

# The Public

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## EDITORIAL

### The Capability of Mayor Dunne's Administration.

The Chicago Tribune of the 7th is hopeful that because the next mayoralty term is to be for four years instead of two, the people will not allow "their heads" to be turned "by some gaudy and ephemeral issue,"—municipal ownership, for instance,—but will "endeavor to select a capable administrator of municipal affairs," which "will rule out Mayor Dunne." This insinuation that Mayor

Dunne is incapable is doubtless agreeable to those business interests of Chicago which the Tribune represents and whose votaries consider no municipal administration a capable one unless it pours unearned wealth into their pockets. But the truth is that in no administrative respect has Chicago ever had any better administration of municipal affairs than it has at present. Mayor Dunne's administration is in no particular worse than those of his predecessors, and in very many particulars it is a great deal better. But it is better for the whole people and not merely for a coterie of plutocrats, and that is why the Tribune cries out. The capability which the interests the Tribune represents want for the city, may be inferred from the specimens they are giving us in the county, from which a considerable proportion of their most capable administrators are now embarking for the penitentiary.

\* \*

### The Roger Sullivan Episode.

Bryan's challenge to Roger Sullivan of Illinois, demanding that he get off the national Democratic committee, has aroused the resentment of every "business" man of both parties of the Sullivan type. It was a center shot. All representatives of predatory interests, South and North, as well as Sullivan himself, rightly regard Bryan's declaration as an assault upon their own business opportunities in politics. Bryan could have selected no better mark for demonstrating his antipathy to the presence in conspicuous places in the Democratic party of men who are in politics for revenue only. Before the Sullivan episode it was not unusual for honest Democrats to deplore the friendliness toward Bryan of so many plutocratic birds of prey; but with the Sullivan episode all this concern has passed away. Nobody criticises Bryan for dealing as he has dealt with Sullivan, except men who "have no use" for Bryan anyhow.

\* \*

### Bryan on Tom Johnson.

It is gratifying to note Mr. Bryan's cordial expressions of satisfaction at the selection of Mayor Johnson for chairman of the New York reception meeting on the 30th. Mr. Bryan describes the Cleveland mayor as "a unique figure," who "stopped money-making in the very prime of life, and at great pecuniary sacrifice gave himself unreservedly to public affairs," and who "in the face

of all the abuse that intrenched wrong-doers could heap upon him" "has been performing a great civic duty." To Mr. Bryan's hope that Johnson's "splendid example will inspire many wealthy men to put a limit to their accumulations and devote their lives to the welfare of their fellows," there ought to be a general and hearty "Amen!"

\* \*

#### An Ample Apology.

The Cleveland news agent for the Associated Press, apparently one of the advertisement writers for the street car monopoly of that city, went a step or so too far when he telegraphed to the newspapers of the country the false insinuation that Mayor Johnson "was credited with being largely interested in the municipal traction company"—the company that is trying (p. 416) to bridge the way for establishing municipal ownership in Cleveland. This is evident from the fact that the Associated Press newspapers of the country of the 2nd and 3rd were obliged to publish a disclaimer in which they said: "This statement was unwarranted, is believed to be entirely untrue, if in its reading it tended to create the impression that Mayor Johnson had any financial interest whatever in the Forest City company, and is contrary to every public statement made by that official, he having specifically anticipated by public announcement any such possibility. That he has been interested in the success of the company, as an ultimate municipal-ownership proposition, but primarily to secure a lower fare, he has openly proclaimed. The Associated Press therefore desires to disclaim any knowledge or motive other than this public interest, and to disavow any other suggestion in making the statement telegraphed."

\* \*

#### Two Genuine Democrats for Congress.

Two of the Democratic nominations for Congress, one in Pennsylvania and one in Chicago, should excite the interest of democratic Democrats the whole country over. One of the candidates, Frank C. Buchanan, was long the president of the international union of structural iron workers, in which capacity he came in conflict with the boodling interests represented by Sam Parks within the organization and by wealthy contractors without. Mr. Buchanan won a high reputation there as an able and honorable administrator of trade union affairs, and both his experience and his essential democracy will make him a most valuable member of Congress. The other candidate to whom we refer is Warren Worth Bailey, the editor of the Johnstown Democrat, one of the best if not

the very best daily newspapers in the United States next to the Springfield Republican. Besides being one of the leading Democratic editors of the country, Mr. Bailey is an acute and forceful politician in the higher sense of that much abused word. Reports from Pennsylvania are to the effect that with his paper he has so completely democratized his district that his election is almost assured, notwithstanding that he lives in what has been the very hot bed of Pennsylvania protectionism. Similar predictions are made with regard to Mr. Buchanan, who, although his district is Republican, is likely to command a large labor vote, regardless of party, and a radical democratic vote which does not always go to Democratic candidates.

\* \*

#### Prevention of Crime.

While the city council and the grand jury of Chicago, aided and abetted by very respectable influences, are trying to thrust us back into barbarism by extending the list of capital crimes, the people of Philadelphia are trying to prevent the class of crimes for which capital punishment is demanded. Leading experts having come to the conclusion that such crimes are due less to guilty minds than to physical imperfections from youth up, Philadelphia is setting about curing the physical defects while it is yet time. This has a civilizing flavor; the argument for hanging is as revolting as the crimes for revenging which it is urged.

\* \*

#### Labor Laws.

It is a remarkable fact that two courts as far apart geographically as New York and Oregon, should at about the same time make decisions as far apart legally and morally as that a State law regulating the time of work for working women is unconstitutional in one of these States and constitutional in the other. The Oregon court holds that such laws are constitutional. The New York court holds that they are unconstitutional on the ground that they interfere with the right of private contract. On this point the New York decisions are somewhat in the nature of legal curiosities, in view of the fact that until the question of labor time became part of the burning labor question, the courts uniformly held that legislatures have full power to regulate labor time. The old cases arose on the basis of the Sunday laws, which were attacked as being enacted for religious reasons. The courts admitted that if the laws had no other purpose than to legalize religious observances they would be invalid; but they sus-

tained the Sunday laws on the ground that public policy demands that one day in seven be a day of cessation from work, and this being so that the legislature has full power to choose the day, the fact that it chooses a day of religious observance being merely incidental and having no bearing upon the question. That line of decisions appears to have been thrust completely aside by the New York courts in their efforts to nullify laws exactly like the Sunday laws in principle, but which are made for the protection of persons whom other laws have made helpless beggars for opportunities to work.

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#### A Test of Indecency.

Anthony Comstock's invasion of the Students' Art League in New York proves either that the Students' Art League or Anthony Comstock is indecent.

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#### The San Francisco Star.

It is with great satisfaction that we welcome again that able, brilliant, honest and fearless, but recently unfortunate weekly paper of the Pacific Coast—the San Francisco Star. After the earthquake and fire in San Francisco, in which the plant of The Star and all the business property of its owner, Mr. James H. Barry, were swept away, The Star ceased to appear until the 21st of July, when it resumed publication in larger form. In editorial characteristics, however, it is unchanged. Now in its 23d year, The Star has done much to promote genuine democracy and honest government in the State of California, and its beneficent influence extends all along the Coast and back to the mountains. It is one of the papers that is making for our time the kind of history from which those who come after us will benefit and of which they will be proud.

\* \*

#### The Animus of Protective Tariffs.

The true inwardness of the protective tariff tax has been exposed by an act of Congress imposing one hundred per cent. tariff upon a certain kind of cotton goods much in use by the Filipinos. This tariff, which was rushed through Congress last winter by protective tariff leaders, has for its sole object the exclusion from the Philippine Islands of that particular kind of goods, which American manufacturers cannot, will not, or do not make, in order that the kind which these manufacturers do make may be thrust upon the Filipinos. This has been justly denounced as a greedy and mean piece of legislation. Yet the sordid motives so

obvious in this case are precisely the motives of all protective tariff legislation. The only difference is that in this instance the Filipinos are the victims, whereas in tariff legislation in general the American people are the victims. Protection is robbery.

\* \*

#### Successful Municipal Ownership.

Within a few days dispatches from New York have appeared throughout the country stating that the city of Glasgow had made such a failure of its municipal telephone system that it had finally sold it to the post office department of Great Britain. The obvious intention was to arouse doubts as to the possibility of making the policy of municipal ownership successful. But the fact is that the telephone system of Glasgow, although sold to the post office department, was thus disposed of not because it had been a failure as a public enterprise but because it was operated at a disadvantage as a local enterprise. To quote from the Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury of July 12th:

The sale of the Glasgow municipal telephone system to the government is probably the beginning of the end of municipal telephony. By this it should not be readily surmised that municipal enterprise in telephones has been without result. On the contrary, the fierce competition which has been seen in Glasgow has resulted in an advance of telephony such as no other city in the United Kingdom has experienced. The rates have been little more than half those charged in less favored districts, and the consequence has been that the domestic use of the telephone in Glasgow is far in advance of that particular use elsewhere. But rivalry in respect to telephones is a very difficult matter. Business firms are bound sooner or later to feel the irksomeness of belonging to two systems. The fact that the Corporation was opposed by the general telephone organization of the country placed an additional difficulty in its way. People who attempted to speak from an ordinary telephone in Liverpool to a Corporation subscriber in Glasgow were charged 58 cents, while for a conversation to a subscriber to the National Telephone Company's system they were charged 50 cents only. This placed the Corporation subscribers at a disadvantage in respect to trunk and long-distance telephony, and the consequence was that the Corporation had to pay a certain amount of the extra imposts levied for trunk calls against its subscribers. Now the whole system passes to the post office. It is well equipped. The department gets it cheaper than the original capital outlay. The additional impost to which we have referred cannot now be levied by the company, and altogether the post office has a fine opportunity of showing the world what it intends to do when it gets the whole system of the country into its hands.

Obviously, from this explanation there is nothing in the sale of the Glasgow telephone system to the

post office department to indicate any weakness in the policy of the public operation of a public service of this character.

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Another experiment in municipal ownership was for several months made the object of sneering remarks by the plutocratic press. This was the Staten Island ferry, the public ownership and operation of which were forced upon the city of New York less than a year ago by a conjunction of peculiar circumstances and the agitation of municipal ownership advocates. At first the plutocratic press took advantage of every little operating difficulty and accident, though incidental to the institution of any new enterprise whether public or private, to impress upon the public sentiment of the country the idea that this public enterprise was a failure. Of course, the purpose was to discourage similar enterprises in other cities of the country. After a little while, however, reports of the failure of this experiment in municipal ownership and operation ceased to appear in the press. The reason for the ensuing silence is now made plain. Says the *Elizabeth Evening Times* of July 17th, a Democratic paper, quoting from the *New York Press*, a Republican paper, "the New York-Staten Island ferry has, in the first year under municipal control, carried one million more passengers than during any previous twelve months, and the commuters from Staten Island, they having been furnished with excellent service and with prospects of a reduction in the fare, are exceedingly well pleased with this particular experiment in municipal ownership."

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## OUR WRETCHED TAXING SYSTEM.

Napoleon said of China: "There lies a giant asleep—let him sleep!" Napoleon spoke from the standpoint of a warrior, of a civilized savage, whose trade was war, conquest of unlimited empire, and orderly, systematic spoliation of the conquered, at home as well as abroad. So long as the giant slept, there was no danger of his interfering with the imperial robber.

The present-day Napoleons of finance have enjoyed a long period of practically uninterrupted pillage, while the unconscious giant—the public—slept. But the public is awakened now, at last, awake as never before in the history of the world. The present awakening is very different in character from that of any previous time. We are not now rising to throw off the yoke of a foreign despot, but to purge our own institutions of the

elements of internal despotism; not the despotism of a personal tyrant, but of conventional error.

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Our laws and customs at the outset appeared to point all in the line of equity and truth. But the march of national progress has now extended so far along these lines as to reveal the fact that the farther we proceed, the wider becomes the divergence from equity. A new alignment is necessary. The unavoidable mistakes of our democratic infancy must be corrected by the mature judgment of experience. Though the fundamental principles of democracy are the same forever, statute law must always be regarded merely as the attempt of the political body to enforce those principles. And when statute law is demonstrated by experience to conflict with the fundamental principles of democracy, its abrogation is not only the right, it is the solemn duty of the people.

When the alternative is between loyalty to fundamental democracy—that is to say, justice—and a certain governmental enactment, then to choose the latter is to repudiate the sacred principle it was intended to enforce.

Justice is sacred; no one will deny that. Therefore no one can deny that a law that creates injustice should be repealed.

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The law that subjects personal property to taxation inevitably promotes injustice—monstrous injustice. And one of the most cheering features of the popular awakening is the fact that the men who are leading the vanguard in the economic revolution now in progress realize the pernicious character of this form of taxation, and assail it with a vigor and persistency that presage its speedy extinction.

The element of personalty taxation beclouds the general theory and practice of taxation, thereby vitiating the whole system. The facile possibility of dodging personalty tax inures men to the immoral practice of deception, and often to downright perjury. It complicates the matter so effectually that the public, forever baffled in the endeavor to enforce justice in regard to personalty, fails also in relation to land values. That is to say, the public, viewing all objects of taxation as economically identical and finding it impossible to effect equitable taxation of personalty, surrenders the entire field at discretion, the thought never occurring that land values are of such a nature as to afford a potential solution of

the problem. Therefore the tax-dogger carries his evasions over into the field of land values also, not because he cannot be prevented from doing so, as in the case of personalty, but because the public has not yet discovered the manifest fact that he can be prevented.

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It has been discovered that the personalty assessment of the Tilden iron mine, belonging to the steel trust, has been dropped from \$309,000 to \$210,000—about one-third. Now it might be difficult, if not impossible, to determine as to the equity of this change. Not so, however, in the case of the realty assessment of the mine, which "in the face of a distinct boom in the iron business" has been reduced from about \$1,000,000 down to about one-fourth that sum. The land values are easily ascertainable, and nothing but the traditional habit on the part of assessors of treating land and personal values alike would have given rise to the existing situation.

As a further illustration, take the Palms mine, belonging to the Schlesinger syndicate of Milwaukee. The assessment on this mine in 1900 was \$75,000. Now it is only the nominal amount of \$12,000!—less than one-sixth what it formerly was, and that notwithstanding the great prosperity in the iron business! It is claimed also that the personalty assessment on this mine has been reduced from \$70,000 down to \$4,500!

What is true of the particular mines in question is doubtless true of most other mines.

Trace the effects of such wide-spread inequity and you will find a chain of all manner of evils, the last and lowest link in which is a dying babe upon a starving mother's breast!

\*

Come, let's put an end to the shameful farce— for a shameful farce and fraud our system of taxation is, as all who examine it exhaustively can see.

"A farce and a fraud and an instrument of tyranny," is what the Chicago Record-Herald has editorially called it; and that paper gave some striking facts to emphasize its characterization. For instance: "In a North Side ward lives a man who owns his own house and has it well filled with furniture much above the average in value. Recently he erected a garage on the rear of his lot and bought himself a new automobile that cannot have cost him less than three or four thousand dollars. His personal assessment on his furniture and his automobiles and on his wife's jewelry and on whatever notes and stocks he may

possess is just a trifle over \$700. Not more than a block away lives a young woman who works for her living. She occupies a tiny furnished room, just big enough to turn around in, and she is entirely dependent on her own daily work for support, except that she is fortunate enough to have received from abroad a year or two ago a small legacy of something over \$1,000. At the best rate of pay she ever received it would take her six or eight years to earn as much money as her neighbor spent in a single day for his new automobile. Yet she is assessed for \$1,000, against his \$700. This great rich city of Chicago is actually willing to take from that young woman half of all the income she gets on the little fund that is her sole protection against misfortune. And it is actually willing to let her well-to-do neighbor, and ten thousand men like him, escape with a mere pittance of personal property tax without trying to remedy the injustice. It will pause and doubt at the proposal of progressive taxation 'upward,' but it goes along in thoughtless indifference to such crushing cases of taxation 'downward.'" "It makes perjury and deception appear right and natural and it penalizes honesty. . . . No system could be worse."

That is only one example. There are thousands like it. For instance, read this press dispatch from Cleveland:

"In Bratenahl, a suburb where only sixty-five persons, all millionaires, own property, the assessor found only \$48,360 worth of personalty to tax. There is not a resident worth less than \$1,500,000, and every one is interested in Cleveland's largest concerns. Among the collection of articles in the village is a \$5 watch owned by Abraham Garfield; a \$5 carriage, a \$5 watch and a \$10 piano, owned by A. S. Ingalls; three \$5 watches owned by P. P. Sanford, and three \$25 horses owned by Charles H. Colt. Only four persons in the village have money invested in stocks or otherwise, so they say. Millionaire L. E. Holden was found to have personal property worth \$3,900. He owns a newspaper, silver mines and a \$2,000,000 hotel!"

Isn't it disgusting?

Isn't it infamous?

Isn't it significant of conditions too frightfully demoralizing for men of common decency to be cognizant of without striving for an effectual remedy?

Isn't it damning to the soul of a man to know of such conditions without exerting every possible effort to correct them?

"Cases of perfect veracity are so rare," con-

tinues this Cleveland dispatch, "that they must give the assessors a shock." On the other hand, these same public servants are thoroughly prepared for a hardened conscience in everyone who approaches!"

Here is a confession of almost universal falsifying and widely prevailing perjury, on the part of all classes, rich and poor alike, the principal difference being merely that the rich find it enormously profitable, financially, while an occasional poor man saves a few pennies—or rather, lightens, slightly, the tremendous burden that the rich succeed in shifting to his shoulders.

✦

Our taxing system has already made us a nation of liars. Have we virtue enough left to save us from everlasting moral death? from the hell of conscious (and satisfied) wickedness?

Yes, we have. As fast as we come to realize the situation, we are filled with consternation and shame. If I did not believe that many of my readers would respond manfully to this appeal I should not make it. Come, let us save each other from this degradation. Let us change our system of taxation.

EDWARD HOWELL PUTNAM.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### SWITZERLAND.

Lucerne, July 23, 1906.—All Switzerland at this time of the year is thronged with visitors from many parts of Europe and America, and Lucerne may be said to be the capital of the wealth and fashion of the tourists. If it is a cool climate they are seeking, they have surely missed it during the past week, for the weather has been exceedingly warm. There is something comical in the situation, when one sweaters in heat while looking on oceans of snow, yet so it is in these July days in Lucerne. Across the lake, towards St. Gotthard, in the range where Urirotstock and Titlis tower up, there is the white covering of perpetual snow, while down on the green banks of the lake it is as hot as it was in Naples a month ago. Of course the natives say the weather is exceptional, but this is an ancient story the world over.

If it is beauty the tourists are seeking, the natives will never be called on to make excuses. The beauty and grandeur of the lakes and Alps of Switzerland are indescribable, and all the books and pictures can do but little in giving an idea of the reality to one who has not looked upon it with his own eyes. From my window the Rigi bounds the horizon on the left and Pilatus on the right; in front lies the Lake of Lucerne, with the Stanserhorn directly in the center of the view; and back of all, in white procession, range the snow-covered peaks of the loftier Alps, which seem all the grander if one has come down through them and knows the spell of the nearer view.

Beautiful indeed is little Switzerland—free Switzerland, where every man of 20 votes. There is, it is true, no suffrage for women as yet; but this is not surprising even in freedom-loving Switzerland, for there is still a long road ahead of the peasant women of Europe. But, in spite of certain shortcomings, Switzerland is an inspiration in her history past and present.

I walked today through the Hollow Way, on the road from Kussnacht to Immensee, where William Tell shot the tyrant Gessler. You may doubt the existence of Tell when you are far away and have read iconoclastic German historians, but here on the spot, with Schiller's splendid drama in hand, he is a living man. These two, Schiller and Tell, are the great names of this region, and healthy names they are. Schiller began by being a radical of the radicals, then went into eclipse because of the excesses of the French Revolution, but in his great drama of William Tell he returned to his love of freedom, and produced in this poem a monumental classic of the rights of man.

The two most striking themes in the play are the freedom of the soil and the possibility of popular initiative, and there are two passages which bring these ideas so clearly out that it is always a pleasure to recall them.

As Tell and his son Walter are walking together, the boy asks, "Are there lands without mountains, father?" And the father tells him of the rich plains below, where all is as a garden to behold. Then—

Walter.

Why don't we quickly seek out that fair land,  
Instead of vexing and o'ertolling here?

Tell.

The land is bright and lovely, as its skies,  
But those who cultivate can not enjoy it.

Walter.

Live they not free on their own heritage,  
As thou dost, father?

Tell.

No—the country round  
Belongs all to the bishop and the king.

Walter.

Dare they not hunt, as we do, in the forests?

Tell.

Wild animals, whether of foot or wing,  
All are the lords'.

Walter.

And can't they fish the stream?

Tell.

The stream, the wood, the plain, are all the sovereign's.

Walter.

Who is this King of whom they're so afraid?

Tell.

He is the one who fosters and protects them.

Walter.

Can they not foster and protect themselves?

Tell.

Thou'rt right, my boy,—etc., etc.

The other passage is where Stauffacher and other members of the league for freedom are telling the sympathetic nobleman, Attinghausen, of the secret meeting at Rutili and their plans for action. Attinghausen, who is nearing his end, is still under the "protective" idea, in spite of his sympathy for the

people and his opposition to the foreign rule. He says:

And fatherless I leave you all—all fatherless.

Stauffacher.

Cheer, cheer thee, noble sir; God hath not left us  
All desolate, all lost, without redemption.

Attinghausen.

Who will deliver you?

Walter Furst.

Even we ourselves—

Pledged are our cantons to expel the tyrants.  
The league is formed; a sacred oath hath bound us.

Attinghausen.

The league concluded!

Meichtal.

Ay, sir!—Until now

The secret has been kept, though shared by hundreds;  
On the same day will the three cantons rise.

Attinghausen.

And are our nobles sharers in the league?

Stauffacher.

I doubt not their assistance, when 'tis needed;  
As yet the only actors are the people.

Attinghausen (in great astonishment).

They have done this! And done it all alone!  
They have done this! And without aid of nobles!  
Then all's not lost! Through other arms than ours,  
The dignity of man will be asserted.

(Lays his hand on the head of young Walter Tell,  
who is kneeling before him.)

Yes, on this head, where late the apple lay,  
Soon shall a new and better freedom rise;  
Time changes; good or bad, the old hath fallen,  
And a new life is blooming from its ruins.

Writing, in 1804, Schiller read a deep meaning into such lines as these, and there is no doubt that he made use of the Swiss uprising in the early part of the fourteenth century in order to give expression to certain opinions that might be useful in the early part of the nineteenth. It is no wonder that the Swiss hold him in high honor for having made the ancient assertion of their rights the subject of his masterpiece.

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It may be that Switzerland has, in these modern days, a more dangerous enemy to contend with than the ancient house of Hapsburg. But it is to be hoped that the modern enemy touches only such places as Lucerne, and it is well always that the Lucernes are not the whole country. Lucerne, Interlaken, and such centers of attractive beauty, live and batten on the riches of the enemy. At the same time they must necessarily imbibe something of his poison, and there may be doubt whether Switzerland in the long run stands to win or lose by these wealthy idlers, who flock to her doors with their millions. But, as I have said, the probability is that this sort of thing touches only certain points of hardy Switzerland, and that the rugged mountaineers will save the land as they have done in the past.

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The eastern Swiss peasant looks rugged and independent enough, and he speaks a rugged speech, no language of his own, but in most parts a barbarous German dialect. His manners, too, are over-rugged, especially in comparison with the "grace" of Italy, of which Mr. Howells speaks.

Looking back to Italy, through Como and Milan to Florence, you feel that something has been lost, and you wish that you could combine what you have with what you have lost—sturdiness with something more of graciousness. While the good nature at bottom may be nearly the same, you are compelled to acknowledge the charm of the outward manner which characterizes the Italians of every class.

There are, in fact, no disagreeable people in Italy except the guides, and, according to a lady whom I met in Florence, Italy is not responsible for these. "They are educated in America," she said with an Italian smile; "they go to New York, get their English and a living by blacking boots, and then come back to guide Americans through our galleries."

But leaving out the guides, whom all travelers should carefully avoid, we cannot but feel that the Italians of all degrees owe a duty to the world to preserve and spread their beautiful art of courtesy. Any one who has seen it will agree with Mr. Howells. "It is not yet," he says, "valued aright in the world; but the time must come when it will not be shouldered aside by physical and intellectual brutality. I hope," he adds, "it may come so soon that the Italians will not have learned bad manners from the rest of us." In the readiness to be pleasant, to give information and to render the little services which make life go more smoothly, especially for a traveler, it is impossible not to observe the difference in passing from Italy up to Switzerland.

J. H. DILLARD.

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## THE HEARST CAMPAIGN IN NEW YORK.

New York, August 5.—Conservative students of politics in New York are now disposed to predict the easy election of William Randolph Hearst to the Governorship. This result seems assured, irrespective of his nomination by the official Democracy of the State, although it seems certain that a vociferous, if not predominant, demand for his leadership will be the feature of the Democratic State convention.

But shrewd observers do not hesitate to affirm that Hearst's election to the Governorship will ensue, no matter what the action of the Democratic State convention. His personal party, the Independence League, is well organized and seemingly well financed, in all the well populated counties of the State, and it seems to win recruits with equal facility from each of the old parties. In this city he has attached to himself a vast support from the poorer citizenship, attracted by the widely circulated incitements to radicalism in his daily newspapers.

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The devotion of this multitude is not less faithful now that it was last November, when, as is now generally conceded, Hearst was elected Mayor of the city. That he was literally counted out by the agents of a shameless political machine, and in the interest chiefly of the public service monopolies, is a conclusion naturally deduced from the developments since McClellan's election was announced to have been won by a plurality of about 3,000 in a total poll of more than half a million votes. Evidence of gross fraud in the count was presented by Hearst watchers within a week after the election, and a recount of the

ballots was demanded—Mr. Hearst's lawyers in the meantime having procured an order for the preservation of the ballot-boxes.

McClellan's attitude at first was that of a dignified and honest man, who would spurn a tainted title to office. But in court his personal attorney, ex-Judge Alton B. Parker, strenuously opposed a recount upon the technical ground that the report of the inspectors of election was conclusive, as a matter of law. A Supreme Court Justice who favored the Hearst contention for a general recount, was reversed by a majority of the judges in the Appellate Division of the court, and later the Court of Appeals, after elaborate argument, sustained the contention of Judge Parker, which, in effect, was that consideration of the element of fraud in the election was inadmissible in the absence of any express statutory provision that would permit a recount and correction of the work of the election inspectors.

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Two avenues, it was pointed out, were still open to the Hearst people through which the true result of the election might still be ascertained and declared. One was to obtain from the legislature, then in session, a special act, which would permit an opening of the ballot-boxes and a recount of the votes cast.

The legislature was Republican in both branches, and in view of the fact that Mr. Ivins, the late Republican candidate for the mayoralty, as well as the Republican and independent newspapers generally, repeatedly expressed belief that wholesale frauds had been committed in the interest of the Tammany candidate, it was thought that the legislature would quickly pass the "recount bill" which had been introduced in both houses by Hearst supporters. This belief was strengthened by a published announcement from the Republican leader in the Assembly, substantially to the effect that the bill would be put through.

For a time it was believed that the manipulators of the Republican organization and the business interests which stand behind both parties in New York, had been reconciled to the seating of Hearst as Mayor, on the theory that he could not do much damage anyhow, in the presence of a hostile Board of Estimate and Apportionment, whose chief members had been elected with McClellan, but with pluralities so large as to be in no danger from the threatened recount. In the meantime, however, a committee of the Assembly had been taking testimony both in Manhattan and in Brooklyn, in connection with local contests between candidates for the Assembly, and in these cases the ballot-boxes had been opened to determine the correct vote cast for the Assembly in the disputed districts. Incidentally, and privately, a recount of the vote cast upon the city ticket in these districts was made, with results that have never been made public, but which, according to well-informed persons, were startling in their revelations of fraud in the count. The ratio of gain for Hearst in these districts, it is said, if maintained throughout the city, would not only have elected Hearst, but his entire ticket, by large pluralities—including John Ford, the radical Republican who was the Hearst candidate for Controller, and Phelps Stokes, the millionaire Socialist, who was the candidate for President of the Board of Aldermen. This forecast of the probable

result of a recount was made by the New York Press, the most widely circulated Republican newspaper of the metropolis, and its publication was followed by rapid back-action developments at Albany, where a sudden change came over the spirit of the legislative leaders, who had been promising the passage of the "recount bill."

The election of Ford and Stokes, as well as that of Hearst, was evidently more than they had bargained for, for this result would have given to the Hearst people a voting control of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, the powerful body which, under New York's charter, controls all the vast appropriations of the city, but—more important—controls the terms upon which public-service franchises of all kinds may be granted. The impending fight before this board against the atrocious telephone monopoly was alone sufficient to raise up reasons of the satisfactory Albany kind, why no chances should be taken by passing the "recount bill." Therefore, the bill was killed, though some independent Republican members broke away from the leaders and joined with the Municipal Ownership Assemblymen in voting for it. The Democrats, with few exceptions, followed the Tammany leadership in killing the bill.

There can be no doubt that Hearst gained immensely in public sympathy by this flagrant evidence of the essential solidarity of both political parties in their denial of what seemed a simple demand for fair play and in their seeming devotion to the welfare of the predatory interests, denominated by Arthur McEwen as the "Plunderbund."

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There remained to Hearst just one resort, and to this the unabashed leaders of the legislature publicly directed him. This was to take his case to the Republican Attorney-General and petition that official to undertake proceedings in the nature of quo warranto to test McClellan's title to his office. Such an action under the law may be maintained only by consent of the Attorney-General. Before him, therefore, appeared lawyers for both sides and a protracted series of arguments ensued, followed by the filing of briefs by both parties. The attitude of Mr. Mayer, the Attorney-General, throughout the proceedings was plainly unfriendly to the Hearst interests, and people were not surprised when he finally handed down a decision denying the Hearst petition. An astounding thing about this decision was that despite the fact that Mayer is credited with being a lawyer of some capacity, he adopted in the wording of his decision the identical technical reasoning of McClellan's corporation counsel, evincing his devotion to that cause to such an extent as to make identical use of figures that were the result of simple errors in addition made by McClellan's lawyers. In effect, the Attorney-General's decision was written by McClellan's lawyers, as any careful analysis of it would show.

Thus was the last door closed in the face of the Hearst people contending simply for a fair count and no favors. The fight had cost Hearst, it is said, more than fifty thousand dollars in attorneys' fees alone.

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"It is up to the people now," was the text and the tone of the editorials in the Hearst newspapers that

accompanied the news of the failure of the long fight for a recount of the ballots in the city election. And it is certain that tens of thousands of voters, nominally attached to the old parties and taking no account of Hearst's principles or lack of them, will vote to put him in the Governor's chair as the best available method of rebuking election grand larceny and the cowardly or purchased political leaders of both parties, who have condoned or confirmed it.

CHARLES O'CONNOR HENNESSY

## 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 8.

### The Russian Autocracy Still in Control.

The mutiny at Sveaborg (p. 419) was put down after several days of desperate fighting. A related mutiny at Kronstadt, feared at the time of writing our news article of last week, was more quickly brought to a close. The third of the sea fortresses which were believed to be ready for simultaneous mutiny—that at Sevastopol—seems to be in the balance. Telegraphic communication has been cut off, and on the 6th it was reported that 20,000 persons had left the city in panic.

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On the 4th an effort to establish a general strike throughout Russia in fulfilment of the revolutionary program, was inaugurated, but it was incomplete, probably partly from being premature, and it has therefore proved inadequate for its purpose. St. Petersburg and Moscow were the crucial points, and it was estimated that by the evening of the 4th 100,000 men were on strike in St. Petersburg. But on the 5th, feeling a lack of cohesion and co-operation, and affected by coercion on the part of the government, and by a heavy downpour of rain which prevented open-air meetings, the printers and then other workers, returned to their trades. On the following day the Moscow strikers began to follow their example, and the strike was broken.

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With autocracy once more in the saddle, but facing danger on every hand, it is natural that the administration should try to lay down a program, on the one hand sufficiently attractive to some of the revolutionary elements to lead them to break ranks, and on the other preservative of the autocracy and vested interests. And this is just what has happened—even down into details. Evidently there are clear-sighted men in the administration. The Associated Press dispatches of the 7th report an inter-

view with a member of the cabinet which is so enlightening that we quote it in full:

The official said that Premier Stolypin at least intends to pursue and hold an affirmative policy amounting virtually to a determination on the part of the administration to settle the agrarian question according to its own lights, and irrespective of parliament, and then go to the country upon this issue. The government expects to rally not only all the landed interests, but the mass of the peasantry to its side, by actually giving the latter some immediate relief, instead of merely holding out hopes of a more advantageous settlement in the indefinite future, which has been the stock in trade of many reformers. Politically this move may prove strong. The actual bestowal of land, even if in smaller quantities than expected, and the division of communistic holdings, will, it is believed, make the peasantry disinclined to vote for candidates to the lower house who might propose a totally different solution of the question.

But, above all, individual possession, the government calculates, will inculcate that respect for property the lack of which, under the system of communistic holdings, has made many peasants such easy converts to the theory of the nationalization of land.

The crux of the question is its financial aspect. It will be a herculean operation to find the funds required to purchase the private holdings, which the project of the minister of agriculture contemplates acquiring through the land banks, even though the owners, under the spell of the agrarian disorders, are ready to sell at moderate prices.

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### Great Britain.

The education bill which had passed its third reading in the House of Commons (p. 418), passed its second reading in the House of Lords on the 3d. On the same day the trades' disputes bill (vol. viii, 874; vol. ix, 9) passed the committee stage in the Commons, and was reported amid ministerial cheering. This bill is a result of the Taff Vale decision that a trades union's funds are liable for the illegal acts of individual members of the union. During the debate several amendments opposed by the government were only defeated by narrow majorities. The reports state that—

in place of the clause in the original bill exempting the funds of a union from damages when illegal acts have been committed without the authority of the union, a clause was adopted giving a trade union, whether of workmen or employers, complete immunity from claims for damages for illegal acts committed during a strike.

A spectacular situation was created when Mr. Balfour, the leader of the Opposition, accused the Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, of bad faith in allowing the debate on the bill to continue beyond a certain hour, and then, amid ironical cheers, withdrew from the House, followed by some sixty members of the Opposition, a few of whom afterward returned.

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On the 4th Parliament adjourned until Oct. 23. The session has a good record. The dispatches thus summarize the work done:

The Irish laborers' cottages bill, the colonial marriages bill, T. P. O'Connor's musical copyright bill and a large number of minor bills were passed, and the trades' disputes bill, the workmen's compensation bill, and the merchant shipping bill are all in an advanced condition.

The education bill is the expected feature of the

autumn session. In the winter there will probably come up a bill introduced only at the close of this session—the Scotch crofters' bill which with the Irish laborers' cottages bill will be likely to ultimately form the basis for dealing with the land question in England also. This bill is reported as going to greater lengths in the reform of land legislation than even the Irish bills, and will be keenly contested by the unionists.

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In the meantime the land hungry are becoming impatient. The Chicago Inter Ocean of the 5th prints a dispatch about what it calls "the Manchester Grablanders," who have appeared in London under the leadership of a Mr. Arthur Smith. They are described as

a band of twelve desperate malcontents, a company of strong, resolute, uncompromising Northmen of the "unemployed," who walked 300 miles to London, and strode through the streets of the capital as men whose self-respect had not been shaken by the woes of want and the long-drawn-out agonies of hope deferred.

Apparently they have already "grabbed" some ecclesiastical land, but they evidently do not mean to stop with that. Mr. Smith is quoted as saying: "We have started a movement that will revolutionize England; we have put into practical operation the famous maxim, 'The land is the people's.' We are proving to the government, to the rich, and to the world that Englishmen at any rate will insist upon the right to Mother Earth."

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#### American Politics.

At the Republican convention for Iowa on the 1st (p. 421), Governor Cummins was completely successful. He was himself renominated for governor on the first ballot by a clear majority of over 200, receiving 933 votes. Of his two adversaries, Perkins received 603 and Rathbun 104. His principal supporter, Senator Warren Garst, was nominated on the first ballot for lieutenant governor, his vote being 917 1-3 to 722 2-3 cast for L. B. Raymond, his competitor.

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The Democratic convention for Iowa met at Waterloo on the 7th and nominated a full ticket with Claude Porter as candidate for governor. The platform condemned government by injunction, advocated stringent laws against campaign contributions from corporations, favored the establishment of a bi-partisan railroad commission of six members, expressed sympathy with the political movement of the national labor organizations, and endorsed Wm. J. Bryan for the Presidency in 1908.

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In the Republican convention for Idaho held on the 1st, Frank R. Gooding was re-nominated for governor and the party was pledged in the platform to the State policy which Governor Gooding has carried out, it being understood that the allusion here was to the prosecution of the labor union leaders (p. 228) extradited from Colorado upon the charge of murdering Governor Steunenberg.

The Democratic State committee of New York, which met on the 1st (p. 420), fixed September 25th as the time and Buffalo as the place for holding the State convention.

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At the Democratic convention for North Dakota (p. 372), held on the 2nd, John Burke was nominated for governor. The platform endorsed Wm. J. Bryan for President, and declared for equal taxation, an extension of the primary law for candidates for State office, the popular election of United States senators, a popular referendum, the abolition of tariff protection for all trust goods, and public ownership of public utilities.

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The Democratic State convention for Michigan (p. 422) met at Detroit on the 2nd and nominated Charles H. Kimmerle for governor. The convention endorsed Wm. J. Bryan for President and the platform favored the nomination of all candidates by direct vote, popular election of United States senators, railroad passenger fares of not more than 2 cents a mile in the lower peninsula and 3 cents in the upper, the abolition of straight voting on the official ballot, and the enactment of laws making it a criminal offense for members of the legislature to accept railroad passes.

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#### Mayor Johnson's Alleged Contempt of Court.

Arguments in the proceedings against Tom L. Johnson, mayor of Cleveland (p. 416), and W. J. Springborn, director of public service of that city, were continued on the 1st before Judge Kennedy, who heard the case in place of Judge Ford, by whom the injunction had been issued. On the 3rd Judge Kennedy decided that Mayor Johnson was not guilty of contempt, and dismissed the proceedings as to him. In the case against Mr. Springborn, the court held that he had violated the temporary injunction by not ordering all work to stop immediately upon being served with notice. Mr. Springborn was therefore fined \$100 and costs, and from this judgment he is taking an appeal.

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#### The Traction Question in Cleveland.

An interesting feature of the traction controversy in Cleveland (p. 416) relates to a peculiar attitude of the local newspapers toward it. All the daily papers but one have opened their advertising columns to arguments by newspaper men employed by the old traction company, which is seeking a renewal of franchises, while the paper that refuses the advertisements from the old company has offered its space free to the three-cent fare company which is seeking to establish municipal ownership and operation. The paper that opens its columns in this public spirited manner is the Press, one of the chain of daily newspapers, some twenty-five in all, throughout the United States, which is owned and managed by Mr. Edward Scripps.

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#### The Traction Question in Denver.

The legal controversy in Denver over the results

of the recent municipal election, in which by a bare popular majority as the vote was counted, street car franchises valued at \$25,000,000 were secured by the public utility corporations (p. 372), has been revived in a new form, an action having been brought before Judge Lindsey of the County Court for an investigation into the alleged frauds. It was brought by Wm. Wadley, who sues as a taxpayer, and alleges that in order fraudulently to affect the election the corporations had procured options on a large number of cheap suburban properties, had paid fractional taxes thereon, and had then turned the tax receipts over to their employes who upon this basis fraudulently appeared at the polls as tax-paying voters. When Mr. Wadley's case came before Judge Lindsey on the 7th, one of the first witnesses called was F. A. Williams, chairman of the Republican county central committee, who was believed to know the method of making the bogus tax receipts. Williams refused to be sworn and was consequently adjudged guilty of contempt. He was released from custody on condition that he appear upon call. J. Cook, Jr., who managed the real estate end of the scheme, also refused to testify and was disposed of temporarily in the same manner. The lawyers for Mr. Wadley then moved that a ballot box alleged to contain fraudulent votes be brought into court. Judge Lindsey ordered the sheriff to bring it in. Sheriff Nesbit, who is stated to be one of the beneficiaries of the alleged fraud and is classed as in sympathy with the corporation faction, refused to produce the box. Judge Lindsey thereupon issued a mandatory writ ordering its production on the following morning, the 8th. Meanwhile the attorneys for the corporations applied to Judge Bailey of the State Supreme Court for an injunction against Judge Lindsey on the ground that the County Court has no jurisdiction. Judge Bailey reserved his decision until the 8th, when he denied the injunction.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—Mrs. Thomas W. Lawson died at her country home near Scituate, Mass., on the 5th.

—A general strike of lithographers for an eight hour day began all over the United States on the 2nd.

—The fourth annual convention of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters is in session in Chicago.

—M. D. Excell of Cleveland is reported to be writing a political novel in which Tom L. Johnson is the central figure.

—The North West is making its annual brief demand for laborers. \$2.00 and \$2.50 a day are freely offered in Minnesota.

—The city of Monroe, La., is reported to be the first in the United States to own and operate its own electric street railway. The innovation was made in July.

—A disastrous flood in south and west Texas was reported on the 8th. The Colorado, swollen by rains, had burst its banks, causing destruction of property and loss of life.

—An indictment of the Standard Oil Co., for illegally receiving rebates from the Lake Shore and

Michigan Southern Railroad was found by the Federal grand jury at Chicago on the 8th.

—Kansas City, Kansas, was reported on the 5th as being on the verge of bankruptcy owing to the strict enforcement of the prohibition law (p. 348), as required by the Supreme Court of the State.

—Elihu Root, Secretary of State of the United States, has left Rio Janeiro, where he has been in attendance upon the sessions of the Pan-American Conference (p. 417), for Montevideo, Uruguay.

—Dr. Elmer E. Brown, Professor of Education in the University of California, has been appointed by President Roosevelt United States Commissioner of Education in place of Dr. William T. Harris resigned.

—At the Democratic primaries at Houston, Texas, James Charlton, a well known single tax man of twenty years' standing, has been nominated for county treasurer. His nomination is equivalent to election.

—It is reported from Arizona that only 24 per cent. of the Democratic Territorial Committee, and only 29 per cent. of the Republican Territorial Committee favor joint statehood with New Mexico under the referendum bill (p. 278.)

—A balloon trip from New York to Brant Rock, Massachusetts, a distance of more than 225 miles, was accomplished on the 6th by Dr. Julian P. Thomas and Roy Knabenshue. It is reported to have been the most successful balloon trip yet recorded.

—The Negro Young People's Christian Education Congress held in Washington adjourned on the 5th. Before adjourning it addressed an appeal to friends of humanity everywhere to aid and encourage the Negro in the development of character, intelligence and frugality.

—It is reported that experiments at Cologne have demonstrated that the River Rhine makes an excellent conductor of telephonic messages, and arrangements are being made for its use in a wireless telephone system between all the towns and landing places which lie on its banks.

—Wyoming reports from her Douglass mining district the discovery that the thousands of acres of black sands there, hitherto supposed to be valueless, are gold-bearing, and are found to yield sometimes as much as \$780 a ton, at an expense for washing it out of 15 cents a ton. Miners are rushing there.

—At the National Purity Conference to be held in Chicago from Oct. 9th until 11th, Mr. T. Schroeder is announced as a speaker, who will endeavor to explain to the conference what it is necessary to do in order to teach physiology, and seriously to discuss physiological questions, without risking martyrdom.

—An application for a franchise for a three-cent fare traction system has been made at Bloomington, Ill., in competition with the present company which is seeking a renewal of franchises. The new company, in addition to reducing the fare to 3 cents, offers to pay 7 per cent. of the gross revenues into the city treasury.

—The 75th annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science opened at York on the 1st. The president, Professor Edwin

Ray Lankester, in reviewing the advances made by science during the last quarter of a century, assigned as the supreme discovery of the period, the radio-activity of radium.

—Twenty miles from the scene of their recent fight on the Island of Leyte, in the Philippines (p. 399), the Pulajanes have broken through the military cordon and burned the municipal buildings of the town of Abuyog, killing some of the constabulary; and the Igorrotes of northern Luzon, hitherto peaceable, have been wounding American officers from ambush.

—Mayor Dunne of Chicago has ordered the "arrest" of street cars after accidents in which they figure, to be followed by an inspection to determine if an imperfect condition of their mechanism caused or contributed to the accident. The first "arrest" took place on the 6th. After an hour's inspection on a sidetrack, the car was given a clean bill of health.

—In the western Mediterranean, off the coast of Spain, the Italian steamer *Sirio*, with about 645 passengers aboard, foundered on a rocky island on the 4th. With no efforts at control on the part of the officers, the wretched passengers, mostly Italian and Spanish emigrants to Buenos Ayres, fought with the crew for the means of rescue. Probably about one-third or more of their number were lost.

—Through the failure of the Milwaukee Avenue State Bank of Chicago the disclosure of a financial scandal of great magnitude and involving tragic consequences to thousands of families in the foreign quarters of the northwest side of Chicago is expected. The shortage is reported to be in all probability not less than \$750,000, and the president of the bank, a distinguished and wealthy citizen of Chicago, is accused of criminal responsibility.

—The monthly statement of the United States treasury department (see p. 373) for July, 1906, shows the following for the month ending July 31, 1906:

Gold reserve fund .....	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash .....	169,963,941.94
Total .....	\$319,963,941.94
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1906 .....	328,087,283.25
Decrease .....	\$ 8,123,341.31

—A sick Syrian named George Rosset, who was declared by the physician of the Davis Memorial Hospital at Elkins, Randolph Co., West Virginia, to be a leper, was shunted in box cars backward and forward for nearly two months, across West Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, everywhere refused asylum and care, and is at last back in Randolph Co., West Va., a mile back from an isolated railroad station, alone in a tent in a mountain forest. His case has been brought to the attention of the Federal authorities.

—The Arbitration Committee of the Pan-American Conference just closing its sessions in Rio Janeiro (p. 417), is reported by the press dispatches as declaring that there is urgent necessity for all the South American countries to send to The Hague delegates instructed to use their best efforts to arrange a general arbitration convention. This is a step which was urged upon all American Republics by Mr. Root in his able speech before the Conference

(p. 418), and it will carry South America for the first time into world politics.

—According to press reports the Pennsylvania Society to Protect Children from Cruelty, working with Director Coplin of the Bureau of Health and Charities, and Chief Abbott of the Bureau of Health, have instituted the practice of performing operations upon the children given into their charge, where medical opinion is rendered that such a course is likely to prevent a criminal career. The first operations, made on the 2d, included two on brains, three on eyes, and two minor operations for nervousness. Operations are performed only when parents consent.

—The problem raised by the French murderer who refused to apply for commutation of his capital sentence, thereby embarrassing the government which had through granting such commutations been allowing capital punishment to fall into disuse (p. 373), has been solved. The Minister of Justice has decided to commute the sentence without the formality of a petition from the condemned person, and without regard to his wishes in the matter. Taken in connection with the refusal of the Chamber of Deputies to allow the salary of a public executioner (p. 422), this step practically abrogates capital punishment in France.

—The Indians of Oklahoma are conducting final tribal celebrations before the Territory becomes a State (p. 278), when many of them will sever tribal relations and adopt citizenship. The Pawnees have been entertaining their old enemies the Sioux with the green corn dance and feasts. The Poncas are reported as arranging for the biggest celebration, to be held September 15 and 16. Besides the Oklahoma Indians, the tribes to the north—the Sioux, the Winnebagoes, the Omahas and others—are being invited. About 4,000 are expected. The entertainment will include dances, smokes and buffalo feasts, and the Poncas will bear the whole cost.

—The first experiment with the direct primary law of Illinois (p. 180) was made on the 4th. Both political parties in Chicago are in confusion over the results. In the Republican party Governor Deneen has scored a victory in some respects, but the Lorimer faction still retains a hold upon the organization. In the Democratic organization the Roger C. Sullivan faction defeated the combination known as the harmony ticket, supposed to have been agreed upon by Cary, Hearst and Dunne. In consequence of dissatisfaction, the Independence League, generally regarded as the Hearst organization, issued a call on the 7th for the nomination of an independent local ticket.

—Papers from the West Indies tell of the recent death of Mr. Wellesley Bourke, a distinguished lawyer of Kingston, Jamaica. Mr. Bourke is described by the Daily Gleaner of Kingston to have been distinguished not only in legal circles but also in the Roman Catholic Church, of which he was a highly respected member, and in governmental and legislative affairs. At one time he was mayor of Kingston. The Gleaner also describes him as a disciple of Henry George and a frequent contributor to the Jamaica press on economic subjects. "He was one of the most independent legislators in the House," says the Gleaner editorially, "fearless in speech and

attitude and a penetrating critic of measures of which he did not approve." Mr. Bourke was not well known to the single taxers of the United States, but in Jamaica he had not only made a mark as an able and distinguished advocate of this fiscal policy, but had impressed very strongly his own views upon the public opinion of the island.

—The monthly treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government (see p. 374) for July, 1906, shows the following for the month ending July 31, 1906:

Receipts:			
Tariff .....	\$26,176,744.74		
Internal revenue .....	22,102,238.65		
Miscellaneous .....	4,019,869.57		
		\$52,298,852.96	
Expenses:			
Civil and Misc. ....	\$15,560,488.17		
War .....	14,256,966.85		
Navy .....	10,547,371.11		
Indians .....	1,986,715.08		
Pensions .....	11,961,126.96		
Public works .....	7,459,839.10		
Interest .....	4,041,214.44		
		\$65,813,721.71	
Deficit .....			\$13,514,868.75

## PRESS OPINIONS

### TOM L. JOHNSON'S CONTEMPT.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), July 28.—Mayor Tom Johnson of Cleveland, O., evidently does not believe in the efficiency of government by injunction. When enjoined from tearing up the tracks of the street railway company which had failed to live up to its contract with the city, he placed the court order in his inside pocket and paid no attention to it until he had the job completed. Mayor Tom may be able to defy courts, but it would not be safe for everybody to try the same game. There are two kinds of law in vogue, one for the wealthy and powerful, and the other for the poor and weak.

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Auburn (N. Y.) Citizen (ind. Dem.), July 28.—For several days the "old regime" newspapers of the country have been exploiting with a note of illy concealed satisfaction, the service of a contempt of court order on Mayor Tom Johnson of Cleveland in connection with certain acts of his in pursuit of his fight for a three-cent street railway fare in that city. . . . That there is another side to the case is clear from a statement which Mr. Johnson has issued. . . . While as a general proposition the courts must be sustained, because in that way only lies the road to public security, it is true that in some cases the premises and the results of judicial action are so flagrantly wrong as to lead to strong temptation to test the question as Johnson has done.

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### SUCCESSFUL MUNICIPAL OPERATION.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), July 14.—The most impressive example of the merits of municipal ownership and operation in Greater New York to-day is the Staten Island Ferry. And it is impressive despite the fact that a systematic effort has been made to discredit it, and with it the whole principle of municipal ownership. The biggest, finest and fastest ferry-boats now plying the waters of New York belong to the municipality. Any resident of Staten Island, or any one who ever had occasion to visit that corner of the metropolis, is quite alive to the contrast between the small, filthy and unseaworthy boats that ran two years ago for private profit and those now plying for the public good. And more: This very triumph of a public service for the public has been

achieved in the face of the sinister opposition of public officials who should have pressed the experiment to success.

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### THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN POLITICS.

The United Mine Workers' Journal (lab.), July 26.—We have been treated unjustly in the consideration of these and other measures necessary for our protection against corporate power; our petitions have been spurned and there is nothing left for us to do but to use our influence and vote to secure the election of men to Congress who will see that we get fair play. It is for that purpose that the American Federation of Labor has issued its circular appealing to the wage workers and their friends to see to it that fair-minded men are elected to Congress. We do not propose to organize any new party. Our votes represent the balance of power which, if properly used, will secure us the legislation for which we are seeking.

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### SOCIALISM AND CLASS INTEREST.

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), July 17.—Socialism as a movement does not owe its present position in any country to class interest, and will not owe whatever gains it may make in the future to any such interest. In this respect it is not unlike any movement for social reform of which human history contains the least recorded information. From the beginning of modern civilization, sympathy, the passion for justice, the love of truth, the hatred of iniquity and oppression have been the great factors in the struggle for social amelioration. Interest is undeniably a powerful incentive, but man does not live by bread alone, and it is a libel on humanity to assert that the victims of a particular evil cannot count on the help and active good will of those who are not "in the same boat with them." Facts that refute this statement stare one in the face from every possible direction.

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### THE PERNICIOUS POSTAL SUBSIDY.

Chicago Chronicle (Rep.), July 12.—In view of the experience of the past thirty years it is certain that it would be to the interest of every legitimate newspaper in the country to have the rate of postage raised to cost of carriage at least, because the effect would be to clear the field of these parasites that prey on the business of disseminating information. Every legitimate newspaper in America is financially able to pay the full cost of postage. Newspapers which cannot do so ought to go out of business at once.

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Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat, July 10.—The government gets one dollar a hundred for handling second-class matter. At the moment we do not recall what the average haul on this matter is, but it is hardy more, we think it is much less, than a hundred miles. The railroads and the express companies are very glad to haul freight an equal distance for much less. But for some reason the government is hostile to second-class matter. It blames the deficit in the postal revenues on the fact that it transports newspapers and other periodicals to subscribers at a cent a pound. Curiously enough it does not take into account the fact that it is paying the railroads excessive rates for transportation.

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### BRYAN.

Dubuque Telegraph-Herald (Dem.), Aug. 4.—Mr. Bryan's demand upon Roger Sullivan to resign from the Democratic national committee attests the Nebraskan's acceptance of the leadership of his party. Moreover, it proves his unalterable purpose not to be allied with unscrupulous men contemptuous of the principle of rule by

the majority, and to pull down from high places in the party such men as have attained them through fraud and iniquity.

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The New Voice (Pro.), July 26.—The Bryan revolution is the most notable personal victory since the return of Napoleon from Elba. Six years ago he was banished politically, by "the allies," as a dangerous blatherskite. On the 30th of August he will land in New York, the most popular man in America and President select of the United States. He wins not by being shrewd, but by being right, and true to himself. He wears his honors, as he wore the weeds of his defeat—like a calm, strong, honest man. He shows no great concern about the Presidency, but he takes no chances on his own untarnished name. "He has become a conservative," cries the Bryan boomer, to catch the reactionary Democrats. But the wire brings the quick correction—"I am as radical as ever." "He has abandoned bimetalism," shouts the gold Democrat. But like a flash he answers—"I have not changed my mind about bimetalism, but it is no longer an issue." If the people make Bryan President they will at least know what they have got in the White House.

\* \*

THE CHRONICLE WANTS TO KNOW.

The Chicago Chronicle (Rep.), Aug. 4, 1906.—Who is William J. Bryan that he should have a reception of this description?

## RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

### GOLGOTHA.

Our crosses are hewn from different trees,  
But we all must have our Calvaries;  
We may climb the height from a different side,  
But we each go up to be crucified;  
As we scale the steep, another may share  
The dreadful load that our shoulders bear,  
But the costliest sorrow is all our own  
For on the Summit we bleed alone.

—From "Love Triumphant," by Frederic Lawrence Knowles.

\* \* \*

### "ARGUMENTUM AD VENTREM."

From the Wall St. Journal.

A while ago we printed a few verses on the subject of "Feudalism," which described the result of seven hundred years of progress. The "envol" ran as follows:

Thus runs the Law, and the Law shall run till the Earth  
in its Course is still,  
And the Ages hurrying one by one, the Cup of Time shall  
fill—  
That whoso eateth another's Bread shall do that other's  
Will.

This in so many words is the argument to-day. Boiled down, it means: "We pay your wages; vote as we want, or we will cut your wages." Of course, no employer of labor would dare say such a thing in so many words, and probably few employers of labor consciously mean any such thing by what they do say. But the argumentum ad ventrem at bottom means this thing and nothing else. By implication, moreover, it asserts not merely the necessity but the lordship of the belly. Now the principle upon

which free government is based asserts that there are some things for which life itself can be well lost, and these are the things that distinguish rational man from the brute creation. In the brute creation the argumentum ad ventrem is final, conclusive and unanswerable. It is not so in the case of free men.

\* \* \*

### PROGRESSIVE NEW ZEALAND.

The Boston American in a recent issue had a long and interesting editorial on Sir Joseph Ward, New Zealand's new premier, who is visiting in this country. New Zealand, where women vote, is coming to be recognized as the most progressive country in the world, and of woman suffrage the editorial in question says:

"Sir Joseph Ward, if you could see him, would tell you that the women vote at least as intelligently as the men. They have improved the character of public officials. They have emphasized the importance of morality, in that word's true meaning, everywhere throughout public life. They are open-minded voters. They do not cast their votes in a bigoted way."

ELIZABETH J. HAUSER.

\* \* \*

### THE LANDLORD'S SHARE.

With Acknowledgments to Samuel Gompers.

A little boy was peaceably making a snow man one winter morning when a strong lad, a bully, rushed up crying, "I own that snow," kicked down the snow man and gave the little fellow a thump on the head.

A charitable man saw this from a distance. He drew near, and gave the little one a dime to comfort him.

"There, there," he said, "here is a dime for you. Now dry your eyes."

But he was no sooner gone than the bully came up and demanded half the money in increased rent.

"I'll be satisfied with half," he said virtuously, "but I ought to have all by rights, for if I hadn't walloped ye, ye wouldn't have got a cent."

B. H.

\* \* \*

### THE ULTIMATE VALUE OF THE LITERARY LIFE.

John Addington Symonds, Writing of His Delivery of Three Lectures on "Florence and the Medici" at the Royal Institution, London, 1877.

I had composed these lectures for what I most abhor, an audience of cultivated people. This is a paradoxical confession. I am nothing if not cultivated, or at least the world only expects culture from me. But in my heart of hearts I do not believe in culture, except as an adjunct to life. Life is more than literature, I say. So I cannot, although I devote my time and energy to culture (even as a carpenter makes doors, or a carver carves edelweiss on walnut wood), regard it otherwise than in the light of pastime, decoration, service. Passion, nerve, and sinew, eating and drinking, even money-getting, the coarsest forms of activity—come, in my reckoning, before cul-

ture. Little did I care what the gentlemen in frock coats and the ladies in bonnets thought of my lectures. I did not care what they thought, because I knew that the real arena for myself and the rest of them was not in that theater of disputations, elucubrations and plausible explications of all sorts of theories. It lay outside, inside, in a world of things which each carries about with him, and into which each penetrates when the voice of the lecturer is no more heard in the theater.

\* \* \*

**POLITICAL STRATEGY.**

Improvements are the order of the day. The People's Sovereignty League of America, with headquarters at Washington, D. C., points out that the constitutional amendments for the initiative and referendum that are being framed in legislatures are purposely made defective so that the machine rule legislature may continue in power. An improved program of reform is suggested, namely, that the initiative and referendum system should be framed at a State conference of the legislative committees of organized farmers, organized labor and the other reform forces, after the candidates for the legislature have been pledged to install the advisory initiative and advisory referendum. To install the advisory system requires only a majority vote in the legislature, which can be secured by the systematic questioning of candidates throughout the State and the publication of replies. It is stated that the pledge should be that a direct vote system be installed at the opening of the session. After election day is passed and the installation of the system is assured, the next step is the holding of a State meeting of the legislative committees of the reform forces for framing the initiative and referendum system, also a direct nominations law and a ballot reform law. These should be attached to initiative petitions, circulated for the required number of signatures and filed with the legislature when it meets. The legislature after considering the measures and framing competing systems if it so desires, will be bound to refer the measures to a referendum campaign and vote.

In this way ideal systems can be framed and voted upon, and in the next State campaign the candidates for the legislature should be pledged to obey the voters' instructions. In that way the legislature can be pledged to enact an ideal system of direct nominations and ballot reform and submit an ideal system of initiative and referendum.

Is there any flaw in the program?

GEO. H. SHIBLEY.

\* \* \*

**THE PITY OF IT.**

Editorial in The Crown, of Newark, N. J., Rev. E. A. Wasson, Editor.

Because the public is thoughtless, it is often unjust and cruel. Here is a man whom for a great many years the country has honored and enjoyed and exalted to its high places. Now, as he totters on the brink of the grave in bodily imbecility and mental senility, society guffaws and points the finger at him because he has been exposed as an imposter

and rogue. He is both; but it is more society's fault than his own: he has been more sinned against than sinning. He was born with an evil nature, the nature of a sycophant and cheat, with a mind that reached out, as it developed, in the direction of the unclean. In a truly Christian society these evil tendencies for which he was not responsible, would have been discouraged and checked; and the man's great natural talents would have been directed into useful and honorable channels. But in fact it was the evil in him that was encouraged, honored, and rewarded. No sooner was he admitted to his profession than a lucrative career, quite in accord with his shifty nature, was opened to him as lobbyist of great railway magnates at the state capital; and this in fact was his real profession till disgraced a year or so back. For some years, he did the dirty work himself, directly, with his own hands. Later, he employed agents; and later still, as the interests multiplied, he moved farther and farther away from the arena of corruption, and managed and controlled the business through various grades and circles of agents and tools.

His occupation was known to practically everybody in his walk of life. But was he rebuked, frowned on, avoided for it? On the contrary, he was honored, feted, rewarded. He became an influence in politics, to such an extent that he seriously aspired to the nomination for president of the country at the hands of one of the great political parties. Also he was selected a member of his university corporation term after term. He was many times chosen president of the most powerful and honorable political and social club in the country.

He was elected and re-elected to high political office. He was made director in something like seventy-five corporations, including the most powerful and wealthy in the land. He was the favored speaker at Y. M. C. A. conventions, church gatherings, great dinners, and great occasions. A Washington, a Lincoln, could scarcely have been more highly honored. The great public, to be sure, did not know his real character. But the men who were near to him did, the men who were responsible for his rise, for his greatness and glory and riches—they knew well enough that it was a question whether he had ever done an honest day's work or earned an honest dollar. The men in his walk and grade of life knew all about him, the financial men, the society men, the railroad men, the political men, the insurance men, the corporation men—they knew him well enough for a princely grafter. . . .

Yet these men, so far from rebuking him, moved heaven and earth at his wish to induce President McKinley to appoint him ambassador to Great Britain; and every sort of influence, ecclesiastical, political, commercial was brought to bear, to this end, with a president by no means proof against such forces. Yet, to his honor, McKinley, who was a pure, clean man, indignantly refused. . . .

But the college men and the religious men, the superior men generally in politics, in business, in professions, in society never objected. . . . When he used to visit his university, the boys who probably did not understand his character would unhitch the horses and draw his carriage themselves. They say now they would ride him on a rail instead. But

the alumni that honored him year after year knew what manner of man he was. They knew that as a lawyer he was unthinkable; that as a railroad man he was a joke; that as a business man he was a nonentity. But to great business interests his peculiar talents and activities were invaluable.

Besides he was a professional savior of society! When Henry George that great and noble man began to preach his gospel of social justice it was this servicable and fluent lackey of organized thievery and fraud that was selected to overwhelm him with abuse and slander in the name of honesty and truth! And later this same mercenary became a leader in the cause of "sound money," an "honest dollar," "a hundred cent dollar!" And all the while he was robbing the policyholders of a great insurance society of tens of thousands of dollars a year; something like that other "sound money," "honest money" man, the ex-president of the Bankers' Association, now doing time in the penitentiary as a thief.

But now the country has found our hero out. He is covered with infamy; and, no longer a maker of jokes, is himself a joke. Y. M. C. A.'s, Union Leagues, university corporations, insurance companies, great corporations, grand dinners and occasions, have no further use for him. They made him what he was. They made him what he was—not himself or the Lord. They made him what he was. They would have honored him to the day of his death and bestowed lying obseques and memorials on him, had he not been found out. They indeed did not need to find him out; they knew; they approved, applauded, rewarded. But now that the world has found him out, they throw him, like a dirty clout, into the swill can; and his poor life, deceived, caajoled, fooled, ruined, by others, goes out in darkness and contempt.

I do not blame him at all, or at least much. His blood is not on his own head, but on the heads of the respectable, estimable, and Christian men that surrounded him all his life, and who encouraged and rewarded, for their own purposes, the false, the obscene, the dishonest, the rapacious in him; and who are still pillars and "saviors" of society. The spectacle of a lost soul is not one to jeer at or gloat over under any circumstances. It ought to be the occasion of infinite pity. And surely in this case there is a call, in addition, for hot indignation and reproof against those stronger, if not abler men, and the classes who are responsible for this soul's tragedy. It will generally be found, as in this case, that society is itself responsible for its Barères.

\* \* \*

On nights so still that field and tree,  
And even breezes, listen,  
Oh, who will walk a mile with me  
To watch Orton glisten?  
For ever must we ape the bee?  
For ever seek but honey?  
Oh, who will walk a mile with me  
To lose a little money?

—James H. West.

\* \* \*

The way of the transgressor may be hard, but did you ever hear of that traveled by his women kin?  
—Atchison (Kan.) Globe.

## THE CONFESSIONS OF A MONOPOLIST

By FREDERIC C. HOWE, Ph.D.

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—In Chapter I, "The Boy the Father of the Man," the hero has related early experiences which tended to make him a monopolist: his exploitation during his schooldays of a newspaper route for which he had obtained exclusive rights—his success with which established it as a business principle with him to always tie a monopoly to any competitive business in which he engaged; his equally successful exploitation of an exclusive bookstore right, and later of a railway hackstand privilege, during his college days, followed by his study of law for lack of something better to do.

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### CHAPTER II.

#### I Enter Upon the Practice of Law and Get Out Again.

It was in the early seventies when I was admitted to practice law. Where to locate was the question. There was nothing to be done at home, for the bar was overcrowded with really able attorneys. At the same time business was diminishing rather than increasing in volume. At that time the West was an Eldorado. Men were selling their farms in the East to follow Horace Greeley's advice. In Kansas, Nebraska and further west a hundred and sixty acres of land were to be had for the asking. This, at least, was an alternative if the law failed. I fell into the current, visited Pittsburg, where I spent some weeks. Then I drifted on to Chicago, which had just passed through its devastating fire. Finally I heard from an old college friend in another city, who spoke with much enthusiasm of the opportunities there. I joined him. Fortunately I had some little money left. But my aims and ambitions were as indefinite as ever. I felt an instinctive inclination to business, and yet business as a clerk or in an office did not satisfy me. I spent considerable time drifting around. Finally, with a letter of introduction, I made my way to the office of Judge Johnson, one of the leading lawyers in the city. He had recently retired from the bench and had a large practice of a mixed description. He was a lawyer of the old school. He handled real estate, was administrator or trustee of many properties, and represented the leading railway entering the city. I presented my credentials to him, and he finally gave me office room and entrusted me with the collection of his rents. I spent a number of years in that office, and there learned all the law I ever acquired. But the law did not satisfy me. It was too dry and too intricate. I used to sit in the long dusty library and contemplate the backs of such books as Byles on Bills, Bump on Bankruptcy, and wonder how men had ever brought themselves to the task of collecting and digesting the thousands of cases found between their covers. The law might be "the sublimity of human reason," as Coke said, but when I contemplated its workings, I questioned it. The poor were harrassed out of whatever rights they

had, by delays, costs and expenses. I was frequently sent out to gather testimony preparatory to suit, in cases where men had been injured or killed in railway accidents, for our instructions were to settle nothing except as a last resort, and to carry all cases through to the Court of Appeals. Judge Johnson used to accept the verdicts of the juries with quiet equanimity, for he usually managed to get some error in the record which enabled him to secure a reversal in the higher courts. He was said to be the most successful lawyer on the line, not through his ability to move a jury, but rather through his ability to tangle up a case so that he got relief in the appellate court. This was his policy, and as it took from one to two years to get a case tried in the lower court, and two years more to get it through the upper courts, the delays usually wore out litigants until they were willing to settle on almost any terms.

All these technicalities and delays bored me. Then, too, it hurt my sense of simplicity and justice to think that it required three or four years, two and sometimes three or four trials, with endless costs, pleadings, papers and conferences, to determine whether a man had been injured by his own negligence or that of the company, or whether A or B owned a piece of land. Then, too, it used to offend me to see a cause thrown out of court because the lawyer had sued in trespass and not in case, or had made some other technical error in his pleadings. When I contemplated the statue of Justice which adorned the top of the Court House, I used to feel that under the bandage which covered her eyes she must be laughing at the way we were doing things below her.

All these things made the law repellant to me. But it was not at this that I revolted. Some years after I began to practice our office was ordered to foreclose a large number of mortgages upon farms along the right of way of the railway which we represented. I investigated the history of the transaction, and found that when the railroad was built its representatives had gone along in advance of it and induced towns to vote subscriptions to its capital stock. Further than this, they had talked to the farmers, and told them that the railroad would greatly increase the value of their land and afford them an easy market for their produce. By such means they had induced the farmers to mortgage their land and exchange these mortgages for stock in the railway. The railway promoters had then used these mortgages, together with the railway right of way, to secure a large issue of bonds, ostensibly to pay for its construction. But instead of proceeding honestly, a construction company had been organized, composed of the same men who were back of the railway. This construction company contracted to build the road for a fictitious sum greatly in excess of its cost, and to take its pay in the bonds. These bonds were issued, the railway partly constructed; then default was made in the interest, and a receiver appointed by the courts. The stock which the towns had bonded themselves to subscribe for was worthless. So was the stock which the farmers had received, and with the foreclosure of the railway, similar proceedings against their farms were instituted also. The farmers naturally resisted. Slowly they came to realize the situation. They organized against the process of the courts, but gradually one after another

the farms were foreclosed and the property bought in by speculators at ridiculously low figures.

I could not stand for this, and my lack of interest in court work increased rather than diminished. I have watched the courts ever since. They were even better in those days than they are now. In fact, a position on the bench was at that time the highest honor in the community. Since then the bench does not command the best lawyers. As a matter of fact, in many instances the best lawyers could not be elected even if they chose. For the boss who controls the party usually makes the nominations for the bench just as he does for the legislature. Today in many States the judges are chosen by men who want to use them, and they know pretty well before the convention what a man's equation of prejudice or party loyalty is. I used to think the bench was almost sacred. But I have come to find it very human. On political questions its partisanship crops out whether it be a State or Federal court. The local trial courts do not dare go very far away from the people, for the people are their neighbors. So you will find the lower courts more likely to reflect popular opinion than the appellate ones. Not infrequently the appellate courts are nominated by the organization for political or private purposes, and they are never permitted to forget it.

It was for such reasons as these that I gradually drifted away from the law. I remained in Judge Johnson's office and took care of his business interests, of which he was careless. One day he put me at work examining into a proposed right of way of a new railway which was planning an entrance to the city. He told me the road was to be built and where its terminus lay. This turned out to be another of those lucky turns which have seemingly come to me from time to time throughout my life. I realized that this would greatly enhance the value of property about the right of way and the terminal, and proceeded to acquire options and buy such land as I could about the proposed railway site. In this I took little hazard, for the city was growing rapidly and the investments were sure to be sound, even though the railway was not built. But fortunately for me, it was constructed as planned. As soon as its right of way was acquired and its terminus known, land went up by leaps and bounds. I sold some of my options at twice their cost to me, but held on to the majority of them. Some of this land I still hold. All of it went up from two hundred to three hundred per cent. Some of it is now yielding me an annual income far in excess of its original cost. In a few years' time, by this lucky strike, I had become independently rich. But little of it had come from my law practice. And as time went on I abandoned that which I had and devoted myself to real estate speculation, into which I entered with a zest and delight that the law had never inspired.

### CHAPTER III.

#### I Enter Politics and Politics Becomes My Business—My First Lesson in Finance.

Politics had never interested me up to my thirtieth year. I went to the polls when a President or a Governor was to be elected, and occasionally to the primaries. But I went with about the same feeling that I paid my taxes. As for city politics, I knew nothing

about it. It was bad business anyway. The city seemed to be ruled by a sort of underworld that only touched me as a property owner, and occasionally aroused my disgust through the disclosures of corruption that seemed to mark the City Council. To me a politician was a sort of wizard who had no ostensible business. He trafficked in jobs and usually kept a saloon. It did not occur to me that a business man had any place in politics, or that he had any chance.

It was really self-interest that first led me into politics. The city was growing rapidly and real estate values were going up. I owned a large block of land near the center of the city, which was covered with small buildings that I did not care to replace with larger ones. I had bought the land at a low price and was holding it for speculation. I found its tax valuation going up so fast that it was becoming unprofitable to hold the land. As it was, the rentals scarce met the taxes and charges against the property. I made some inquiries about the local assessor, and prior to the next assessment went to the county auditor to see if a man whom I employed might not be appointed in that ward. He suggested that he had a fight on his hands for re-election, and intimated that a campaign contribution might help my case. I contributed a hundred dollars, and on his election secured the appointment of a man as assessor upon whom I could rely. Through him I was able to keep my assessments down to a reasonable figure. In this way I made my entrance into local politics.

About this time I concluded my property would be greatly enhanced in value if the street were paved and sewered. In this matter I engaged the interest of the alderman from the ward, and through him came in touch with the Mayor and the Committee on Highways. In a short time I found that the politician was a very human fellow, and not such a bad sort as I had supposed.

During these years the city had been growing with great rapidity. It was ragged and spread over a large area, making transportation difficult. One day the President of the bank in which I had become a director said he thought that a street railway would be a profitable venture, and suggested that I go in with him and secure a franchise. I smiled at this idea, as I knew nothing of street railway matters, and, besides, had no money to invest in such a project, even had I been so inclined.

"Oh," he said, "you can leave all that to me if we can only secure the franchise. You won't need very much capital, and we can easily secure men of experience to manage it. You are well known among politicians and have a number of friends in the Council. I will look after the financing. At the same time, you are the owner of a large tract of land which might be reached in our routes to the outskirts of the city."

The latter suggestion appealed to me, for I appreciated that if the land could be brought within easy access of the city, it would be greatly enhanced in value. That of itself would be a tremendous advantage, even though the railway itself was not a success. I interested myself in the project and consented to see what could be done. We had a franchise prepared by our attorneys for twenty-five years. I took the matter up with Murphy, one of the party

leaders, a number of aldermen and the Mayor, and they said they thought it would be a fine thing for the city, and manifested a willingness to do anything they could for me. But Murphy said that such things were expensive, and that it would probably cost from \$5,000 to \$10,000 to see the matter through the Council.

I refused to consider such a proposition. I had never given money for anything more than campaign purposes. But my associates were not so delicate. They said you had to do things that way. The Council were a bad lot. They held up everything, good or bad, till they got their price. Some arrangement was ultimately made by which the franchise should be granted to our company. We interested the daily papers in the project, induced them to urge its passage, and finally it was granted to us upon our own terms. In reality, it was granted to a dummy, from whom we purchased the franchise for \$15,000. What was done with this money I never knew, although I fancy that most of it stopped in the pocket of Murphy, the party boss, who had managed the matter for us in the Council.

For myself, I scarcely knew what to do with the franchise, after we had gotten it. It seemed to me we had gotten a bull by the tail. We had not the money to build, and I could not, with any confidence, recommend it to my friends, and the local banks had no experience in such matters. But I soon learned my first lesson in finance. It has since stood me in good stead. Estimates were secured as to the cost of construction, and with these in our pockets, we went to New York for the purpose of financing the proposition. It did not occur to me that money could be borrowed upon a mere privilege in the streets, which was terminable at the end of twenty-five years. I could think of nothing which seemed a more hazardous venture. But we boldly proposed to issue a half million dollars of bonds, and use the proceeds for construction purposes. I confess I was not over sanguine. But the bankers seemed to be interested chiefly in the size of the city, its rate of growth and distribution. How much the plant would cost did not seem to concern them greatly. I ultimately learned that a franchise in the streets was the best sort of security, and that one could secure a loan upon it even in excess of the cost of construction. It was better than real estate. In a growing town, earnings are bound to increase whether times be good or bad. They grow from ten to fifteen per cent. a year. If the proposition is sound today, the security increases with time. The paper franchise, bearing the signatures of the Mayor and the Clerk, which we had bought with so many questionings for \$15,000, turned out to be gilt-edged collateral, and was worth a million.

We finally secured a loan for half a million dollars on consideration of giving the bank twenty per cent. of the stock, or \$200,000, as a consideration for the underwriting. We issued a million of stock, and found ourselves the possessors of a street railroad and \$800,000 of stock certificates, which had cost us nothing save the influence which we had among the politicians, and an outlay of a few thousand dollars. From the first, the road paid interest and operating expenses. So gratifying was the result and so rapidly was the city growing, that we projected it into other streets. Within a few years' time we had increased

our capitalization to \$5,000,000, and secured such extensions and franchises from the Council as were necessary to complete the system. In large part we did this without resorting to corrupt methods. There was such a demand for service that we organized the citizens or real estate speculators of a neighborhood, who fought our battles for us. We used to send delegations to the City Hall, clamorous for an extension, so that it appeared to the people that the company was conferring a favor upon them by building new lines. In five years' time our earnings had doubled, and within that period I had made in the neighborhood of \$1,000,000 in a business which a few years before I knew nothing of, and in which I had not invested a dollar, and into which I had put very little time or energy.

I had gained much experience by this time. I knew the value of such properties, and was now in touch with banking institutions in other cities. I looked up the matter of artificial gas and found it to be even more profitable than railways. I got in touch with a gas contractor, who was willing to erect such a plant and take his pay in bonds. I then moved on the Council, and succeeded in getting a franchise from the city through the aid of the newspapers, one of which I now had an interest in, as well as the local boss, whom I had taken into partnership on several deals which had proven advantageous. I was slowly becoming identified with politics, and through the agency of the bosses of both parties I was able to line up both the Republican and Democratic Councilmen. In this instance we paid nothing for the franchise, although considerable stock was distributed among the local newspapers, and some of it was advantageously placed in the hands of political leaders for the purpose of protection. At that time it was not necessary to use money as it was later. Everyone was interested in the development of the town, and was proud of my enterprise and daring in venturing to construct a gas plant. As a matter of fact, at this time I was looked upon as a public-spirited citizen. I was building up the city.

As I said before, the gas proposition was easily financed, for the contractor accepted his pay in bonds, which he readily negotiated, leaving me in possession of almost all of the capital stock. From the start the gas plant paid handsomely. As time went on we extended our mains into all parts of the city, and found it even more profitable than the street railway. Our earnings increased by leaps and bounds. In time we introduced economies and disposed of the by-product so advantageously that we were able to place gas in the mains at but trifling cost to ourselves. The earnings from the sale of gas were velvet. I was becoming more closely bound to politics every day. We had contracts with the city for lighting the streets, as well as the public buildings. It was necessary to protect ourselves from "striking" legislation. I made it a point to become acquainted with the Councilmen. I knew them by name, and kept myself acquainted with their families and business. The same thing was even more true of the street railways. We were always wanting small extensions and privileges for the erection of poles and street work. From the first, I was a large contributor to campaign funds. As a matter of fact we made our contributions to both parties. I had chosen as manager of the street railway a leader

# 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.

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in the Democratic party who was thoroughly familiar with ward politics. He knew all the boys. He cemented his friendship by giving employment on the line to their friends and relatives. He was constantly about the City Hall, and was known as a good fellow, so that he could secure almost anything he wanted from the Councilmen of either party. In time he practically dictated aldermanic nominations in the lower wards. I used to accuse him of taking children out of the cradle and training them for the Council. He maintained his control of the members of the Council in many ways. He would get a man under business or personal obligations to him, and then secure his nomination for the Council. He would provide him with funds and get the organization back of him, and in this way we had little difficulty with Democratic aldermen. Others were reached in other ways. We permitted one to handle our scrap iron. Another shod our horses; another had all of our insurance. There was always a lawyer or two whom we gave some sort of business to. For among us we controlled or were able to influence many lines of business. Our manager was invaluable in many other ways. He organized the Council through his intimate acquaintance with the members. He would get the fellows together for a caucus. At the meeting one of his friends would be chosen for President and another as Clerk. Through the President, the Committees on Street Railways, Streets, Lighting and the like would be made up, and as the Council was mostly composed of men from the lower walks of life, who devoted little time and attention to their duties, he was able in this way to control such legislation as we needed.

In much the same way I became identified with the Republican organization. The city and county were Republican by a safe majority, and my large contributions to the campaigns gave me a position of standing in the party councils. I was made Treasurer of the Executive Committee. In time I came to dominate the organization. This was a comparatively simple matter, as it was held together largely by spoils, and was dependent upon the source of supply. At the same time the interest of the general public was sporadic. Just as I had previously found it necessary to protect my real estate through the ward assessors, I now found it necessary to protect our gas and railway properties from excessive taxation. They were worth millions in the market, but they could be reproduced for a very much smaller sum. It became a matter of moment to us to have them assessed at their structural value. And the first favor which I asked of the organization was the naming of the County Auditor. I appreciated that by one stroke of his pen he could increase our taxes hundreds of thousands of dollars, by merely estimating our franchises as taxable property. This we were able to prevent through our control of the organization and the selection of a man known to us to be safe. For the same reason, I was interested in the appointment of the Director of Streets. We were constantly tearing up the highways for the gas mains and for street railway purposes, and a hostile director had it in his power to cause us a great deal of trouble.

In this almost unconscious way I ultimately became the leader of the Republican party in the city and county. I did not achieve this position as an ambi-

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**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 126th Street and 7th Avenue.

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tion, but drifted into it naturally from the necessity of the situation. And, as afterwards transpired, it was fortunate that this was true.

(To be continued.)

## BOOKS

### CARPENTER ON WHITMAN.

*Days with Whitman.* By Edward Carpenter. Published by the Macmillan Company, New York, 1906. Sold by The Public Publishing Company, Chicago. Price \$1.50, net.

It is nearly ten years since there appeared in the "Progressive Review" of London, an admirable magazine which survived for only a twelvemonth, two articles by Edward Carpenter describing two visits to Walt Whitman at Camden. I read them at the time and carefully filed them away, for they seemed to me to give the best account that I had seen of the old poet. I have often wondered that they did not make their reappearance in more permanent form, and now at last this has happened, and in "Days with Whitman" Mr. Carpenter has printed not only these two essays but a number of other new ones giving his impressions of Whitman and his work.

Edward Carpenter ranks among the first few admirers, friends and disciples of Whitman. No one has more fully felt the influence of the good, grey poet; no one has fallen more deeply under the sway of his magic, but notwithstanding all his ardent appreciation, he is distinguished from other panegyrists of his subject by the fact that he never loses his critical faculty nor his sense of humor. Whitman is for him one of the half-dozen greatest names in the history of human thought, but he does not for that reason raise him above the region of fallibility, nor does he deem it *lèse-majesté* to consider his faults. It is Carpenter's insight and sanity that give to this book of his a value quite out of proportion with its length and pretensions.

Whitman has suffered a good deal from his commentators, including himself. Disciples must be a sore trial to a man with a sense of the comic, but Whitman was his own disciple and commentator, and never was there a man who gave a less coherent account of his own greatness than he did. The oracle at Delphi has wisely left no explanation of the divine afflatus, and Whitman, I think, instead of pressing ever forward, was induced by the atmosphere of adoration which surrounded him, to dwell a little too much upon himself and his work, and to try to explain what he could not explain. A man should never be his own disciple. He should always be advancing beyond himself. Above all, he should not analyze his inspirations. Whitman's declaration, for instance, that but for the Civil War, "Leaves of Grass" would never have been written, when as a matter of fact the first edition, containing all his essential message, appeared a year before the war began, is an example of the inadequacy of his comment, and Carpenter very plausibly shows how the old poet was mistaken, too, in his minimizing the influence of Emerson upon himself. I think it

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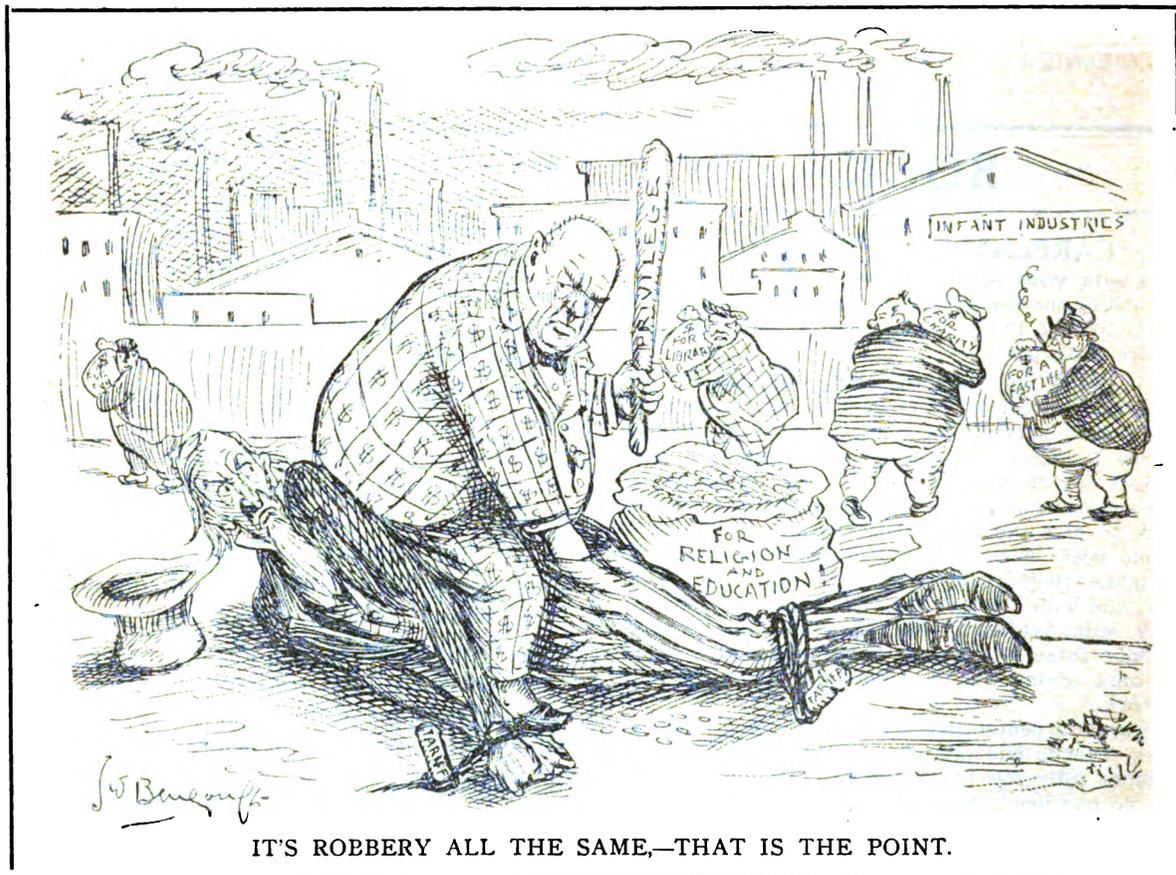
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IT'S ROBBERY ALL THE SAME,—THAT IS THE POINT.

is a safe general rule, even for men of great genius, not to talk about themselves, unless indeed the self-dissection is intended to have a pathological interest as in the cases of St. Augustine, Rousseau and Amiel; and Whitman was the least introspective of men,—thoroughly normal and healthy in mind.

Some of Carpenter's explanations are perhaps a little forced. In excusing Whitman's use of Emerson's famous letter, he insists that we are much looser in such matters in America than in England. It is certainly a most disagreeable habit, that of printing private letters, and it adds a new penalty to the art of correspondence; but when I try to remember typical instances of bad taste in this regard, I am at once reminded of Froude's treatment of Carlyle and the publication of the Browning love-letters, and can call to mind no American case whatever. It will not do to attribute Whitman's idiosyncrasies to American customs. A recent German writer, referring to Whitman's habit of kissing men, says that this is the ordinary practice in the United States and that it must not be judged from European standards!

Carpenter lays special emphasis upon the contradictions in Whitman's character, showing the results of vast internal conflicts, his "imperious craving for human love and fellowship" contending with his natural aloofness and wilfulness. It seems to me that this "tragic element" is one of the chief keys to the understanding of Whitman and that it has been

missed by many of his expositors. And it is natural that Carpenter should give a more rational and complete account of Whitman than most of his predecessors, for the reason that like Whitman he is a mystic with all that the name implies, and, unlike Whitman and most of his admirers, he is also a man of scientific training, a former lecturer on science in University-extension work, and enjoying a distinct appreciation of the comic aspects of life. I sometimes wonder if this sense of the comic is compatible with the highest type of mind. There is no trace of it in the Gospels nor in the great literature of India nor in "Leaves of Grass." Tolstoy shows no signs of it nor does Emerson. But my bull-terrier, Bobs, is full of it, and enjoys a joke as well as anyone. The sense of the comic may be a vulgar animal trait, but it is some consolation for the lack of the highest genius, and I heartily wish that men who write about great men were always supplied with it.

ERNEST CROSBY.

## PAMPHLETS

### Socialism and Christianity.

In "Socialism the Physical Form of Christianity" (Minneapolis), Harry M. Wagner, makes Swedenborgianism the basis of his socialism. While he therefore condemns the materialistic hypothesis of so-

cialism, he refuses to "denounce socialism because Providence has seen fit to make materialism serve humanity." To him "the vaporings of the evolutionary biology seem more easily to be swerved to ends of beneficence than the dogmas of theology;" for "the brotherhood of man is to" the materialistic socialist "no mere formula repeated with a feeling of infinite condescension," but "a blood relation." He declares himself "a socialist because socialism, disfigured though it is with materialism and its dragon blood, is still a religion higher and holier than orthodox Christianity—is indeed itself orthodox Christianity, while those who have boasted the name are but whitened sepulchers."

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## PERIODICALS

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On the subject of the railroad rate bill, Mr. Charles A. Prouty, member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, furnishes an excellent descriptive and explanatory article in *The American Review of Reviews* for July. The same publication contains an article by W. D. P. Bliss on the growth of political socialism, which might be read to advantage by party socialists no less than by ordinary readers of current history.

✦

Apropos of Mr. Bryan's statement that he is as much a bimetalist as ever, but that bimetalism is not now a political issue because the supply of money which it was intended by bimetalism to secure has been supplied through an enormous increase in the production of gold, we find in the June number of the quarterly publication of the American Statistical Association a statistical article on the subject by Francis B. Forbes. Mr. Forbes's inquiry, which is into the facts regarding the recent production of gold and its influence upon commodity prices, proceeds upon the quantitative theory.

✦

The *Open Road*, a Chicago magazine now in its second year, makes a feature in its issue for July of a paper by W. D. Eaton, on certain phases of the public school system, which appears under the striking title of "Herodical Education." Its objection to the kindergarten and approval of the idea that teachers should be mere implements in the hands of the powers above them, will hardly meet with very general acceptance. A more striking and acceptable paper in the same number is by Western Starr, who places the responsibility for the horrors of the Iroquois fire upon social mal-adjustments in municipal life.

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