppressed by the private control of highways. The general sentiment and desire of the people soon demanded that the discriminations and extortions practiced by private owners of the public highways should be remedied by a change in the attitude and functions of government with reference to such highways. But the Constitution and laws have been irresponsible, or very slowly responsive, to the desires of the people; and as a consequence the most radical and dangerous changes have occurred in social and industrial relations among citizens and classes of citizens. What these changes are has been recently very much considered by the people of the nation, and the national law-making body has at last been driven to take a step in the control of public highways, which true conservatism would have taken forty years ago.

If we look at State affairs in Michigan, it becomes evident that here also the machinery for constitutional and legislative change has been unable to keep pace with economic and industrial changes. Until 1901 the railways and other quasi-public corporations were paying only a small fraction of their proportionate share of taxes, being assessed under an old rule imposing a small specific tax. Sentiment in favor of equal taxation, led by Governor Pingree, an impetuous and determined executive, had to roll up in a wave of mountain-like proportions before it could overwhelm the barrier existing in the State Senate—the eleven men who, out of thirty-two Senators, were sufficient to block all constitutional change. In like manner the State, after obtaining equal taxation of public service corporations, has been unable to secure any laws for the regulation of their charges, something which is most necessary in order to prevent the railroads, for example, from getting back by higher freight rates what they contribute in increased taxes. The people have long desired these conservative measures, which would act as a balance to the radical changes that have taken place in industry; but constitutional and legislative machinery has been irresponsible to their will.

Street railway and other local public service corporations have in the last generation secured a grip upon the people of our cities which they are utterly unable to shake off without new powers. Conservatism would grant the new powers to meet the new needs; but selfish radicalism insists on allowing the economic changes to go on, creating havoc in the relations between citizens, and denies the corrective powers necessary to preserve the old justice under new conditions. The city of Detroit has tried to get from several successive legislatures the power to deal with its street railway company on a fair and equal basis, but without success. Now, with its street railway franchises soon to expire, if the city is not soon given the power to provide itself with transportation facilities, it may be compelled either to suffer interruption of this necessary service or to grant a renewal of the franchises on terms dictated by the company. That the people of Detroit and the people of the State at large, would vote the necessary relief without hesitation, cannot be doubted;

but the machinery for constitutional and legislative readjustment does not respond to the people's will.

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It would seem to be proved, by the experience of Michigan as well as other States, that the method of amending a State constitution which ties the hands of the people until two-thirds of each branch of the legislature approves of the proposed change, is vicious in principle and has most dangerous consequences. Is there valid objection to allowing the people to adopt an amendment by majority vote after the filing of a petition for an amendment signed by a small percentage of the electors? In view of the experience of the past few decades, it would seem that the danger lies chiefly in interposing obstacles to needed changes, and that the people are not likely to take the trouble to adopt changes faster than they are needed. The great mass of the people are averse to change until its necessity has been demonstrated. Under the proposed plan a small minority can propose a change and bring it to a vote, but a majority must approve before it becomes effective. This affords the means of education, promotes serious and intelligent discussion, and gradually prepares the people for the making of real progress. The people can be trusted to withhold their approval from hasty and ill-considered proposals. Indeed, in the experience of Switzerland, where the system of direct action by the people has been applied most completely, it has been found that measures ultimately approved by the people often have to be voted on several times before such approval is given; and steps once taken seldom have to be retraced because found to be unwise. At any rate, it seems safer not to load down the safety valve with obstacles to constitutional change when the majority of the people are ready for the change; and it seems better to trust the people to correct whatever mistakes they may make. We may be sure that their mistakes will not be so unwise as the mistakes made under past methods, which have prevented any harmonious and prompt readjustment of our system of government to the rapid and radical changes in industrial conditions. A necessary change in government, too long deferred, may be of little use. Direct amendment of constitutions and direct making of laws by the people, will tend to bring reforms more seasonably and prevent their postponement until conditions become unendurable. How much more effective government control of railways would have been, if it had come before private control had allowed the building up of immense monopolies through special privileges in public highways. It is sometimes said in law that time is not "of the essence" of a contract. It may be said most emphatically that time is "of the essence" of remedial legislation.

JESSE F. ORTON.

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"Did he lose his money?"

"No; only his reputation."

"Ah, well, that's not so bad—he can buy that back."

—Chicago Examiner.

## NEWS NARRATIVE

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 Wednesday, August 1.

### Mayor Johnson's Contempt of Court.

The circumstances of Mayor Johnson's defiance of an injunction in connection with the traction controversy in Cleveland (p. 398) are now fully reported. The City Council had ordered the old traction company to move its track in Fulton Road, in order to permit the 3-cent fare company to lay a parallel track, and had directed the proper city officers to move it if the company should fail to do so within 30 days. After the lapse of 45 days, the company having ignored the order of the Council, Mayor Johnson and W. J. Springborn, the director of public service, set a body of men at the work of removal on the 24th at 7 in the morning. It was not until three-fourths of the half mile of track had been removed that the traction company was able to get and serve an injunction, but one was issued by Judge Ford and served before noon. Mayor Johnson and Mr. Springborn completed the work of removal, however, and in the afternoon were cited to show cause on the 26th before Judge Ford, why they should not be punished for contempt. Upon the return of the citation on the 26th, motions to quash the whole injunction proceeding were made, and the case was postponed to the 31st. Arguments were begun on that day but no result is yet announced. Meanwhile the 3-cent fare company is prohibited from further work in laying its tracks in Fulton Road.

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In an interview on the subject in the Cleveland Plain Dealer of the 26th, Mayor Johnson said:

On June 11, the City Council by resolution ordered the railway company to move its single track on Fulton road and directed the Board of Public Service to move the tracks unless the company complied within thirty days. That was six weeks ago, and the order has been utterly ignored by the company. The railway has been violating the law all this time, and has shown no inclination to obey the city's order, which was a perfectly reasonable and usual one. It is a strange situation when the city has no power to enforce its own laws and control its own streets. If we had the power of injunction there would be no delay; but the city has to wait the pleasure of the railway company in dealing with such matters, and when the city undertakes to assert its rights it is enjoined by the courts for doing so. There have been more than forty days during which the railway company has violated the laws of the city, and at any time during these weeks they might have interposed any legal objections to the city's doing the work itself. Apparently, the corporation thinks the city is bound to do its bidding in all things, but that the half a million people in this city have no rights at all in their own streets.

When a private individual defies the laws of the city, the police court enforces them. When the street railways are in contempt of the laws of the city, the only thing the city can do is to enforce its ordinances in the way we have done. It is the business of the executive department of the city to carry out the council's orders and enforce the laws even when they are violated by a corporation as big as the street railway company.

A more detailed statement by Mayor Johnson, made on the same day, was as follows as published on the 27th in the Toledo News-Bee:

I am glad that at last an issue has been made between the people of Cleveland and the Cleveland electric railways as to how far the courts can be abused and the laws insolently twisted to protect the arrogant policy of that company. In the case now in court, I believe that if there is contempt it is the railway and not the city officials which has committed it. The facts are so clear. It is all public record. Listen to the history of the case. The City Council granted the Cleveland Railway Company or its successors the right to operate a single track line in Fulton road. The general ordinances of the city—and they are the law—provide that a street railway must lay its tracks where the city may direct and that tracks must be moved from time to time as the city may order. The City Council then granted the Forest City Railway Company a franchise to lay a single track in this part of Fulton road. The Cleveland Electric Railway attacked that franchise, fought it out in the courts and the court declared that the Forest City Railway had the right to construct its tracks there. The City Council, in accordance with the court's finding, properly and in the usual and lawful way, then notified the Cleveland Electric Railway to move its tracks to one side and ordered the executive department of the city to move the track if the railroad failed to do so within 30 days. Formal notice was served upon the railroad company and was not even acknowledged. The 30 days elapsed and then fifteen more went by and the executive department of the city proceeded to carry out the command of the council, as its members are sworn to do. This was not done at night or by stealth, but in open day. The railroad company then committed a contempt of court and of the State by seeking to have the court repair the company's delay and laxity and disregard of law. The railroad company rushed into court with a lying petition, deceived the court, misstated the facts and conditions, and when the court suggested that the city be heard before an injunction be issued the railway further deceived and persuaded the court. But even the court refused to grant all the prayer of the railroad and only allowed a modified injunction. The railroad then had served upon the city officials a paper which showed nothing of what had been granted, and which, if it showed anything, misrepresented the court's decree. Then, in court the railroad's attorneys admitted the petition had not told the truth. Admitting that the court had been deceived and tricked, the railway declares that the honor of the court must be sustained. The attorney for the railroad then went on to deliberately misinform the court as to my attitude and Mr. Springborn's as to the court. He told the court that we "sneered at the court," which is false; he told the court that Mr. Springborn said: "I don't know whether I am enjoined from blowing my nose or from what," which was equally false. He repeated imaginary remarks and mythical attitudes, and then he talks about contempt of the court. In business such conduct is called buncoing; in law, pettifogging; and in plain every day English, lying. Contempt! Why, for years the courts of this county and State have been contemptuously used by this corporation. Contempt if I fail to comply with an unserved and fraudulently secured mandate! Or is it contempt to secure a court's order by fraud, deceit and chicanery?

**The Cleveland Traction Question.**

The counter proposals made to the Cleveland council by the old traction company and the 3-cent-fare company on the 23rd (p. 397), have been summarized by A. B. du Pont, general manager of the 3-cent-fare company. As published in the Cleveland Press of the 24th this summary is as follows:

Old Company.	Three-Cent Fare Company.
	<b>Cash Fares.</b>
Five cents.	Three cents.
	<b>Ticket Fares.</b>
Seven for 25 cents; 3 4-7 or 3.57 cents.	Three cents.
	<b>Transfers.</b>
Limited as at present and to lines to be built.	Universal, under constant council regulation.
	<b>Franchises.</b>
Irrevocable grants. Bargain to be made now for 25 years.	Revocable grants. Franchise to be terminated at any time.
	<b>Service.</b>
Promises, with no reserved right to the council to enforce.	Full power left to council to regulate at any time under penalty of revoking franchises.
	<b>Extensions.</b>
Promised, but at discretion of the company; profit on unlimited capitalization.	Promised and discretion left in the city; profit on actual cost only.
	<b>Subways and Elevated.</b>
Subways or elevateds some time, if a rate of fare can be agreed upon.	Subways and elevateds whenever council directs, and at a 3-cent fare.
	<b>Capitalization.</b>
\$150,000 per mille.	\$50,000 per mille.
	<b>Dividends and Profits.</b>
All that can be gotten on \$150,000 per mille.	Only 6 per cent. on actual money investment within \$50,000 per mille.
	<b>City Ownership.</b>
Prevented for at least 25 years.	Always possible if desired by the people and permitted by the legislature.
	<b>Title to the Streets.</b>
Passes absolutely for 25 years.	Remains absolutely in the city for all time.
	<b>Publicity.</b>
Books closed to the council, city and public.	Books kept open to all who may care to look.
	<b>Popular Vote.</b>
One vote to be binding for 25 years.	Submission to the people at any time.
	<b>Finality of Settlement.</b>
Makes a repetition of the present struggle continuous and inevitable.	Ends the struggle by eliminating private interests from this public service.
	<b>Growth in Net Earnings.</b>
All benefits reserved to the stockholders of the company.	All benefits reserved to the people of the city of Cleveland.
No action on these proposals has yet been taken by the Council.	

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**The Pan-American Conference.**

As reported last week (p. 395) the Conference of American Republics opened at Rio Janeiro on the 23rd. Elihu Root, Secretary of State of the United States, arrived on the 26th, and received an enthusiastic welcome. The dinner given in his honor on the 29th by the Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs,

Baron de Rio-Branco, is described as being of a magnificence unparalleled in Brazil. At the close of his speech at this dinner Mr. Root drank to the memory of James Monroe. At a special session of the Conference on the 31st, Mr. Root delivered a carefully prepared address on the value of popular self-government, and the relation of the United States to the other American republics, which seems to have made a most profound and satisfactory impression, and which is reported as having evoked tremendous enthusiasm. On the second point Mr. Root declared for the United States that—

We wish no victories but those of peace, no territory except our own, and no sovereignty except sovereignty over ourselves, which we deem independence. The smallest and weakest member of the family of nations is entitled to the respect of the greatest empire, and we deem the observance of that respect the chief guarantee of the weak against the oppression of the strong. We neither claim nor desire rights, privileges, nor powers we do not freely concede to every American republic. We wish to increase our prosperity, expand our trade, and grow in wealth and wisdom; but our conception of the true way to accomplish this is not to pull down others and profit by their ruin, but to help all our friends to common prosperity and to growth, that we may all become greater and stronger together.

Continuing, he closed with an exhortation to a common maintenance of the Monroe doctrine, as follows:

Within a few months for the first time the recognized possessors of every foot of soil on the American continent can be, and I hope will be, represented with acknowledged rights as equal sovereign states at the world's congress at The Hague. This will be the formal and final acceptance of the declaration that no part of the American continent is to be deemed subject to colonization. Let us pledge ourselves to aid each other in the full performance of the duty to humanity that this accepted declaration implies, so in time the weakest and most unfortunate of our republics may come to march with equal step with the stronger and more fortunate. Let us help each other to show that for all races of men the liberty for which we fought and labored is the twin sister of justice and peace. Let us unite in creating, maintaining, and making effective all American public opinion, whose power and influence may prevent international wrong and forever preserve our country from the burden of such armaments as are massed behind the frontiers of Europe.

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### The Interparliamentary Union.

The conference of the Interparliamentary Union in London closed its session on the 25th after adopting at the conclusion of long debate the following resolution:

The Interparliamentary Union, now assembled in London, expresses the view that the second Hague conference should:

1. By treaty define contraband of war as being restricted to arms, munitions of war and explosives.
2. Reassert and confirm the principle that neither a ship carrying contraband of war nor other goods aboard such ship not being contraband of war may be destroyed.
3. Affirm that even between belligerents private property should be as immune at sea as it is on land.

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### In the Parliament of Great Britain.

The much debated Education Bill (p. 30) which

has been so far the most important measure of the present Parliament, passed to its third reading in the House of Commons on the 30th, by a majority vote of 192. The Chicago Record-Herald thus sums up the main features of the bill:

From Jan. 1, 1908, all schools maintained by the local education authority must be "provided" schools. The local authority is given power to purchase or take on hire the existing schools. Teachers shall be appointed by the local authorities without any tests. All schools receiving rates (taxes) will give the same religious education. Religious instruction may be taught two mornings a week by arrangement with the local authority. Attendance will not be compulsory during religious instruction, and religious education will not be given by the ordinary staff. There will be a further grant of \$5,000,000 from the exchequer for the educational purpose of the bill.

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Another important subject under consideration in Parliament is the re-establishment of self-government in the Transvaal. In the peace agreement between the South African Republic (the Transvaal) and Great Britain, signed May 31, 1902, it was provided that civil government should be established in the colonies by the British as early as possible, and representative institutions leading to self-government should be introduced as soon as circumstances would permit (vol. v, 137). To finally fulfil these provisions the present Liberal ministry has proposed to grant a Constitution to the Transvaal, giving full manhood suffrage to English and Boers alike, with secret ballot; either the British or Dutch language to be used in the transaction of public business. The proposal has been received with great indignation by the Opposition, led by the late prime minister, Mr. Balfour, who declared in a speech on the 31st that the present time is too near the war for it to be expected that the Dutch could forget what they suffered. Lord Milner, the first British Governor of the Transvaal after the war (vol. v, 184), declared that he saw a tragedy behind the precipitancy of the government. And Mr. Rudyard Kipling has written a violent poem deploring the martyrdom of the British in the Transvaal.

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### Russia Restive under Autocracy.

At the despotic dissolution of her parliament (p. 393) Russia seemed stunned. On the one hand, Count Heyden, Prince Lvoff and H. Stakovich, the three members of parliament who refused to sign the address to the country issued by the fugitive parliament at Viborg just before its final dispersal, sent out a separate address, appealing to the people to submit to the dissolution, and to prepare for the election of members to the new parliament called for next March. On the other hand, the perpetual executive committee elected by the Douma before it separated, "to carry on the work of liberation" (p. 393), is reported as holding secret sessions. The members of the Douma who signed the Viborg manifesto have been proceeded against by the public prosecutor for "attempts to overthrow the existing government." These prosecutions are believed to be intended to prevent the re-election of these members to the new Douma, rather than to procure actual convictions for high treason. Reports come from Yaroslav and even from St. Petersburg, of the setting

up and printing of thousands of copies of the Viborg manifesto (p. 394) under the coercion of bands of armed men. From Kharkov comes report of the seizure by the authorities of 400 pounds' weight of the manifesto, which had been shipped into the town. At Moscow dozens of persons were arrested while attempting to placard the walls of the city with it. And it is said that in spite of the greatest efforts on the part of the administration, it already has obtained an enormous circulation in the provinces. Other addresses, mostly of a revolutionary character, from the many labor, social and political organizations, are being scattered far and wide.

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In the meantime, in spite of optimistic statements from the government, probably traceable to consternation over the fall of Russian securities, sporadic acts of violence multiplied—burning of estates, robbing of trains, mutinies among the soldiers, and many other forms of terrorism—until the 31st, when, perhaps prematurely, a mutiny became revolution. It is believed that a gigantic conspiracy has been developing for the simultaneous capture by revolutionists of the three great sea fortresses of Russia—Kronstadt, defending St. Petersburg; Sevastapol, on the Black Sea; and Sveaborg, defending Helsingfors, the capital of Finland. After terrific fighting for a night and a day, between mutineers and loyal troops, Sveaborg was reported at midnight of the 31st to be in the hands of the revolutionists. On the 1st all telegraph and telephone wires between Kronstadt and St. Petersburg were reported severed, and a naval mutiny at Kronstadt was rumored. A general strike was declared at Helsingfors, and the greatest excitement is reported as prevailing in St. Petersburg.

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#### William J. Bryan Abroad.

What is reported by the cable dispatches as a remarkable demonstration was given to William J. Bryan in London on the 28th by the Irish Club. Many leaders of the Irish movement participated in the demonstration, which was extended to Mrs. Bryan also. The address of welcome was delivered by T. P. O'Connor, and John Redmond responded to Mr. Bryan's reply. Mr. Bryan had already called upon King Edward at the latter's request, made through the American ambassador, Mr. Reid, who accompanied Mr. Bryan to the interview. In the evening after the Irish reception, Mr. Bryan and his family, accompanied by Mr. Millard F. Dunlap of Illinois and his family, left London for a trip through Holland, Switzerland, Italy and Spain. At Gibraltar they are to be joined by Mr. and Mrs. Edgar L. Masters of Chicago, and from there the whole party is to sail for New York on August 20.

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#### Mr. Bryan's Reception at New York.

Subscriptions for the reception of Mr. Bryan at New York upon his arrival from Europe are being solicited in amounts of from \$1 to \$50. This regulation was made at the request of Mr. Bryan. The railroads have agreed to give a half fare rate, plus \$2, for round trip tickets to New York from all over the country on the occasion of the Bryan

reception. According to present expectations Mr. Bryan will arrive in New York Bay on the 29th.

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Plans for the reception were completed on the 30th of July, and the program announced. Mr. Bryan is to be met at the Battery in the afternoon of August 30th by the members of the reception committee, of which Governor Folk of Missouri is chairman, and be personally accompanied by Governor Folk and Mayor Johnson of Cleveland from the Battery to the Victoria Hotel, the headquarters of the committee, where he is to meet and dine with Democratic leaders from various States. In the evening he will be escorted to Madison Square Garden, where Governor Folk will call the meeting to order and introduce Mayor Johnson, who will preside. Augustus Thomas has been chosen to deliver the address of welcome on behalf of the Commercial Travellers' Anti-Trust League, under whose auspices the reception has been arranged. The address of the evening will then be delivered by Mr. Bryan. It is understood that he will outline his idea of the issue upon which the next national Democratic campaign should be formed.

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#### Bryan and National Politics.

Mr. Bryan has proved that he was right when he said if anybody supposes he has changed his principles and become a conservative in the undemocratic sense, "a surprise awaits them." Finding that Roger Sullivan of Chicago, head of the Chicago gas ring and a notorious manipulator of Democratic politics, who became national committeeman from Illinois two years ago through fraudulent manipulation of the Democratic State convention (vol. vii, pp. 170, 177, 230, 253), was "getting into the Bryan band wagon," as the phrase goes, Mr. Bryan wrote from Scotland the following letter to his friend Judge Owen P. Thompson, a leading democratic Democrat of Illinois:

My Dear Judge: I am going to intrust you with a message to Roger Sullivan. If I were at home I would see him myself, but as I do not arrive until after your State convention and as I think action ought to be taken at once, I will send the message by you. Please say to Mr. Sullivan that he has expressed a desire for harmony and that I assume that he means to help the party to the extent of his ability, but there is only one way in which he can promote harmony and that is by resigning as national committeeman. We are approaching a national campaign and our party's chances depend upon its ability to convince the public of its good intentions. Mr. Sullivan's presence on the committee contradicts all that we can say in the party's behalf. His corporate connections would harm the party far beyond his power to aid the organization, but this could be left for some future convention to deal with if he were actually the choice of the Democrats of Illinois. The fact, however, that he holds his office by a fraud and against the express wishes of a majority of the delegates to the State convention makes it impossible for honest Democrats to associate with him as a member of the committee. If we do not maintain the right of the majority to control party policy and select the party's representatives, for what can we contend? The fact that Mr. Sullivan has spoken kindly of me enables me to discuss the matter without risk of having my actions attributed to per-

sonal malice, but he ought to see that I would be unworthy of any one's confidence if I failed to protest against his continuance upon the committee, either to conciliate him or out of fear of his hostility. There is room in the party for all who honestly favor Democratic principles, but the leadership must be in the hands of those who have the confidence of the party and whose prominence will strengthen the party. If he will at once send his resignation to the chairman of the national committee and make the matter public, he will show his desire to help the party and will do much to restore himself in the opinion of those who felt outraged by the last State convention. If he refuses to resign and thus puts his ambition or his business before the party's success, the sooner he is ejected from the committee the better. It ought to be made an issue in the State convention, if necessary, for the Democracy of Illinois cannot succeed under such leadership and ought not to permit itself to be misrepresented on the national committee.

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Accompanying the foregoing was a second letter. It requested Judge Thompson, in case of Mr. Sullivan's refusal to withdraw from the committee, to publish the following message to the Democrats of Illinois:

You live in the largest of the Western States and must play an important part in the work which lies before the Democratic party. You can do little to advance Democratic principles so long as you permit the most fundamental of those principles—namely, the right of the majority to rule—to be violated. Mr. Sullivan was selected as national committeeman by delegates who were not chosen by the convention. As he was one of the leaders in the high crimes and misdemeanors committed against the Democracy of Illinois his refusal to resign cannot be attributed to ignorance of the facts, but is proof positive of his unfitness for the place. We are about to enter upon a campaign in which our party will appeal to the people and ask the confidence of the nation. I do not know how you, the Democrats of Illinois, could better open that campaign in your State than by demanding his resignation. Let it be known that you insist on honest politics within the party and then you will be believed when you plead for honesty in the government. I am sorry that your convention comes before my return, for I would be glad to come to Illinois and give you any assistance within my power. I have avoided taking part in personal contests within the party, but whenever any one calling himself a Democrat assaults the right of the party to govern itself, I do not hesitate to take part in the fight. I had hoped that he would resign in the interests of harmony, but his refusal leaves you no choice but to repudiate him or abandon Democratic principles. With best wishes for your success, I am, truly yours, W. J. BRYAN.

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Immediately upon the publication of the foregoing letter from Mr. Bryan and his address to the people of Illinois, Mr. Sullivan published a lengthy statement in which he attributed Mr. Bryan's action to the machinations of Millard F. Dunlap and Judge Thompson, and positively refused to comply with Mr. Bryan's request. He attributed the request to prejudice against him merely because he is an Irishman, saying:

The fact that my name happens to be Sullivan is by far a more potent reason to them for attempting to discredit me than any that they have or that can be urged. Their objection to me would be the same if the name I bore was that of Montgomery, Barry, Sheridan, Altgeld, Schurz, Kosciusko or Pulaski. The stirring poetry of

"Kelly and Burke and Shea" would never have found an author if all men of America were kin in sentiment to Millard Fillmore Dunlap. The real reasons for their opposition to me I believe Mr. Bryan to be ignorant of. He has allowed himself to be deceived, as have others from whom they have obtained money and favors by their deceitful suavity, by their hypocritical pretenses to political piety, by their oft repeated but never proved slanders, and by the other questionable methods which they have never failed to employ when to do so would serve their ends.

As to his being upon the national committee through fraud, Mr. Sullivan says that Mr. Bryan was inveigled by Mr. Dunlap and his associates into pleading their cause at the national convention two years ago. He pleaded for them, says Mr. Sullivan—

before a subcommittee of the Democratic national committee and the committee decided against them. He renewed his efforts in their behalf before the Democratic national committee and again lost his case. A committee on credentials, composed of Democrats representing every State and Territory in the Union, next declared the men whom Mr. Bryan now champions to be liars and villains. Finally the highest tribunal to which an appeal could be taken heard Mr. Bryan's plea for Dunlap and Thompson and the result was as before. Mr. Bryan says I hold my seat on the Democratic national committee by fraud. That seat came to me by virtue of a vote of 49 to 5 in my favor. It is one to which a Democratic national convention declared I was entitled to. If I hold my seat by fraud then Mr. Bryan must accuse Senator Tillman of South Carolina, Senator Culberson of Texas, Senator Dubois of Idaho, John Sharp Williams of Mississippi, Clarke Howell of Georgia, the Democratic leaders in the "solid South," the majority of those in the East, the North and the West, of compounding a felony. If I am unfit to associate with "honest Democrats," as Mr. Bryan says, then the men who stood by me are also, and surely Mr. Bryan cannot accept a nomination which must come, if come it does, from the men who decided that I was fit, and that Dunlap, Thompson and the Jacksonville cabal were not only unfit, but had lied, slandered and vilified, not myself alone, but the majority of the delegates who sat in the Springfield convention of 1904 and by virtue of whose suffrage I hold my office.

Referring to his corporate connections, upon which he says that "Mr. Bryan seems to place so much importance," Mr. Sullivan explains:

The only corporation with which I am connected is the Ogden Gas Company, of which I have the honor of being president. The records of the city of Chicago, those of the State of Illinois, and reference to the public press will show that the only offense which this corporation ever committed was to benefit the people of Chicago. It came into existence because of a demand for cheaper gas in this city. It gave to the people of the community for 90 cents what they were then paying \$1.10 for. In addition it agreed to pay and did pay 3½ per cent. compensation on its gross receipts to the city. It was when it started the only public service corporation in the city of Chicago or the State of Illinois that paid anything like such compensation. It is true that through this corporation I have earned money. Like every other dollar that I have to-day or ever had, they are honest dollars, honest as any Mr. Bryan ever made. They represent a legitimate return upon a legitimate investment.

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#### The Hearst Movement.

Dispatches of the 31st from New York indicate that the Independence League of that State, which was to have held a State convention in July (p. 346), as was understood early in the summer, has now

called its convention for the 11th of September, to be held at Carnegie Hall, New York City. These dispatches explain that the decision of Mr. Hearst's supporters was arrived at on the 31st after a meeting of the Democratic State committee had voted against organizing the Democratic State convention in such manner as to insure Mr. Hearst's nomination for Governor. When the State committee of the Independence League, in consequence of this action of the Democratic State committee, called an independent State convention for the 11th of September, as stated above, it issued an address declaring the paramount issues of the coming State campaign to be as follows:

A fair vote and an honest count. A governor who shall be the servant of the people and not of the corporations. A legislature acting for the public and not for the fleecers of the public. An attorney general who will bring the laws to bear upon the rich and powerful thieves. A judiciary learned in the law and impartial in its interpretations of statutes, fearing the power of wealth no more than unintelligible popular clamor. Honest government in the people's interest, with equal rights for all and privileges to none.

Having adopted the above address and fixed the date for the convention of the League, the committee wired the following message to William Randolph Hearst, who is now in California:

We pledge you our earnest and loyal support and insist that you shall serve the people as their candidate for governor in the coming contest.

For temporary chairman of the State convention the committee chose Max Ihmsen, who has been Mr. Hearst's political manager for three years or more.

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#### Republican Politics in Iowa.

After a long contest at the Republican primaries and local conventions throughout Iowa, Governor Cummins came to the convention at Des Moines on the 1st with 945 delegates out of 1,740. In the interest of his rival, George D. Perkins, the "stand pat" candidate, the seats of 60 of the Cummins delegates were contested, bona fide as the reports state. But even if all these contests had been decided against Cummins, he would nevertheless have had a clear majority of 65. In addition, however, to the bona fide contests, there were reported to have been 206 trivial ones. On the basis of these, the anti-Cummins faction proposed by way of compromise that the State central committee of the party, a "stand pat" body, organize the convention; but Governor Cummins refused to acquiesce in this, giving notice that he would not arbitrate away the seats of fairly elected delegates. A split in the party was expected from this situation. Governor Cummins made no secret of the purpose of himself and his associates to withdraw from the convention hall and organize another convention, if the State committee exercised its power to ignore his majority and place the convention in the control of his adversaries. The outlook had become so ominous on the 31st that the Congressional delegation, in order to prevent a split in the party, held a meeting at Des Moines and brought their influence to bear upon the State committee. They were successful in preventing an open rupture, for when the State committee had completed the temporary roll, which they

did about midnight on the 31st, it showed 876 delegates for Cummins and 784 against him—a majority of 72. There were indications at that time that the Cummins majority might rise to 108. When this became known, convention gossip took another turn. It was then explained that while opposition to Cummins had been withdrawn, it would revive against Senator Warren Garst, who is Cummins's choice for lieutenant governor. Cummins was notified, according to this gossip, that if he would abandon Garst the opposition would support him cordially throughout the campaign; but Cummins refused to enter into this arrangement. He declared, so the dispatches run, "that his fortunes were bound up with those of Senator Garst and that nothing short of a Cummins-Garst ticket would be nominated, split or no split."

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#### Mayor Johnson's "Greased Lightning."

In the midst of all his work in connection with the traction question in Cleveland and the administration of city affairs in other respects, Mayor Johnson has devoted, according to a Plain Dealer report of the 27th, two or three hours a day for many months past to his high-speed electric railway (p. 106), with the result of bringing it to a sufficiently advanced stage to warrant his entering upon negotiations for the putting of a line into practical operation. According to the Plain Dealer he has perfected his invention "so that he sits in a car and travels back and forth in the basement of his home," thereby demonstrating the practicability of the invention in everything but speed. But this is the vital consideration. The invention is absolutely revolutionary, the cars running on skates or slides instead of wheels. Mayor Johnson went to Schenectady, N. Y., on the 27th, says the Plain Dealer, in connection with his negotiations. "With the success of the invention and a road in operation," it continues, "Mayor Johnson says a trip from New York to Chicago can be made in four hours."

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## NEWS NOTES

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—Prosecutions under the Federal eight-hour law were begun in Washington on the 28th under instructions from the President.

—At a trial of ice dealers at Jacksonville, Fla., on the 28th (p. 398) upon a charge of combining to raise the prices, the defendants were acquitted.

—Upton Sinclair, author of "The Jungle," was nominated on the 28th by the Socialist party as their candidate for Congress from the 4th Congressional District of New Jersey.

—The Republican State Convention for Missouri (p. 227), which met at Jefferson City on the 26th, nominated John Kennish and James T. Neville for Supreme Court Judges.

—The city of Blackburn in Lancashire, England, has opened a Turkish and Russian bath. A hot air or steam bath can be had for two cents, and all possible extras only come to 12 cents.

—The American Federation of Labor has designated Thomas Tracey of Boston, Mass., as campaign

manager under its call for political action (page 395). Mr. Tracey is a cigar maker by trade.

—Sir Robert Hart, who has been Inspector General of Customs in China since 1863, has withdrawn from the service and will retire to England. He is believed to understand China and the Chinese better than any other Englishman.

—Another step in the passing of the guillotine in France (p. 373), was taken when the budget committee of the Chamber of Deputies, on the 28th, in taking up the estimates for 1907, struck out the salary of M. Diebler, the public executioner.

—At the Republican convention for Michigan, held on the 31st, Fred N. Warner was nominated for Governor, and resolutions were passed affirming the Republican tariff policy and recommending election of United States senators by the people.

—It was reported from New York on the 29th that Thomas A. Edison is preparing to mold concrete houses all complete and by a single molding operation. He expects to produce these houses for from \$500 to \$600—houses which if made of stone would cost \$25,000.

—The Democratic campaign in Missouri will be opened on the 4th of September by Wm. J. Bryan. Mr. Bryan is to be received in St. Louis on the 3rd, and will open the campaign at Kansas City the following night. From Kansas City he will go directly to his home in Lincoln.

—Bokhara, a Russian vassal state in Central Asia, occupying an oasis on the northern borders of Afghanistan, is suffering from protracted drouth. The people are drinking from thick and stagnant pools, the cotton plantations are scorched, and it is reported that unless rain falls within a week the oasis will be swallowed up by the surrounding desert.

—Thomas E. Watson of Georgia, the People's party candidate for President in 1904, was reported by press dispatches of the 28th from Augusta as having made a speech at Thomson on that day, in which he announced that he intended to participate in the coming State primaries of the Democratic party and to support Hoke Smith for Governor.

—The lower house of the City council at Kansas City, Mo., on the 30th passed an ordinance recommended by Mayor Beardsley which grants a thirty-year gas franchise with rates fixed at 10 cents a thousand feet to factories, 25 cents for domestic purposes for natural gas, and 75 cents for artificial gas for all purposes. The ordinance reserves to the city the right to purchase the plant at the end of ten years.

—After an investigation by the Secretary of the Interior, President Roosevelt issued an order on the 28th withdrawing from entry 6,000,000 acres of public lands known to contain coal deposits. These lands lie in New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, North Dakota, Montana, Oregon and Washington. Senator La Follette had introduced a resolution in the Senate to secure this result, but Congress adjourned without action.

—Zion City, Illinois, the headquarters of the Zion association established by John Alexander Dowie, has passed, along with all the property connected with it, into the hands of a receiver of the District

Court of the United States. The receiver is John C. Hatley. He was appointed by Judge K. M. Landis, who decides that the Zion City property, although held in the name of Dr. Dowie, constitutes a trust estate for the Zion City members. An election for ecclesiastical leader is ordered by the Court to be held on September 18th.

—Paul Orleneff, who with his company of Russian actors delighted audiences in New York, Chicago and other American cities last winter, narrowly escaped death at the hands of a mob at the recent burning of the City of Syzran, Russia. Mr. Orleneff, it is said, was mistaken for a monk who was suspected of having set fire to the city. Beaten into unconsciousness he was thrown into a burning building. Fortunately friends rescued him before the flames reached him. Those who remember Mr. Orleneff in "The Chosen People" will realize how closely art and life may be allied.

—A traction question is developing in Detroit, where the street car franchises are soon to expire. An Associated Press dispatch of the 30th announced that Mayor Codd and the president of the Detroit United Railways had agreed on terms for a franchise for 15 years from 1909, which after adoption by the council are to be submitted to popular vote. It is stated to be on the basis of five-cent fares, with reductions for certain hours and through the purchase of tickets in bundles; the company to pay 2 per cent. on gross earnings to the city, and the city to have right of purchase of all the property of the company at its real value at the end of that term.

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### TOM L. JOHNSON'S CONTEMPT.

Toledo (O.) News-Bee (Ind.), July 25.—A mayor who has such splendid contempt of court as Mayor Tom showed when he ignored one of those fool injunctions, and risked going to jail in order that law might not be used to defeat justice, is a mayor worth having. The modern public service corporation is the most desperate and dangerous criminal in the modern city; and the sleek, shrewd, cunning, tricky corporation lawyer, who sings psalms on Sunday, roosts high as the Most Eminent Gazaboo, or something like that, of some high and mighty fraternal organization, poses as one of the city's leading citizens, and all the time is showing some criminal corporation how to skin the public, is the most dangerous moral leper in any community. It is this tricky lawyer, the legal Cossack for the corporations, who helps nominate tools for judicial position so that the corporations can do as they please, and there is little or no hope for immediate justice for the people in the courts. In Cleveland the council had notified the street railway company to remove certain tracks on certain streets. The company was given thirty days in which to do it. Like corporations generally do, the street railway company ignored the order. After the thirty days were up, Mayor Tom got his men together and proceeded to tear up the tracks. The corporation at once made for a convenient judge, with the usual application for an injunction restraining Mayor Tom from tearing up the tracks. The injunction was granted—of course. Did you ever hear of a corporation asking for an injunction it didn't get? But Mayor Tom laughed at the injunction. He ordered the men to go ahead tearing up track. He paid no more heed to the order of the court than the street railway paid to the order of the council. And Mayor Tom knew then that

he might go to jail for it. But jails have no terrors and no disgrace for the man who goes there for the good of the people. And Mayor Tom, knowing he was right, showed a splendid contempt of court. Bully for Mayor Tom! When more mayors show the same intelligent contempt of corporation-controlled courts there will be more chance for getting justice on the spot, instead of after you are dead.

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THE SPOILS OF POLITICS.

The Chicago Examiner (Dem.), July 16.—The cheap rewards of political place count for little now in political maneuvers. The "boss" is no longer the man who distributes "patronage." The real boss is the railroad man, the traction man, the insurance man, the man who is willing to contribute enormous sums to the campaign fund, if only his own interests be left safe or his new projects be aided. The new boss is more dangerous than the old boss. The new politics is more menacing than the old politics. The day of cheap boodling, the day when a party was put in or out of power merely to give some thousands of its adherents cheap "jobs," has gone by. Now this or that candidate finds his chief support among the men who wish to get from him franchises and special privileges. The small men who want public places are still active, but their influence is as nothing compared with that of the financiers who, through their agents, really run the game. . . . When franchises are no longer granted, but the functions which corporations seeking them now discharge are held in the hands of public officers to be administered not for profit, but for the good of the people, the bosses will disappear, the new politics will give way to the newer politics—which is the policy of running the government for all the people instead of, as now, for a few.

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A TRUE NOTE FROM THE SOUTH.

Collier's (Ind.), July 14.—"We of the South," said ex-Congressman Fleming of Georgia, in a university address in June, "can not afford to sacrifice our ideals of justice, of law, and of religion, for the purpose of preventing the Negro from elevating himself." If the Southern whites wish to preserve the wide gap between the races, it should be, in this Southerner's opinion, by lifting up themselves, not by holding down the blacks. If the Negro is to fall by the wayside, "let him fall by his own inferiority, and not by our tyranny."

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**RELATED THINGS**  
**CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT**

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**HAVE FAITH.**

R. E. Chadwick in *The Public* of June 23, 1906.

To go through life with a song and a smile,  
With an open hand and a word of cheer,  
With a heart that's pure and an eye that's clear,  
Is the only way that is well worth while.

And if one have a faith that will endure—  
A faith in God and a faith in man,  
That truth and love and joy are the plan—  
Then will eyes be clear and heart be pure.

\* \*

**A Reply.**

"To go through life with a song and a smile,"  
And "an open hand and a word of cheer,  
With a heart that's pure and an eye that's clear,"  
Is surely a "way that is well worth while."

But as for the "faith that will endure—

A faith in God and a faith in man"—

Why, will isn't faith, in Nature's plan,  
For belief is what Reason accepts as sure.

Song doesn't come from a harrowing voice,

Nor smiles beam forth from a cankerous heart;

And yet no one of us chose his part,

Nor in what he should be, was given a choice.

Let's sing and smile as much as we can,

And try to brighten the path of life;

But let us remember, amid the strife,

That all weren't built on exactly our plan.

July 7, 1906.

W. W. CATLIN.

\* \* \*

**SECRETARY SHAW'S BOND JUGGLE.**

**AN INSIDE OPINION.**

An Editorial in the *New York Times* of July 23, 1906.

Secretary Shaw is being congratulated upon all sides on his success in floating an issue of government 2 per cents at a premium, something without precedent in the financial history of any country. We add our own felicitations to him personally, and regret that the country will have the bill to pay. That the bill must be paid is certain. The gentlemen who are paying more for the bonds than they are worth are patriots, all honorable men, and capable of contributing to the country's relief in times of need. This is not one of those times. The Treasury and the nation are enjoying an excess of prosperity, and there is no excuse for asking contributions in aid of any public enterprise. Nor will any contributions be made voluntarily. The difference between the fair worth of 2 per cents and the artificial price obtained for them will be paid by somebody, and not the less certainly because it will be paid unawares, if all goes well, and paid with rack interest in the way of general embarrassment if anything goes wrong. And a very plain matter is made so obscure that our Republican friends will shuffle out of their responsibility in the latter case, and will claim inordinate credit if Providence once more tempers the financial tempest to the American lambs.

We suppose there is no necessity of demonstrating that about 104 is not a fair price for 2 per cent. bonds at this time. Less was bid on Friday for bonds having every quality of the Panamas, and the better for their longer maturity. There is no 2 per cent. investment money offering in the market, neither in New York nor in the world. Our credit is impregnable, but as pure credit it is no better than that of other nations which cannot float threes at par. Whoever is capable of thinking that these bonds are wanted for the income they yield is capable of any self-deception. But if they are wanted for anything except their yield their price reflects not the credit of the United States, but the opportunity to levy upon somebody a toll which is legal in form but extortionate in effect. The successful bidders are thinking not of the 2 per cent. which they will receive, but of the uncertain per cent. which they will demand from those who, under our system, will have to pay more than they should for accommodations that they have a right to expect at a lower price.

These bonds are wanted, of course, as a basis of national bank circulation, and they have a scarcity

value because the law forbids bank circulation to be issued in better and cheaper ways. The banks could ease the money market a trifle more by lending directly the money they must pay for the bonds. But here the juggle begins. The Secretary does not compel the bonds to be entirely paid for; part of the price is left with the purchasing banks. Moreover, the money already loaned to the banks by the Treasury—there have been times when that simple phrase would have caused thought if not fright—is under notice of recall unless these bonds are deposited as security for the loan. The banks simply had to have these bonds at any price, and they know very well who will pay the excess cost.

Is any American proud of these facts? Is any one too blind to see that this shuffling and juggling is beneath government finance, except in times of war, or embarrassment like Russia's? Are not such doings worthier of a water-logged trust, with kited promissory notes, and a total indifference to what may happen day after to-morrow? And is that an unfair description of our Treasury finances, with \$236,401,454 of pure fiat "money" in the form of a forced loan outstanding and nearly double that in the form of credit money printed upon silver? Ought we not as a nation to blush when we read in the concurrent telegrams that benighted Japan is paying off its war notes already, whereas ours are outstanding after a generation—of Republican administration at that? And ought any one to blush more than those intelligent gentlemen who in their private capacities teach exactly what we preach, and in their capacity as national bankers congratulate Secretary Shaw upon his success in doing what they declare is inconsistent with national interests?

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## GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY IN OREGON

For The Public.

Many eyes are directed towards Oregon. In that State pure democracy is being put to a test that is without a parallel in the history of our nation. Direct legislation in operation there is fulfilling the claims made for it by its friends, and refuting the arguments made against it by its enemies.

That the readers of *The Public* may have in convenient form a summary of the chief events that have occurred in Oregon in connection with direct legislation, I give the following resume, together with some deductions therefrom. All the figures are official.

After ten years of untiring effort on the part of Judge F. Williams and Hon. W. S. U'Ren in favor of the measure, and after a favorable vote for it by two legislatures had been secured, a direct legislation amendment to the Oregon constitution was carried by the electors of the State on June 3rd, 1902, by a vote of 62,024 for, and 5,668 against it, being a majority of eleven to one in its favor; and about 70 per cent. of the total vote cast for candidates (which was 92,920).

Subsequently one of the Circuit Courts of Oregon declared the amendment unconstitutional, one of the grounds for the adverse decision being that it was in conflict with Section 4, Article 4, of the Constitution of the United States, guaranteeing to every State a republican form of government. In Decem-

ber, 1903, the Supreme Court of Oregon reversed the decision of the lower tribunal and confirmed the validity of the amendment.

### First Enactments.

On the 6th of June, 1904, the electors enacted at the polls two laws, one for local option in temperance matters, and one for direct primaries. This was the first time in the history of our nation that State laws were passed by the electors without the intervention in any form, of the legislature or other representative body. The vote on the first mentioned law was 43,316 for, and 40,198 against it, a favoring majority of 3,118. The vote on the second mentioned law was 56,205 for, and 16,354 against it, a majority of 39,851, or over three to one in its favor. The vote cast on the question of local option was about 84 per cent. of the total vote polled for candidates (which was 99,315).

The law for direct primaries carried every one of the 33 counties comprising the State. The law for local option carried in 24 counties, and lost in 9 counties. It lost in the two most populous counties of the State where are located the cities of Portland and Salem. It carried in the third and fourth most populous counties.

The Christian Endeavor World, in speaking of the local option enactment, says: "Such a law could never have been passed through the legislature. It is a clear triumph of the people, against the whiskey ring."

The statute for direct primaries was passed by direct legislation because, said Mr. U'Ren, "party bosses have heretofore defeated all attempts to secure such a law" [through the legislature].

### Second Enactments.

On the 4th of June, 1906, the electors of Oregon passed upon eleven propositions, ratifying eight and defeating three. The largest vote cast was upon one of the defeated propositions, namely, "equal suffrage"; and was over 84 per cent. of the total vote for candidates. The vote on equal suffrage was 36,902 for, and 47,075 against it, an adverse majority of 10,173. This proposition carried in 10 counties and lost in 23. Nearly half of this adverse majority came from the county in which Portland is situated, and was 4,356.

Alice Stone Blackwell, in an able article entitled "Enemies of Equal Suffrage," in *The Public* of July 7th, writes fully of the combinations which aided in the defeat of this proposition. She says in part, "To sum up: equal suffrage had against it a coalition of the saloons, the brothels, the trusts, the railroads, the machine politicians and the frivolous society women. \* \* \* Under the initiative and referendum law of Oregon, any question can be submitted to popular vote as often as its friends wish; and the women of Oregon are already taking measures to have the equal suffrage amendment brought before the voters again at the next election." Miss Blackwell says that this "amendment was endorsed by the State Grange, the State Federation of Women's Clubs and the State Federation of Labor. It had the support of a majority of the churches, and a remarkably large proportion of the editors. Out of the 238 papers published in Oregon, only seven opposed it."

Of the other propositions which were defeated at

the last election in Oregon one was to amend the local option law which had been passed in 1904, and was an anti-temperance measure. The vote was 35,297 for, and 45,144 against it, an adverse majority of 9,847. The measure was carried in 11 counties, and lost in 22. It lost in the two most populous counties.

The third proposition which was defeated was a "Law to abolish tolls on Mt. Hood & Barlow Road, and providing for its ownership by the State." The vote was 31,525 for, and 44,527 against it, an adverse majority of 13,002. The measure was carried in 9 counties, and lost in 23; and in one county, Coos, it was a tie vote, 1,011 to 1,011.

The appropriation bill of the legislature which had been held up by referendum petition was approved, the vote being 43,918 for, and 26,758 against it, a majority in its favor of 17,160. This measure was carried in 27 counties, and lost in 6.

A constitutional amendment to enlarge the scope of the initiative and referendum was adopted, the vote being 47,661 for, and 18,751 against it, a favorable majority of 28,910. This amendment carried in every county.

"A constitutional amendment giving cities and towns exclusive power to enact and amend their charters," was adopted, the vote being 52,567 for, and 19,852 against it, a favoring majority of 32,715. This gives absolute home rule to cities and towns, free from the State legislature, subject of course to the limitations of the State constitution. This amendment carried in every county, as did all the measures that follow.

"A constitutional amendment for the initiative and referendum on local, special and municipal laws and parts of laws," was also adopted, the vote being 47,678 for, and 16,735 against it, a favoring majority of 30,943.

"A constitutional amendment to allow the State printing, binding, and printers' compensation to be regulated by law at any time," was also adopted, the vote being 63,749 for, and 9,571 against it, a favoring majority of 54,178.

"A bill for a law prohibiting free passes and discrimination by railroad companies and other public service corporations," was also adopted, the vote being 57,281 for, and 16,779 against it, a favoring majority of 40,502.

"An act requiring sleeping car companies, refrigerator car companies, and oil companies to pay an annual license upon gross earnings," was also adopted, the vote being 69,635 for, and 6,441 against it, a favoring majority of 63,194.

"An act requiring express companies, telegraph companies, and telephone companies to pay an annual license upon gross earnings," was also adopted, the vote being 70,872 for, and 6,300 against it, a favoring majority of 64,572.

It will thus be seen that the voters of Oregon have no disposition to abandon direct legislation, or to be again subject to party bosses. The future action of this progressive commonwealth in its development of pure democracy will be watched with great interest by every friend of the common people.

JAMES P. CADMAN,

Treasurer of Referendum League of Illinois.

## THE CONFESSIONS OF A MONOPOLIST

By **FREDERIC C. HOWE, Ph.D.**

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### PREFACE

This is the story of something for nothing—of making the other fellow pay. This making the other fellow pay, of getting something for nothing, explains the lust for franchises, mining rights, tariff privileges, railway control, tax evasions. All these things mean monopoly, and all monopoly is bottomed on legislation.

And monopoly laws are born in corruption. The commercialism of the press, of education, even of sweet charity, is part of the price we pay for the special privileges created by law. The desire of something for nothing, of making the other fellow pay, of monopoly in some form or other, is the cause of corruption. Monopoly and corruption are cause and effect. Together, they work in Congress, in our Commonwealths, in our municipalities. It is always so. It always has been so. Privilege gives birth to corruption, just as the poisonous sewer breeds disease. Equal chance, a fair field and no favors, the "square deal," are never corrupt. They do not appear in legislative halls nor in Council Chambers. For these things mean labor for labor, value for value, something for something. This is why the little business man, the retail and wholesale dealer, the jobber, and the manufacturer are not the business men whose business corrupts politics.

No law can create labor value. But laws can unjustly distribute labor value; they can create privilege, and privilege despoils labor of its product. Laws pass on to monopoly the pennies, dimes and dollars of labor.

Monopoly, too, means millions for the few, taken from the dollars of the many. It may be in city franchises, it may be in mining royalties, it may be in railway rates, it may be in tariff monopolies. The motive is something for nothing—make the other fellow pay.

But monopoly does not end here. Even the sacrifice of our political institutions, even the shifting of taxes to the defenseless many, even the control of all life and industry by privilege, do not measure the whole cost of monopoly. These are but the palpable losses, the openly manifest ones. Monopoly palsies industry, trade, life itself. It encloses the land and the nation's resources. It limits opportunity to work. It erects its barriers about our resources; not to use them, but to exact a monopoly price from those who do. Monopoly denies to man opportunity. It fences in millions of acres of soil, of coal and iron mines, and of city lots. It closes the door to competition and to labor. This is why America is not only the richest, but in some respects the most poverty marked of nations. This is why enterprise is strangled, and labor walks the streets looking for a job.

Here is the confession of a monopolist. It is the story of no one monopolist, but of all monopolists. It shows the rules of the game. The portrait pre-

sented is not the portrait of any one monopolist Senator; it is the composite of many, and the setting may be laid in any one of the Northern States. For the United States Senate is the refuge of monopoly. Its members no longer are representatives of the Commonwealths which name them, but of the big business interests whose directors, attorneys and agents they are.

Cleveland, Ohio.

FREDERIC C. HOWE.

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## CHAPTER I

### The Boy the Father of the Man

I do not recall that there was anything remarkable about my boyhood. My father was a merchant in a small town not very far from New York. He was honest to the point of personal sacrifice, indulgent and with an easy tolerance of boyish mischief. I grew up almost unreprieved and very seldom punished. Even as a child my life was in my own keeping. I was free to work or to play. The teachings of Poor Richard's Almanac, if quoted in our house, were not enforced by authority. There was a sweet, Quaker spirit of goodness in my father's attitude towards his family. When he departed the world at sixty he left his family the possession of his good name, a shining black "strong box" filled with the promissory notes of his neighbors, and a declining business ruined by the more energetic competition of a younger and more easily satisfied generation. His estate did not pay his creditors, but his name is one of the few things that sings to me yet in the sterner life of a harder generation.

From my father I inherited a zeal for trade. I had a passion for making money. It was easy to me. I was always swapping things—my pockets were filled with the spoils of trade like a pedlar's pack. Even then I disliked gambling. I did not gamble even as boys do, but at the end of the marble season I had the choicest collection of alleys in the town. My first business venture was a lemonade stand on a circus day. I formed a partnership on equal terms with a neighbor boy. He supplied the location, the equipment, the lemons and tended bar, and got half of the profits. There were many other such ventures.

Finally I drifted into my father's store, where I spent Saturdays and holidays when away from school. I worked about the shop, in the office and on the delivery wagon. But in each I failed in turn. The men said I was lazy. I can now see that I was. I had no mind for the thing. I never could get down to work on time, and a certain disorderliness marked all of my habits. Not but that I tried hard enough, but in every position I seemed marked for failure. I was forever trying to get some one else to do my work for me, or else I forgot the most important matters. There were certain rules of thumb to which my grandfather and maiden aunts were forever calling my attention, but the virtues of early rising, hard work and business thrift were not in me. I knew that I was held up as a sort of ne'er-do-well. How this hurt me in those early days! I did not seem to be able to do the things other people set me at or to do them in their way. I took

these matters seriously, and I suffered because of them! The things which were difficult to me then have remained impossible to me to this day.

I think I was about fourteen years old when I began to redeem myself. I was then in the grammar school. It was about this time that the New York dailies began to reach the smaller inland towns. Early trains brought in the morning editions about seven o'clock, and the afternoon papers about four. At that time they were very little read. The local papers with their patent insides satisfied the local demands. Everything I had turned my hand to in my father's business had gone wrong, and in a sort of desperation I started out to work up a route for the delivery of metropolitan papers. It occurred to my father that a distant relative of his, who had left the city some years before, was connected with a news agency in New York City which handled the papers, and the next time he went to New York he took me with him. He thought he might give me some pointers. We called upon his friend, and in some way or other, either by chance or design, he told me that if I would undertake to work up the town, he would arrange to let me have the exclusive right of selling the papers for a certain period. This was arranged in some way with the railroads, who were identified with the news agency. On my return I set resolutely to work to carry this out and soon had quite a route. In the following month those boys who had been selling papers found their supply cut off. They were not able to understand it, and I did not enlighten them. Soon I had the other boys working for me, and in a short time was making what seemed to me to be a princely income, even though it were but a few dollars a week. But my easy gains came near being my ruin. My old habits of indolence got the better of me. I hated to get up at dawn to meet the early train and make my deliveries, and on several occasions papers were carried past the station and the people complained about not getting them until afternoon. I then employed two boys younger than myself to do this work for me. There were any number eager for the job, and I think I paid competitive wages. On Saturday afternoons I made collections and my father sent on the remittances to the news agency in New York.

My easy success was re-establishing my self-respect. But at the same time my lazy habits were distressing my solicitous Puritan-minded aunts and relatives. I violated all the rules of business and still succeeded. Such habits, they thought, were flying in the face of Providence. They did not conform to those steady-going ideas of attention to business that were held up as the secret of success. And yet, as I now look back on them, I can see that for some reason or other the same rules of business brought one after another of the men whom I knew into the insolvency court. So I loafed and fished and made my weekly collections, and succeeded in spite of the predictions of my relatives. For so long as I had an exclusive contract with the news agency, which evidently had a similar one with the railroads, I could do as I pleased. No one else could secure the papers and hence no one could either cut the price or improve the service. I was free from the fear of competition, and so long as I served the

# Publishers' Column

## The Public

is a weekly review which prints in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value. It is also an editorial paper. Though it abstains from mingling editorial opinions with its news accounts, it has opinions of a pronounced character, based upon the principles of radical democracy, which, in the columns reserved for editorial comment, it expresses fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without hope of discreditable reward. Yet it makes no pretensions to infallibility, either in opinions or in statements of fact; it simply aspires to a deserved reputation for intelligence and honesty in both. Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department of original and selected matter, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest.

Familiarity with The Public will commend it as a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

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people sufficiently well to prevent any serious complaint from being carried to New York, I was secure.

I dimly appreciated the situation even then. And partly by chance, partly by design, I have pursued the same policy in my business ever since. I kept out of competitive business, that is, business which anyone could do or in which there was any risk. And if I did enter some competitive business, I tied it up with something else so as to make a monopoly out of it. Years later I did this with some coal mines, and thus controlled the entire market. And the principle underlying my first boyish business venture has been the secret of all my subsequent success. This was true of the gas and street railway business; it was true of the coal mining and steam railroad undertakings. In the financing of the immense business ventures which were placed on the market in 1899 and 1900 the same policy was followed. Opportunities were offered me to go into the combination of many industries, such as baking and furniture manufacture, machine shop and pipe consolidations, brick-making and sewer pipe companies. Some of them have been a success, but the majority failed. Others there were, like coal mining and iron ore, gas, electric lighting and street railways that I knew were safe. For they could not be duplicated. They were natural monopolies. And while many of my friends who went into these trusts against my advice lost the plants they had spent their lives in upbuilding, the consolidations which I carried through, those which were "bottomed on the land," have all made big money. For labor can always build factories, plants and machine shops, but all the labor in the world will not duplicate a coal or an iron mine, and nothing short of an exodus of all the people could destroy the value of a city franchise.

Those days of my boyhood still stand out in my mind. Never since have I enjoyed such unquestioned pre-eminence as I did in the days when all the boys at School Number III begged for the privilege of employment and treated me as a young captain of industry. For I always had dimes where they had pennies. I always had candy where they had none. And better still, I always had excuses to explain my absence from school, while they labored over the things we all hated.

In the summer vacations I employed a number of boys to canvass the town. They went to the stores and homes of the people. I began to handle magazines and periodicals as well as the metropolitan dailies. Those who already subscribed directly willingly gave me their orders because of the earlier delivery. In time, I rented a small news stand. I was selling about a thousand papers a day and about a hundred magazines a month. This was a fabulous income for me. From it I realized from \$50.00 to \$75.00 a week. My expenses were less than half this sum, and I felt as rich as a prince. The wonder is that it did not ruin me. But I kept my head, saved some money, and liked the position of importance sufficiently well to give it proper attention. From time to time the news agency extended the contract and continued it for several years, when a change being made in methods, I was ruthlessly succeeded by an older man, who became the agent of the company.

Hours: 10 a. m. to 4 p. m. Telephone Harrison 1027

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While this seemed a cruel blow to me, it was, in reality, the greatest piece of good fortune. Had I been left undisturbed I should in all probability have lived on in easy comfort in a community which had already reached its growth, and finished my days along with my school fellows, the majority of whom are still to be found there clerking in the stores, driving delivery wagons, or working as laborers. I had just completed the high school course (largely by the grace of the teachers) when the agency was taken from me. But at this time I was earning more than many men out of their business. I made a struggle to continue the news agency, despite the action of the railroad. I endeavored to secure my papers and publications directly from the publishers. But by some arrangement which existed between the railway and the news agency it was impossible to do this, and I soon relinquished the idea and concluded to enter college. Up to this time my work at school had given no promise of academic interests or professional ambitions. Everybody said I was capable enough, but too lazy. As a matter of fact, as I now look back upon it, I had no interest in education. But I had sufficient money to carry me along in comfort through the greater part of the course in a small inland college, and I was not in the habit of worrying over difficulties until they came.

At college I was equally easy-going and without definite purpose. I joined the fraternity which had most of the good fellows in it, and loafed a fair share of the time, although I did manage to keep along with my class. This was not a very difficult thing, at that time, when the idea of the authorities seemed to be that a boy had to spend four years somehow, and he might as well spend them at college as anywhere else. I also took a hand in college politics, was interested in college journalism, received some honors at the hands of the students, and graduated four years after I entered about the middle of my class.

I am inclined to smile when I think of some of the things I then studied. I had to take all the Greek and Latin in the course, and in addition a term or two of a score of other studies of which I cannot now enumerate even the titles. I was interested in political economy, but when I take down my John Stuart Mill and see what he says about wealth, value, cost, labor, etc., and compare his photograph of society with the society which actually exists, I feel it could not be recognized as the same thing by any one living in it. If medicine, surgery, architecture, law, bookkeeping or any other science as taught, bore the same resemblance to the real thing that political economy does to life, men had better go some place else for an education than to college. Possibly the universities are teaching different things to-day than they did then. Certainly the Robinson Crusoe-like description of organized society as it then appeared in the text books on political economy did not give a man much of an equipment for the solution of its problems.

But my business instincts were as acute at college as they had been at home. At the end of the second year I found my funds running low and realized that I must either quit college or increase my income. I could hope for nothing from my father,

# Announcements

## MEETINGS, LECTURES, DEBATES, ETC.

**New York.**—The Manhattan Single Tax Club holds open air meetings on Tuesdays and Fridays weekly during the summer at 8 o'clock p. m., at 125th Street and 7th Avenue.

**Boston, Mass.**—The Boston Single Tax Society holds open air meetings Sunday afternoons from 2 to 4 o'clock, near the corner of Beacon and Charles streets, Boston Common.

### SPECIAL NOTICE TO SINGLE TAXERS OF CHICAGO

The Single Taxers of Chicago and vicinity, and their friends, dine at the **Washington Restaurant, N. W. Corner Wabash Avenue and Adams Street, Chicago**, on the first Friday evening of each month, at **6 p. m.** The dinner on **August 3rd** will be table d'hôte. For further particulars communicate with the committee at 1202 Ashland Block, Chicago. (Telephone, Central 925)

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who was slowly being involved by the fiercer competition of business and the burdens of a large family. I hit upon two expedients. I went to the President of the college and told him my situation, and asked whether the faculty would permit me to use an unoccupied room as a book shop. Having secured this consent, I went to New York and canvassed the publishers for the exclusive sale of text books. As there was no book store of any proportions in the college town, I finally secured this privilege, and on the opening of the new year equipped my store room with text books, stationery and students' supplies, which I placed in the hands of a student more needy than I was myself. I carried this on during the balance of my course, despite the protests of the book houses in the town, who were cut off from their principal source of revenue. And it yielded me a revenue adequate for all my needs, which were rather more than the simple life of the college demanded.

But before the end of that year I planned another stroke. I had noticed that the railway entering the town owned all the land approaches to the station. They were able to exclude any one from their use or give it to any one whom they desired. With this in mind, I approached the station master and finally agreed to give him a certain sum of money every month if he would grant me the exclusive privilege of coming on the railway premises with hacks and transfer wagons. He took this up with the higher officials and finally secured their consent. With this assurance I purchased several carriages and an express wagon, and when the rule went into effect my drivers were the only ones who could approach within a thousand feet of the station. Naturally I got all the traffic. My business boomed. The other drivers protested and stormed. When they went to the station master he said he would report their complaints, but the only satisfaction they ever got was an assurance that the officials had the matter under advisement. In a short time I had a monopoly of the business. The privilege which the railway gave me made it impossible for any one else to compete, and at the end of a few months' time I was able to buy out such wagons and carriages as I needed, while the other men, one after another, went out of business.

At the close of my college year I was several thousand dollars to the good, but as undecided as ever as to my career. I had no liking for teaching or medicine, and while other members of the class were preparing for their future work I found myself drifting as before. Upon graduation I was as much at sea as ever, and returned home to find my father in declining health and my family in need of my assistance.

For lack of something better to do, I registered for the study of law in my uncle's office, and went through a tedious and laborious course in Blackstone, Coke, and some other old dignitaries whose names I have since forgotten, and at the end of two years' time, passed my examinations and was admitted to the bar with about the same formality and with little more difficulty than had I been seeking admission to the church. I knew a great deal about the feudal system, about fines and recoveries, estates tail and the rule in Shelley's case, but had I

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Willie: "Excuse me, Granny; I not only decline to shake hands with the 'nice gentleman' and sit on his knee, but I give him fair notice that the supreme object of my ambition is to destroy him root and branch!"

been confronted with a legal proposition I should have been as much at sea as with a problem in higher calculus.

(To be continued.)

## BOOKS

### SCIENTIFIC PHILANTHROPY.

**Efficiency and Relief. A Program of Social Work.** By Edward T. Devine, Ph. D., LL. D., Schiff Professor of Social Economy in Columbia University, author of "Principles of Relief," etc. Published by the Columbia University Press (the Macmillans, agents), New York.

Mr. Jacob H. Schiff has founded in Columbia University a professorial chair of Social Economy, to which Edward T. Devine, the director of the School of Philanthropy conducted by the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York, under the endowment of Mr. John S. Kennedy, has been called; and the monograph described above is Professor Devine's inaugural address. Should Professor Devine prove loyal to the fundamental doctrine which President Butler formulates in the introduction, more may come out of this innovation in college work than its

founders look for. "Theory," says Dr. Butler, "which is insight, is valueless without application in some form; practice, which is doing, is crude and wasteful unless founded on sure insight."

And, indeed, in his inaugural address, Professor Devine does not leave the reader without assurance of a purpose to get at the natural principles of social relationships as the fundamental necessity for establishing social order. It is true that he brings to his task the multifarious theory of society. He catalogues social abuses, for instance, as if they were unrelated subjects for individual treatment, which is much as if Job's physicians had (and maybe they did) treated each particular boil in total disregard of the condition of Job's circulatory system. Yet the address is not without its gleams of light, despite the unfavorable environment of a university rich in metropolitan land values and a chair endowed with an income from special privileges.

There is no gleam of light, however, in the notion of Professor Devine, that "the cry of our own day, 'Back to the land,' is a recurrence to the primitive idea of man's relation to bucolic nature." This notion is doubtless a product of a peculiar political economy which has had its day and is now passing out, a political economy which has for several decades saturated the scholastic mind with the idea that our era of capitalism is largely removed from

dependence upon land; as if any possible form of industry could be any farther removed than any other from dependence upon the sole place for all the operations of every kind of industry and the sole source of all industrial supplies.

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## BOOKS RECEIVED

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—The Trials of a Stump-Speaker. By Henry S. Willcox. Published by J. S. Ogilvie Publishing Co., 57 Rose street, New York.

—Pioneers of Progress. By T. A. Bland, author of "Farming as a Profession," "Life of Benjamin F. Butler." Introduction by the Rev. Dr. Hiram W. Thomas. Published by T. A. Bland & Co., Chicago. Price \$1.25.

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## PAMPHLETS

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### Civic Beauty.

The good citizen will aim to bring beauty into the life we share in common—the highways and the outdoor of town and village. We do not own our door-yards to the extent of having a moral right to make rubbish holes of them. The American Civic Association (North American Bldg., Philadelphia) publishes interesting leaflets on this and kindred subjects, including "Suggestions for Beautifying the Home, Village and Roadway." A. T. P.

+

### The Competitive System.

C. E. Obenchain (Greenville, Tenn.), in writing of the "passing of the competitive system" in a pamphlet entitled "The End Inevitable," falls into the common error of treating competition and co-operation as opposites. In truth, competition is the individualistic mode of cooperation. The essential issue is not between competition and cooperation; it is between the individualist and the collectivist modes of cooperation. Mr. Obenchain adopts also the collectivist error of assuming that monopoly of land and monopoly of machinery are independent agencies in the exploitation of labor, whereas the fact is that monopoly of machinery, otherwise than as a result of the monopoly of land (or of chattel slavery), is not rationally conceivable.

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## PERIODICALS

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John McAuley Palmer furnishes McClure's for July with another of his delightful characterizations of Col. Lumpkin. It is illustrated with a reproduction of Frederick Watts's painting of "Mammon"—a conception of wonderful power.

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The Putnams are about to revive Putnam's Magazine, which was published by their house in the fifties. The editor in chief of the new magazine is to be George Haven Putnam; and the editor in charge, Joseph B. Gilder, the younger brother of the editor of The Century. His sister, Jeannette Gilder, is to be his editorial associate. The Critic, of which Mr. and Miss Gilder have long been editors, is to be absorbed in the Putnam's.

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