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## EDITORIAL

### An Objection to Socialism.

"Emphatically rejecting the socialistic panacea," Collier's assures us that it nevertheless believes "in a full understanding of what that doctrine is." We also emphatically reject socialism. But we are bound to say that if Collier's knows itself when it accepts as a sound objection to socialism the point "that the amount exacted by capital for rent and profit would make much less addition to the common stock than the socialist ordinarily assumes," then Collier's is not yet so

much in need of "a full understanding" as of an elementary apprehension of socialism.

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### Limiting Wealth.

The human mind often works in wonderful ways. Because many people are poor, it is proposed, seriously and even by the President, to put a limit on the amount of wealth a man may have. There is much more sense in Mr. Dooley's proposition to put a limit on the amount of wealth a man may not have. With a fair minimum of wealth per capita, the maximum wouldn't make much difference; but with no minimum, a very low maximum might enable the wealthy to exploit the impoverished,—and even on election day, when it endangers us all.

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### The Call for Laborers.

About this season, once a year, a call for laborers comes from the large farming regions of the West, and the daily-paper editorial writers begin to tune their pens for songs of joy for the workingmen. Because farm hands are in demand on big prairie farms these poets of prosperity see no excuse for idleness. But they say nothing of the short-lived character of the demand and the hopelessness of stranded laborers. Nor do they reflect upon the more important significance of this phenomenon. The demand for farm hands at this season, and the inevitable cessation of demand at the end of the season, are due to that monopolization of farm land which necessitates an army of laborers at certain seasons but offers them neither work to do nor a place to stay between seasons. Out of this abnormality there is coming a race of irresponsible nomads, which bodes no good to the Republic.

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### Marshall Field's Personal Taxes.

Marshall Field had the reputation of a man of superlative business honesty. So, when it transpired after his death that he had been escaping taxes annually on personal property worth \$15,000,000, the news was distinctly shocking. To be sure he had not made any false oaths about the matter. The assessors had put him down for a certain amount, and he had not protested that the amount was too small. He had merely looked vacantly at them, or through them, as they jotted down the figures. So there was no

falsification on his part. Yet it was well known that Marshall Field wouldn't have looked vacantly at or through a private creditor while the latter underestimated his claim. Mr. Field would have corrected him, and considered it dishonest not to do so. Why, then, did Mr. Field allow the assessors to underrate him for taxation? Did he mean to cheat, or did he feel instinctively that this kind of taxation was mere pillage anyhow, and that he was under no more obligation to reveal his personal possessions to the public confiscator than he would have been to an ordinary private plunderer? It is inconceivable that he meant to cheat. He must have felt, as everybody else does, that personal property taxation is a species of robbery. But why, then, did he not use his great influence to secure the abolition of personal property taxation? Farmers cannot escape as he did. Thrifty mechanics cannot escape as he did. Small storekeepers and manufacturers and professional men cannot escape as he did. Why is it that men of Mr. Field's type insist upon retaining personal property taxation in the law, and then evade it? Is it because they want to shift the burdens of taxation to poorer men? Or are they without that public spirit which leads men of honest minds not only to revolt against paying unjust taxes, but also against retaining them in the taxing system.

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#### Legislative Corruption in Massachusetts.

In a careless moment the Massachusetts legislature has expelled a member, Frank J. Gethro, for corruption. He had been promised protection by his fellow members, but they turned upon him when they thought he could no longer be used and need no longer be feared. And now he turns back upon them, by making a clean breast of all the corruption of which he knew and in which he participated. Of course he is a "tell-tale." Of course he is an "informer." Of course his excuses for himself can be sneered at and possibly deserve to be. But no one doubts the truth of his revelations. They merely expose in detail what has long been in a general way fairly well known. To corrupt public officials has been regarded as a legitimized method of doing business—legitimized by the spurious commercialism which reached its zenith in McKinley's day. Might it be asking too much of the pretentious "business" man, after all the recent revelations of business crookedness, that when the public interests are at stake he sit down at a distance and look modest?

#### Corruption in New Orleans.

Even New Orleans does not escape the business corruptionist. The City Council there has given a telephone company the right to operate for \$12,000 a year, to the exclusion of a competitive company offering \$100,000. Besides this large difference in bonus, the competitive company offered to reduce tolls from \$120 to \$84, and to deposit city, State and national bonds in adequate amount, to be forfeited for non-fulfillment of its contract. But the Council drove out this competitive company. It did not belong to the Beal combine; the one that got the franchise did. There is no direct evidence, to be sure, that anything passed between the successful applicant and any one having influence with the Council; but—well, circumstantial evidence has uses.

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#### A Curious Chain of Circumstances.

The astonishing decision of Judge Grosscup of the Federal Court at Chicago this week, in the case of the traction companies and the other tax-dodging public utilities corporations, draws attention to a curious chain of circumstances with reference to the case. We speak of this decision as astonishing, because it involves the assumption that under the Fourteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution the Federal courts have practically absolute control over local taxation. We ought also to describe it as dangerous, because power resides where control over taxation lodges and if control over local taxation does lodge in the Federal courts, then the march toward centralization is complete. But that is another question. Our present purpose is to draw attention to the curious chain of circumstances surrounding this particular case.

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Several years ago, the pressure of poverty upon the City of Chicago and the Chicago school board reached the point of necessitating a clipping of the teachers' already meager salaries. Both the city authorities and the school board readily acquiesced in this, but the teachers, most of them, were not so docile. Those of them who were more public spirited and courageous than the rest utilized the Teachers' Federation to ascertain the reason for the clipping of their salaries, with the result of unearthing a scandalous career of tax-dodging on the part of the public utilities corporations.

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Since the public authorities would do nothing to remedy this evil, the Teachers' Federation (vol.

iv, p. 817; vol. v, p. 2) set about doing it in behalf of their members. But the city authorities obstructed them, the school board obstructed them, the taxing authorities obstructed them, and the newspapers when they did not deride them ignored them. Finally, however, they got a hearing before an un-roped judge, Judge Thompson of Springfield, and he granted a mandamus compelling the taxing authorities to obey the plain letter of the law and tax these corporations upon the fair cash value of their capital stock. Judge Thompson was sustained by the Supreme Court of the State, and accordingly the capital stock of the public utilities companies was for 1900 taxed approximately at its true valuation, the valuation of its tangible property being first deducted. The teachers had won their fight, much to the disgust of the "business" interests of Chicago, which, in social club, and newspaper, and school board, and financial circle, have never since wearied of maligning and sneering at and damning them for busying themselves with public affairs.

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But plutocracy never yields so long as it can fight, bribe or wheedle, and the teachers' victory was only for a year. In 1901 the taxing authorities, under the spur of the corporate interests, had pulled themselves together, and while they did not altogether ignore the capital stock of the corporations as previously, they did very greatly reduce the valuations. Meanwhile Judge Grosscup of the Federal court had been appealed to by the corporations. The question was purely one of local taxation, over which the Federal courts have no jurisdiction; but Judge Grosscup assumed jurisdiction, and actually fixed the assessment of these companies for local taxation by reducing it. In the proceedings before him he has had little or no opposition from the law officers of the city or State. Neither has the school board taken action, although the renewed favoritism of the tax authorities to the corporations crippled its finances. It was only when Mayor Dunne came into office, after the suit to restrain collection had been hung up three years or more, neglected, in Judge Grosscup's court, that anything was done; and Mayor Dunne's representatives found a record virtually made by the companies. The Attorney General of the State, whose duty it was to protect the local public interests, had done little to sustain the valuations of 1900, made in obedience to the mandamus proceedings, although they were manifestly low. Consequently about the only question before Judge Grosscup was that of his jurisdiction,

and on this he has now held in favor of the companies.

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Judge Grosscup decides that the Federal courts have jurisdiction if the taxing authorities of a State act under coercion, because they then take property without due process of law, which is prohibited by the Fourteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution. And he reduces the valuation of 1900 because it is higher than the subsequent one of 1901, although market values had not fallen, inferring from this that the valuation must have been made under coercion. It would have been more sensible to infer that the lower valuation of 1901 was made under corruption. But in fact there was coercion in 1900. It was the coercion of a decree of the Supreme Court of Illinois, commanding the taxing authorities to cease evading their official duty in favor of these corporations and to perform it under the law. He has thus overruled the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois on a question of local taxation, and not directly as a higher court on appeal, but collaterally and by way of injunction.

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This is carrying government by injunction as well as centralization to its limits; and yet there are said to be serious doubts as to whether an appeal will be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States. The State administration is too much entangled with "business" interests to offend those powerful interests by appealing from one of their favorite judges whose latest prior decision in behalf of these interests was reversed. The county authorities are similarly entangled. And it is denied that the city has a legal interest sufficient to give it standing to prosecute an appeal. It was by favor rather than by right that Judge Grosscup allowed Mayor Dunne's representatives to be heard. Taken altogether isn't this a curious chain of circumstances? Of course it may be as innocent of guile from beginning to end as a baby's whistle; but at any rate the coincidences are interesting.

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#### Gov. Hoch's Idea of the Hangman.

In Kansas they have as in most of our States a law for capital punishment, and in Kansas it is by hanging. But under the Kansas law, the prisoner convicted of a capital offense is sent to the State's prison, there to remain until his death warrant has been signed and the date of his execution fixed by the Governor. Now it has so happened that for several years every Governor

of Kansas has been enough of a man and Christian to refuse to turn himself into a hangman. Consequently there have for several years been no hangings in Kansas, though about 50 capital convicts are in prison. Under the law any Governor of the State might at any time order these men out for execution.

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This is what some citizens of Kansas want Gov. Hoch to do, and among those citizens there is at least one clergyman—the Rev. R. A. Ellwood of Leavenworth. That loving brother in a fraternal faith recently wrote an open letter to Gov. Hoch demanding the lives of those 50 or more imprisoned men. And here is Gov. Hoch's justly indignant and contemptuous reply:

I shall not decree that these men be put to death and furthermore will never decree the hanging of any man. Do you suppose that if I had a man on the gallows with my hand on the lever ready to spring the trap I'd do it? Suppose I should say to that poor creature, "Do you believe in the immortality of the soul?" and he should answer "Yes." "Do you believe in heaven and hell and that you will go to one or the other of these places?" and he should say "I do." Do you suppose I would spring that trap and say "Go to hell then?" Indeed, I would not. What a beautiful spectacle it would be to see 50 men, all in a row, hanged at the same time! What a spectacle we have here! A minister of the gospel, whose work it is to teach tenderness, thoughtful consideration of others and who is supposed to emulate the example of the Savior, suggesting that the State demand an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. He had better read the remainder of the Savior's injunction along that line.

If there were more such sensitiveness to the sacredness of human life, this barbarism of legal murder would soon pass away for lack of hangmen. Even the apparent necessity for it would decrease, for there is no longer room for rational doubt that official murder does not stop private murder but promotes it.

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### Legal Lynching in Chicago.

If such sensitiveness as Gov. Hoch's were more general, we should not have had the spectacle in Chicago last week of an official lynching—for that is what the hanging of young Ivens was. A woman had been brutally murdered, and her body carried to a place where this boy would probably, in the ordinary course of his work, be the first to find it. He was the first to find it. He reported the fact. The police seized him and put him through the "sweat-box" process. They secured a confession, which showed that he had most unnaturally carried the body of the woman

he had murdered at night to a place where he would be the first to find it in the morning, or else that the confession was false. He afterwards repudiated this "sweat box" confession and denied all knowledge of the crime. But upon the confession and under the spur of newspaper clamor he was convicted. His case involved the most important and novel legal point conceivable, namely, whether the confession of a prisoner, coaxed from him by his official custodians without a warning that it would be used against him, is valid evidence. Such confessions having more than once in the past turned out to be false, they were wisely rejected by the courts as unreliable until the comparatively recent innovation of the police "sweat box." But in this case that cautious practice was departed from at the trial, and the Supreme Court of Illinois refused to postpone the hanging until it could deliberately pass upon the question. Had there been only a few hundred dollars at stake, there would have been a stay of proceedings; but with a human life in the balance, Justice could not wait. So this boy was hanged, with the law of his case undecided by the court of final authority. Doesn't that seem very much like a legal lynching?

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### Bryan's Fidelity.

The attempts to make it appear that Bryan will yield to the blandishments of the plutocratic crowd that is pushing for seats in the Bryan band wagon, are failing miserably. For Bryan will talk, and he talks with his same old candor. In one of his interviews he declares himself on the trust question in a manner that leaves no room for doubting his fidelity:

There is some talk of controlling the trusts. You might as well talk of controlling burglary. We do not say men shall only steal a little bit, or in some particular way, but that they shall not steal at all. So of private monopolies. It is not sufficient to control them or regulate them. They must be absolutely, totally destroyed. Corporations should be controlled and regulated, but private monopolies must be exterminated, root and branch. Now, you can call that a radical doctrine. Yet it is more conservative to apply this remedy now than to wait until predatory wealth has by its lawlessness brought odium on legitimate accumulations. What used to be called radical is now called conservative because people have been investigating. The doctrine has not changed, but public sentiment is making progress.

This cuts to the marrow. To plundering plutocrats it is a warning that they can expect no favors from Bryan; to the democratic Democrat and democratic Republican it is an assurance that the

Bryan movement is a forward and not a backward one. Bryan is not seeking the Presidential nomination; but he leaves no doubt that if it comes to him, he will stand for democratic ideals. He could say of himself to-day as he said at the St. Louis convention two years ago: "You may dispute whether I have fought a good fight; you may dispute whether I have finished my course; but you cannot deny that I have kept the faith."

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### An Undiscovered Species of Monopoly.

As a rule the Chicago Record-Herald is pretty sound editorially on its abstract economics; but what shall we do with its remarkable admonition of the 25th to Bryan in response to his condemnation of monopolies? We quote: "The monopoly which cheapens goods and divides the economies of superior organization with consumers is beneficial to society." We suspect that the monopoly which divides its advantages with consumers, whether advantages of superior organization or anything else, has yet to be discovered. The pretty well established fact is that monopolies give consumers a share of their advantages as and only as they cease to be monopolies.

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### THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

Those of us who have these many years been trying, apparently in vain, to gain the public ear in behalf of just and therefore sane principles of wealth distribution, may be pardoned our amazement at the present state of the public mind on this subject. The change in the trend of thought has been so sudden, and the current runs all at once so swift, as to make the vast phenomenon seem almost miraculous.

Not that public sentiment as yet demands just principles of distribution, either in generals or by any particular method; but it does distinctly recognize the fact that the results of the prevailing system of distribution are morally unjust and socially dangerous. Regardless of its great significance this recognition is of the utmost importance. It has been impossible heretofore to arouse public opinion to any realization whatever of the iniquities and dangers of prevailing modes of wealth distribution. The principal criticisms of Henry George's epochal work, "Progress and Poverty," were not that its argument was fallacious but that its premises were false. The premises alluded to were George's contention, then denied but now appreciated, that progress tends to

enrich the privileged idler and to impoverish the unprivileged worker; or, as it was commonly interpreted by those who denied it, that "the rich grow richer and the poor poorer." These premises are now so generally conceded that those of us who have long been vainly trying to bring them to public attention must enter somewhat into the spirit of Sill's suggestive lines:

Before the monstrous wrong he sits him down—  
One man against a stone-walled citadel of sin.  
For centuries those walls have been a-building;  
Smooth porphyry, they slope and coldly glass  
The flying storm and wheeling sun. No chink,  
No crevice, lets the thinnest arrow in.  
He fights alone, and from the cloudy ramparts  
A thousand evil faces jibe and jeer him.  
Let him lie down and die; what is the right,  
And where is justice in a world like this?  
But by and by earth shakes herself, impatient,  
And down, in one great roar of ruin, crash  
Watch-tower and citadel and battlements.  
When the red dust has cleared, the lonely soldier  
Stands with strange thoughts beneath the friendly  
stars.

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The signs of this marvelous change in public sentiment regarding the distribution of wealth are too abundant for enumeration. In a general way, it has been the theme of the commencement day orations this year of the presidents of nearly every college and university of importance in the country. Senator Elkins has within a few days publicly declared that "there is enough wealth to prevent poverty, but we have not learned how to distribute it." One of the commencement day orators, a St. Louis clergyman, gave picturesqueness to the same idea when he paraphrased Andrew Carnegie, saying that it is not alone a disgrace to die rich but "it is a disgrace to grow rich." Perhaps, however, the most significant of all the expressions of this common recognition of the unjust and socially dangerous distribution of wealth are to be found in the leading paper of the North American Review for June. The authorship of this paper is a secret, but the editor of the Review vouches for him as "the most profound philosopher living in the United States to-day," and the paper itself testifies abundantly to his statesmanlike ability.

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He divides American society roughly into three classes—"those who have much more money than is good for them, those who have perhaps as much money as is good for them, and those who have much less money than would be good for them."

In this classification there appears to be no

recognition of the element of justice in distribution. Yet the writer evidently had no intention of ignoring that element. Farther on in his paper, contrasting "vested interests" with ethical considerations as the basis of ownership, he delicately emphasizes the idea of rightfulness; and still farther on, he accepts the doctrine that "I am my brother's keeper," with this qualification: "to the extent that I am not at liberty to take a dollar unjustly from him, nor to accumulate a dollar of property for myself except with full, careful and generous consideration of what is due to him." Along the same line of thought he further declares that "whoever has a dollar for which a dollar's worth in property or service has not been given, has a dishonest dollar, and if he keeps it he is a dishonest man." This is followed with a prediction that the time is coming "when everybody possessing private property will be required to answer these two plain questions: 'How much have you withdrawn from the common store?' and 'What service did you give in return for it?'" And in conclusion he appeals for the recognition of "some moral basis" for wealth distribution.

But these observations, while they indicate a moral impulse in the writer's mind, do not indicate a very profound ethical analysis, even if he is "the most profound philosopher living in the United States to-day." For it is not true that he who has a dollar for which a dollar's worth has not been given is a dishonest man if he keeps it. When writing this the North American contributor apparently considered no incomes except such on the one hand as are earned and such on the other as are filched corruptly. Probably he did not overlook gifts, bequests and inheritances, which are neither earned nor filched; he may have disregarded them as fairly negligible in a brief magazine paper. But he must have overlooked institutional influences that divert the earnings of one to the pockets of another without personal corruption.

For example, the owner of a valuable mine, of a valuable water privilege or of a valuable building lot, gets many a dollar from the labor of current production without giving a dollar's worth in return; for it is no equivalent for service or for the kind of property that service produces, to give the privilege of utilizing a natural site. The dollar so obtained may be a dishonest dollar, but surely the person who gets and keeps it is not necessarily a dishonest man. There is no dishonesty in his keeping it if he does not realize that the dollar is dishonest. If he does realize

that it is dishonest, there is no one to whom he can honestly give it. It does not in honesty belong to the user of the site any more than to the owner, and if he give it into the public treasury as a conscience fund he only benefits tax-dodging site owners so long as the community does not exact it of other site owners as well as take it from him. Dishonesty with reference to dishonest dollars from such sources is institutional, not personal; personal dishonesty enters in only when the beneficiary refuses to join in abolishing the dishonest institution, thereby personally insisting upon profiting indirectly through communal maladjustments.

Very clearly, then, the anonymous yet distinguished North American contributor has not sought a moral basis for wealth distribution beneath the surface of personal misconduct. Indeed he implies that distribution would rest upon a moral basis if only the profits of "all illegal, corrupt, immoral or demoralizing activities" were eliminated from private fortunes.

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Reflection suggests, however, that distribution would not rest upon a moral basis, no matter how honest men might be in their personal dealings, if institutional influences were continued subtly in operation to divert the products of human labor from the producers. Men would still get dollars for which dollars' worth had not been given.

Nature gives to the producer and only to the producer. The product of his labor comes first into his possession and into no one else's. It is his property and no one else's property, if there is any natural property. And it does not cease to be his property without his own consent or some one else's fraud or force. All this is obvious enough if we consider only an isolated man, like Robinson Crusoe. Whether he picks nuts, digs clams, catches fish, harvests grain, builds him a rude hut, or makes him coarse clothing, the product is delivered by nature directly into his possession.

The same thing is true of men in the highest social state, where specialization is so intense that hundreds of persons co-operate to make, for instance, a single shoe. The first producer in the long series takes directly from nature the raw material to which by his labor he gives the particular form of his own specialty. When he passes this unfinished object to the next specialist he does so either because by fair contract he is satisfied to do so, or because by fraud he has

been unfairly led, or by force has been unfairly compelled, to do so. Likewise with every transfer of the unfinished shoe to the end of the line of production and into the possession finally of the consumer. The process begins with a transfer from Nature to the worker, and all along the line Nature gives to each worker, and only to workers, what they need to make their labor effective in adding to the utility of the product they have received from their predecessors in the producing series. So also with the necessary tools. Whether small and simple, or massive, complex and costly, each tool or machine is itself a product of labor and as such has its beginning, precisely as with the shoe, at the beginning of a series of productive specialties. At this point, and also all along the line of its production, as well as at the point of its use in making shoes, Nature responds directly to the laborer and only to him. To the mere owner, whether of machines or of land, Nature gives nothing. And since Nature gives to the user and only to the user, the true moral basis for property titles must be considered as beginning with him.

This basis can indeed be disturbed by such means as the North American contributor enumerates, all of which would fall into the category of force or fraud. But it can be much more effectively, persistently and resistlessly disturbed by institutional modes of force which, as unjust as personal turpitude, are so subtle as to seem to be honest and fair even to profound philosophers. If the producers to whom alone Nature yields her riches, are forced by law or custom to grant a share of their product to non-producers, to those who get a dollar in service from others without giving a dollar's worth of service in return, then the moral basis of property is disturbed, no matter how honest upon the surface the transaction may appear.

If, for instance, paper titles to Nature be given out and be bought and sold, there may be the appearance of a free contract when producers divide their products with holders of these titles. But it is only an appearance. Nature continues to ignore the paper titles and to give her bounties directly not to the title holders, but to the producers. The title holders, as title holders, extract nothing from Nature; they only extort from the producers to whom Nature yields her fruits and service.

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Notwithstanding his references to the moral basis of property, however, the interest of the North American contributor really lies not in the

ethical phases of wealth distributions so much as in the wisdom, from the point of view of the rich, of yielding to distributive legislation that will more equitably adjust incomes. Having put at one extreme those who have more money than is good for them, and at the other those who have less than would be good for them, and realizing that the latter class constitutes a great majority of the voters, he warns the rich that "the laws regulating the acquisition and descent of property must sooner or later conform to the views of the voters" of that class. In this connection he says it is perfectly apparent that "there is no ultimate security for a single dollar of private property in New York, and precisely the same statement is true of all other American States, except such as a majority of the voters may decide to be just and wise, both to the possessors of such property and to the community at large." Nor does he regard this fact as alarming. On the contrary he considers the time ripe to try to find "some basis for private property which ought and might even yet receive the approval of a majority of the American electorate."

While his own suggestion for such a basis is arbitrary in the extreme, the fact that any suggestion at all, or even the recognition of a necessity for any such suggestion, comes from such a source and through such a channel, is highly significant. When to that fact is added the further one, that this anonymous writer is expressing a quickening public sentiment with reference to the distribution of wealth, a sentiment so vital already that the injustice of present methods of economic distribution can hardly again be seriously disputed, we may regard the outer walls of privilege as having crumbled.

All the problems of production except those that are involved in the problems of distribution have been solved. Though we have by no means exhausted productive possibilities, we have opened and are constantly broadening the great paths of production. Nothing remains in the way of developing a higher and higher civilization but the unsolved problems of distribution. But these problems could not be intelligently considered by public opinion while the notion prevailed that there were no such problems. This notion having now given way, the great civilizing work of the future is immediately before us. Let us be careful simply of one thing as we undertake that work. The problems of distribution are moral as well as economic, and to the demands of a sound natural morality let us turn no deaf ear. Let us see to it that in solving the problems of distribu-

tion we disregard "vested" wrongs in the interest of human rights. Let us place property upon a moral basis.

Heretofore there has been a strenuous insistence upon the theory that everything is either "mine" or "thine." In these changing times there is a demand that everything be considered as "ours." But neither idea of property rights is morally sound. Some things belong in the category of "mine;" they are what I produce or have freely and fairly got in exchange therefor. Other things belong in the category of "thine;" they are what you produce or have freely and fairly got in exchange therefor. And just as true it is that other things are "ours;" they are the common inheritance without access to which no one can produce anything. Establish property rights upon this basis, and property will be secure; refer wealth distribution to this standard, and distribution will be equitable.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### FRANCE.

Paris, June 9.—Chesterton remarks in one of his essays, and, as is usual with him, against the common view, that it is not the much-traveling people who are the true representatives of the breadth and depth of life. It is rather those who live close to and know well their fixed surroundings, and have their thoughts on the great phenomena of the universe, such as the phases of the weather, the birth of children, and, in short, all the common but no less marvelous round of life, growth and death. Such as these have their thoughts on the things that put all men on a common ground. Your globe-trotter sees the surface, and is constantly pointing out differences and making comparisons. Is there not much truth in Chesterton's seemingly paradoxical assertion?

And yet, if the traveler has his mind on resemblances, it is resemblances that he most finds. It is in the superficial things that human beings mostly differ. The human heart and the supreme facts of daily life are pretty nearly the same in Paris and Chicago. If one so chooses, he can be much more struck with similarities than with differences. In the garden of the Tuilleries this afternoon, mothers and nurses were sitting with their children, boys were playing and romping, men were sprinkling grass and digging in flowerbeds, and maples and chestnuts were waving their branches overhead. Along the walks people were going hither and thither across the grounds, and in the Rue Rivoli and the Place de la Concorde hundreds of vehicles were coming and going.

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It was impossible, while one stood there, not to be struck with the common humanity of the scene. And the thought also naturally came that these

very spots had witnessed great scenes which expressed the common conflict of humanity the world over. The age-long fight for democracy had some of its keenest battles nearby. Almost within a stone's throw stood the guillotine which took off Louis XVI's head. The guillotine has not been the universal method of dealing with kings, but whatever different phases the battles for democracy have taken, the underlying motive has been the same, and the French Revolution was not for France alone. The historians have dwelt mainly on its terrors; yet France would not be a republic to-day but for the work of those years. The magnificent statue in the Place de la Republique tells the story in bronze around the base, and on the front of the base are the simple words, "Universal Suffrage."

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Yet the French Republic, like our own, has much to do before her watchwords, "Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite," shall become more than words. One sees the words everywhere in Paris, even on church walls. I mentioned this to the cabman who was taking me to the Pantheon. He shrugged his shoulders, which led me to say that perhaps it was more words than reality as yet. He quite agreed, and finally I ventured to say, thinking it might be near enough the truth in France, "Je suis socialiste." It was most interesting to see how eagerly he took the statement, and to hear the rapidity with which he said three times, "Moi aussi, moi aussi, moi aussi." There was no doubt about the genuineness of his faith, as he understood it. I could see in my talk with him that the word "socialisme" simply meant to him, in a general way, advance to better conditions. He said once, as we passed the often-repeated words, "Not much yet, but we advance a little." He was an intelligent companion whose talk was more interesting than the sight he showed.

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It is hard to conceive how a city could be eternally more beautiful than Paris. As one looks up or down the Champs Elysees, by day or night, the view is magnificent. Almost everywhere in the main part of the city the sightseer is confronted by some notable and splendid building. And yet in the midst of all this splendor there is poverty to every degree, most of which of course escapes the eyes of fleeting travelers.

The best time for seeing the degrees of poverty is the early morning, before the owners of the early shops are awake. I was in Rouen on Wednesday morning at 5 o'clock and wandered through the town with interest divided between the glorious churches and the poor folks that I saw nearby, between the memorials of Jean Darc and her brother peasant of the town who were early astir in their various occupations. In the square by the cathedral, at half past five, there was a large group of workingmen waiting for I knew not what. At one of the doors of the cathedral sat crouching half a dozen old women, apparently expecting alms. Across the square a peasant-woman was tugging a heavy cartload of vegetables.

The cathedral towered up with magnificent spire

dor in the early morning light. It is one of the most famous in all Europe; and yet there is in Rouen a church still more beautiful—St. Ouen. The central tower of St. Ouen, 285 feet high, once called the "crown of Normandy," is indeed a crown of grace and beauty—in its kind unsurpassed and unsurpassable. So airy and ethereal it appeared against a blue sky that it seemed hardly a part of the low earth at its base where men and women were starting their daily toil for existence. One old man with a child in his arms was hunting the streets for any refuge of the night. I saw him pick up a half-smoked cigarette, the young child balancing itself as if used to the movement.

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The richness of Paris in architecture and all the arts is past telling. Her monuments seem countless. And with all her care for beauty, there seems no neglect of the more common-place functions of administration. Surely no city could be cleaner. In the Place de la Concorde at night the myriad lights shine on the pavement as if it were polished by hand. Here and throughout Paris much of the pavement is of wooden blocks, and this fact, along with the rubber tires, makes the city far less noisy than one might expect. The two loudest things are the automobiles and the men selling papers. Apropos of papers, it may be interesting to state that the Paris edition of the New York Herald to-day has a large picture of Mr. Bryan in the center of its front page, and tells us that all wings of the Democratic party are uniting in support of him as the next candidate.

J. H. DILLARD.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

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Week ending Wednesday, June 27.

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### The Norwegian Coronation.

Haakon VII, the first independent king of Norway for nearly 600 years (p. 275), was crowned at Trondhjem, the ancient capital, on the 22d.

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It was at the death of Haakon V, in 1319, that Norway lost her independency. As Haakon V left no male heirs, the national assembly elected his daughter's son, Magnus VIII, of Sweden, to the vacant throne. The Swedish union continued through the reign of Haakon VI, son of Magnus; and Haakon's son, Olaf IV, having been elected King of Denmark in 1376, extended his rule to Sweden and Norway upon the death of his father in 1380. This triple government was perpetuated upon Olaf's death

in 1387 without heirs, by the election to the triple throne of Olaf's mother. Sweden broke from the union in 1523, and through the treaty of Kiel in 1814 Denmark was forced by the allied powers, as a penalty for her Napoleonic sympathies, to resign Norway to Sweden. Norway opposed but could not resist, so in 1818 Charles XIII was declared joint king of Sweden and Norway, but with independence to each country respecting home affairs.

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This relationship lasted, though with much discord relative to international representation, until about a year ago (vol. viii, p. 26), when, the joint king having withdrawn in favor of his son as regent, the latter ambitiously tried to construct a Scandinavian empire. The situation consequently became so disturbing that the king resumed his sovereign functions. Meanwhile, in May, 1905, the Norwegian parliament had adopted a bill for separate consular representation abroad. This bill the king vetoed, against the protests of his Norwegian ministers, and Norway promptly renounced her allegiance. Instead of resorting to coercion, Sweden entered into negotiations with Norway, through which arrangements for separation were made, subject to approval by a popular referendum in Norway. The referendum favored separation almost unanimously. An attempt to submit the question of republic or monarchy to referendum having then been defeated in the Norwegian parliament, apparently in consequence of hostile influences from other European countries, the parliament decided for monarchy and nominated Prince Charles of Denmark for king. His nomination was submitted to popular vote, and he was elected in November last by about 235,000 to 65,000. On the 18th of that month the Norwegian parliament confirmed his election, and upon accepting, he announced his intention of taking the name of Haakon VII. He took the oath of office on the 27th of November. On the 13th of June Haakon began his journey from Christiania to Trondhjem to be ceremonially crowned on the 22d.

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At 11 o'clock on the 22d the members of the cabinet in company with high ecclesiasts from all parts of Norway, marched down the aisle of the Trondhjem cathedral to await the king and his wife in the pavilion at the entrance. Ten minutes later the organ began to pour forth the strains of the national anthem, and the vast audience rose. The king and his wife then took their places upon the dais, where the first part of the ceremonial was performed. Proceeding then to the throne Haakon was crowned by the Prime Minister. After this his wife was crowned as his queen—a mere social formality of course, for she had been elected to no office. Among the spectators were Mr. and Mrs. William J. Bryan of the United States.

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### Bryan in Norway.

The day after the coronation of Haakon VII, the Norwegian-American delegates held a meeting in the garden of the old archbishops near the cathe-

dral, inviting William J. Bryan to address them. Upon his appearance Mr. Bryan was presented with American and Norwegian flags and heartily cheered.

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#### Bryan in New York.

Arrangements for the reception to Mr. Bryan proposed by the Commercial Travelers' and Hotel Men's Anti-Trust League (p. 228), to be tendered upon his arrival at New York in August, are progressing. It was announced by Associated Press dispatches from New York on the 26th that the following committee on plan and scope had been appointed: Tom L. Johnson, Ohio; Francis Burton Harrison, Bird S. Coler, Augustus Thomas, Lewis Nixon, New York; Alexander Troup, Connecticut; A. H. Eastman and John H. O'Brien. This committee, it was stated, will invite all the Democratic members of Congress, the chairmen of the Democratic State committees of various States; the mayors of the Democratic cities of the country and the editors of Democratic newspapers to serve upon a reception committee, of which Gov. Folk of Missouri will be the chairman. Augustus Thomas is to welcome Mr. Bryan upon behalf of the league.

Other dispatches are to the effect that Mr. Bryan intends going to Australasia on a three months' trip after the November elections.

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#### Significant Politics in Maine.

In the politics of Maine a phase of the land question is coming into view which has much more than local interest. The Farmers' Grange of that State has for four years actively agitated for higher taxation of the lumber lands in the unsettled parts of the State. But the Republican politicians have balked them. The Grange has openly charged that the State assessors have been in league with the landowners for the purpose of keeping taxable values down. At the opening of the legislative session of 1905 a committee selected by the Grange started an agitation for an amendment to the State constitution to enable the legislature to fix values on these lands, as the assessors had refused to consider all appeals which the Grange had made; but through adroit manipulation—partly on receiving a pledge to enforce the liquor law, and partly to create the positions of a State entomologist and State road commissioner—all of which had been demanded by the Grange, the movement for legislative valuations was sidetracked into a committee room. One of the adroit plays of the lumber land ring was to secure the appointment of a Democrat of their own kind as a State assessor along with two Republicans of their own kind. This was George Pottle. A Republican legislature elected him against the protests of the Democratic State committee. But Mr. Pottle and his colleagues appear to have changed. They seem to be breaking away from the lumber ring. For recently Mr. Pottle made public a statement to the effect that after a careful examination of forest values along the Androscoggin river, the members of the State Board of Assessors have become convinced that the price of standing timbers in Maine forests has advanced wonderfully since the last assessment was made two years ago—in some

cases as much as 100 per cent.—and so it is but just that the State valuation of these immense holdings should be raised "to conform to a sane appraisal of the properties." Whatever the immediate political effect of this change of front may be, it cannot fail to spread and intensify the discussions in Maine of the subject of land value taxation which the controversy over these wild timber lands has already produced.

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#### Labor Politics in New York.

Following the action of the Central Federated Union of New York in favor of an independent political party (p. 276), the nucleus of such a party was formed in New York on the 24th under the chairmanship of Alexander Law, of the Brotherhood of Carpenters. As reported by the New York Times of the 25th, its name is the Abraham Lincoln Democratic League, and its platform begins with this quotation from Lincoln: "Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves a much higher consideration."

The platform contains these paragraphs.

When those employed in any profession, trade, or calling through their accredited representatives make the rules and regulations under which they are willing to work, no other authority should be recognized.

Public utilities belong to the people, to be used by the people to accommodate the people, and not to make money for the few.

In a government of the people, by the people, and for the people no one should be permitted to exercise authority unless amenable to the people.

The great obstacle in the way of purely representative government to-day is the private control of public utilities.

Government by injunction is government by the interpretation of the law, usurping the functions of the maker and the executor of the law.

The platform also declares for direct nominations of all candidates, including Senators and postmasters, and for the single tax on land values.

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"Chairman Law was at the headquarters of the Central Federated Union yesterday," says the Times of the 25th, "and said that the League had started soon after President Gompers advised the unions to go into politics; that an organization had been effected in the Ninth Assembly District, and that it was proposed to extend it to other districts. 'Our movement is to be a national one,' he said, 'and we have sent notifications about it to the American Federation of Labor and to its affiliated unions in a number of industrial centers. We believe that the movement will bear good fruit.'" The Times added that Herman Robinson, the New York representative of the American Federation of Labor, said: "Both the Republican and the Democratic parties are more or less divided, and as far as this city is concerned, labor has the best chance it has had of taking independent political action since the campaign of Henry George for mayor in 1886."

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#### Possible Deadlock in Congress.

Four measures are pending in Congress over which the two houses are at present in serious dis-

agreement. One is the meat inspection amendment to the agricultural bill (p. 275), over which the conferees are unable to agree. The Senate demands that the packers and not the government shall pay the expense of inspection, whereas the House demands that this expense be borne by the government. Another conflict between the two houses arises over the railway rate bill (p. 180), the Senate refusing to allow pipe-line carriers, any more than railway carriers, to own the products they carry, and the House insisting that this inhibition upon railways shall not apply to pipe-lines. The House has amended the immigration bill (p. 244) in such manner as to create a doubt of its passage, by eliminating the educational test and the provisions for increasing the head tax. The pure food bill is the fourth over which a deadlock is possible, especially as the Speaker declares that no adjournment resolution will be considered in the House until the pure food bill has been passed. This bill affects so many interests of commanding influence in both houses that the members are baffled.

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**The Panama Canal.**

The Senate on the 21st adopted the type of Panama canal of which the President approves and for which the House voted on the 15th, 110 to 36. There was no yea and nay vote in the Senate directly on the question; but as a roll-call vote to lay the lock-type amendment on the table, showed 31 yeas and 36 nays, the amendment was adopted without roll-call, and then by viva voce vote the bill was passed.

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**The Cleveland Three-Cent-Fare Line.**

Mayor Tom L. Johnson is pushing his plans for securing the benefits of municipal ownership (p. 277) through a holding company, and municipal ownership as soon as the laws of Ohio can be amended to permit it. A. B. Du Pont of Detroit has been selected as president of the holding company.

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**Progress to Municipal Ownership in Chicago.**

A formal statement of their own estimate of the value of their tangible property for purposes of sale to the city of Chicago under the pending negotiations for municipal ownership (p. 277) was made on the 21st by the Union Traction and the Chicago City Railway companies. It amounts to \$47,505,154, and is distributed as follows:

Chicago City .....	20,103,936
Union Traction .....	\$27,401,218
	<hr/>
	\$47,505,154

The general counsel of the Union Traction Company, W. W. Gurley, explains that—

This amount has been arrived at by determining the cost at current prices of reproducing the property in question and deducting therefrom the amount of money that would be required to place the present property in a condition as good as new, for the purposes of operation as a street car system, using the motive power which is now being used in the respective streets. The above amount does not include any estimate on work yet to be performed, either in the way of paving streets, reconstruction of tunnels, electrifying or equipping lines of railway or in procuring new or modified cars. We

assume that all items expended hereafter in the improvement of the property will be taken into consideration as a part of the expense of the proposed rehabilitation or will be added to the value of our present tangible property. For lack of time we have not been able to determine the value of the unexpired franchises and rights of the various companies interested in the traction systems.

Thomas E. Mitten explained for the City Railway Co., as its president, as follows:

The value of the tangible property of this company, as represented by our schedules, to be considered in the event of our arriving at a settlement with the city upon an indeterminate license plan, is \$20,103,935.89, and is based upon reproduction at current prices, less cost of bringing property at this date up to a condition operatively equal to new, and includes all of the new tracks constructed to date and the new cars now in service. The new paintshop and substations now being constructed are omitted, but will necessarily be included as a part of the contemplated reconstruction, together with such additions as may be made prior to the actual transfer of the property. The valuation of unexpired franchises is not included, but will be submitted as soon as the work of preparing the same can be completed.

No valuation of the property of the Consolidated Traction company was presented, but these values for so much of the lines as are within the city were promised. The valuations given are regarded as excessive, and expert advice will be obtained by the city authorities.

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**Judge Grosscup's Tax Decision.**

The Chicago traction companies are directly concerned in the tax decision made on the 25th by Judge Grosscup of the Federal court at Chicago. Several years ago the State Board of Equalization, which was accustomed to make no tax assessments of the capital stock (less tangible property as assessed) of public utility corporations, although the law required it, was decreed in mandamus proceedings (vol iv., p. 817; vol. v., p. 2) by the Illinois Supreme Court to do so. The Board accordingly made the following assessments:

Chicago Union Traction Co.....	\$14,000,000
Chicago Consolidated Traction Co. ....	3,750,000
People's Gas Light & Coke Co. ....	12,000,000
Chicago City Railway Co. ....	6,000,000
Chicago Telephone Co. ....	2,000,000
South Chicago City Railway Co. ....	570,000
Chicago Edison Co. ....	2,400,000

But in 1901 there being no mandamus for that year, the Board reduced these assessments to the following:

Chicago Union Traction Co. ....	\$3,250,000
Chicago Consolidated Traction Co. ....	2,000,000
Peoples' Gas, Light & Coke Co. ....	8,000,000
Chicago City Railway Co. ....	4,000,000
Chicago Telephone Co. ....	1,700,000
South Chicago City Railway Co. ....	300,000
Chicago Edison Co. ....	1,300,000

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Judge Grosscup had granted a temporary injunction against the collection of taxes on these assessments except a certain amount to the school fund, and on the 25th he made this injunction permanent. Comparing the assessments for the two years, 1900 and 1901, he says in his opinion:

These assessments, so widely divergent, were upon the same properties, by the same board, entered almost on the same day. The dates, it is true, were a year apart, the one being April 1, 1900, the other April 1,

1901. But the tide of stock quotations and the tide of current values were higher on the latter day than the former. If between these two assessments a considerable disparity should exist, the increase ought to be found in the assessment for 1901, and not in that for 1900. I can comprehend a possible state of facts showing that neither of these assessments embodied the real judgment of the State board. I can comprehend also a state of facts showing that either one or the other may have embodied the board's real judgment. The fundamental question of fact involved in the present hearing in each of these cases is this: Did the State Board of Equalization, without fraud or mistake and free from coercion, exercise its judgment in the making of the reassessments complained of? In solving this question, we have looked into not only the reassessments complained of but also the assessments for the year 1901. A comparison between these records of the State board is significant. But both cannot be vindicated. In the very nature of things, one or the other has been made up under some species of fraud, mistake or coercion, and a few pregnant circumstances convince us that whatever may be said of the assessment of 1901 the reassessment for 1900 cannot be accepted as the independent judgment of the State board. . . . The reassessments complained of do not embody the real judgment of the board, in either the assessment or the equalization of the capital stock of complainants for the year 1900; and in the absence of such real judgment the threatened collection of taxes on the basis of the fictitious entry would be to deprive complainants of their property without due process of law.

It is because of this deprivation of property without due process of law that Judge Grosscup holds the case to be within the Fourteenth amendment and therefore within the jurisdiction of the Federal courts.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—A national conference of People's party representatives met at St. Louis on the 27th.

—Fletcher D. Proctor was nominated on the 20th by the Republicans for Governor of Vermont.

—Walter Wellman has gone to Spitzbergen for the purpose of attempting a North Pole expedition in a balloon.

—At elections held in the Republic of Panama on the 24th the government was victorious in a majority of the districts.

—Prof. Graham Taylor of the Commons Settlement, Chicago, is conducting a Summer class of 30 adults, men and women, in applied civics.

—William H. Taft, Secretary of War, was on the 26th elected a member of the Yale University Corporation to succeed Chauncey M. Depew, whose term expired on that day.

—The university boat race between Cornell, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Syracuse, Georgetown, and Wisconsin, rowed upon the Hudson at Poughkeepsie on the 23rd, was won by Cornell.

—Gov. Hoch of Kansas has appealed to Chicago for 8,000 harvest hands. The wages reported are \$2 a day, the laborer paying his own railroad fares, out and back, which are one-third regular fare westward from the Missouri.

—The American Magazine (formerly Leslie's Monthly) was bought on the 25th by the Phillips Publishing company composed of John S. Phillips, Lincoln Steffens, Ray Stannard Baker, Ida M. Tar-

bell and A. A. Boyden, long connected with McClure's Magazine, and Peter Finley Dunne and William Allen White. It is expected that the name of the magazine will be changed.

—The Democratic State convention for Wisconsin, called for the purpose of adopting a platform to be recommended to the candidates who will be nominated at the primary election in the Fall, met at Milwaukee on the 27th.

—Five ice-dealers were sentenced at Toledo on the 25th to a fine of \$5,000 each and imprisonment in the workhouse for one year. They had been convicted under the Ohio anti-trust law of entering into a combination in restraint of trade.

—In a lawsuit for the collection of a claim, brought by the Cahill-Swift Manufacturing company, a member of the Plumbers' Supply association, which is held to be a trust, the Circuit Court at St. Louis decided on the 25th that, under the anti-trust laws of Missouri, the company could not collect.

—Another Philippine outbreak (p. 275) occurred on the 20th. A band of 300 Pulajanes under Caesario Pastor attacked the town of Burauen, on the island of Leyte, killing five policemen, wounding five, and capturing the remainder of the force except a lieutenant, who was in command. Pastor was killed during the encounter.

—An interstate convention for the discussion of the question of the popular election of United States Senators will be held in Des Moines, Sept. 2, the official call having been issued on the 23d by Governor Cummins, in harmony with a resolution passed by the last General Assembly of Iowa. The convention will be attended by a commission composed of five delegates from each State in the Union, to be appointed by the respective Governors.

—In the 50 days preceding June 24, 21 persons were killed and 86 injured, more or less seriously, by street cars in Chicago. Some of the injured are dying. This report on street car casualties was laid before Mayor Dunne on the 24th by the traction supervisor, Dr. Maurice F. Doty. The causes of the accidents were in some cases personal carelessness on the part of the victims, but in the majority of cases the street car companies were found to blame through negligence in operation and in maintenance of equipment.

—The Finnish Senate's draft scheme for the reform of representation having received, with a few modifications, the Czar's approval, the bill was presented to the Finnish Diet on May 9 and accepted by all the four estates. The principal features are universal, equal, and direct suffrage for men and women who have completed their twenty-fourth year; women as well as men to be eligible as representatives; a single chamber of 200 delegates, of whom 60 will form a grand committee; and delegates to be elected by a proportional election system for three years and sessions to be held annually.

—The first sentences of imprisonment ever imposed in this country in railroad rebate cases were imposed on the 22d by Judge Smith McPherson in the United States District Court at Kansas City, Mo., upon George L. Thomas and L. B. Taggart of New York. Thomas was sentenced to four months in the

penitentiary and was fined \$6,000. Taggart was given three months and was fined \$4,000. The packers and the Burlington railroad, convicted there recently, the former of accepting and the latter of granting concessions in freight rates (p. 278), were fined, the penalties prescribed being as follows: Swift & Co., \$15,000; Cudahy Packing company, \$15,000; Armour Packing company, \$15,000; Nelson Morris & Co., \$15,000; Chicago, Burlington & Quincy railway, \$15,000. Appeals were filed in each case and a stay of execution was granted until June 29.

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### CHICAGO STREET CAR VALUES.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), June 23.—The man who appraises his own property is apt to overestimate its value. The traction companies are no exception to the rule. A close examination of their inventories will show that they put a higher valuation on the lands and buildings they own than they would submit to for purposes of taxation, and that they have given a high value to considerable stuff which a disinterested appraiser would call junk. That is all in the way of "business."



Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), June 23.—The traction companies have submitted their valuations of the tangible property they respectively possess. The totals have given the community a mild shock, while the indicated process by which the companies arrived at them has measurably promoted the gayety of the city. Still, if the Pickwickian "basis" of the estimates is something of a surprise, the figures themselves are not necessarily disquieting. The companies were expected to give themselves every benefit of reasonable and quasi-reasonable doubts, to put the best face on every plausible claim as their basis for the contemplated bargain. No one really expected them to err on the side of generosity to the party of the second part. That party has its own experts and its own basis of valuation. In due time we shall know what the city's figures are, and until then the serenity of the public need not be seriously disturbed. But meantime there is a pertinent and "leading" question to be put to the traction companies. Should there be a radical discrepancy between their valuations and those of the city, what will be their policy? Will they consent to submit the difference to competent, impartial arbitrament, or will they insist on their own figures as virtually final and decline to deal with the city on any other terms? They would be within their strictly legal rights if they should decide on the latter course. But that course would mean war instead of the conciliatory and amicable settlement which the city has hoped for and still hopes for. It would mean a series of hostile moves and eventual ruin to the companies. If, on the other hand, the companies intend to accept disinterested judgment and meet the city half-way in the effort to adjust differences, there is nothing in the situation to cause the slightest uneasiness.



### JUDGE GROSSCUP'S TAX DECISION.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), June 26.—It is a remarkable decision, but it is monotonously like many others coming from Grosscup's court when the city goes into the list against the public corporations. . . . If the Judge had come to a conclusion that the assessment of 1901 was right, then he would probably have raised the assessment of 1901 to a parity with that of 1900. Then the city and the State would have had the best of the fight. However, it is well that Judge Grosscup has finally reached a decision in this matter. It can now go into the Supreme Court of the United States, and those who have given the matter close thought feel that the Grosscup decision will be reversed there, just as his decision was on the ninety-nine-year act. Did you ever think, gentle reader, how poor the street car companies and the gas company are

when they are up for taxation? Grosscup says that the taxable value, for instance, of the Union Traction Company and the Chicago City Railway Company is about \$12,000,000. These two corporations were asked some days ago by the city to fix a price on what they had. They decided that their combined assets were worth about \$47,000,000. That is what they are willing to sell out for, provided the city pays them about \$40,000,000 for some other intangible rights. In truth, they would sell out for about \$80,000,000. However, in a court of law, Judge Grosscup decided they are worth about \$12,000,000 for the purpose of taxation.



### THE CHICAGO SCHOOL BOARD.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), June 23.—The Chicago newspapers that have a monetary interest at stake are very anxious that Mayor Dunne appoint "conservative" men on the school board. . . . All are afraid of the "destructive" influence of the Teachers' Federation. That Teachers' Federation compelled the Board of Equalization by a lawsuit to so tax the stock and franchises of a half dozen big corporations of Chicago as to turn over \$3,500,000 to the public treasury during the last six years. These same interests will have to pay \$1,700,000 if the injunction issued by Judge Grosscup in the tax cases is dissolved. For making this fight the leading teachers in this movement won the eternal hatred of that crowd that holds that rich tax dodgers who have a "pull" have a right to exercise it. . . . Let Mayor Dunne appoint members to the school board who are honest men and women. Let their interests be to serve the schools first, the people next and the corporations last. The days of running the business affairs of the public schools of Chicago as annexes to book trusts, real estate sharks, coal trusts, and other supply agencies must cease. Robbing a poor school child to enrich a special interest is a very low form of stealing.



### A FAIR WORD FOR CHANCELLOR DAY.

Bryan's Commoner (Dem.), June 22.—Why all this criticism of Chancellor Day of the Syracuse University? Wherein has he offended? It has been charged that men conspiring in restraint of trade have established private monopolies that have come to be a menace to the public interest, and that some of these "captains of industry" sold poisoned food to the people. Chancellor Day meets these charges with a statement that the men who make them are anarchists; and with old time Republican fervor he pleads "let well enough alone." Some Republican editors pretend to be very indignant that Chancellor Day resorts to invective where fact and argument should be produced. But it must not be forgotten that Chancellor Day learned his lesson at the knees of the Republican leaders, particularly in 1896. In that campaign, men who had ever been foremost in the defense of law and order were denounced as anarchists because they refused to do the bidding of men who conspired against the public welfare, but were then masquerading as "defenders of the national honor." When Republican editors criticize Chancellor Day's methods they must not forget that he is simply moving in accordance with the plans and specifications provided by those eminent American citizens who, in 1896, claimed a monopoly upon the intelligence of the country.



### BRYAN.

Omaha World-Herald (Dem.), June 22.—There were those, in the early days, who insisted that Bryan's popularity was based on his power as an orator, on his winning personality, and on his espousal of this, that, and the other doctrine. In part they were right—but in small part. For over and above everything else, Bryan has owed his marvelous hold on the popular heart, through all these years, to the simple fact that the people believe him to be an honest and sincere man.



Elizabeth (N. J.) Evening Times (Dem.), June 19.—Public opinion has, in America, developed in a manner for which the country's history offers no precedent. In-

dustrial and political conditions are much the same that they were when the Nebraskan first ran for President; there has been in this respect, simply an extension rather than any material change. But the people know to-day what these conditions are, and twice defeated Bryan for no other reason than that the charges he then made were at that time considered unfounded, and really made him appear, in the eyes of many who meant well, nothing more nor less than a political upstart and mountebank. The big grafters knew what he really was, and what he is to-day—their greatest enemy; but they managed twice to convince the people that he was also hostile to the public's best interest and, therefore, a "dangerous man." To-day, however, the public seems prepared to repudiate any such suggestion, if it be made by the interests. That they will offer it for the third time, is likely, and it will remain for the public to show them that they have not studied the situation to no practical avail.

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#### THE IMMIGRATION BILL.

Chicago American (Dem.), June 26.—There is an element of knownothingism in the bill. A certain number of ignorant people imagine that they can better their own condition by keeping other people out of America. These people are represented by the saying—foolish and pointless—"If we had fewer immigrants we should have fewer tramps." Is that true? Is it immigration that makes of a man a drunkard first and a tramp afterward? Would the drunkard stop drinking or the tramp go to work if our doors were shut as tightly against the outer world as were the doors of Japan or China a few years ago? This country, to be properly developed, needs a thousand millions of inhabitants. Can we achieve increased prosperity by confining our prosperity to eighty millions? . . . Do we imagine that those that had the supreme honor of coming over here and adding us to the world's population were the only decent, desirable immigrants? Are there not other good men and noble women in Europe ready and willing to give us the qualities that are needed for our nation? Are we going to keep them out, or charge them an admission as if this country were some side show? Are we going to say, "You have all the qualities that make up a good citizen, but can you spell 'prophylaxis,' if you cannot you musn't come in." Does this country need good scholars or does it need good workers? Does it need educated fops from foreign colleges, or does it need men who realize by bitter experience the importance of republican government and of majority rule? Those who vote for this immigration bill in Congress will vote against the interests of the United States. They will vote to indorse the brutality of the Russian Czar, his Cossacks and his grand dukes. They will vote to exclude such men and women as have built up the greatness of this country in the past. They will vote like ignorant men, for an ignorant bill, on a knownothing basis.

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#### LIMITING FORTUNES.

Chicago American (Dem.), June 25.—All through our citizenship—from President Roosevelt down to the men on the corner—there is a tendency to worry about the man with the big fortune. . . . It seems to this newspaper that the honorable and famous Mr. Dooley was wise and sensible when he remarked that we ought to worry more about the man who has too little and less about the man who has too much. If the President of the United States will devote his attention to the man who has too little money, too few rights, he will soon find it unnecessary to worry about the individual with the too big pocketbook. There is no reason why a man with a million or ten millions should not go to the Senate. If he goes there as an individual on his merits, elected by his fellow men, he has a right to go there. . . . Do you know why one man has a thousand millions? It is because we don't give the millions of men a chance to have a thousand dollars each. More men with a thousand dollars will mean fewer millionaires. If the President of the United States and others with influence will encourage the labor unions, encourage the eight-hour day, encourage good, honest pay for honest work and provide plenty of men with good small incomes, the great big income question will be settled satisfactorily to everybody.

#### POETRY.

The (London) Speaker (Lib.), May 12.—The magic of words is not, like a handsome face, something that may come by chance to any one. A man may, of course, be born with facility. All great artists probably are. It is what disposes them to be artists. But facility, by itself, gives no magic, as we can often see from the early works of great writers which have facility and nothing else, and which are very difficult to read. The magic comes in when these great writers begin to write out of their own experience and about what they know. It is only then that their words "become alive, and walk up and down in the hearts of their hearers," as Mr. Kipling puts it. Poe tried to produce a magic of words out of nothing, and he produced the "Bells" and "Ulalume" and the "Raven"; things which are not even agreeable to the educated ear. They are wholly arbitrary and irrational art, and they are not art at all. The great poet could not sing a Siren's song, even if he would. The Siren's song is a fable. There is no misleading music in poetry; for the music of poetry is the sound of truth, and cannot be imitated by any form of words any more than you can imitate a violin with a penny whistle. Mr. Kipling, therefore, when he speaks of a man who has no special virtues, but who is afflicted with the magic of words, speaks of one who never has been, and never can be. The magic of words, if it is a real and lasting magic, is a virtue in itself, or rather the expression of a virtue. A great poem, like a great action, is the fruit of a man's life, and so the great poets are known by their fruits and glorified with the great heroes.

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## IN CONGRESS

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

Washington, June 18-23.

#### Senate.

There was some discussion on the 18th of the Tillman resolution for an investigation into political contributions by national banks (p. 8930), after which the Lake Erie and Ohio River ship canal bill was further considered (p. 8937) and passed (p. 8944). The Panama canal bill was under consideration on the 19th (p. 8978), and again on the 20th (p. 9097); also on that day the meat inspection amendments to the agricultural bill were discussed (pp. 9089, 9113). Further discussion of the Panama canal bill took place on the 21st (pp. 9132, 9141), followed by consideration of the sundry civil appropriation bill (pp. 9136, 9147), which was resumed on the 22d (p. 9217). After further discussion of the meat inspection amendment on the 23d (p. 9317) it was referred back to conference (p. 9326).

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#### House.

An adjournment was taken on the 18th as a mark of respect to the late Representative Lester of Georgia, whose death was announced (p. 8949). On the 19th the meat inspection amendment to the agricultural appropriation bill was under consideration (p. 8993) and passed under suspension of the rules (p. 9003). There was discussion of miscellaneous matters on the 20th, including the joint resolution for an amendment to the Constitution providing for election of Senators by the people, which failed of passage under suspension of the rules for lack of a two-thirds vote, the vote being 89 for to 86 against (p. 9073). After receiving the conference report on the naval appropriation bill on the 21st (p. 9158), the House debated the bill to prevent food adulteration (p. 9176), and continued the same subject on the 22d (p. 9251) and 23d (p. 9337).

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#### Record Notes.

Speech of Senator Patterson on the Lake Erie and Ohio River ship canal (p. 8921). Speech of Representative Burton on the Panama canal question (p. 8953). Text of House committee amendment to agricultural bill for meat

Inspection (p. 8993). Speech of Senator Patterson on street railways in the District of Columbia (p. 9207). Speech of Representative Cockran on pure food bill and the Constitution (p. 9297).

## RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

### THE EQUAL RIGHTS OF MEN.

For The Public.

All men are not born equal,  
They are born with an equal right  
To things by no man created—  
The bounties of Nature's might:

A right to the earth and to labor,  
A right to the sea and sod,  
Given not by will or law of man,  
But by the will and law of God.

A true man asks no favor,  
No favor of God or man;  
He demands but simple justice,  
Which is God's eternal plan.

And whatever I am or shall be,  
The right or wrong's my own;  
I'll not answer for another  
Before the Maker's throne.

I'll answer for my own soul,  
For the things which I have done,  
For the good and for the evil,  
In the race that I have run.

And if I have wronged a brother  
By juggled law or might,  
I'll answer for the evil done,  
For the trespass of others' right.

And what an answer it will be,  
And what a price to pay  
For turning the bounties of Nature  
From their God-directed way;

For filching from man and brother  
That which is his of right,  
The fruit of his honest labor,  
By juggled law or might.

R. E. CHADWICK.

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### TAKING THE GLITTER OUT OF WAR

War is fast losing its glitter. Khaki displaces blue or scarlet. Flags are unknown in battle. The French army has just banished the drum, and now there is talk of abolishing the saber. Meanwhile war songs grow rarer and rarer. Most modern wars are too short to generate songs. All this grieves and scandalizes the painters, the poets and the playwrights, but causes the peace people to rejoice with huge joy. Channing, were he still alive, would have their exultation, for he used to declare that the love of warfare sprang partly, even largely, from the impression made upon small boys by gorgeous uniforms, gay banners, flashing sabers, the throb of the drum and the contagious fervor of war songs. Romance cast its glamour over that dirtiest of jobs, the job of killing. It hadn't the right to. As Charles Dudley Warner put it, we who despised killing in plain clothes honored killing in fancy dress.—Boston Transcript.

### MIRRORS MAKE FOR DEMOCRACY.

A simplified Englishman has been jeering the immense mirrors and gorgeous marble staircases in hotels and beeseeching his countrymen to revert to the humble inn. They can well afford to. They're an aristocratic nation and their inns are charming. The trouble will come when the simplified one tries to spread his gospel in America, for we're a democratic nation and our inns are horrid. Whenever it occurs to an American to "put on dog" he is sure to disport himself in the gilded hotel, which is uncontestedly the doggiest product of our civilization. Then what happens? A mere clerk snubs him, a base-born waiter disregards his orders, and when he has paid his bill and escaped he is largely relieved of that pelf which creates artificial distinctions in society. He went in an aristocrat. He comes out the most ardent of democrats, not only ready to confess that all men are born free and equal but quite thrilled by the consciousness that he isn't a worm. Let us therefore preserve our effulgent hosteleries just as they are.—Boston Transcript.

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### OUR DUTIES TO AMERICA.

An Extract from an Address Delivered by Mr. Erik Oberg  
Before Former Graduates of the Technical College of  
Boras, Sweden, Congregated on May 29th at a  
Banquet at the Home of the American Society  
of Swedish Engineers, 231 Union St.,  
Brooklyn, N. Y., in Celebration of the  
Half-Century Anniversary of the  
Foundation of Their  
College.

Dear as are to me the memories of the past, and of the native shores which we have left behind us, still I may no longer dwell on these thoughts. For now the future lies before us, and our duties towards the country to which we have come. And although, in the same way as my childhood's home on the banks of Lagan is dearer to me than any other home in the land of the midnight sun, so is also my native country dear to my memory above all, because it is my home. But higher and greater than the conception of narrow patriotism is the conception of humanity, and the noblest of all patriotism is the patriotism that says: "The world is my native country, my fellowmen are my countrymen."

The cause for our coming here, to this new land of ours, was perhaps in the first place because we perceived that we had here a greater field for activity and industrial development. But let us realize that we are men first, and technical men in the second place; let it be clear to us that important as may be the development of our abilities in the work assigned to us, greater and more important is the development of our character. If we realize this, then we will know that although our duties as integral parts of the industrial machine must not be lost sight of, still our first and greatest duty is to become good citizens. And in order to fill our duties to America in this respect, let us bring with us from over the sea the old Scandi-

navian virtues, and let us melt them together with the virtues of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Let us, then, in the first place bring with us the old Scandinavian honesty. In a time when unscrupulous men of business, as well as men in public office, have by their actions as well as by their words tried to establish the principle that success in life is material success only—in such a time we can bring no better gift with us from our native shores than our old-fashioned Scandinavian honesty. Let glittering gold not deceive us, nor promises of honor or fame delude us to barter our honesty. Let us prove by our life that we believe the truth of our old proverb: "Honesty lasts longest."

Let us also bring with us our forefathers' love of liberty, that love of liberty which has given to our small nation the distinction amongst European nations of being the only one which has never, since time immemorial, been conquered by a foreign foe. And it was the same love of liberty that prevented a feudal system from ever being established on our shores, and that rebelled against tyranny on every page of our history. Let this our love of liberty go with us across the ocean to the land of our future. Here also once liberty reigned supreme. But unless the fact is realized, that the ideal of liberty is gradually lost sight of—unless this fact is realized and acted upon, the conditions which during the past century disturbed the peace of Europe, will be duplicated here. We cannot stand inactive. We must choose. Shall we affiliate with the powers that be? Shall we barter our love of liberty for gold? Then there is no doubt about where our place is. But should we not rather, true to the ideals of our ancestors, and true to the ideals of the founders of this republic, which we now call ours—should we not rather affiliate with those who fight the battle for justice and righteousness? Let our love of liberty rebel against oppression and tyranny in any form. Let no false ideas permit us to lose sight of the final truth that our duties towards America are to help to secure the establishment of a better and nobler republic.

Then let us bring with us the old Scandinavian courage. Let no power, no matter what it be, influence us to yield an inch from our convictions. Let us be true to the ideals of the Scandinavian race, with whom courage always was one of the greatest of virtues. Here, if anywhere, our courage is required. For in thousands of little instances in life we are required to decide as to whether we will sacrifice our honesty and our love of liberty for the gifts of the world; and sometimes the refusal is a matter of great consequence. But let us always remember that truth and justice will be victorious in the end, and that he who fights courageously will then be the hero, no matter what he may have to endure during the battle. Therefore let us be known to our fellow men by our old Scandinavian courage.

Lastly, let us bring with us the hopefulness of our native shores to the shores of the land to which we link our future. Let us, as well in individual life as in public life, be inspired by the unconquerable feeling that whatever is right and just will finally reign supreme.

If we have thus fulfilled our duties to America as true citizens, bringing with us from our native shores whatever they have to offer, then we may insist upon the recognition of our rights. But not till then.

Then we who have left our native land to link our future fate with the destiny of America—then we may insist on being considered Americans equally with those who were born under the stars and stripes; for we are Americans, not by a mere incident; we are Americans by free choice. We are proud of being Americans; let us so fulfill our duties toward America that she will be proud of us.

ERIK OBERG.

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## BUT WHEN WAS A DUMB MAN SENT TO THE WHITE HOUSE?

For The Public.

Everybody talks but Roosevelt;  
He never says a word.  
He's so meekly modest  
That it seems absurd.  
Congress talks and blusters,  
Feeling very glum;  
Everybody talks but Roosevelt—  
But he's dumb!

W. W. CATLIN.

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## THE DOUMA.

From "Birth of a Parliament," by Kellogg Durland, Collier's Special Representative at the Douma. Written Under Date of May 17, and Published in Collier's for June 16, 1906.

The Douma is the most democratic body of men ever gathered together to legislate on the affairs of an empire. This, at least, must go down in history. Whether it survives the present stress and strain is another question.

The first business session of the Douma began with the reading of many congratulatory telegrams—from the Diet of Finland, the Municipality of Prague, the Prince of Montenegro, the largest cities of the Empire. Toward the last were several from political exiles and prisoners. The spontaneous applause which broke from practically the entire Douma when these telegrams were read was louder and more sustained than for all of the others put together. The President was obliged to read them a second, then a third time, and then at the suggestion of some one on the floor, another round of applause was given standing. I counted only eight men who remained in their seats. Amnesty was made the first demand of the Douma. Not a partial amnesty, but a full and complete amnesty, to all political prisoners, including terrorists. This means the release of many thousand prisoners.

Telegrams, letters, petitions daily come from all parts of the country to the deputies urging this and other demands. "If we fail to get the things we have come for we dare not return to our homes," said one deputy. If the Douma fails, or is suppressed, it will not be the Douma that is put down, but the country. For in a degree difficult to appreciate the Douma is the country. It is the most

absolutely representative organization ever brought together; not of people merely, but of professions and classes. The United States House of Representatives is largely composed of lawyers and professional politicians; the House of Commons of "gentlemen"; the Chambre of journalists and men of letters.

Not so the Douma. An analysis of the professions of the members shows that twenty-three are lawyers, fifteen professors, six teachers, fifteen doctors, nine authors, seventy-five "Zemstvo specialists" (that is to say, men who have devoted themselves to the work of local governing bodies, men of means generally), twelve rich land-owners, ten marshals of nobility, two engineers, nine "functionaries" (men appointed by favor to sinecures in connection with public affairs), seven common school teachers, four Greek priests, three Roman Catholic priests, three Mohammedan mollahs, one Jewish rabbi, one Romanist bishop, fifteen workmen, four merchants, two manufacturers, two students and one hundred and sixty-six peasants. The atmosphere of the ensemble is, at first glance, intellectual, but the peasants and workmen together form a powerful block to any step proposed by the intellectuals that does not meet with their approval. They, too, are the real radicals, the Extreme Left of the Douma. The intellectuals mostly belong to the Constitutional Democratic Party. The program of this party is rather a good one on the face of it, but most of the members are cautious, squeamish about spilling more blood, and inclined to be humble and mild in their language. They crave the Emperor's grace, for example, for the political amnesty, while the peasants and the workmen say: "We ask nothing. We demand not grace and pardon, but justice." It is generally held by both parties that political prisoners are all guiltless of crime. The "Rights" form so small a group that they are entirely without influence.

The opening sessions of this remarkable body were characterized by orderliness, clearness, and real eloquence. There was much of amateurish enthusiasm, but this is not to be wondered at. The first business session was on Saturday, May 12. The President, who had been elected on Thursday, and had immediately adjourned the House that he might announce his election to the emperor on Friday, called the Douma to order at eleven o'clock. The reading of the congratulatory telegrams consumed more than half an hour, when the House proceeded to the election of vice-president, secretaries and other officers. A quarter past seven in the evening a brief adjournment was suggested for supper. But the peasants rose en masse and said no. The routine business of elections was meaningless to them. They had been sent to Petersburg by their village folk and neighbors to gain land and freedom. They were willing to sit patiently through any amount of procedure which the intellectuals told them was necessary, but eat they would not until they had done some business. The peasants carried the vote and the House sat for ten hours without a recess.

Another interesting scene was witnessed when the question came up: Should the Douma attend the reception given in its honor by the city of St.

Petersburg? The workmen replied: "If the city of St. Petersburg has money to spend in banqueting us, let them give it to the unemployed of the city, of whom there are so many." The intellectuals said: "We can attend no banquets or festivities while so many of our former colleagues are in prison or in exile. Until the amnesty is declared we will not make merry." And so the Douma continued sitting on the night of the banquet and reception.

In the lobby that night I met a white-haired peasant in high boots wandering about among the brilliantly attired officers, diplomatic corps, and distinguished visitors, favored by cards of admission to this first session. Supposing him to be a deputy, I asked him what was his constituency. He told me that he was not a deputy to the Douma, but had come from a government in the interior, as an "overseer," sent by his village to watch the delegates and see that they did what they had promised they would do. Later I learned that there were about ten such "overseers" who had been sent to Petersburg on a like mission. . . .

"L'Etat—c'est moi."

The Douma—it is the Russian state. If the Emperor bows to the dictum all may yet be peace in Russia. Otherwise—terrible bloodshed is inevitable.

Whether this Douma last a month or a year one thing it has clearly demonstrated. The Russian people—even peasants and workmen and professional men, thrown higgledy-piggledy together—have the instinct for self-government. The details of adjustment, of getting into harness, may be accompanied by many hitches, but in the end a government of the people for the people and by the people is assured in Russia. A strong military opposition may delay the advent of this democracy, but no power on earth can eventually cope with an overpowering idea. Revolution is an idea. Democracy is an idea. The people of Russia as a whole believe in that idea. Thousands have died for it. Thousands more are ready to die for it to-morrow if need be. The Douma in this one week of its existence has demonstrated that—and the ultimate practicability of all that that idea carries with it, in the hands of the Russian people. Therefore it may be accepted—the day of democracy has dawned in Russia.

\* \* \*

## IT MAY HAVE BEEN TRUE, BUT—?

For The Public.

Ever since the day that Juggles persuaded me to hang up my stocking on the Fourth of July, and outraged my youthful confidence by putting a corn cob in it, I have had doubts as to the veracity of all mankind. The more adjectives and the stronger the hysterics in the tale, the greater becomes my doubt, so that the lumber attic of my brain is crowded with a lot of things that I do not believe.

I have even come to doubt the truth of the proposition that a protective tariff makes wages high, although it has been enforced upon my mind with all the adjectives in the dictionary and with train loads of hysterics.

It is not desirable to say anything about the tariff at present, as it will be absolute cruelty to shake the faith of the people who do believe in it. It would be like depriving a child of its favorite toy, and in my present mood I cannot bear to see so much agony.

Mention of these things is made in order that the reader may be on his guard as to the assertions set down in the following tale, which was given to me in strict confidence by Boggs with a solemn affirmation that it is founded on facts and therefore absolutely true.

Facts are stubborn things, and in my experience they are often manifestly false and made for the occasion, so I avail myself of the right to doubt. I am easily induced to believe a lie if it is not labeled, but when a fact is thrown at me I want to know what campaign committee got it up before I take it to my bosom and cherish it.

Boggs says that his sisters' cousin knew a man that lived in a little town, not a hundred miles from Chicago in the State of Illinois, on a snug little farm of about one hundred and sixty acres.

The reader will observe the careful accuracy of this statement. There is no positive assertion that the farm contained one hundred and sixty acres, it might be more and it might be less, and it might be more or less than one hundred miles from Chicago, and nothing is said about the size of the town that could contain a farm of one hundred and sixty acres and still leave room for the rest of the inhabitants.

The candor appears to be a little too prominent and calculated to deceive, so the reader is cautioned to extra vigilance in perusing the rest of the Boggs tale.

The man that lived on the farm was a Quaker, and firmly believed in non-resistance. When his neighbor's bull threw him over the fence, he showed no anger, but sent a written apology to the neighbor, hoping the bull was not hurt and offering free pasturage for him for the rest of the summer. He would not allow any kind of a weapon on his premises, and on one occasion went to jail in a futile endeavor to avoid the payment of a war tax.

The Quaker had a neighbor whose farm adjoined upon the north side, and this neighbor was almost as peaceful as the Quaker, although he kept in the house an ancient shot gun, to the great alarm and little harm of the ducks in the spring and fall. Boggs's sisters' cousin knew both these peaceable farmers, and he it was that planted the seed of evil in the Quaker mind by commenting on his utterly defenseless condition.

"Now, here's Biles," he said, "with a double barreled shot gun and two hundred buckshot cartridges to fit the bore. What would you do if Biles should make an attack on you?"

"I shouldn't do a thing," replied the Quaker. "I'd turn over the place to him and move out. But there is not the remotest probability that Biles will attack me. He attends to his business and I attend to mine, and that keeps both of us busy."

"But Biles has a shot gun and some time he might come over here when he ain't busy and shoot you and your family. In that case you would not have time to turn over the place. You wouldn't

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even have time to run. He might even shoot your dog, and you haven't a solitary thing to defend yourself with."

"God forbid that I should rely on carnal weapons," said the Quaker, turning sadly away.

But the seed was sown if Boggs is to be believed, and the next day the Quaker went to town and bought a shot gun and a revolver. Before he had fully mastered the use of these weapons rumors came that his neighbor's boy had traded his hunting dog for a rifle. Then he began to realize his utterly defenseless condition. What could he do with a shot gun against a rifle? He left his plow standing in the field and went to town and bought two of the latest pattern of long range repeating rifles. Then he felt safe for a short time. Then in testing his rifles he killed a calf and two hogs in his neighbor's pasture, and rumors came thick and fast that his neighbor's boys had formed a military company with guns and brass mounted uniforms and everything else that goes with the art of war, including two field pieces. And then his utterly defenseless condition overwhelmed him. He mortgaged his farm and bought two Gatling guns and a disappearing breech-loading gun, which he mounted in an abandoned cellar on his farm. The disappearing gun went off before he was ready and tore down his neighbor's smoke house, and then the Town Supervisor made an affidavit that the Quaker was insane and was dissipating all his property, and he was arrested and tried before the County Court.

The report of this trial is said by Boggs to be the most remarkable thing in all the legal annals of the state.

The Quaker proved by dozens of his neighbors that he was in an utterly defenseless condition at the beginning, while his neighbor was armed. He only sought to put himself in a safe condition; and he proved by all the military authorities in the world, and by the speeches and arguments of all the great statesmen of the earth, including President Roosevelt, that the only way that we can have peace is to fight for it; and that the only way to fight is to get the biggest guns and the biggest war ships and the biggest armies of any in the world; and that he was only doing in a small way what all the great nations of the earth are constantly doing.

The prosecutor reminded him that there was no danger of any attack from his neighbors; and he replied that as far as he could see that no nation that behaved itself was in any danger of attack either, and that if the example of the nations was only a little better, individual crimes might not be so frequent. His defense was so strong and so extremely logical that the jury pronounced him insane on the first ballot, and it is said that he is now in the asylum among the incurables.

While again cautioning the reader as to the improbability of this tale, it may not be out of order to remark that a man cannot in the present state of public opinion be truly patriotic without wrapping the flag around him and going out to kill somebody; that to doubt our ability to whip the whole world is constructive treason, and that big appropriations for big battleships and other sanguinary

## HOW FAR A LITTLE CANDLE THROWS ITS BEAMS

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purposes are vastly more popular than small appropriations for peaceful purposes that tend toward the abolition of fighting. Be it as it may, no reasonable being can understand why the jury found the Quaker insane.

JACKSON BIGGLES.

\* \* \*

**THE BIRTH-THROES OF DEMOCRACY**

We are living in a revolution. Those of us who believe that revolution to be in a direction that is good may speak of it as a renaissance. We believe it to be a renaissance; a new birth of energy and thought; a new birth ushered in, in large part, by libraries and schools. The people are learning to decide and to rule. The libraries, the schools, and the press are doing this, and it is one of those movements which, once started, can no more be stopped by speeches than an avalanche or the French Revolution could be so stopped. The difference is that knowledge and thought are the safest things we have, and that therefore our changes, our revolutions, may be peaceful.

"Popular forms of government," says Froude, "are possible only when individual men can govern their own lives on moral principles, and when duty is of more importance than pleasure, and justice than material expediency." Hence the great note that ordinary, private ethics play in the more significant political discussions of our day.

Democracy, said Carlyle, is not a Morrison's pill. It is not something that we can swallow in a moment and be cured of every illness while we sleep. It is a living ideal and a rule of conduct, and public life to-day is feeling the throes of its new birth: of the attempt to bring into the world industrial as well as political equality. There will be discouragements, there will be ebb and flow of temper in the public, but in the end life will be better for the unprivileged many than it would be without the new gospel of knowledge and democracy, a gospel, when it is understood, not of discouragement but of light.—Collier's Weekly.

\* \* \*

**OUR NEW NAVY.**

What shall we do with all the ships  
That we are building new?  
Satan will find some mischief still  
For idle ships to do.

—Ariel.

\* \* \*

"Ruggles, you've improved the looks of that house of yours wonderfully in the last few months. It's one of the most attractive properties on the street now."

"Yes; that's the trouble. It has attracted the attention of the assessor and three or four burglars since I fixed it up."

—Chicago Tribune.

\* \* \*

A doctor prescribed rest and change for a small girl, saying that her system was quite upset. After he had gone, the little girl said, "I knew I was upset,

**Announcements**

**MEETINGS, LECTURES, DEBATES, ETC.**

Brooklyn, N. Y.—The Rev. Quincy Ewing, of Birmingham, Ala., will preach at the Church of the Holy Trinity on all the Sunday mornings of July.

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.

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

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mamma, because my foot's asleep; and things must be pretty bad when you go to sleep at the wrong end."—Woman's Journal.

\* \* \*

Great occasions do not make heroes or cowards—they simply unveil them to the eyes of men. Silently and imperceptibly, as we wake or sleep, we grow and wax strong or we grow and wax weak, and at last some crisis shows us what we have become.—Bishop Westcott.

## BOOKS

### WAR AND RELIGION.

**War Inconsistent With the Religion of Jesus Christ.**  
By David Low Dodge. With an introduction by Edwin D. Mead. Published for the International Union by Ginn & Company, Boston.

This reprint of an essay of the last century is a timely and commendable thing. Written in 1812, Mr. Dodge's words are of pertinent meaning for us to-day; and have not lost one jot of their power to touch the heart of the subject. And for those of us who deplore the separation of the churchly form of religion from the higher ethical thought of the day, it is comforting to see that the arguments this sternly and sincerely religious practicing Christian uses are the self same arguments that the unreligious common sense and ethical feeling of to-day would use. There is a good deal of the older form of religious thought in these essays, the intense personal form of devotion from which most of us have grown away nowadays, and the style is that of the English of the past century, the English of an educated, but not a literary man. But in spite of all this, there are pages and pages of what Mr. Dodge writes that can be quoted with effect to-day by those who do not believe that war is a necessity of modern life.

Mr. Dodge is an extreme non-resistant of the Tolstoy type, although antedating the great Russian by half a century. The little volume here under consideration contains his two most important essays, the one which gives the title to the book, and an early one, "The Mediator's Kingdom Not of This World." It is prefaced by an introduction by Mr. Edwin D. Mead, giving an excellent personal sketch of the life and character of David Low Dodge, and giving also some valuable data on the beginnings of concerted peace work in this country. The title essay deserves the greatest consideration, from its intensely actual and timely subject and treatment.

Mr. Dodge here details his reasons for considering war inhuman, unwise and criminal, in three long chapters with eight to ten heads each. With a keenness and insight that few of our peace advocates of to-day have excelled, few indeed equaled, he attacks the spirit of war in its most vulnerable points, in the fallacies with which tradition has surrounded this crime of centuries. He strips the false trappings of theatrical glory from the soldier's life, and shows it up for what it is. He takes little stock

## BECOME PROSPEROUS

I have very little confidence in the power of money to help reform. Still it seems that if reformers generally were better off, they would have more time to give to reform, and perhaps more inclination to it. Therefore, in the interests of reform, I commend to reformers "Free America," which, in my judgment, really does show, as far as it can be shown in a simple way, how one may become prosperous.

There are abundant schemes of people who show others how to get rich for a small sum paid to themselves, and, as I do not want to appear in that class, I have authorized the publishers to refund what they get for any copy of "Free America" that is bought in consequence of this advertisement and with which the purchaser is dissatisfied.

BOLTON HALL

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**PAMPHLETS**

Geo. L. Rusby's booklet (Public Publishing Co., Chicago) on "Smaller Profits, Reduced Salaries and Lower Wages" is unique in its way. You pick it up reluctantly because you are "too tired" to read about abstruse business problems, and before you realize what has happened you are absorbed in a story, which after all is no fiction, but a piece cut out of every-day life. And then, when you have got interested in the complaints of the grocer who looks down upon the day laborer and is looked down upon in turn by the thoughtless housewife a peg above him in the social scale, you find your interest growing in the common-sense explanation of how the confusions have happened and what causes them.

**PERIODICALS**

An interesting story of the civilization of the American Indian, by Charles M. Harvey, and a suggestive insurance article by Louis Windmuller on the San Francisco disaster, appear in the Review of Reviews (New York) for June. There is also a curious British computation, condensed from the "Economic Review" of London, on "the unearned increment," as a source of public revenue.



Tucker's Liberty (New York) is more than ever interesting since its reduction to magazine form (which is not to say, however, that mere improvement in form enhances interest, though it undeniably excites it); and in the June issue there appears a short story, "Carlotta Cortina" (signed by Francis du Bosque), which pictures an interesting and significant phase of life in New York City with a graphic fidelity and a degree of humor, pathos, and simple skill of narration that are seldom found in the short stories of the big magazines.



The June Cosmopolitan prints the translation of a story by Anton Chekhov, the Russian novelist. This moving and simple little sketch, entitled "Sleepy-Eye," is the most conclusive answer yet given to the alarmed and grieved inquiry made by many good conservatives whenever a public man is killed by assassination. They cry aghast, "By what train of thought can this august victim be made responsible for the misery which radicals claim exists in the world to-day?" Of course the sense of their question is just, but they should read this little Russian story and see how the misery, working on an undeveloped mind and suffering body, will seize upon the nearest and most noticeable mark as the cause of the agony that is felt but not understood. The little nurse-girl who kills her employer's innocent baby has arrived at the conclusion that the infant was her torturer, by much the same reasoning that influences the misguided bomb-throwers when they murder a king. The logic, or the lack of it, is exactly the same. It has seldom been so simply and so perfectly pictured as in this story. G. I. C.

THE SENSATION OF THE YEAR

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