

# The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

ALICE THACHER POST, Managing Editor

Vol. IX.

Number 437.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, AUGUST 18, 1906.

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## EDITORIAL

### The Labor Element in Republican Politics.

If the inspired dispatches in Republican papers are true, Republican national leaders have decided to break with the labor leaders who have heretofore been found so useful to them. It is now nearly thirty years since the Republican party began to fool the labor sentiment of the country with its cry of "protection to American labor." The protection has turned out to be for the trusts

and those interested in them, and not at all for the working classes; but with a strange fatuity workmen with their ever-empty dinner pail have been toddling along behind Republican banners, like little school boys running after the circus wagons as they pass through the village, thinking the thoughts and saying the words of the prosperous. But now that the great financial interests have secured their tariff privileges and established themselves in economic power, Republican leaders feel that they can afford to come to an issue with organized labor in politics, and organized labor is beginning to hear the snapping of their fingers and to catch now and then an echo of their oral jocularity.

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### The Hearst Campaign in New York.

It is evident from the reports from New York that the Independence League, through which William R. Hearst is prosecuting his work in politics, will force him to the front as its candidate for governor; and the indications are very strong that he may be elected. "It would be foolish to deny," says the New York Press (Republican), editorially, "that the radical element of the Republican party is going to the League just as surely as the radical element of the Democratic party." To this the Press adds: "It is more than likely that the radical Republicans who swing over to the League will far outnumber the conservative Democrats who swing over to the Republicans." The value of this quotation is to be considered, of course, in the light of the fact that Mr. Hearst, virtually even though not nominally, is now the owner of the Press, notwithstanding that that paper continues to stand by Republican protectionism. But the statement of the Press is not overdrawn, no matter who inspired it. Our editorial correspondence of last week from one of the best newspaper observers in the East, Charles O'Connor Hennessey, is directly in line with the Press's prophecy; and in his letters from the interior of New York State the special correspondent of the New York Times, a conservative Democratic paper which Mr. Hearst does not own, virtually or otherwise, fully bears out the opinion of the Press and of Mr. Hennessey.

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If Mr. Hearst's nomination for governor should be forced upon the Democratic convention, as

many of his supporters hope and expect, his election would be almost a certainty. It is doubtful if any person at all, not completely tarred with the plutocratic stick, would be defeated this year if nominated by the Democrats and not opposed by a third party of sufficient popularity to divide the radical vote. But it is far from certain that Mr. Hearst will be nominated by the Democratic convention. There is a possibility if not a probability, that some such reactionary Democrat as Jerome may receive the Democratic nomination. In that case the contest might narrow down to Hearst and the Republican candidate, with the chances in favor of Hearst. A Democratic reactionary would count for little, perhaps, with the Democratic rank and file; and the Republicans throughout the State as well as in the city, appear to be resentful enough of the bare-faced surrender of their party to plutocratic combines to give their leaders a savage lesson. Yet any third party candidate looks stronger now than he is likely to look when the votes are counted, in a State of the political character of New York. When that time approaches more closely, it will probably appear that the nomination of a reactionary by the Democrats means the election of the Republican candidate. New York State is not New York City, and Republicans are mightily party bound.

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### The Primary Law in Illinois.

Governor Deneen's pinchbeck primary law has turned out as might have been expected, and as he and his coterie of Republican "reformers" probably intended it should—barring the necessity it has put them under of compromising with Lorimer. It is a primary law only in name; not at all in substance. While it gives the rank and file of the political parties opportunity to vote at the primaries, it is so framed that their vote does not count at the conventions. A political bosses' law, it makes it quite as easy for political bosses to control nominations as it was before, and gives them the added advantage of seeming to act not only with the might but in the name of the people.

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The effect of this law in Chicago has been to put Roger C. Sullivan in control of the Democratic machinery, with ex-Mayor Harrison as his lieutenant, and to bring about a division of Republican spoils between the pretentious Deneen and the unspeakable Lorimer. In consequence, the people of Chicago are called upon to choose

between two sets of candidates which, with two or three individual exceptions in each set, are about the worst that were ever presented to a discriminating constituency. In this emergency the Independence League, under the direction of Mr. Hearst, is proposing to nominate a third ticket, composed of men worthy the support of self-respecting citizens. It is to be hoped that such a ticket may be presented. The effect might be merely a division of the Democratic vote and the election of the Republican candidates; but for the sake of genuine democracy, and even of the Democratic party itself, it would be better that the Republican machine should sweep the field and bear the responsibility and odium of putting into office such candidates as it has named, than that the Democratic party should be responsible for Sullivan and his spoils-hunting cohorts.

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### Human Equality.

Secretary Bonaparte in his Chautauqua speech at Cumberland on the 12th, expounded in a somewhat remarkable manner the American idea of equality. His speech was aimed at what he called "anarchists," whom he amiably proposed to put to death without much discrimination either as to their opinions or their acts. As Mr. Bonaparte explained that socialists and anarchists are from the same root, we must assume that he intended his drastic measures for members of the Socialistic party as well as for the undefined and undefinable type, varying from Quaker to revolutionist, whom he called "anarchist." The most peculiar thing about his speech, however, was his theory of the origin of the crime of "anarchy." He traced it to the doctrine that men are born equal and that their equality ought to be maintained. That it was his purpose to condemn this doctrine is manifest; but what he meant by the doctrine he condemned is not so clear. We must assume that by equality he did not mean equality of height, or strength, or mental or physical ability; to suppose that he did would be to take Mr. Bonaparte for a fool, and it is cheerfully conceded that he is no fool. There is doubtless a good deal of the savage in him, but one may not be a fool because he happens to be a savage. Upon the assumption, then, that he did not mean equality of height, etc., Mr. Bonaparte must have alluded to equality of rights, and therefore must have intended to condemn the doctrine that men are born with equal rights and that equality of rights ought to be maintained. It would seem that Mr. Bonaparte is more in need of having the Declaration of Independence expounded to him than the

people are in need of having him air his savage notions about a class of crime that has no existence, and popular movements and opinions regarding which he is evidently in profound ignorance.

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### The Denver Election Exposures.

It is strange that any persons whatever who allow themselves to be governed in the least by honest impulses, can contemplate the election exposures in Denver without holding in supreme contempt those judges of the Supreme Court of the State, those leaders of the Denver bar, those public officials of Denver, and those business men of that city, who have lent themselves to the infamous work of suppressing the facts about the election frauds whereby the public utilities corporations were made to appear to have received a popular vote for their plundering franchises. Every foul means seems to have been adopted to check these disclosures, until the ingenuity of the lawyers for the corporations and possibly the rascality of the judges who aided them, had run their course. When finally the matter came before Judge Lindsey, under circumstances which enabled him to proceed with the long delayed and obstructed investigation, the reasons for obstructing the investigation became obvious. That investigation has now gone far enough to show that the corporations (which means "respectable" business and professional men, for corporations are only business masks for living men) committed fraud upon fraud by sending their employes to vote upon the basis of fraudulent tax receipts, and that even then they would have failed to accomplish their purpose had they not bribed election officials to return a fraudulent count. It is from such men as these that the public are being constantly warned about "anarchists." Yet in the very worst possible sense of the word "anarchist," they themselves, these men of the bench and the bar and the business office, are anarchists of the most despicable and dangerous species.

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### The Labeled and the Unlabeled Thieves.

"Another good man gone wrong," was the way the newspapers used to announce detections of a certain type of successful business men, until a witty editorial writer approximated the truth more closely by altering the formula to "another bad man found out." Of all the exposures of successful business men that have recently been made, hardly one would answer to the description of "a good man gone wrong"; they answer better to the description of "a bad man found out." But even

that description is not quite candid, for these men were long commonly known to be bad. It is not so much the being found out that seems to condemn such men, as being stopped in their careers of wickedness. Here, for example, is the case of Stensland of Chicago, the president of a bank which through his financial treachery has failed, bringing ruin upon thousands of people. That he was doing what has brought about the catastrophe, namely, using other people's money for private speculation, was as well known in business circles months ago as it is to-day. He was not known to be a forger, to be sure; but that is only a detail. Yet he was a successful and respected business man, esteemed worthy of any trust by the business crowd, until the crash came. Then everybody condemned him for the ruin and misery he had brought upon the depositors in his bank. The truth of the matter is that when the crash comes is the time to pity rather than to condemn men like Stensland. The time to condemn them is while they are in the full tide of getting something for nothing, and not after they have been caught. There are to-day in the city of Chicago, in New York, in every other large city men who are doing, with more or less respect for the law, precisely in moral principle what Stensland was doing. They are known to be doing it. Yet they are held up to public admiration as successful business men and honorable public citizens. These men—it may be in legal form, or it may be not, that is a detail—are spreading ruin and misery broadcast with every stroke of what they call business. All who are sophisticated know that they are doing it. But they contribute to churches, they contribute to colleges, they flourish in social clubs, their opinion about public affairs is accepted when the opinions of honest men are rejected, their friendship is sought, they are fawned upon; and if the crash does not come, as in Stensland's case it did, they pass out of this world with honor, and monuments are raised to their memory. They are regarded as examples of business success and civic leadership. More evil is done by one such man who passes through life undetected by the general public than by a dozen who come to grief. It were better to pity the Stenslands who fail and get caught than to admire the Stenslands who succeed.

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### The Passing of the Sullivan.

Roger C. Sullivan's protestations that Mr. Bryan falsifies the character of the Illinois convention of 1904, from which he derives his credentials as national committeeman, are wholly

vain. Everybody who read and remembers the newspaper reports of the time (vii, pp. 170, 177), knows that Sullivan's man Quinn, backed by a mob of plug uglies imported from Chicago for the purpose, used his gavel as chairman of the convention to silence its majority and make a false registry of its purposes and its action. Every person in attendance upon that convention, Sullivan included, knows that Sullivan has no right to represent Illinois in the national committee. If any honest Democrat disagrees with Bryan on the subject we have yet to hear of him. Incidentally it may be remarked that every genuine Democrat rejoices to see Sullivan denouncing Bryan as a liar and the plutocratic press echoing his words. Every friend of Bryan is happier when men like Sullivan denounce him than when they flatter him. When a man publicly calls your friend a liar, you know he is not contriving to play any confidence game upon him.

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#### Warren Worth Bailey Not a Candidate for Congress.

We fell into error in stating last week (p. 434) that Warren Worth Bailey, editor of the Johnstown Democrat, had been nominated by the Democratic party in western Pennsylvania as their candidate for Congress. Mr. Bailey had been urged for the nomination by the convention of his own county, Cambria, but the other two counties are, for some inexplicable reason, favorable to a protectionist. They need the benefit, probably, of the kind of democratic work that Bailey has been doing in Cambria. The convention of that county not only endorsed Mr. Bailey for Congress, but it nominated two other single tax Democrats for the legislature, Alexander Strittmatter and Thomas J. Itell; while Professor Harry S. Bender, also a single taxer, was made chairman of the committee on resolutions. The chairman of the county committee, as well as the recognized leader of the party in the county, are both of the same faith. With Democrats of this type to the fore, there would be no reason to fear either plutocracy on the one hand or socialism on the other.

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#### COMPETITION.

"You come to church and worship, to-day, yet to-morrow you will go out and compete!" The preacher really believed that he was uttering a terrific arraignment of the business men of his congregation!

"To compete" was, in his view, to oppress!

He was no ordinary preacher. On the contrary, he was a man of exceptional scholarship and extensive reading, profound in moral philosophy, and uncompromising in his loyalty to truth, as he saw it. He sincerely believed that "competition" was immoral.

Another able preacher is quoted as saying: "If it is duty to compete . . . then the battle for self must go ever grimly on, the strong must subdue the weak, the rich the poor, the able the unable!" That is, if business is to be done competitively, then "the battle must go ever grimly on," etc.

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Now, the earnest sincerity of these clergymen is beyond question; they really think that they "know what they're talking about." In their opinion competition is, necessarily, oppressive. They are as sure of that as Cotton Mather was of witchcraft, or as Urban was of Galileo's sacrilege. They see competition in actual operation, and the pain of it horrifies them. A crowds B to the wall; for which he ought to be ashamed of himself! C sells goods for less than D is able to, and the latter goes bankrupt; oh! the wickedness of C! Mind, C the "able" crushes D the "unable." And how does he do it? Why, by *imparting* more good than D could for a given return. C the "able" grows rich by accepting less for his service than D could accept! In other words, D would have starved on C's income, but the latter gets rich on it! He grows rich, and "subdues" poor D!

But meantime where is D? Isn't he somewhere out in the crowd, a potential beneficiary of C's low-priced service? He was formerly selling shoes at two dollars a pair but C's competition cut them down to one seventy-five. That was the straw that broke poor D's back. While D was dominant everybody had to pay \$2.00 for shoes; but now that C the "able" is getting rich on a price 25 cents less than D the "unable" charged, anybody—everybody—saves 25 cents on each pair of shoes purchased. It looks as if everybody but C and D were benefited by this result of competition; and our preacher seems to think that even Mr. C is a large beneficiary—he is the "strong," the "able," the "rich" man who "subdued the weak" Mr. D!

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Besides, isn't there something else than selling shoes that D can do? And if he does any other kind of work, can't he save 25 cents on the shoes he purchases, as well as the rest of the people? In other words, is it not plain that the competi-

tion between C and D has exhausted itself in placing each where he will be most serviceable to society?

Suppose that C had not competed for D's place—the price of shoes would not have fallen; D would have continued in the shoe business, prosperous at the expense of his customers. Suppose also that C had started up a shoe store, building up a big trade without selling to any of D's customers, but only to new-comers, with increase of population. C could sell at a cut of 25 cents in price, but, being sentimentally opposed to "competition," he maintains the old price, which enables D to keep his head above water, while he, C, makes a profit equal to D's, plus 25 cents a pair for shoes, which he would surrender to the purchasers but for his aversion to the wickedness of "competition"!

Now, then, under these circumstances, will not C grow "strong," "able" and "rich" very much faster than he would if competition were in play?

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And now comes E, a bright clerk in C's employ, who, perceiving how great a profit C is making, starts in on his own account, cuts the price 25 cents, thus compelling C to do the same, and driving incompetent D out of the business.

What would you have? Must everybody keep on paying \$2 merely to enable D to occupy a place that he is manifestly unfit for? Must D's incompetency be permitted to stand in the way of society's securing the higher service of C and E?

Remember, the general chance for employment is greatly improved by the cut in price of shoes. The purchasing power of the customers in reference to other things is increased by 25 cents for each pair of shoes purchased. The demand for other things will therefore be increased that much, and D stands a better chance of getting a job than men like him did before. Therefore, society as a whole is better off than before. D has suffered some loss, no doubt; but the "competition" that thrust him out of the shoe trade has improved the general situation, in which he stands an equal chance with men of like abilities.

Now, shall we advance the price of shoes 25 cents a pair in order to set D up in the shoe trade again? Shall we undo the work of competition?

"The battle for self goes grimly on," to be sure. We do not deny that. But we see (or ought to see by this time) that it must be something else than "competition" that makes it a "battle," a "struggle for existence," or anything indeed but a healthful and universally beneficent rivalry in social service.

You thought it was "competition" that was the cause of the "struggle." Try and forget it. Strenuous, extreme competition is not the cause of the struggle; it is the struggle.

It is not denied that the conditions complained of exist. The "battle for self" goes grimly on, the strong subdue the weak, the rich the poor, the able the unable—that is to say, inordinately strenuous competition is an existing fact. Also, it is admitted that this condition ought to be remedied. But it cannot be cured by people who regard competition as anything less than an inevitable element of social co-operation. Common sense dictates the competitive placing of individuals in the social machinery, and socialism itself affirms that fact.

The fact of competition arises from individual differentiation; that is the cause of competition. Unless you can cast all men in the same mold you cannot prevent competition; for competition is the concrete expression of individual differentiation. It is rivalry.

And under perfect freedom, competition would exhaust itself in the placing of individuals where they belong, economically, and therefore where their social service would be greatest.

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But the condition of "perfect freedom" is wanting in the present regime. Society is not "competing" in the distribution of its whole product, but only as to that remainder of its total product, after Monopoly and Special Privilege have taken "all that the traffic will bear."

Destroy all private monopoly and special privilege, and the total product of industry would then be distributed competitively; that is to say, the billions of dollars' worth of wealth which is now extorted from us by the monopolists would be distributed competitively—equitably—enriching all society, banishing want and the fear of want, and so, naturally, reducing competition to a healthful rivalry, which would exhaust itself in determining the place to be occupied by the individual in the social mechanism, under conditions wherein the ablest would supersede the less able only by imparting increased benefit to society. And even so the less able would not be disemployed; only shifted to the place that he was best fitted for—to the place wherein he would be most productive, with the assurance of his being able to take out of the market, for his own uses, the full equivalent of what he put into it.

It is not competition that oppresses, but absence of competition. In the distribution of the enormous values that private monopoly abstracts

from the common wealth, without giving anything in return, competition plays no part.

EDWARD HOWELL PUTNAM.

## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

### THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

Manila, June 21.—Although there are plenty of people here, the population isn't much greater, if as great, as it is in the States, counting people who think for themselves. We have a very pernicious custom house that hits most everybody; and although the duties are not nearly as high as they are in the United States, it pinches so badly that there are very few protectionists, even among those who were so before they got here.

The American population is made up largely of ex-soldiers. I suppose I don't need to explain to you what sort of people go into the army. Folks here do get lazy, probably from the climate, which is not conducive to hard work or study, and we get so we don't care.

The fate of the Islands, or the government, seems to be a little uncertain as yet. We can't find out whether the Islands are going to be sold, kept, or turned over to the natives. The worst course of the three would be preferable to the uncertainty that is hanging over them at present, for then folks would know what to look out for. As it is, nobody will branch out, or invest, and there is nothing doing beyond the barest necessary work that has to be done. Many people here would like to start ranches, but if the Islands are going to be turned over to the Japs, they realize that the Japs will soon freeze them out; and if the Islands are to be turned over to the natives, I doubt if there are many Americans who could stay here.

As a class, the natives don't like us, and as a class the Americans don't like the natives any more than they like the Negroes of the South. There are exceptions, of course. But all this talk about benevolent assimilation is rot—"there isn't no sich thing," as Nasby would say.

Some of the Filipinos have intelligence, but not many of them. They are great folks to stay home. Those who have traveled have learned, but few have traveled. When the American troops, in 1899, were advancing on Mololos the Filipino Congress, instead of arranging supplies or trying to get their forces together to make a stand, was debating the question as to whether a colonel's uniform should have two red stripes on the sleeve, or one gold band on the shoulder, or some such equally important question. Most of the Filipinos are like people in other places; as long as they get enough to eat and don't have to work too hard, they are contented, and don't get restless. Very few are ambitious. It is easy to make a living, and they have but few wants, which are easily satisfied. Such a thing as a failure of crops is almost unheard of, and there is no winter, therefore no incentive to saving; consequently they spend their money quick, and live from hand to mouth.

If there is an American or other white man who thoroughly understands the native, I haven't heard of him. The native is a study. They are all sup-

posed to be Roman Catholics; and I guess they are, in so far as they are anything at all. They haven't got religion so bad but that it will all come off later on.

We don't hear much more about the invasion of China. I expect the authorities in Washington, or wherever it came from, have seen a great white light. It is said the Chinese have a well drilled army of about 200,000 now, armed with the best guns and drilled by Germans and Japs, and that in a few years they will have an army of a million. What the United States has to fight China for I am sure I don't know, and I am equally sure that they will not find it as easy to walk over China as it used to be. Since the Japs licked the Russians people seem to have a good deal more respect for yellow men. If the Chinese can make a better use of the earth than the white people, I don't see but what they are entitled to it; and everybody knows (who knows anything on the subject) that the Chinaman is a worker, sober, and minds his own business—qualities that win in the end.

THEODORE SIDDALL.

## 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 15.

### Russian Conservatives Demand Constitutional Government.

Disorders continue (p. 441), while parties are crystallizing. On the 10th the Grand Duke Nicholas, uncle of the Czar, while putting troops through blank firing practice, was nearly killed by bullets which whistled about his head. As precautions are taken against the troops having any ball cartridge in their possession except when on patrol duty, the occurrence is not believed to have been an accident. One of the Grand Duke's aid-de-camps is quoted as saying: "It was no more an accident that was the firing of the charge of grape from the saluting battery at the Winter Palace on the occasion of the ceremony of blessing the waters of the Neva by the Emperor a year and a half ago" (vol. vii, p. 678). On the other hand it is believed that the troops, even when not prepared to go to the length of mutiny, are becoming less and less disposed to fire on their brethren the peasants. It is reported that 2,000 soldiers have notified their officers that it will be useless for them to give orders to shoot down the peasants. On the 11th trial was begun by court-martial at Helsingfors of the Sveaborg mutineers. At the first sitting two lieutenants and five soldiers were found guilty, and all were shot, and buried in a common grave. On the 14th began at St. Petersburg the trial of the Kronstadt mutineers.

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A correspondent of the Chicago Tribune, writing

on the day of the dissolution of the Douma, told of "a good Russian woman" whom he had called on that morning who was busy looking up in Carlyle's "French Revolution" what the next move was to be. The peasants do not understand the situation. Those of the village of Gravoff are reported to have beaten almost to death their member of the Douma, Mr. Stefanduk, who could not explain to their satisfaction why he returned home without obtaining the land and liberty he had promised them. The government does understand, and it knows what it wants. The ministry is reported as already beginning a far reaching campaign preparatory to the election of a more tractable parliament in December. Their program will include definite reforms, and they will work for the nomination of candidates who will exactly stand for the program. The government will have the support of the nobility and landed proprietors who are not out of sympathy with the Constitutional Democrats in political matters, but who fear the program of enforced expropriation of land to which the Constitutional Democrats are committed. The congress of Lithuanian land owners, in session at Minsk on the 14th, adopted a resolution declaring that the cardinal principle of any reform must be inviolability of private property, thereby indorsing the stand taken by the Polish deputies in the late parliament.

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The government has not succeeded in including in Mr. Stolypin's cabinet the three conservative members of the Douma who refused to sign the Viborg manifesto, but issued a moderate one of their own—Count Heyden, Prince Nicholas Lvoff and Michael Stakovich (p. 418). Count Heyden asserts that they refused to enter Mr. Stolypin's ministry because since only two places were offered them they would have been a negligible quantity, with the preponderance of power in wholly unliberal hands. These three conservatives, on behalf of what they call "the Party of pacific Regeneration," have issued another manifesto, printed in part in the American press of the 12th, in which they call for constitutional government and compulsory expropriation of land where necessary. The manifesto says:

The members of the late parliament who have held aloof from the aims of the party of popular freedom have decided to unite on the basis of a common program, their main object being the creation of a constitutional monarchical state.

The regeneration of Russia is dependent upon a strong monarchical power, popular representation and freedom based on the rights and equality of all before the law. All nationalities must enjoy equal political rights and citizenship of the highest order and must form a strong constitutional government, which, without arbitrariness but unswervingly destroying the old order of things, must carry into effect the liberties proclaimed by the Emperor's manifesto of Oct. 30, 1905.

Regarding the agrarian question, this party considers it necessary, and will not hesitate to demand compulsory expropriation of an amount of private property necessary to create permanent peasant holdings.

This parliamentary group styles itself the Party of Regeneration. It is the enemy of violence and arbitrariness wheresoever they may emanate. Only through the law can the people's needs be satisfied.

### The Passing of an Immemorial Autocracy.

Reports have been coming from Persia relative to riots on the part of "divinity students" (p. 370), who have been demanding "reforms promised last January." And these were followed on the 11th by the astonishing information, at which even the Persian minister in Washington had expressed surprise, that Persia was to have a national assembly. Persia, the original home of the fire-worshippers, is now a Mohammedan country. It lies east of Asiatic Turkey, and west of Afghanistan, with the Caspian Sea and Turkestan on the north, and the Persian Gulf and the bays of the Indian Ocean on the south. It is governed by a Shah who has had absolutely autocratic powers. These powers he has claimed as viceregent of the Prophet Mohammed. This claim has been denied by a great part of the priesthood, and undoubtedly it is just for this reason that the reported rioters have been "divinity students." According to "The Statesman's Year-book" just issued, it was announced last January "that Persia is to have a Representative Assembly elected by the mullahs (priests), merchants and landowners, the Shah himself to be president." Whether or not this promise was made in good faith, the people, led by the clergy, seem to have forced the fulfilment of it. The Persian minister received on the 10th from the Shah's new Grand Vizier and minister of foreign affairs, particulars of the reforms which have been granted. According to the dispatch, "the assembly will be composed of equal parts, namely, princes of the blood, clergy, chief of the reigning dynasty, cadjar, high dignitaries and personages, merchants and representatives of corporations. The assembly will meet at Teheran, and it is provided that all civil and constitutional laws shall originate in the assembly, and after the signature of his majesty shall become effective." A Persian official in London said in an interview on the 11th that the granting of a constitution to Persia was one of the effects of the Russian upheaval. The news of the Russian struggle had long been the subject of discussion in the bazaars of Persia. The economic distress in that country also had played no small part in creating the desire for some measure of political freedom, which the Shah had long desired to grant but had been opposed in so doing by the late Grand Vizier. Private advices from Teheran received in St. Petersburg, state that the demands of the progressives in Persia far outrun what the Shah offers to grant. These demands involve the practical abolition of all the real power of the Shah, leaving him only a figurehead, and even propose the abrogation of the so-called "divine law," on which his authority is based. They provide that the national assembly shall have competence in all questions of state, and include complete amnesty and freedom of the press.

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### "Church and State" in France.

Pope Pius X has issued an encyclical to the archbishops and bishops of France prescribing their attitude toward the law of the French Republic decreeing separation of church and state (vol. viii, p. 743). The encyclical, which was made public on the 14th,

forbids compromise with the offered conditions. It says:

Having heretofore condemned this iniquitous law we examined with the greatest care its articles to see if they permitted the organization of religious life in France without jeopardizing the sacred principles of the church. Concerning cultural associations such as the law prescribes, we decree absolutely that they cannot be formed without a violation of the sacred rights which are the life itself of the church. Therefore, putting aside these associations which our conscience forbids us to approve, it is opportune to examine if some other kind of organization, both legal and canonical, can avert the threatened dangers to the church. . . . We declare it is not permissible to try the other kind of associations so long as they do not establish in the most legal and most positive way that the divine constitution of the church, the immutable rights of the Roman pontiff and the bishops and their authority over the temporal affairs of the church, particularly the sacred edifices, will be irrevocably protected by such associations. We cannot wish otherwise without betraying our sacred charge and producing the ruin of the church in France.

Press reports state the belief that the Pope is trying to force the Republic to negotiate for some form of church organization acceptable to the church as well as to the state.

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#### The Pulajanes to Be Exterminated.

The Pulajanes—wild tribesmen of the Philippine Island of Leyte—continue their fighting (p. 444). Five Americans, including a lieutenant and a surgeon, were killed in a hand-to-hand encounter in the town of Buraen on the 9th. It was reported on the 14th that Governor General Ide has determined to exterminate the Pulajanes, even if it should take every American soldier on the islands to do it. The Governor General had been conferring with Major General Wood, Brigadier General Lee and Governor De Veyra, and with fifteen "presidentes" of towns in Leyte, who have promised to support the American authorities, and to furnish information leading to the extermination of the Pulajanes. Meetings of the town councils in the disaffected districts are to be held, and the people are to be impressed with the necessity of co-operation in exterminating the Pulajanes. The disorder is said to date back to Spanish times. The political opponents of Governor De Veyra assert that his disarming of the municipal police has been the cause of the recent disturbances.

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Philippine students sent by the government to study in the United States have hitherto gone mostly into schools in the Northern States, fearing race prejudice in the South. But as the agriculture of their own country resembles only that of the Southern States it is now realized that this course is a mistaken one, and this fall a number of Filipino students will enter institutions of Louisiana and other States in the far South.

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#### The Monroe Doctrine Expounded in South America.

After his warm welcome in Brazil, and his speech on the Monroe doctrine before the Pan-American Conference (p. 417), Elihu Root, United States Secretary of State, went on to Montevideo, the capital

of Uruguay (p. 443), where he was received with great enthusiasm. At a state banquet given to him on the 11th, Mr. Root assured the South Americans that

The great declaration of Monroe, made in the infancy of Latin-American liberty, was an assertion to all the world of the competency of Latin-Americans to govern themselves and their countries. That assertion my country has always maintained and my presence here is in part for the purpose of giving evidence of her belief that the truth of the assertion has been demonstrated—that in the progressive development which attends the course of nations the peoples of South America have proved that their national tendencies and capacities are and will be on, and ever on, in the path of order and liberty.

Mr. Root was received by immense crowds, in spite of a heavy downpour of rain, on his arrival on the 14th at Buenos Ayres, the capital of the Argentine Republic.

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#### Wm. J. Bryan in Europe.

Mr. Bryan's tour (p. 419) brought him into Paris on the 11th. Being asked by a correspondent there if he might assume Mr. Bryan's candidacy for the Presidency, Mr. Bryan replied, "You may not." "If you are endorsed to stand for the nomination, what should be the main platform of the party?" was the questioner's next inquiry, to which Mr. Bryan responded: "Platforms depend upon the circumstances of the times; there are two years yet to run." Further pressed with the question, "What in your opinion should be the stand of the Democratic party in the present juncture?" he replied: "How can I officially bind the party?" "But there are the real principles of the party," persisted the interviewer, who was immediately interrupted by Mr. Bryan with, "Doubtless, but they are not to be packed in a nut shell. Their exposition requires minute deliberation, fine distinction, balanced phrasing. You must not try to get me to make 'yes' and 'no' answers, like the famous 'Have-you-stopped-beating-your-wife' correspondent." Alluding to certain democratic tendencies in France, Mr. Bryan observed: "It appears to be part of the democratic development which I have observed to be going on all over the world. I noticed it in India, Japan and China. Everywhere one sees the same evidences of awakening."

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#### American Politics and Bryan.

Mr. Bryan was reported on the 12th as having gone a step farther in declaring political warfare against Roger C. Sullivan, the Democratic national committeeman from Illinois (p. 419), by announcing his refusal to speak in the Illinois campaign unless the State convention succeeds in defeating the Sullivan combination. As quoted by the reports, Mr. Bryan said: "It is immaterial to me whether Illinois endorses me or not; but it is very important that the Democrats of that State repudiate Sullivan and his methods. The party must first of all purge itself of such leadership before it can enter courageously upon a campaign."

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#### Illinois Politics.

The Sullivan combination in Democratic politics (p. 444) have resumed relations with ex-Mayor Har-

rierson, an armed peace, and nominated a party ticket which gives great dissatisfaction. Nearly every candidate on this ticket is regarded as a mere henchman of one or the other of the two principal politicians through whose influences the ticket was nominated—Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Harrison. A similar compromise took place in the Republican conventions, the adjustments there being between Governor Deneen and Congressman Lorimer, and the ticket offered being, like the Democratic ticket, composed for the most part of persons regarded as mere henchmen of one or the other of those two politicians. In consequence of this outcome of the first experience with the Deneen primary law, the Independence League has issued a call for signatures demanding the nomination of an independent county ticket. The platform which signers are asked to endorse is as follows:

First, public ownership of those utilities which in their nature are monopolies; second, ballot reform which will prevent corruption, insure a fair count, and punish bribe givers and bribe takers; third, the enactment of laws which will give the people absolute control of their public servants in office; fourth, direct nominations by the people instead of nominations by cliques and party bosses; fifth, the abolition of discrimination in railroad rates; good roads to facilitate the transportation of farm products to profitable markets, and pure food laws; sixth, the recognition of labor unions in all legitimate efforts to properly regulate the pay and working hours of working people; seventh, the protection of legitimate capital, and denying the right of existence to criminal and oppressive trusts; eighth, the election of U. S. Senators by the people; ninth, the exposure and prosecution of frauds against the people on the part of insurance companies and other financial organizations, and their proper regulation by law.

The League promises to use its efforts to secure the nomination, regardless of past political affiliations, of a county ticket that will give all voters an opportunity to condemn at the polls the "corrupt, non-partisan alliance" which "exists in the State of Illinois between political bossism and private monopolies resulting in the present reign of graft and threatening the perpetuity of popular government as established and maintained by Jefferson and Lincoln."

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#### Labor in Politics.

President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor has thrown into the approaching Congressional campaign a disturbing labor question with reference especially to the work on the Panama Canal, regarding which he was reported on the 11th as saying:

It seems that those in charge of Panama Canal construction have regard for neither law nor principle. First, in the most extraordinary manner the eight-hour law is annulled in the greatest public work ever undertaken by the government under the pretense that conditions there are different from those prevailing in the United States. It must appeal to the veriest tyro that if eight hours' work is regarded as sufficient in the comparatively temperate zone of the United States, certainly ten, eleven and even more hours of labor a day in the pestilential and miasmatic atmosphere of the Panama zone is not only improper, but outrageous and brutal. The existing laws exclude Chinese laborers and coolies from the United States or any of its possessions. The Panama Canal zone is an American possession, and it is as much a violation of the law to bring Chinese coolies there as it is

in other portions of our country. Some time ago, in an interview I had with Chairman Shonts, I protested against the employment of the Chinese coolies on the Panama Canal construction, as it had been published in the newspapers it was the intention of Mr. Shonts to do so. He there and then emphatically stated that it was not the intention to employ Chinese coolies and they would not be employed under his administration.

Hardly had this announcement been made in the afternoon papers of the 11th when on the same day the chairman of the Panama Canal Commission, T. P. Shonts, returned from the Isthmus and replied to Mr. Gompers that—

the eight hour law does not apply to unskilled labor on the Isthmus of Panama. We cannot secure unskilled labor from the United States. It therefore is not seen why a law passed in the interest of American labor at home should be made applicable to alien labor, which probably never heard of its existence. Its application would have increased the labor cost of the canal several million dollars. The American laborer in this country would have to pay his share of the consequent increased taxation without any compensating benefit to himself. At the time of my interview with President Gompers, in discussing the eight hour law, I stated that with the lowest class of labor, as at Panama, it was more helpful and improving, more in their interests, and more an act of kindness than otherwise to permit them to work ten hours a day and pay them for it—because they are paid by the hour. As to the statement of President Gompers concerning Chinese coolie labor I can only say that the Commission has secured the opinion of the highest legal authorities of the government. It has been held that such law does not apply to the canal zone.

Mr. Shonts was in conference with President Roosevelt on the 13th, and soon after the conference it was authoritatively announced that the President had approved the policy of bringing coolies from China to work on the Canal, if within the law, and that this policy would be pursued. Mr. Gompers is to go into Maine on the 16th to speak against the re-election of Congressman Littlefield.

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#### Secession from the International Teamsters.

At the convention of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (p. 443) on the 8th, a split took place which had been expected for several days. It was caused by a revolt of unions representing nearly one-half the membership of the international body, against the presidency of Cornelius B. Shea, and was led by the New York delegation. The leaders of the revolt explained their action in an address on the 9th, in which they charged the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, through its international officers and particularly through its president, C. P. Shea, with violating the moral and ethical principles of trades unionism by means of "government and administration by injunction, by replevin, repudiation of joint agreements, intimidation, coercion and all unfair means whereby they seek to perpetuate a condition of affairs that are a stench and abomination in the nostrils of organized labor." This address was signed by one hundred delegates, under the leadership of Albert Young, formerly president of the international organization. Besides the New York delegation, the seceders comprised 21 Chicago unions, the entire St. Louis delegation, the Detroit teamsters, and the drivers from San Francisco. Two conventions were consequently in sim-

ultaneous session on the 9th, the name adopted for the new organization being "The United Teamsters of America." This body appointed Albert Young and N. W. Evans to meet the officers of the American Federation of Labor who came to Chicago to try to settle the difficulties. The Federation representatives advised the seceding body to return to the regular organization, but this advice was rejected, the seceders giving notice that they would never return to the old organization as long as Shea was at its head. On the 9th Shea was elected president of the regular organization, which adjourned on the 13th to the meet next year in Boston. Officers of the new organization were elected on the 14th, N. W. Evans as president, and Albert Young as vice-president and organizer, and Rochester was chosen for its next convention.

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#### Mayor Johnson and the Cleveland Traction Controversy.

Mayor Johnson has scored a complete victory in connection with the traction litigation (p. 442), in which an attempt was made to punish him for contempt of court. This decision covers the merits of the controversy, holding that the old traction company has no property right in nor exclusive right to use the center of Fulton Road where its tracks were torn up under the Mayor's direction. The decision was made by Judge Lawrence, who decided that the city has full power to order the company to relocate its tracks even for the purpose of making room for the tracks of another company, and that the city may do the work itself if the old company refuses or neglects to do it. Inasmuch, however, as there were technical defects in the order of the council directing the tearing up of the tracks, Judge Lawrence restrains the city from interfering with the relaying of the tracks by the old company, and also restrains the 3-cent-fare-road from doing any further work; but it is expected that the technical defects in the present council order will be speedily cured and that then the new company will proceed with its work. "It was a splendid decision," said Mayor Johnson, "and a complete victory for the city and the 3-cent-fare road." In his view the court upholds the city in all the substantial points in the case, and in commenting upon the decision that the council must re-enact its order so as to cure technical defects, he said: "I cannot conceive of anything the council members would be more willing to do than that. The council will meet within ten days. There is no occasion for any action between now and then. Of course the old company could relay its tracks meanwhile; but I hardly think it will do so when it knows the council can order them dug up again."

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#### The Traction Question in Denver.

The public utilities corporations having failed to get an injunction against the proceedings before Judge Lindsey in the County Court at Denver (p. 442), Judge Lindsey has been proceeding with the investigation, and some very astounding revelations have resulted. The ballot boxes which had been withheld were produced and upon being opened gross frauds in favor of the corporations were disclosed. Two boxes opened on the 8th show-

ed that 24 votes against the gas franchise and 5 against the tramway franchise had not been counted. On the 9th the frauds disclosed were more pronounced than those of the day before. In one box 85 votes were found against the granting of franchises, not one of which had been reported in the official count, and in another box there were 88 such votes. George N. Ordway, president of the City Election Commission; Henry L. Doherty, president of the Denver Gas Co.; Frank A. Williams, formerly chairman of the Republican county committee, and J. Cooke, Jr., real estate dealer, refused to be sworn in the case and were sentenced to jail for contempt. These men were released on habeas corpus by another judge, but the action of the latter was immediately nullified by still another judge. Meanwhile, however, the men escaped and their whereabouts is unknown. Judge Lindsey's court is obstructed by the disappearance of still other witnesses. As one of the correspondents explains, "the attempts of Judge Lindsey to carry on the election investigation are almost pathetic. With the sheriff and every other county officer under the employ of the corporation ring, his orders if not directly disregarded are nullified by conspiracy. When the Judge orders a certain witness summoned, the sheriff's office telephones the individual that a deputy will call with the summons, and when the deputy gets there of course the witness has flown." The same correspondent states that this was done in fifty cases during the past week, and that "at least 250 employes of the gas and tramway companies, called on to tell what they know of voting on bogus tax receipts, are missing from their homes." It is supposed that some of these are absent on vacations, but the correspondent explains that "a large majority are believed to be in the city protected from summonses by the connivance of the sheriff's deputies." Nevertheless, several witnesses have been secured and been obliged to testify to having voted on tax receipts to which they were not entitled and which had been fraudulently issued.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—The Grand Army of the Republic met at Minneapolis on the 15th.

—The Democratic convention for Nebraska met at Lincoln on the 15th.

—The day set for the reception of William J. Bryan in Chicago (p. 372) is Tuesday, September 4th.

—The Republican convention for New York (pp. 420, 442) is to meet at Saratoga on the 25th of September.

—The tunnels under the streets of Chicago (vol. vi, p. 714; vol. viii, p. 241) were formally opened for freight traffic on the 15th.

—The fifty-second annual convention of the International Typographical Union opened at Colorado Springs, Colo., on the 13th.

—The county conventions of twenty-seven Illinois counties have urged the nomination of William J. Bryan (pp. 247, 320) for the Presidency.

—Pearl Mary Teresa Craigie, the novelist and dramatist whose pen name was "John Oliver

Hobbes," was found dead in her bed on the 13th at her residence in London.

—Seventeen ice dealers and sixty ice companies were indicted in Boston on the 13th for having conspired to advance the prices of ice (p. 421).

—The fraternal order of Eagles is in session in Milwaukee. It reports an active membership of 232,671, and available assets as \$2,690,059.85.

—At the Hamilton County, Ohio, Democratic convention at Cincinnati (p. 52) on the 15th, the supporters of Mayor Dempsey won the contest for temporary chairman, seating John J. Molloy.

—In Mayor McClellan's proceedings in the Supreme Court of New York for authority to destroy the ballots of the municipal election of last fall (p. 399), Wm. R. Hearst has obtained a decision forbidding their destruction.

—It is reported from Abyssinia that King Menelik has signed a Franco-Italian-British agreement relative to railways to be constructed there. The integrity of the Abyssinian empire is guaranteed, with the open door and commercial equality for all countries.

—A mirage was seen in Cleveland on the 12th. It is described as a wonderfully clear and distinct inverted picture in the sky, of the Canadian shore of Lake Erie, some sixty miles away. A Canadian town lying opposite Cleveland was a feature in the picture.

—Professor James Henry Breasted of the University of Chicago, who has just returned from the Upper Nile, declares himself satisfied, as reported on the 15th, that the earliest authentic world's date is 4241 B. C.—1,000 years earlier than the date heretofore accepted.

—The conference of the International League of Woman Suffragists at Copenhagen (p. 398) came to a close on the 11th. One of the acts of the conference was to decide to publish a paper in London to be called *The International Record of Woman Suffrage*.

—The Director of the mints announced on the 14th from Washington that the Treasury Department will until further notice purchase 100,000 ounces of silver weekly, regardless of the effect upon the market. These purchases are made for the purpose of coining subsidiary money.

—The Hague Conference is a factor in British naval estimates. The secretary for the admiralty announced in the House of Commons on July 27, that in the estimates of 1907-8 they proposed two armored vessels, with a proviso that a third armored vessel would be laid down "if The Hague Conference proved abortive."

—The text of the Anglo-Chinese agreement in regard to Thibet, which was signed in Peking, April 24, has been given out by England. Great Britain agrees not to encroach on Thibetan territory nor to interfere with the Thibetan government. China, on the other hand, undertakes not to allow any foreign state to interfere with the government or internal administration of Thibet.

—Mr. George Hughes, a son of the famous Thomas Hughes of England, author of "Tom Brown of Rugby," has been nominated by the Democratic

party in Chase County, Kansas, as their candidate for representative in the State legislature, and has begun an active campaign. Mr. Hughes is a democratic Democrat whose radicalism turns toward the philosophy of Henry George.

—The first conviction in North Carolina on a charge of lynching Negroes, was secured at Salisbury on the 10th against George Hall, a white man and ex-convict. A special term of the court had been called by the Governor for the purpose of trying the accused, and within four days after the crime Hall was under sentence of fifteen years' imprisonment in the penitentiary—the maximum penalty.

—The Federal Grand Jury for the western district of New York returned indictments on the 10th against the Standard Oil Company (p. 443), and other companies alleged to be conspirators with it, for violation of the Inter-State commerce law. The specific charges are that the Standard Oil Company accepted special rates from the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. for Inter-State transportation of its products.

—The report of a Biblical commission appointed by Pius X soon after becoming Pope, has just been translated, and under the direction of Dr. Glannan of the Catholic University at Washington, the American member of the commission, has been sent to Biblical scholars throughout this country. According to the dispatches, while the commission upholds the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, it concludes that the books are not wholly inspired in the strict interpretation of that word.

—Justice Gaynor of New York having decided on the 11th that the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Co. had no right to require double fare from Brooklyn Bridge to Coney Island, thousands of people on the 12th refused to pay more than a single fare, and it is reported that in consequence the companies violently ejected these passengers from the cars. Between 50,000 and 75,000 persons walked rather than pay the double fare. On the 13th the company stopped running cars between the city terminal and Coney Island.

—Michael O'Connor, foreman in the Hudson River tunnel work of the Pennsylvania railroad, on the 11th saved 15 men at the cost of his own life. They were moving away from a blast. O'Connor saw that a fuse was burning with twice its usual rapidity. He shouted a warning and started back toward the spot where the dynamite had been placed, in an effort to tear out the fuse before the explosion came. All were saved but himself, one other being severely injured. His body, so badly disfigured as to be almost unrecognizable, was found near the scene of the blast.

—The Single Tax Information Bureau, established in 1903 for the purpose of supplying free literature to persons desiring information regarding the single tax, reports for the quarter ending July 31st that it has received requests for literature from every State and Territory in the United States and from many foreign countries and has responded to 221 applications. The work, which is supported entirely by voluntary contributions sent to E. B. Swinney, 134 Clarkson street, Brooklyn, N. Y., is described in the report as the most economical method of propa-

ganda possible in the educational stage of a movement.

## PRESS OPINIONS

BRYAN.

Chicago Daily News (Ind.), Aug. 15.—In throwing down the gauntlet to the men now in control of the Democratic State organization of Illinois Mr. Bryan has projected an issue of importance into the political situation. His demand for the resignation of Roger C. Sullivan as national committeeman bespeaks a purpose to insist on a purging process all along the line as necessary to the continued healthy life of the party if it is to stand for democracy.

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(Detroit) Christian Herald (Bap.), Aug. 9.—The Democratic nominee for President in the elections of 1896 and 1900 looms up as a probability for renomination and as the possible choice of the people in 1908. This prospect has opened up to him during his absence from the country. It is due to his wise utterances, transmitted by cable and widely circulated by the press, in the Philippines, Japan, India, and England. These speeches have been characterized by a breadth of view and a Christian spirit that have awakened general confidence in the ripeness of his judgment and the soundness of his heart. True, this effect may be owing, in a large measure, to a carefully devised scheme of speeches and reports. If so, it has been remarkably successful. Mr. Bryan is now the most conspicuous candidate for nomination and, if he shall be nominated, his outlook is more promising than ever it has been.

✦

Auburn (N. Y.) Citizen (Dem.), August 7.—Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland in his letter accepting the chairmanship of the Bryan reception committee pays the following tribute to Bryan: "What all the world is now acknowledging we have realized throughout the vicissitudes of his career. In the charm of his oratory and the steady march of his thought, in the simple skill of his political tactics and the broad promise of his statesmanship, in his high ideals of citizenship, his noble standards of manhood and the magnetism of his personality, we have always seen what the world has now discovered—the supreme influence of his rugged sincerity." Most of all it is the ruggedness of his sincerity that attracts the attention of his countrymen to Bryan at this time. They have so long been dosed with the dishonesty and insincerity of public men and public life that they are in the mood for a change of diet.

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The Urbana (O.) Tribune (Dem.), Aug. 9.—The Chicago Chronicle is as virulent and as reckless now as were Harper's Weekly and the New York Tribune of 1896, and with less excuse. There is no doubt that Bryan by his Madison Garden speech and his speeches throughout the State of New York immediately afterwards did throw all predatory money and corporate interests into a tremendous panic. As fiercely as Bryan assailed such interests, he never uttered a word against legitimate business or rightly conducted corporate enterprises. But the little band of Wall Street thieves spread the contagion of their own fears and organized a crusade of vituperation and frantic denunciation against the single-handed and single-minded Bryan such as was never equaled in the annals of political warfare. Intelligent and disinterested men understood the situation at the time and sided with Bryan on grounds of humanity and the general public welfare, in spite of the practical uncertainties of the free silver policy. They saw that in the forum of debate Bryan

was victorious and invulnerable, and that no serious attempt was made to answer his arguments, and we now see that the basis of his arguments has been vindicated by the progress of events.

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Liverpool Daily Post (Lib.) July 25.—The great feature of the Inter-Parliamentary Conference to-day was a speech from Mr. W. J. Bryan, who will probably be the Democratic candidate for the Presidency of the United States. Mr. Bryan has all the qualities of a great orator. He has a voice of peculiar power and richness of tone. His delivery is impressive, and he possesses a great command of language. He spoke in English, the only language which he knows, and his speech, therefore, would not be understood by many of the delegates. His speech was a splendid plea for arbitration in preference to war. The resolution which he supported declared that, in cases of difference which were not covered by arbitration treaties, the Powers concerned, before resorting to arms, should bring the question before The Hague tribunal, or invite the mediator of one or more friendly Powers. The most dramatic passage in Mr. Bryan's speech was his reference to Macclise's picture of the death of Nelson, which adorns the Royal Gallery. Pointing to this work, he said they could see how war produced great qualities, but with what horrors and suffering it was accompanied. A good life, he said, was as great a thing as a heroic death. He passed a great eulogium on Mr. Gladstone as a promoter of peace.

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MAYOR JOHNSON AND THE STREET RAILROAD.

Illinois (Springfield) State Register (Dem.), Aug. 7.—Street railway franchise grabbers in Cleveland are getting very little public sympathy in their fight with Mayor Tom L. Johnson. It is plain that their promises to the city when they obtained their franchises were empty, as they have never shown any disposition to make them good. Now that the Mayor is giving them to understand that promises made should be fulfilled they are whimpering like whipped curs, and running to the courts for protection. Mayor Johnson is applauded by everybody who believes in a square deal and fair play. He is doing the right thing in tearing up the tracks of the railroad companies which have refused to stand by their contracts with the city. It is a good thing to combat franchise grabbers. Corporations do much for a city, but seldom miss an opportunity to "do" the city.

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THE FUNCTION OF CONSERVATISM.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), July 30.—It would be a misfortune if a fair percentage of the young men who go into politics did not espouse the conservative side. If they were all radicals or innovators the nice balance which ought to exist in society between those who wish to move too slowly or not at all and those who wish to rush forward at headlong speed would be destroyed. There would be too much reform all of a sudden, which would unsettle the community. It must progress slowly in order to progress safely. There must be conservatives to put on the brakes from time to time and keep the coach from going too fast and upsetting. . . . Society advances in a series of fits and starts. The progressives get the upper hand for a moment and go ahead a little ways. Then the conservatives get the mastery and for awhile there is no movement. Then the turn of the progressives comes again and they gain a little ground. Conservatism is so necessary a factor in life that it deserves more than the grudging concession that it is "not entirely a disease." It is a virtue which, like other virtues, may be carried to excess.

RELATED THINGS
CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE BALEFUL ANARCHISTS AND SOCIALISTS.

From the Phi Beta Kappa Poem Written for the Tuft College Commencement of This Year, by James H. West.

Is he the Anarchist whose hopeful strife Affirms the state's decease Man's larger life? Is he of law less baleful enemy . . .

Who is the baleful Socialist? the wight Who holds that social righteousness is right, And dreams earth's general product should provide A general sustenance, not slip aside? The baleful Socialist alohe is he Who says, "Society exists for Me!"

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O YE OF LITTLE FAITH!

O ye of little faith! Go forth into the fields and see how the myriad grains, bursting forth from their prison in the earth, push upward toward the light. Watch them as under the influence of sunshine and shower they grow to maturity and furnish food for the race. Go into the orchard and see the seed or the grafted twig grow into a great tree whose leaves furnish shade and whose fruit gives nourishment to man.

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THE COMMON EVILS AND THE COMMON SIN.

U. S. S. \_\_\_\_\_, Culebra Island, U. S. W. I., Feb. 6, 1904.

Rev. \_\_\_\_\_, D. D., \_\_\_\_\_ Church, New York.

My Dear Sir: I have read with interest your sermon delivered on last Thanksgiving Day, and given in the New York \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_.

You ask these questions:

Tell me, if you can, what can be done to stop men from beating down values and making the properties worthless, on which multitudes of people of modest fortunes have invested all they have? What can be done to stop strikers from their violent acts by which they prevent honest men from working because they do not wish to join their unions? What can be done to prevent or-

ganized labor from stopping the industries of the country and forcing on employers their exaggerated and preposterous claims?

You then refer to the coal strike and other shadows which have fallen on our land, and in enumerating what casts some of the shadows you give:

Class alienation, the insolence of wealth and the angry discontent of the poor, the growth of luxuries, riotous living, the misuse of money and its reckless squandering on pleasure and pride; education without religion; the steady breaking up of homes by divorce and adulterous remarriage; the appearance of vast systems of religious imposture and their success in making converts; the sport of gambling in every place where it can be practiced; the cold-blooded assaults on private property by those who attack corporations and drag them down to bankruptcy for their own advantage, in order to enrich themselves by the losses which their acts bring about; the steady decline of womanhood from its old ideals, and its deterioration through copying the ways and invading the sphere of men.

This list is surely a formidable one, and unfortunately we have to admit its truth, and you say these problems are beyond human solution and the frightful harvest can only be diverted by Divine aid.

I agree with all you say, except that I do not believe the problem is beyond human solution; in fact, the solution to the various problems will be found upon analysis to depend upon the solution of only one problem, and that is the Land Question; and the solution of this problem has already been most clearly demonstrated by one of the clearest writers and most logical thinkers of the century, the late Henry George. Undoubtedly you must have read some if not all of his works, but if by any chance your immediate duties have prevented your reading his books, I earnestly beg that you do so without delay, for I am sure you will there find a clear solution to the problems the shadows of which so darken our land. These four books, namely, "Progress and Poverty," "Social Problems," "The Condition of Labor: An Open Letter to Pope Leo XIII," and "Protection or Free Trade," you will find particularly applicable; as will be also "The Land Question: A Passage at Arms Between Henry George and the Duke of Argyll." Even if you have read these books, I trust that you will read them again, as to my mind they advocate what may be called practical Christianity for every day of the week.

The House of Have, whose desire is that the existing order throughout the world should be maintained, always taught that ministers of the gospel should not "go into politics" and study economic questions, but should concern themselves only with the saving of men's souls, and if the body suffered in this world you must teach them that their accounts will be squared in the next. You are also expected to teach that the Almighty is responsible for the unequal distribution of the good things of this world—making some to live in luxury, and allowing others only enough to keep body and soul together. I am a member of the Episcopal Church, but as a small boy this question of the rich and the poor was a sore stumbling block to me. I could never accept the explanations given, and it seemed to me then and it does now, exceedingly wrong to hold God responsible for such injustice as we see around us permitted and enhanced by all govern-

ments. Does not this look like a more reasonable explanation? The idea advanced by Henry George is that the Almighty, having made man a free agent, given him brains of no mean order, and placed him in a very good world, expected man to use his intelligence to the best advantage, and not to bury his talents in the ground, like the servant in the parable. Men collectively have been guilty of this sin of stupidity, and therefore like this man have suffered in consequence. The many by not using their intelligence have allowed the few to saddle the most unjust economic system upon them, and this injustice lies in the private ownership of land values, and by land is meant all natural opportunities or resources in or on the earth. It is easily shown, and Henry George does show,\* that private property in land or, more accurately speaking, the private appropriation of land values or ground rents, causes ultimately the enslavement of all labor, and that the modern industrial slave is to be pitied far more than the chattel slave of old. "If chattel slavery be unjust, then is private property in land unjust." Indeed, of the two evils the latter is the more unjust, as under the old system of slavery as practiced in the South, public opinion demanded that when the slaves grew old their masters must provide for them, likewise when sick; but with the modern industrial slave, when he gets sick he loses his place and has no one to provide for him, and when he grows old he goes to the poor house.

Injustice begets violence. Take the coal strike: Here we have apparently a fight between labor and capital, at the same time this warfare is an injury to both. What is the cause of the row? Labor and capital are brothers, and to prosper both must be employed; and yet they fly at each other's throats without taking time to think, and thus find out the cause of the trouble. If we examine the case carefully we find private monopoly in land (coal fields) is the real cause of the trouble. The operator may sometimes be the mine owner or land-lord also, and as such he causes the mischief; but not because he is a capitalist. The fact that some owners are also operators causes confusion.

I trust that I have not exhausted your patience and taken too much of your time, but having read your sermon I thought it my duty to show you where you could find satisfactory answers to the questions that you asked.

Believe me, sir, with great respect,

Very sincerely yours,

\_\_\_\_\_  
Lieutenant, U. S. Navy.

\*See "Condition of Labor," also "Progress and Poverty," pp. 345-355.

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Once there was a man who thought Uncle Russell Sage ought to stop work. He spoke to him about it. "Why get together any more money, Mr. Sage? You can't eat it; you can't drink it. What good will it do you?"

"Ever play marbles?" Uncle Russell asked.

"Yes, when I was a boy."

"Couldn't eat 'em, could you? Couldn't drink 'em, could you? No use to you, were they? What did you play marbles for?"—Harper's Weekly.

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## THE CONFESSIONS OF A MONOPOLIST

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

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### SYNOPSIS OF PRECEDING CHAPTERS.

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 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. In Chapter II the hero finds the practice of the law repugnant to his moral sense. In Chapter III he enters politics as a necessary step in the development of a land boom, a street railway and a gas company, in which he becomes successively interested. He learns first the value of a franchise, and second the value of control of political machinery as a business asset; and he begins to learn how such control is obtained, and especially how to "work" a City Council.

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### CHAPTER IV.

#### The Fight for the City.

As my interest in politics increased, so did the necessity for it. As I had entered politics to protect my real estate from excessive taxation, so I had been slowly enveloped by it through my street railway and gas interests. We were constantly opening streets, extending our tracks, or gas mains. It was necessary to secure many privileges from the Council and the Administration. In time our Superintendent, who was familiar with all the boys, came to place their friends and relatives in positions of employment. We were able to do this through the thousands of employes upon our pay rolls. In this way we were able to keep on friendly terms with the aldermen; while the Director of Streets was usually appointed at my suggestion. In course of time the expiration of our franchises began to concern us. They had been originally granted for twenty-five years at a time when they were of questionable value. As time went on, however, and the city grew, the public came to appreciate the value of our grant, which was evident in the quotations of our stock. Moreover, the capitalization had been more than trebled by us in order to keep down the dividends to a reasonable limit. The renewal of these franchises had become a political issue. One of the newspapers which we had not been able to control, insisted upon absurd concessions from the company. They pointed to the fact that our stock had been watered and that the plant could be duplicated at the present time at about one-fourth of the selling price of the securities. They aroused class feeling and were threatening our property rights.

Another company had secured possession of several streets which we had neglected to occupy because they did not seem necessary to us. This com-

pany was controlled by another crowd in the city, who were backed by a couple of banks. They offered to accept the franchises enjoyed by us on terms more advantageous to the city. They said they would give universal transfers and a percentage of their gross receipts if our franchises were renewed to them. They also offered to purchase our plant at its appraised value. The universal transfers appealed to the working classes, who saw in this a material reduction in their car fare; while payment of a portion of the gross receipts to the city treasury appealed to the property owners, who saw in it a means of reducing their taxes. A municipal election was approaching, and the Mayor and Council who were to be elected would have the franchise to dispose of.

There was considerable talk of nominating for Mayor upon the Republican ticket a successful business man by the name of Sterling, who had no political experience. I was not personally acquainted with Sterling and could get but little definite information about him. I sent one of our stockholders to find out how he stood on the franchise question, but his replies were not to our satisfaction. He said that he could not see why the city should not treat the question just as an individual would,—why the franchise should not be given to the company offering the largest return. It was a simple business proposition, and while he had not given the matter much thought, it seemed to him the company could well afford to pay liberally for the privilege. I asked Sterling to come and see me, for as Chairman of the Republican Committee I was interested in the make-up of the party ticket. I tried to make him see our point of view. We had come into the city, I said, when the street railway business had little money in it. We had made our investment on a speculative proposition. Through the growth of the railway system the city had been developed; its boundaries had been extended and the railway had been a great agency in its upbuilding. It was true, I admitted, that our stock was worth more than the physical value of the property, but then so was the stock of any corporation that had any good will attached to it. Moreover, many of our stockholders were widows and orphans, and it would be unjust to deprive them of their property, which would be done if the terms of our franchise were materially modified or we were dispossessed of the rights of way we had enjoyed for so long. I tried to make him see our point of view and the reasonableness of our wishes. He finally said that if the things I said were true, we ought to be able to carry passengers cheaper than anybody else, because we knew the situation, we had possession. Anyway he thought the franchises ought to be disposed of to the company that offered the best terms.

I was unable to make anything out of him. He was not open to reason. So I sent for a lot of party leaders and told them flatly that if Sterling were nominated, they could expect no campaign funds from us or from any of the banks or companies in which I was interested; that we would not stand for such a candidate. He was threatening the property rights that we had built up, and was a dangerous man.

I knew I had sown the seed in the right place. Pretty soon interviews began to appear in the pa-

pers about his candidacy. Some one dug up a story about a strike that he had once had in his factory. It was not much of a strike, and had been very shortly settled; but it was hinted that this would alienate the labor vote. Moreover, it was suggested that he was a reformer. This idea was exaggerated until in a few days' time he appeared to be a fanatic. The boys said he was too good; that he would enforce the Sunday closing laws on the saloons. At that the brewing interests and the Liquor League became alarmed. They protested against the nomination of Sterling and insisted that the people wanted a liberal Sunday. By this means in few days' time almost all of the active political workers were arrayed against Sterling. He had not sufficient experience in politics to get at the newspaper men himself, and was easily disheartened at the opposition which his candidacy seemed to arouse and the change which had come over the public sentiment. For prior to that time his nomination had been looked upon as a foregone conclusion. I had some of our friends call upon him and suggest that he ought not to go into politics anyhow. They said that it would hurt his business; that it would not only make a lot of enemies for him, but that it would be necessary for him to neglect his other interests. We got some of the labor leaders to make an investigation of his strike. The Liquor Dealers' Association came out in interviews against him. Much of this was inspired by us, and reached the rank and file of the party through the ward leaders.

A few days before the Convention, Sterling announced that he would not be a candidate under any circumstances, and his name was not even presented. As a man he was a most estimable fellow, and had he been reasonable upon street railway matters, I should have been pleased to have seen him Mayor.

All this time we had been preparing to spring our own candidate when the time was ripe. We had picked out a young fellow who had been a very satisfactory alderman and who was well known to me. I had secured a position for one of his brothers in a bank, while I had helped him in very substantial ways in his business. Jackson was a man of commonplace abilities, with a general reputation of being a good fellow. He was properly anxious to succeed, made very few enemies, and was open-minded and liberal in his views. The Mayor enjoyed very large powers. Not only did he exercise the veto, but he appointed the departmental heads, and through them distributed the patronage of the party. In this way he controlled or was in a position to control the machine which it was necessary for us to have in hand.

The principal fight, however, was likely to be for the Council. Our Superintendent had this in hand. He picked out men here and there as candidates, supplied them with funds to carry on their campaign, and organized local political clubs to aid them. Most of these candidates were comparatively unknown. Many of them were under substantial obligations to us in many ways. It was always possible for me to help them through the party organization, for as I was Chairman and practically the Treasurer as well, there was no difficulty in this respect. In this way we were able to control most of the ward caucuses, and the majority of the men nominated for the Council were our choice. The

vote for delegates to the Nominating Convention was light. On the evening before the Convention we had a conference in my office and fixed up the slate. Enough men were taken into our confidence to make sure of the arrangement going through easily, and in the morning the idea was quietly circulated from group to group until it became the sense of the Convention. Whatever opposition existed was unorganized and badly led. Moreover, we controlled the temporary Chairman who called the Convention to order and appointed the Committee on Credentials. Through these means we were in a position to seat friendly delegations had contests been necessary. Everything was so well greased, however, that no serious contests arose. Our man was made Permanent Chairman and the slate as made up went through without dissent. Jackson was nominated without opposition, and the Executive Committee, which had control of the Republican organization, was organized to our satisfaction. All was now easy sailing. The city was safely Republican by several thousand votes, and I had the party thoroughly in control, for the Executive Committee was not only of my selection, but as I controlled the campaign funds and the organization made up of the existing city employees, opposition would have been foolish as well as ineffectual.

However, I had always found it wise to keep in touch with the Democratic organization as well. While they had not elected a Mayor for many years, there were many wards from which they returned aldermen, and it was necessary to keep on good terms with them. In line with this programme I had picked out Terence McGann as the head of the Democratic organization. He was a man for whom I had a great liking, and he was very fond of me. I had started him in politics. He was a lusty Irishman of about thirty years of age, and had been interested in politics all his life. When I first met him he was working in a bottling works, and I had recognized him as a natural politician. He was one of the radiant kind. He was as frank and cordial to me as to any one of the boys. I liked him, and he liked being liked. There was a certain big natural dignity about him, too, that made him a born leader. It always did me good to see him enter my office, he cheered things up so much. I had started him in business, having loaned him sufficient money to open a saloon. Soon his influence extended from his ward into the surrounding district. His very instinct for doing a kindly thing made him liked, and added to this he had been able to place many men in our employment from all over the city. This fact added to his power with the boys. In addition to this he always had a bunch of money at election time, and as the Democratic party was a minority one and had few offices at its disposal, this gave him strong claims to the leadership.

I had induced him to try to secure control of the organization, and there being little opposition, he was easily successful. Terence had never made any money out of politics himself; he was comparatively poor and was in politics because he liked it. I used to send my own family physician around to attend his family when they were ill, and on one occasion had supplied him and his wife with railroad passes to Atlantic City. And all the boys liked him. He took care of them; and was unremitting

in his efforts to secure them positions. His idea of an honest politician was one who would "stay bought." So far as his relations with me were concerned, it was always on the assumption that I was in politics for the same reason that he was, because I liked it, or enjoyed power, or for some other reason that he could not make out. At any rate, he always assumed an air of ignorance of what I wanted.

By this time I thoroughly appreciated the necessary intimacy between my business and politics. They were identical. They depended upon each other. And in devoting myself to politics I was in reality devoting myself to business.

I sent for Terence. The following day he came in to see me, and I asked him who they were going to run for Mayor this fall. "The Democratic Convention is coming on in a few weeks," I said, "and I presume you will be able to control the situation as usual."

"That's the thing I have been wanting to see you about for some days," he said. "You know we have been talking about Williams, who ran before. Well, we can nominate him, all right, and he will be defeated just as he was before, unless Jim Ballantyne makes us some trouble."

I had seen Ballantyne's name in the papers, but did not know anything about him. I asked Terence who he was.

"Well, he is a young fellow who came to the city some years ago and has been making himself busy in politics lately. He recently made a corking speech at the Jackson Day banquet, and got the boys all stirred up. He is the fellow who defended the Moulders' Union in the United States Court, in an injunction suit brought to prevent their picketing during the strike. The laboring men are all for him, and say he can beat your man in a walk. He is very popular with the boys, and while we control the Committee and can organize the Convention all right, if he goes out for the nomination and makes a canvass, I fear he will beat us hands down. For Williams isn't strong, and I do not see what I can do if he is nominated except get into the band wagon. I went to see Ballantyne myself the other day to see how he feels about running. He said he had not yet made up his mind; that he did not think he could afford to run, but that he was going into the Convention to show up the fact that the Democratic party was just a part of the Republican machine; that it did not stand for anything and had been bought and sold long enough. He opened up pretty hot on you, too. He said it was a nice situation when a man could not run for office on either the Republican or Democratic tickets without asking the Street Railway Company's permission. He also said that if he ever were Mayor, you would have to pay the city every dollar the new franchises were worth and your taxes as well. Just as I was going out he said: 'You might tell Palmer from me, Terence, that I have the affidavit of Frank Buckley, who was sent to the penitentiary last week for accepting a bribe while on the jury in that street railway personal injury case, that I know where the money came from that bribed him, and that in the future Palmer had better not let his notes to his Superintendent get mixed up with the currency.' He says he has a letter that he got from Buckley writ-

ten by you, putting up the job to bribe the jury. 'And you might tell him,' he added, 'that Buckley is a lot more honest than the man who gave him the money; and that, moreover, he was square, for he preferred to go down the road for three years, rather than give up the evidence that would have soaked Palmer and his Superintendent as well.'

Here was a pretty situation. I remembered writing such a note, and slipping it in a bunch of bills that I had sent to Staunton, our Superintendent. If Ballantyne had this note he might present it to the Grand Jury. If he ran for Mayor he might use it publicly. This was the worst box I had ever gotten into. I was at first inclined to take a trip to Europe until the whole thing blew over, and would have done so had not the franchise question been so important. I let Terence go, and asked him to find out anything more about Ballantyne that he could, and the feeling among the boys, and come back and tell me in the morning. I then sent for our attorney and laid the situation before him. He was a resourceful lawyer and had drawn many franchises for us that were as full of barbs as a rose bush of thorns. They contained simple provisions that passed the scrutiny of the public, but when once in held the community like an anchor. He saw the situation at a glance.

"We must get Ballantyne out of the way for the present," he said. "Do you think him honest?"

"Apparently so," I replied, "and that is Terence's opinion."

"I think I can arrange that," he said. "What would you think of making him special attorney for the company? Give him some of the trial work to do. I can tell him that there is more of that work than we can properly attend to; that we have been watching his court work for some time, and want to employ him by a special retainer to look after a portion of it for us."

That was a brilliant inspiration. "Offer him five thousand a year," I suggested. "Even seventy-five hundred, if necessary. Get a contract with him for three years if you can."

"Long enough to cover the statute of limitations," he suggested, with a smile.

But Ballantyne was not to be had so easily. He took the matter under consideration. He said he had a couple of cases against the road that he would have to try before he could decide.

The next few weeks were the most uncomfortable I had ever passed. I was more than ever tempted to cut and run away. I would wake up in the night thinking of the power Ballantyne held over me. But I concluded to wait for the Democratic Convention. With Terence we had prepared a slate that the Republican ticket could easily defeat. Williams was to be nominated for Mayor, and the councilmanic nominees had all been provided for. Ballantyne did not seem to be making any canvass, and I had about concluded that he was not going to run. The Democratic Convention met at nine in the morning. About noon I received a telephone message from Terence, saying that he wanted to see me right away, but that he did not want to come to my office. "Meet me in room 360 in the Arlington Hotel," I said. "I will be right over." When I reached the hotel Terence was already in the room. I could see that things had gone wrong.

"What happened, Terence?" I asked.

"Oh! they have cleaned up the organization, broken the slate and carried everything their own way," he said. "By some means or other they got control of O'Brien, the Temporary Chairman, and he declared their man elected Permanent Chairman. That devil of a labor leader, Cowen, put Ballantyne in nomination, and he got three-fourths of the vote, and then the Convention made it unanimous. They stole the organization from us, and paid the Temporary Chairman for his desertion by nominating him for President of the Council. I never saw such a wild lot of Democrats in my life. But they put up a fine ticket, and, unless I am much mistaken, are going to give you and your man, Jackson, a run for your life." I saw that Terence was inclined to go with his party, and he seemed to think that I was responsible for his defeat and the discredit into which he had come with the organization. I felt that I would have to act in a very careful way or he would go over to Ballantyne with the organization. That was a thing which must be stopped at all hazards, for I had to make use of the Democratic party, and to use Terence to do it. So I said quickly:

"Of course you could not help it, Terence. The trouble was, the Citizens' Railway, that is trying to get possession of our franchises, put up too much money. They bought the Convention and nominated Ballantyne. They must have lined up the delegates in some way, and are trying to beat us out of the way." They I showed him how his control of the party would be destroyed if Ballantyne were elected. "For, of course, he will build up a machine of his own," I said, "and the present organization will not be recognized. He has made war on you, Terence, when he should have come to you as the head of the party." Finally I said: "Now, Terence, you know we have never been defeated; we have a safe majority here of from two to three thousand, and if Jackson is elected, as he will be, I will arrange so that you and your friends are taken care of. He is under obligations to me; I will tell him that as the contest is close he cannot afford to ignore any help that you can give him. I think I can arrange so that you will be permitted to control the nominations on the Police force if you throw your support to Jackson. This will not be so difficult," I said, "because that department is under civil service rules, and if he appoints Democrats instead of Republicans, the public will say that he is conducting the department on a non-partisan basis."

Terence seemed to be fully convinced that he had been badly treated; that he had been defeated, too, through the use of money, and that if Ballantyne were elected his influence would be at an end. To clinch matters, and put him under further obligations, I said:

"I have just received word this morning from the Superintendent of our mines at Spring Valley that he wants a new superintendent. I concluded to offer the place to your brother if you think he would care to accept it."

The campaign began in good earnest. Both of the leading papers were owned by influential men. Within the next few days I had a half dozen leading advertisers go to the editor of the Herald, the Democratic organ, and suggest that while they did not want to appear to be interfering with the policy

of the paper, the Democratic party had nominated a man for Mayor whom it would be dangerous to see elected. They said he was working with the labor unions; was nominated by them, and that should a strike break out in the city there was no knowing what he would do. There was danger that he would not protect property and would refuse to call out the militia in case of disturbance. The city already had a bad name among business men the country over, they suggested; and if it were known that a labor leader was Mayor, it would probably hurt its business interests. This had its visible effect, for while the Herald did not openly endorse the Republican candidate, it did not support Ballantyne, and gave its columns to the fullest discussion of our meetings and printed any news we sent them.

Ballantyne plunged right into the campaign. He made the street railway issue prominent. He ignored the residence districts almost entirely, holding his meetings in the mill and factory districts. He turned out to be a good campaigner, and worked up public sentiment as I had never known it to be aroused on a local election. I went to hear him at the opening meeting. He said the question before the people was a simple one. It was, "Shall the corporations control the city, or the city control the corporations?" He coined a whole lot of phrases like: "It is better for the city to help than to hurt," meaning that the poorer classes should be given a chance to work in some honest way, rather than in the workhouse; or "An ounce of recreation is worth a pound of punishment;" "The saloon is the poor man's club. Make the parks the poor man's club;" "It is better to make people happy than to make them fearful."

I could see by the faces of the men that he was awakening their interest. So far as I could learn, he had no money to spend. His workers were always the voluntary ones. Unconsciously, I became interested in what he was saying, and crowded to the front. He evidently recognized me, for after he had continued in this way for some time, he concluded by saying: "As you know, I am not a politician. I have never had as much experience in politics as many of you who are here. But during the past few years I have seen enough of this city to know that it has not mattered much which of the two parties was in power, for in either event the gentleman who stands before me, Mr. Palmer, was the real ruler of the city. For years you and I have gone to the polls, cast our votes for one candidate or another, but whoever was elected we were merely voting the one ticket, and that ticket was made up by William Palmer, the President of the Electric Railway Company. To-day he is Chairman of the Republican Executive Committee. He made out a slate for the Republican Convention, and you and I and all the people of this great city read in the papers the morning before the Convention just who was to be nominated, and we read it without a suggestion of surprise. We have become so accustomed to having such things done for us that we have ceased to care, and the shame is that the same thing has been true of our own party. Who has been the leader of the Democratic party?" he asked.

"Terence McGann," some one said.

"Yes, Terence McGann," he replied. "I have no desire to say anything mean of Terence, for so far

as I know he never did a mean or dishonest thing in his life; and while he and I are on different sides in this contest, I will leave it to the gentleman who has recently entered this room, Mr. William Palmer, if Terence McGann did not confer with him just prior to the Democratic Convention in order to make up a slate, and if he and Terence did not have a meeting in the Arlington Hotel immediately after the Convention to map out plans to beat the Democratic ticket.

"I make that charge, Mr. Palmer, and ask you to come forward on the platform and deny it if you care to, for I have no desire to do any man injustice, and I have every reason to believe that you will tell the truth."

I did not move. I was taken by surprise. The crowd all turned and looked at me. I started to the speaker's stand, I scarcely knew why. I looked into the faces of the first crowd I had ever addressed. As calmly as I could, I said: "I came out as a citizen to hear both sides of this case. It is true I am the President of the Electric Railway; but am I for that reason an enemy of the people? Think what you would do if you had to walk miles to your work. Think what the street railway company has done for the upbuilding of the city. Do we not pay taxes the same as do other people? Do we not give good accommodation? Is it not a legitimate industry? Times are good," I said. "The country is prosperous. Men have work and wages are high." Then turning to Ballantyne, I said: "I do not feel called upon to answer your questions. You are a lawyer out here stirring up class feeling in a country which, thank God, is free from classes. You are arousing a spirit of discontent, of socialism, of anarchy; and it will be a sad day for the good name of this city and for its industries if a socialist leader like you is elected Mayor."

This seemed to have a visible effect upon the audience, for I have noticed that even the laboring man is fair-minded and looks out for his own interests. But I did not like the enthusiasm of that crowd. I saw many of our own party workers there, and heard that they were more or less indifferent in the campaign.

The next day I called a large number of business men into my office. I told them of my experience the night before. "This is getting serious," I said. "If that man is elected Mayor, property will not be safe. Manufacturing plants will no longer come here. He will raise the taxes and drive business from the city."

We started in to raise a large campaign fund. I suggested that we organize a City Reform Club. I called in one of the leading clergymen and had a talk with him. I said: "Dr. Jameson, this present contest is one the clergy cannot afford to neglect. This campaign threatens the home. The Democratic party is in league with the liquor interests. They will throw open the saloons on Sunday if Ballantyne is elected, and I happen to know that they have raised a large fund for his election. And you know what will happen if they get into control—we will have an open Sunday; the city will be an open town, the gambling houses will run again, and our children will not be safe from this evil, while we will be subjected to all of the criminal things that follow a European Sunday. Don't you think it would

# Publishers' Column

## The Public

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

Entered at the Chicago, Illinois, Postoffice as second class matter.

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Yearly .....	\$1.00
Half yearly .....	.50
Quarterly .....	.25
Single copies .....	.05
Trial subscription—4 weeks .....	.10
Extra copies in quantity, \$2.00 per 100, in lots of 50 and upward; if addressed to individuals, \$3.50 per 100.	
Free of postage in United States, Canada, Cuba and Mexico. Elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week.	

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be a good thing for the churches to do a little campaign work? Isn't it a good proverb to follow, 'When bad men conspire, good men should organize?'

"Now, if you can arrange for a citizens' organization to hold a big public meeting a few nights before the close of the campaign, and also have all of the ministers preach a sermon on the necessity of taking an interest in local matters about the same time, I think you would be doing a great service to the city that already owes you so much. And in case the meeting is arranged for, I think I can secure any money you may need from some of the members of your congregation."

Prior to this time I had sent a man to Ballantyne's old home to learn what I could about his early life, and what sort of a citizen he had been prior to coming to the city. But all reports showed him to be an industrious young fellow who had worked his way through college and had studied law while teaching school.

I also got some of our stockholders to call on the members of the City Reform Club. I knew many of its contributing members, and some of them were connected with me in the same banks. These I induced to appear before its executive committee and urge the necessity of ridding the city of the dangerous demagogic influences that had arisen in the Democratic party. They also spoke of the necessity of protecting the city from an open Sabbath and the control of the saloons.

Soon all of these influences were thoroughly aroused. They organized local ward committees in the churches, while the Reform Association began to issue bulletins on the mayoralty situation. This they had never done before, as they were organized simply for councilmanic matters. But they justified themselves by saying that the issue before the people was so momentous that they had decided to enter the field and protest against the election of a man who was manifestly designing to create a machine; a man who was in league with the liquor element, and who had said in his public speeches that the saloon was the poor man's club, and that until the people furnished him something better, the working man was not to be condemned for going there.

The Sunday before election all of the churches preached a crusade against Ballantyne. They did not mention him in so many words nor attack the Democratic party, but they urged the people to be aroused to the election, to defend their families and their homes from the saloon, from the demagogic utterances that were arousing class feeling in America.

There did not seem to be a chance for our defeat. The sentiment against Ballantyne was so strong that the betting was two to one in favor of Jackson, the Republican candidate, who had been almost overlooked in the campaign. This was fortunate for us for he was not a good speaker, and had done little in the Council, although he was a good fellow and an active church worker.

But the Council was as important to us as the Mayoralty. To this we devoted much of our attention. The Mayoralty contest was so absorbing that the public paid little particular attention to the Council. McGann had picked men for us in the sure Democratic wards, and had supplied them with such funds as they needed, while I had chosen the men in the Republican wards which we could control.

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This was a comparatively easy matter, as McGann was familiar with his men through the Democratic organization, while I knew all of the men on the Republican ticket. They came to me for funds, and in this way I made myself acquainted with their necessities, habits, positions and friends. I made any assistance that was given them a personal matter, and talked about the party, and the necessity of keeping things in line owing to the Presidential election that was coming on the following year.

On election day the odds were three to one against Ballantyne. The better element, by that I mean the men of wealth who usually remain away from the polls, was aroused by the work which had been done by the Reform organization and the churches. They came out early and voted straight. All indications were that a large vote would be polled, and that the entire Republican ticket would go through. In the evening of election day we all met at the Metropolitan Club. The Republican candidate was there and a special wire had been run into the rooms. The early wards to come in were the Democratic ones about the mills. They showed Ballantyne gains; but that was to be expected. The East End wards were slow in coming, and they would easily overcome that by reason of the large vote which had been polled. In this we were not disappointed, and after a goodly sprinkling of Republican wards had showed up, all indicating a good vote, we began to feel more easy, and be pretty confident of the result. But the outlying mill wards continued black. The feeling for Ballantyne seemed to be very strong there. Soon one of the German wards came in, a conservative, well-to-do ward, usually Republican. Even it showed heavy Democratic gains. These same losses came from one after another of the foreign wards. Thompson, one of our directors, said: "That shows the socialism that is being brought to America by those who come here for freedom, and then don't seem to be satisfied with it when they get it. Our naturalization laws ought to be changed," he said. "What do these men know of American institutions? They come here, and after a few years' time have as much influence at the ballot as any one of us who have lived here since the founding of the city. They ought to limit the suffrage to those who pay taxes."

By ten o'clock Ballantyne was in the lead. But there were still some heavy Republican wards to hear from. They came in slowly. But the Democratic gains continued, and by midnight the extras were out announcing Ballantyne's election by several thousand majority. We could hardly believe the result. No one had expected it save Ballantyne, but he had confidently claimed his election from the first. We had been beaten at the polls. For the first time in our experience we had failed to control the situation. The people had been carried away by an appeal to class feeling.

Nothing remained to do but to carry the fight into the Council, and for this we were well prepared. We could easily control a majority of the aldermen, and if Ballantyne could not be brought over to us, we felt pretty confident of our ability to secure enough votes to override his veto.

(To be continued.)

# Announcements

## MEETINGS, LECTURES, DEBATES, ETC.

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

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

**Philadelphia, Pa.**—The Henry George Club of Philadelphia holds open air meetings on Wednesdays, Fridays and Sundays, at 8 p. m., at the North Plaza of the City Hall.

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## BOOKS

### FACTS FOR INVESTORS AND STUDENTS.

Moody's Manual of Railroads and Corporation Securities. 1906. Seventh year. Published by the Moody Corporation, 35 Nassau St., New York, and 155 Washington St., Chicago; 16 Coptfall Ave. E. C., London; J. H. De Bussey, Rokin 60, Amsterdam. Price: Leather \$12.00; cloth, \$10.00.

The seventh volume of this remarkably successful financial publication, larger than any of its predecessors, has just appeared. It comprises ten distinct sections. The first is replete with information regarding all the stock exchanges of the United States and Canada; the second covers the field of government securities; steam railroads are dealt with in the third, and electric traction companies in the fourth; gas and electric light companies and water supply companies are found in the fifth and the sixth respectively, and the cable, telephone and telegraph companies in the seventh; the eighth section covers the subject of industrial and miscellaneous corporations; the ninth of mining and oil corporations, and the tenth of banks, trust companies and other financial institutions. Following the tenth section there is a revised directory of manufacturers, manufacturers' agents, contractors, engineers, brokers, etc. The information contained in this volume is full and specific, and the publication is now reputed to be not only the broadest in the field it covers, but the most accurate in every part of this field. The object of the book is to furnish information to investors, but that fact makes it all the more valuable for economic and political uses; and as we have had occasion to observe with reference to preceding volumes, we know of no reference book regarding trusts and public utility corporations which equals this for the uses of speakers and writers on those subjects.

\* \* \*

### A MIRROR FOR JUDGES.

**Foibles of the Bench.** By Henry S. Wilcox, of the Chicago Bar. Published by Legal Literature Co., Chicago. Price, postpaid, \$1.00.

Mr. Wilcox promises a series of monographs, of which this is the first. The others are to let lawyers, juries, and even the law see themselves as he has seen them and as he here exhibits judges to themselves. In performing this service for judges, for it is a service to them, as well as to all persons with whom they hold official relations, Mr. Wilcox has done a needed work and done it well. There is nothing dry about his book. It is as interesting as fiction, and yet every practicing lawyer will recognize it as strictly true. At times the spirit of satire may possibly be in excess, but seldom, if at all, more than is necessary to emphasize.

In his preface the author disclaims all intention of getting even with any members of the judiciary. He asserts that the judges delineated are not actual persons of any particular time or place, but types of judges to be found almost anywhere and at almost any time. While this is doubtless true, the sophisticated reader will at least suspect that some judges

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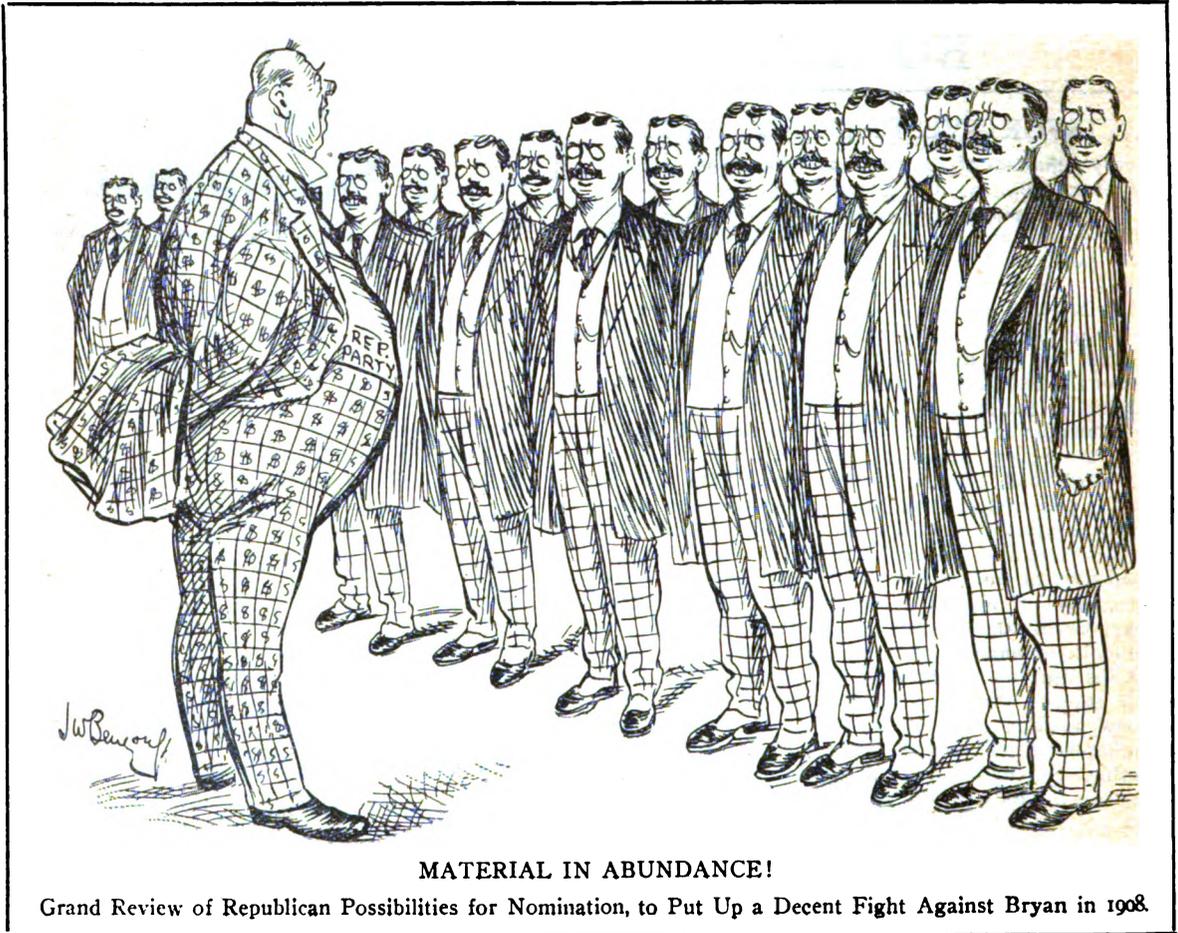
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of the present time and not far away have been unconscious sitters for some of the composite portraits.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Rebel at Large. By May Beals. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.

—The Making of the World. By Dr. M. Wilhelm Meyer. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.

—Life and Death: A Study in Biology. By Dr. E. Telchmann. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.

—Looking Forward: A Treatise on the Status of Woman and the Origin and Growth of the Family and the State. By Philip Rappaport. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.

## PAMPHLETS

### A Kansas Call.

Mr. M. Senn of Lasita, Kansas, has issued "A Call to Action" addressed to the people of Kansas with reference to the evil business conditions that have recently been disclosed in the United States. Mr. Senn attributes nearly all the great fortunes of this

and other countries to the monopolization of money, transportation, land or some other privilege created by class laws; and in the course of his discussion he treats of banking, land, taxation, insurance, the wage earner, and transportation. The central thought in Mr. Senn's philosophy is that the universe is governed by law, and that among the first of its laws with reference to human life is the law of freedom and brotherhood.

## PERIODICALS

Number Six of the Broadides of the American Free Trade League, the number for July, has just appeared. One of its especially interesting articles, all too brief, is a letter from William Lloyd Garrison on the tariff question in England.

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Chas. F. Dole's paper "About Conscience," in the July number of the International Journal of Ethics, is a remarkably concise and lucid as well as convincing presentation of the idea of a moral sense. Mr. Dole likens conscience in the moral sphere to the artistic sense in the mental and to hunger in the physical. That is to say, it is a natural and intuitive

yearning for moral adjustment, present from birth, like any other sense, and, like the other senses, never infallible but always subject to cultivation.

+

Since Edward J. Wheeler took editorial control of Current Literature it has steadily improved in interest and value. The August number will bear comparison with almost any of the magazines in their own field, and in many respects it is acceptably unique.

+

An anonymous review of the Iowa situation, and a paper by George C. Sikes criticizing the methods of the Democratic party in Chicago, contribute greatly to the value of the July number of Henry Barrett Chamberlin's "Voter." In the same number Mr. M. L. McKinley, secretary of the Chicago Charter Convention, furnishes an outline account of the progress of the work of that body.

+

The Hon. Lucius F. C. Garvin, the distinguished single taxer of New England, and recently governor of Rhode Island, appears in the July Arena with an excellent article on the "Solution of the Labor Problem." Among the other articles is one by Ernest Crosby along a new line for him, being one of a series of papers on the British in Egypt, where Mr. Crosby was at one time American judge in the international tribunal at Alexandria.

+

Readers who are interested in the recent Congressional legislation on railway rates will find it worth their while to turn to the symposium on that subject in Moody's Magazine (New York), for July. Among the contributors are Edward P. Bacon and Prof. Bascom. Ex-Congressman Baker contributes a judicious consideration of "trusts" and "promoters," to both of which he attributes legitimate functions. The editorials in this magazine are of superior order both in value and interest; and A. B. Kellogg's paragraphs add a flavor of their own to a magazine which, while devoted to the interests of financial investors, nevertheless regards investors as human creatures and puts something besides ideas of dollars and cents into its reading matter.

+

But for its small type and thin leading the summer issue of The Single Tax Review could be numbered among the most readable periodicals in typographical appearance, as it is without reservation among the most readable in its contents. A very interesting story is that of Th. Popp, on the beginning and growth of the Henry George movement in Denmark, where the movement seems to have taken a deep hold. Grace Isabel Colbron has a wise and timely word to say concerning single taxers and socialists, with especial reference to single taxers. The editorial writing by Joseph Dana Miller is admirable. Mr. Miller's literary style entitles him to highest rank as an economic writer, and as a controversialist his pen has a delightful lightness of touch without any sacrifice of argumentative power.

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