

# The Public

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## EDITORIAL

### Tariff Relief for San Francisco.

We find it difficult to sympathize with those critics of Congress who are impatient because protection leaders object to putting materials for rebuilding San Francisco temporarily on the free list. If the protective tariff is really for the benefit of American labor, why take it off at a time when an extra demand for protected products will enable labor to profit by it? And if it be true, as protectionists assure us, that the foreigner pays tariff taxes as the price of getting into our markets, it would be a wretched proceeding to remit their taxes on goods destined for an exceptionally good market, merely because it is exceptionally good. Why should foreigners be

exempt from paying for access to the San Francisco market?

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### San Francisco Land Values.

Our views regarding land values in San Francisco (p. 98) are further confirmed by Associated Press dispatches. These are to the effect that the local syndicate which owned the Lick House has been offered \$750,000 more for the site than they paid for the site and the building together two years ago, and that they have declined to sell. The offer is locally regarded as a strong indication of down-town site values. It is at the same time an indication of something else, which it is to be hoped the legislature of California will not overlook. The appalling destruction of the values of improvements and personal property is in impressive contrast with the survival and even the enhancement of site values. It is hoped that the legislature will notice this significant difference between the two kinds of property. It is a difference to be considered if exemption from taxation is allowed as a relief measure. The values that are restored by toil and sweat ought to be exempt a longer time than those which, without sweat or toil, rise out of the ashes of the stricken city, not only undiminished but augmented.

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### Site Values in General.

There is nothing especially local or peculiar in the fact that site values in San Francisco are higher since the earthquake than before. Values of this kind are more distinctly results of social advances than any others. Houses do not increase in value with social advances, but sites do. An interesting instance comes from New York. Fifty years ago August Belmont sold a plot of vacant land on Fifth avenue for \$35,000. A year ago the same plot, unimproved, was sold for \$1,850,000. If Mr. Belmont had erected a \$35,000 building on that site 50 years ago, the building would certainly be worth no more now; it would probably be worth a good deal less; it would possibly be worth nothing. Yet the site would be worth \$1,850,000. Nor is this an isolated instance. Many sites have risen more marvelously in value in 50 years. A few have lost in value in that period. Some have been stationary. But most sites have risen; some more, some less. Yet no houses have risen at all in value in that time

and most of them have fallen immensely. Is there not, then, a radical difference between property in house values and property in site values, which should be considered with reference to property owners in all their relations? It is not rational to regard the two kinds of property as identical in character. Especially is it irrational when considering them with reference to taxation. The kind of value that rises with social advance irrespective of anything the owner does, which his industry does not maintain and disaster does not destroy, is certainly not entitled to the same favorable consideration as a basis for taxation as are values that depend upon their owner's industry for their maintenance and which disasters sweep away.

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#### President Roosevelt's Muck-rake.

Aided by Mr. Garfield, President Roosevelt has used a muck rake with good effect. The odorous muck he has turned over includes the slimy transactions of the Standard Oil Company, which most of us learned of when Mr. Roosevelt was absent-mindedly wading in it while gazing at the stars. He probably did not know it was muck even when he raked it over; but he must know it now, for the president of one of the universities that regularly sprinkles it with perfume, on shares, has plainly told him so and denounced him as the worst of all muck-rakers.

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#### The Source of Public Corruption.

The attorney general of Missouri, Herbert S. Hadley, whose prosecution of the Standard Oil conspirators caused John D. Rockefeller to abscond, has in that experience either learned a valuable lesson or confirmed one already learned. He clearly sees behind the political boss, whom all of us are ready to condemn off-hand, the industrial or business boss or clique to whom the political boss is only a hired man. "If you will search for an explanation," writes Mr. Hadley, "as to how and why it was that the city council or State legislature has been bribed, you will, in the great majority of cases, find that some business interest has been seeking some special privilege or dishonest advantage which it could not secure by the honest judgment of the representatives of the people." Yet these industrial bosses and business cliques, who corrupt the politicians whom we therefore despise, hold high places in our esteem. Clergymen apologize for them, college presidents defend them, respectable lawyers seek their patronage, and business men are proud of their association. To expose their conduct and to speak

of them as the grafters they are, is to invite criticism for "mud-raking." These are the men who not only corrupt our politicians with bribes, but demoralize public sentiment with corrupting views of business life and public morals.

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#### Judicial Power.

It is reported that Chief Justice Clark, of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, has publicly and deliberately questioned the wisdom of investing a court composed of judges who are not only appointed but appointed for life, with the power to invalidate acts of Congress by adjudging them unconstitutional. It is doubtless a dangerous power. Attempts have been made to minimize its menacing importance by inculcating the idea that judges are sacred and immaculate creatures, who may always be depended upon to do what is right. But judges are like all other officials. They are mere men, influenced by all the passions that influence other men, including the passion for power. This passion was exemplified by the Supreme Court of the United States when it drew to itself the power to nullify legislation. That power was not vested in it by the Constitution. The Court was established as coordinate with Congress and the President; yet it has assumed the power to override them both. The Congress and the President constitute the law-making power, and the Supreme Court is no part of it; but the Supreme Court makes itself the most important part by denouncing as unconstitutional, legislation which they have decided to be constitutional. With this power, a body appointed for life would be able, were the incentive strong enough, to thwart the people in any way a majority of its members might desire. Judge Clark proposes to remove that temptation and danger by making the Federal judiciary elective instead of appointive. The suggestion is a good one. That an elective judiciary is superior to an appointive one has been demonstrated where the change has been made with reference to the State judiciary. The elective judiciary of New York, for example, is quite as high in abilities as the old appointive judiciary; and the nepotism to which the latter was addicted has been entirely eschewed by the former. The people may not always choose wisely, but even in the matter of judges they choose better on the whole than intriguing coteries do.

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#### Hearst for Governor of New York.

In an interview in the Journal, of Portland, Oregon, on the 4th, ex-Congressman Robert Ba-

ker, of New York, predicted the nomination of William Randolph Hearst for governor of the State of New York, and the consequent annihilation, politically, of the upper part of the State by the New York City vote at the election. Mr. Baker does not foresee whether Mr. Hearst will be a candidate on an independent ticket or on a joint nomination by independents and the Democratic convention, but thinks the latter. He is certain, however, that if the Democrats do not nominate Mr. Hearst the gubernatorial contest will be triangular, as in the mayoralty contest in New York city, and with Hearst as the independent candidate. The Hearst issue, as Mr. Baker outlines it, whether the nomination be joint or independent, will be the municipal ownership of municipal utilities.

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Indications all point to the accuracy of Mr. Baker's judgment. That Hearst was cheated out of the mayoralty election last Fall is a matter of common belief, and when to the sympathy which such a belief excites is added the strong sentiment in the Democratic party in favor of municipal ownership, the probability of his nomination by that party for governor appears very strong. And with this nomination his election would be almost a certainty, for the municipal ownership sentiment has made great inroads not alone in the Democratic but also in the Republican party. An independent nomination, however, would not be likely to result in Mr. Hearst's election, especially if the Democratic candidate were a pronounced advocate of the policy of public ownership. For country sentiment is not yet sufficiently advanced to make a slump to the municipal ownership side in the country districts of the State, and in the cities a municipal ownership candidate with a regular nomination would be stronger than a municipal ownership candidate on an independent ticket.

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#### The Earth Road Drag.

The Illinois Highway Commission is vigorously promoting the use of drags for improving dirt roads. It seems that this method has been known for several years, but only recently has its importance been demonstrated. Credit for the demonstration is given Mr. D. Ward King of Missouri. To secure its advantages in Illinois the Highway Commission urges every township commissioner to have all the dirt roads in his township dragged while they are in the muddy state.

The theory of the road drag is simple. As the Commission explains it, the moist earth of the traveled portions of "a gumbo, clay or black prairie" road becomes impervious to water. This is caused by the working and reworking of the earth by wagon wheels and animal hoofs. Nearly all the traveled portion of a sticky, muddy road is thus covered with a layer of impervious earth, which, when compressed and dried, is extremely hard. Consequently, if the road be properly dragged, the ruts and hollows are filled and a smooth impervious and hard surface is secured. The drag recommended is a simple contrivance, costing three or four dollars, light as to weight and hauled over the road at an angle so as to push a small quantity of earth toward the center of the road, thereby rounding it off.

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#### Women Policemen.

Newspapermen of the frivolous type are having their round of sport over the proposition of Mrs. Julia Goldzier, of Bayonne, N. J., that women be added to the police force. Yet Mrs. Goldzier makes a sensible plea for this innovation. She says, what is perfectly true, that "the care of children, with its multitudinous tasks, is becoming more and more a civic responsibility;" and because it seems to her that this responsibility has police aspects, she proposes that women, as the natural care-takers of children, be appointed to perform such police duty as relates especially to children. If there is anything comical or irrational about this, we confess our inability to see the joke. The appointment of police matrons was no joke, although in its day it was as startling an innovation as the appointment of police women to look out for children in public places would be to-day. Would it not be better for the general good if suggestions such as Mrs. Goldzier's were treated somewhat more seriously, and condemned for lack of merit if they do lack it, instead of being misrepresented and laughed at?

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#### Chicago Traction.

Most men with money dangling before them are bourbonistic in their fatuity. To this rule the traction ring of Chicago makes no exception. It has neither forgotten its old graft nor learned anything by recent experience; but hoping, like Micawber, that something will turn up, is again flirting with susceptible aldermen and angering the people of Chicago. Its proposal for a term franchise is impossible. The hour when it might have got this has gone by, and will not return.

Mayor Dunne has offered it better conditions than will ever come its way again if it lets this opportunity slip by. The alderman who should propose or vote for a term franchise now would thereby place himself at the bar of public opinion in Chicago as a confessed grafter. In some business circles he might be applauded for it, but in no circles would the illicit character of his relation to the subject be doubted.

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### CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS AND THE AMERICAN NEGRO.

In telling in the *Century* for May of a visit to the Soudan, Mr. Charles Francis Adams announces an opinion regarding the American Negro which has excited especial attention because it is in the nature of a recantation. Mr. Adams had been classed as a humanitarian, believing in the equality of human rights regardless of race, and he admits a considerable indulgence in this brotherly theory in the past; but since his visit to Omdurman he has yielded to ethnological "science," and sneers at such philanthropical theories as rot—"all 'rot.'"

Naturally enough, Mr. Adams's recantation is exploited with much satisfaction in every quarter, North as well as South, where the "scientific" theory of the "white man's burden" prevails. Consequently the American Negro is again forced to his defense on the question of equal rights before the law in the land of his nativity,—and this time by an unexpected prosecutor.

It is no light thing under any circumstances to bring even an individual to the bar of judgment on a question involving so much of all that goes to make human life human. But when a whole race is indiscriminately attacked on the issue of equal legal rights, and the circumstances are as they are in this country and the source of attack is such as this, it is too little to say that the attack should not have been lightly made. Unless Mr. Adams justifies his conclusion that the American Negro is inherently inferior and dependent, a subject for indefinite paternalism instead of a brother man and fellow citizen entitled to equal legal rights, he is guilty, in view of the baffling circumstances against which so many American Negroes are at this time bravely, patiently and successfully struggling, of an act of unpardonable cruelty.

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In considering the basis of truth for Mr. Adams's recantation, the thoughtful reader will wonder that Mr. Adams should have gone to Om-

durman for his reasons for degrading American Negroes like Mr. Washington, Prof. Du Bois, Prof. Miller, Dr. Hall, and thousands upon thousands of others who differ from these only in being less distinguished in reputation. There is some force in what Southern newspapers say in welcoming this recantation, that Mr. Adams need not have postponed revising his views until he went to Omdurman, for he could have found his ethnological material in the Southern States of his own country. It has at least this much of force, that if the American Negro is in truth inherently unfit for equal rights before the law, the proof of it could have been found nearer home than Omdurman, and longer ago by a man of Mr. Adams's opportunities. Indeed, one might reasonably suppose that the human attributes of the American Negro could be studied to much better advantage among the millions of that race in this country than in the streets of Omdurman, or even in the whole expanse of Africa. Mr. Adams's "scientific" method would, it would seem, take him to a Russian village to make comprehensive and conclusive ethnological studies of the Jewish bankers of Wall street.

But he explains that the humanitarian scales fell from his eyes at Omdurman because it was there that in visiting "the black man in his own house," the place of the highest point of development of any African race, he found no evidence whatever of any inherent power of development. The Negro "in his own house" has never invented anything, says Mr. Adams; and from this negation he infers that the development of Negroes in a white man's environment is not from inherent power but from association with white men. Consequently he concludes that the Negro is racially and therefore permanently inferior to the white man, and that "contact with the white man is necessary to keep him from retrogression." It is upon this conclusion that his recantation rests. We ought to have dealt with the American Negro, he now confesses, "not as a political equal," but as "a ward and dependent, firmly but in a spirit of kindness and absolute justice." Recognizing the impossibility of such a policy, however, both at the time of emancipation and ever since, even now, Mr. Adams does not propose it as a policy; but he does adopt it as a theory, and he goes so far as cautiously to suggest the possibility of its being "slowly and tentatively approximated" in practice.

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Observe how utterly flimsy is Mr. Adams's reason for his proposed degradation of millions of

his own countrymen. The natives of the country of their origin never invented anything!

And pray what did Mr. Adams himself ever invent? He could reply, of course, that he is not considering individuals but a race. But races are composed of individuals, and it is individuals indiscriminately that he proposes to degrade. If invention be the test of inherent power of development in a race, it is the test in individuals. If non-inventive races will deteriorate out of contact with an inventive race, then non-inventive individuals will deteriorate out of contact with inventive individuals. If Negroes are inferior because they don't invent, then Mr. Adams is inferior because he doesn't invent.

Right here is the nub of the whole question as Mr. Adams presents it. Advanced forms of invention do not spring from inherent race powers as Mr. Adams infers. They result from the utilization of accumulated knowledge by individuals who acquire that knowledge from predecessors or associates. This is not a matter of race power. All men of all races are inherently inventive. The inventive faculty is what distinguishes man from the animal. And notwithstanding that Mr. Adams says the Negroes of Africa do not invent, they do invent. In the direction and up to the limit of their desires and their accumulated knowledge they are as inventive as other races. Mr. Adams himself concedes enough for this inference, for he acknowledges their powers of elementary invention—language equal to their uses, and weapons adequate to cope with their accustomed enemies.

Excite their desires in any direction, and open the doors to the reservoir of accumulated knowledge, and the Negro will invent in that direction; deaden the desire in the white man and close the reservoir to him, and he too will invent only in the most elementary way. If the desires of the African Negro do not awaken to the civilization of the white man, the reason is plain enough without resorting to Mr. Adams's assumption that the Negroes are inherently inferior. We have only to ask how the white man's civilization has come to them, and in our answer we have the reason.

That shrinking from innovations, especially those from foreign sources, is a trait of human nature and not of any particular race nature, we have abundant evidence. Add to this universal repugnance to innovation, the repugnant methods by which the desires and the knowledge of the white man have been thrust at the black man "in ~~the~~ Africa, and we get an ample

explanation of the African Negro's repulsion to the white man's civilization.

But conditions with the American Negro are wholly different. The circumstances are present here to excite in him those desires for knowledge and its uses that stimulate inherent powers of invention and make them effective. And such is the result. The American Negro's ambition to excel in the civilized arts and sciences, his thirst for the knowledge necessary to excellence, his industry and patience and aptitude in acquiring it, and his skill in using it, are pronounced traits of his character.

Mr. Adams has observed that this is true of Negro children, and he revives the old notion that it is true of Negroes only in childhood. Quoting another writer without criticism he implies that at the end of childhood, the mental expansion of the American Negro ceases. But this notion is not true. Over and over again it has been disproved; and of all men Mr. Adams is one of the last to be fairly excused for not knowing it. Suppose, however, that it had not been disproved, or suppose it were observable in a number of cases so vast as to make the others seem like exceptions. Yet the true explanation would be much more obtrusive in open minds than the inferiority explanation which Mr. Adams adopts. If the Negro child who excels the white child of similar age does not expand in mind as his body grows, we need go no farther for a sufficient explanation than to the fact that at the age at which the white child begins to excel the Negro, the Negro has begun to learn that the door of opportunity which opens freely to white men is slammed in the face of black men. In these circumstances it is not merely Negro nature to give up in despair, it is human nature. Only the exceptional men of any race persist; and to this exceptional class the American Negro is contributing his quota.

What the American Negro needs in order to prevent his retrogression from the white man's civilization is not contact with the white man necessarily, but opportunity to acquire and utilize the accumulated knowledge of the white man's civilization. And that is precisely what the white man also needs. In this sense, and only in this sense, is the American Negro dependent upon the white race, a dependency which is shared with him by the American white man. Every individual, white or black, is as dependent as every other upon those who have gone before in the same civilization for accumulated knowledge, and upon one another for its acquisition and co-opera-

tive utilization. Discourage the acquisition of knowledge by red-haired persons, and close to them the door of opportunity for its utilization, and you would soon find bright-minded boys with red hair falling behind duller-minded boys with hair of another color. Close the doors of opportunity to any considerable proportion of the white race, and in a few generations you would have a thriftless, sodden and non-inventive class of whites, who would seem to any man of the "scientific" spirit for which Mr. Adams has dropped his humanitarianism, like a species without inherent powers of development.

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This recantation by Mr. Adams proceeds upon the theory of differences in human blood. It is a curious thing that your sticklers for the "scientific" method in ethnology are always so prone to neglect the very first demand that genuine science makes upon theorists whose hypotheses rest upon differences in racial blood, which is that they shall first prove the difference..

It has been written that all races were created of one blood, and this statement has withstood the assaults of scientific investigation. Though human blood has been scientifically distinguished from the blood of beasts, the blood of races is one blood, so far as science knows. Send the blood of a Negro and the blood of a white man to the ablest specialist and he cannot tell you which is the white man's and which the Negro's. It might make no difference if he could. The blood might be different and the men alike, or the men alike and the blood different. But those ethnological "scientists" who would measure legal differences in the rights of man by differences in racial blood, should first show that the racial differences in blood actually exist.

The truth about the blood-difference theory is that a sociological metaphor has been made to do duty for a physiological fact. We used to hear of "blue blood," and in such uses as to imply that individuals of the patrician class actually have a different hued blood from individuals of the plebeian class, and of course a superior blood. This sort of distinction is now generally understood in its application to persons of the same race as a mere metaphor; but as an excuse for justifying race distinctions it has come to be quite "scientific." Yet as with different classes of the same race, so with different races, the blood allusion is legitimate only as a metaphor.

Somewhat as individual life is maintained by the blood of the human body, so the life of a civilization is maintained by the blood of that civil-

ization. But the blood of a civilization, of a nation, or of a race, courses through no individual veins and arteries. It is not composed of physical corpuscles. Perhaps the thing that best answers to the metaphorical allusion is language; for it is by means of language that customs, institutions, habits of thought, standards of taste and of ethics, together with all the other characteristics of a civilization, are preserved, developed, and segregated from those of other civilizations. The wider the geographical area of a language, the wider the geographical extent of the civilization which that language vivifies. The easier the transition of human thought from that language to others, the better the assimilation of the civilizations they respectively represent. The more difficult this transition, the greater the tendency to divergence, whether the divergence be on different lines of progress or in the opposite directions of progression and retrogression.

In some such metaphorical use of the distinction all will doubtless agree that the blood of some nations and races is inferior to that of others. But this means no more essentially than that the manners, customs, moral standards and habits of thought of some national or race groups are inferior to the manners, customs, moral standards and habits of thought of others. It does not mean that the individual citizens of the inferior nations or the individual members of the inferior race groups are inherently incapable of participating in the advantages and contributing to the maintenance and promotion of the civilization of the superior nations or groups. Such participation and co-operation are entirely possible.

At any rate the burden rests upon those who dispute it, to make out their case with better proof than Mr. Adams advances as the reason for his retraction of a life long belief in the fundamental humanities. To prove inherent incapacity in civilized individuals whose ancestors belonged to groups having inferior customs, it is not enough to prove that these groups are primitive. It must be proved that those individuals are incompetent.

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In giving publicity to his carelessly conceived retrogression in thought and spirit with reference to a large body of his fellow men who are also his fellow countrymen, Mr. Adams has done a cruel wrong that he may not live long enough to repair. He has added the prestige of his family name, the power of his personal influence, and the force that always goes with recantation, to the obstacles which scores upon scores of thousands of Ameri-

can Negroes are struggling to overcome and which narrow-minded white men meanly put in their way.

That he should have added thus to the unnatural difficulties with which the American Negro has to contend, would have been above criticism had his reasons possessed genuinely scientific or logical value. The truth as one sees it should be told, when it is of great importance, even though the telling of it adds burdens to the burdened. But Mr. Adams gives no reasons that have not been worn threadbare in the service of the advocates of human slavery. His reasons have been discredited, moreover, in the progress of human freedom at every advance in the recognition of equality of human rights.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### SEATTLE.

Seattle, Wash., May 1.—Our mayor, Judge Moore, is "making good" in so able and so intelligent a way as to astonish his friends as well as completely to confound his enemies. Furthermore, his right conduct seems to spring from instinct—the gentlemanly instincts of a Southerner. It was the same when he was on the bench. The sordid things which politicians often stoop to, seem foreign to him. Do I make myself clear? It all seems to me more a matter of taste than of deep principle; but morality is three-fourths taste, somebody has said.

✦

First of all, he has quietly but determinedly kept out the slot machines, both money- and merchandise-paying. The cigar dealers raised a terrible outcry; they couldn't live! Very well, if a cigar store must be a gambling house in order to live, it would better die. Shaking dice is allowed, and some criticism has been made of the Mayor by the pro-slot machine people on this account; but he is not stampeded. The dear "law and order" people now want the saloons closed on Sunday, and the theaters. If this really comes to anything we shall try to have a counter movement on the theater question in the interest of wholesome Sunday amusement. A league of Christian Endeavorers, etc., are quite enthusiastic over the closing idea—all Republicans who never within my recollection have favored any such puritanism during the terms of Republican mayors.

✦

The Seattle Electric Company's free passes to city officials have received a complete airing, and the names of all beneficiaries have been published. Besides the elected city officials and deputies the list includes the members of boards which serve without pay—park, library, etc. Our charter provides that city officials accepting passes forfeit their offices, and furthermore that all their salary from the

time the pass was issued may be recovered by the city. The State constitution also provides that officials shall not receive passes nor railways give them. Our corporation counsel, Scott Colborne (Republican), in an absurd opinion declared the passes for officials which are provided for in the company's franchise to be compensation for the franchise; but Mayor Moore declined to entertain the idea that the Electric Company's franchise superseded the city charter and the State constitution, and the town smiled.

✦

Municipal ownership has received an impetus we did not anticipate. In regrading and paving certain streets on which there are no traction lines, hills are being taken down, and the question of franchise is being pushed by the Seattle Electric Company. Both parties having declared for the submission of the question of municipal ownership, the Mayor thinks the city should build lines on these streets pending an election, but the Corporation Counsel says it cannot be done without a vote. The Mayor wanted to borrow from the general fund, and finally asks the Counsel if the city may pave with brick but not with steel. As the matter is "framing up" it looks as if municipal ownership might be submitted to vote within six months. Eight of the fifteen councilmen have signified their willingness to submit it.

Mr. George Cotterell, a civil engineer, who has done more for our city's right development than any other single individual, has drafted a system of railways which would reach portions of the city not now served and at the same time be readily extensible into a competing line.

The power of recall plays a substantial part in all this municipal ownership agitation.

ADELA M. PARKER.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

Week ending Wednesday, May 9.

### President Roosevelt and the Standard Oil Trust.

President Roosevelt transmitted to Congress on the 3d, the report of James R. Garfield as commissioner of the Bureau of Corporations in the Department of Commerce and Labor, on the subject of transportation and freight rates in connection with the oil industry.

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In his message the President describes the report as one of—

capital importance in view of the effort now being made to secure such enlargement of the powers of the Inter-

state Commerce Commission as will confer upon the Commission power in some measure adequately to meet the clearly demonstrated needs of the situation. The facts set forth in this report are for the most part not disputed. It is only the inferences from them that are disputed and even in this respect the dispute is practically limited to the question as to whether the transactions are or are not technically legal. The report shows that the Standard Oil Company has benefited enormously up almost to the present moment by secret rates, many of these secret rates being clearly unlawful. This benefit amounts to at least \$750,000 a year. This \$750,000 represents the profit that the Standard Oil Company obtains at the expense of the railroads; but of course the ultimate result is that it obtains a much larger profit at the expense of the public.

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Mr. Garfield in his report, which accompanied the President's message, explained that—

a general and very extensive investigation has been conducted, covering the following subjects: (1) The crude-oil production in the United States and its relation to the world's supply; the prices and methods of purchase; (2) the use, development and control of pipe lines; (3) refining of oil, the control of refineries, the cost of refining and marketing, the prices of petroleum products; (4) the organization, ownership and relation of the companies engaged in the production, manufacture and distribution of oil; (5) the competitive methods used in the production and sale of oil; (6) transportation and freight rates; and (7) foreign trade and conditions and their relation to the domestic industry.

The general results of the investigation are then described as having disclosed the existence of—

numerous and flagrant discriminations by the railroads in behalf of the Standard Oil Company and its affiliated corporations. With comparatively few exceptions, mainly of other large concerns in California, the Standard has been the sole beneficiary of such discriminations. In almost every section of the country that company has been found to enjoy some unfair advantages over its competitors and some of these discriminations affect enormous areas. Discriminations in the transportation of oil embrace a variety of forms, the more important of which may be classed under the following heads: (1) Secret and semi-secret rates; (2) discriminations in the open arrangement of rates; (3) discriminations in classification and rules of shipment; (4) discriminations in treatment of private tank cars. Many of the secret rates discovered by the Bureau of Corporations have applied only on shipments of oil wholly within single States. The Standard Oil Company, which controls refineries in twelve States, is obviously in a position to make extensive use of such inter-State rates, or as they are ordinarily designated, State rates. I have personally visited nearly all of the great fields and have been in communication, either personally or through the agents of the Bureau, with many hundred producers and practically all the refiners and transportation agencies engaged in the distribution of oil. A special agent of the Bureau was sent to Europe to study at first hand the conditions in foreign producing fields and distributing markets. The facts obtained have in every feasible way been verified by examination of the original sources of information. By far the greater part of the material necessary for the completion of the entire report has been collected. The preliminary study of this material showed that the most important subject was transportation, because the cost of transportation is a very large percentage of the total cost to the consumer of the finished product and hence a most important factor in competition. The control of the Standard Oil Company over the entire oil industry is so great as to require a special study of its relations to transportation companies. I, therefore, first submit the accompanying report upon the subject of railway transportation and freight rates.

As this report covers many details, Mr. Garfield presents a summary of its more prominent features, which, however, is too long for reproduction.

Summarizing Mr. Garfield's summary, we have the following disclosures:

The Standard Oil Company directly and indirectly controls the manufacture of 23,000,000 out of the total of 26,000,000 barrels of kerosene manufactured annually in the United States, and about the same proportion of the other finished products of petroleum. This monopolistic control extends from the well of the producer to the doorstep of the consumer. The Standard's advantages of location and pipe line have been obtained in part by means of unfair competitive methods after years of fierce industrial strife. The consequent delimitation of the competitive area has resulted in making prices from 2 to 5 cents a gallon higher in the non-competitive than in the competitive fields, which is from 1½ to 4½ cents more than a reasonable profit. The Standard Oil Company has habitually received from the railroads and is now receiving secret rates and other unjust and illegal discriminations. These discriminations have been so long continued, so secret, so ingeniously applied to new conditions of trade, and so large in amount as to make it certain that they were due to concerted action by the Standard and the railroads. The area of discriminations includes New England, through collusion with the New York, New Haven and Hartford and the Boston and Maine railroads, and a great area in the South, south of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, through collusion with the Chicago and Eastern Illinois, the Illinois Central and the Southern railways. Most of the secret rates and some open discriminations have been abolished by the railroads since their discovery by the Bureau; nevertheless the widespread discriminations in open rates still in force leave independent shippers at a serious disadvantage.

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Promptly upon the publication of the Garfield report and President Roosevelt's message of transmittal, H. H. Rogers and John D. Archbold of the Standard Oil Company published a lengthy statement, in the course of which they said that—

the Standard Oil Company has at all times, within the limits of fairness and with due regard for the law, sought to secure the most advantageous freight rates and routes possible. There will be no denial of this fact on our part. The question is whether we have at any point violated the law or the proprieties. One does not care to bandy words with the President of the United States. It is not easy to differentiate between Mr. Roosevelt, the President, and Mr. Roosevelt, the individual. He has given of his advice most generously on every subject, from the size of our families to the mistakes of Federal judges, and some error is inevitable now and then to the most conservative man under such circumstances. We say flatly that any assertion that the Standard Oil Company has been or is now knowingly engaged in practices which are unlawful is alike untruthful and unjust. The Commissioner's report, upon which the President's message is based, opens with the statement that the manufacture of refined oil in this country is about 26,000,000 barrels annually. It is unimportant, but it would, nevertheless, have been fair for him to have stated that over 15,000,000 barrels of this annual manufacture is exported and with its manufacture or price the American public is not concerned. He says the "development of the pipe-line system by the Standard Oil Company was the result of special agreement with the railroad companies." What he can mean is past our comprehension. As a matter of fact the development of the pipe-line system by the Standard Oil Company was in the face of violent hostility on the part of the railroads, which naturally were opposed to the introduction of such means of transportation. . . . There have been no secret rates or unlawful discriminations in the interest of the Standard Oil Company. . . . The Standard Oil Company has been investigated over and over again, at the instigation of its rivals, and it always welcomes such investigation when conducted in good faith and fairly. We are engaged in a large and honorable business. We are conducting it honorably, and, we sincerely believe, in conformity to law.

### The Railroad Rate Bill.

Whether as a result of the President's message on the Garfield report, or other cause, an agreement was effected on the 8th with reference to the Hepburn railroad rate bill (p. 9) between the Republican advocates of the bill, including President Roosevelt, and its Republican adversaries. The principal contention regarding this bill has been over the question of allowing the Federal courts to review the action of the Interstate Commerce Commission in fixing rates. Review by the courts would be a constitutional right regardless of the rate-fixing law, if the Interstate Commerce Commission were to make the rates confiscatory; but the railroad interests demanded the right to unlimited court review, irrespective of Constitutional rights, and under the protection meanwhile of injunctions; whereas the advocates of the Hepburn bill as it came from the House opposed allowing unlimited review by injunction proceedings, of rates as determined by the Commission. That controversy has now been settled by the acquiescence of the President and his supporters in both houses in an amendment allowing unlimited review and injunction proceedings.

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As summarized by the Washington dispatches, the compromise amendment, embodying four propositions and known as the Allison amendment, though offered in the Senate by Senator Cullom on the 8th, provide for—

1. Unlimited jurisdiction in the United States Circuit Courts to hear and determine suits against the decisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission.
2. No preliminary injunction or other interlocutory order to be granted in these suits without a hearing after notice.
3. Such hearings to be before three judges.
4. An appeal to be directly from the decision of these judges to the Supreme Court of the United States, the hearing on such appeals to take precedence over all but criminal cases.

Another proposition goes with the compromise amendment. The words "fairly remunerative," now in the Hepburn bill as a limitation upon the rates the Commission may fix, and which were originally inserted by President Roosevelt, are to be struck out, and the words "in its judgment," with reference to the same power of the Commission, are agreed to. President Roosevelt and his friends describe this compromise as a victory for him; the Democratic Senators, and in this view they are joined by Senator La Follette, regard it as a surrender by him.

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### Indictments of Railroads and Trusts.

Indictments were presented by the Federal grand jury at New York on the 5th against several business men and corporations for violations and conspiracies to violate the so-called "Elkins anti-trust law." The indicted men are Nathan Guilford (vice president of the N. Y. Central and Hudson River R. R. Co.), E. L. Pomeroy (general traffic manager of the same company), C. Goodlee Edgar, and Edwin Earle; the indicted corporations being as follows:

- The New York Central Railroad Company.
- The American Sugar Refining Company.
- The New York Central & Hudson River Railroad Company.
- The American Sugar Refining Company of New York.

These indictments are based upon proofs obtained by William Randolph Hearst, who in January last furnished Attorney General Moody with documentary evidence that the sugar trust and certain railroad companies were violating the laws. Thereafter he filed formal complaints against these offenders, charging them specifically with their crimes, and the present indictments are a result.

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### The Anthracite Coal Strike.

The deadlock between the anthracite miners and the operators (p. 104) was broken on the 5th at a convention of the miners at Scranton. The convention, which had met on the 4th and been addressed by John Mitchell, voted in accordance with his advice to accept the ultimatum of the operators. In offering this advice Mr. Mitchell said:

For several months we have been endeavoring to negotiate a wage scale and adjustment of conditions of employment with the representatives of the anthracite coal-mining companies. During these negotiations we made a number of propositions, each of which materially modified our original demands. We still believe that our first proposition was reasonably fair, notwithstanding the modifications we have since made in the interest of peace. Now we are face to face with the alternative of continuing at work under our former conditions or declaring a strike. In this crisis the committee recommends the following policy: (1) That we agree to work on the basis of the award of the anthracite coal strike commission for such period of time as may be agreed upon mutually between the representatives of the anthracite coal mining companies and our scale committee, provided that all men who suspended work April 1 are reinstated in their former positions and working places. (2) That the scale committee proceed at once to meet the representatives of the coal companies with a view of securing an agreement upon this basis. (3) That the convention remain in session until Tuesday and the scale committee shall report to the convention at that time.

In the course of his speech Mr. Mitchell intimated that the operators were trying to provoke a strike. On this point he said:

I believe the operators in a large measure would welcome a strike, as they have on hand a considerable supply of surplus coal and it would give them the excuse they are seeking to squeeze the consumers with an advance in the prices, and all of the miners know that such action on their part is unwarranted. Are we, then, to give them the excuse they are wishing for? If the operators believe in a strike, and we believe they do, it would be better for us to remain at work and claim what we have than to strike and lose what we have already so dearly fought for.

The settlement was adjusted on the 7th at New York, where the miners' sub-committee signed an agreement with the operators for a continuation of the award of the strike commission for three years. The men will return to work as soon as practicable. All miners who have not committed violence against persons or property will be re-employed, and no one will be discriminated against because of any activity he may have taken in the strike movement. The agreement was subject to the ratification of the convention at Scranton on the 8th, at which time the convention gave the final ratification.

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### The Progressive Alliance.

A municipal movement called The Progressive Alliance has been organized in Detroit, with Frederick T. Ingram as president. The organization aims to concentrate the influence of those who believe the

people should have the greater influence in shaping public policy and controlling public officials which they formerly enjoyed. It will work to secure majority rule and to stop corporate and corrupt rule. Its immediate effort will be devoted to bringing about direct responsibility of elected officials to their constituents, and to free public officials from all dependence upon corporate and financial influences, by the adoption of the principles of direct legislation, home rule, efficient non-partisan civil service and public ownership of public utilities. The executive committee of the Alliance is composed of John Naylor, Wilber Brotherton, David Inglis, John Ballantyne, Geo. H. Sherman, Francis Fildew, Henry A. Voelkner, Geo. F. Fuerth and G. W. Weikert. John B. Howarth is the treasurer and Isaac N. Payne the secretary. An important office, that of statistician, is filled by Judson Grenell.

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#### Re-election of Mayor Rose.

At the special election in Kansas City, Kansas, on the 8th, ex-Mayor Rose, who recently resigned for the purpose of "going to the people" (pp. 34, 52) was re-elected. Mayor Rose was first elected in April, 1905 (vol. viii, p. 9), in opposition to corporation interests and influences, by a plurality of 1,000. He found it an established policy of unquestioned standing for 25 years, in this as in other river cities of Kansas, to ignore the prohibition law of the State, except by police fines in the nature of an extra-legal license whereby the revenues of the city were augmented (vol. viii, p. 419). With this custom Mayor Rose did not interfere. But no more attention was paid to this technical neglect on his part than had been paid to the like neglect of his predecessors and of the contemporary mayors of other river cities, until October last, when he was in the heat of a contest with one of the public utility corporations. Then, however, proceedings to oust him for his refusal to interfere with the established custom as to prohibition in his city, were begun in the Supreme Court of the State (vol. viii, p. 425), nominally by prohibitionists. Finding his administration with reference to public utilities hopelessly obstructed by these proceedings, Mayor Rose and his chief of police, Vernon J. Rose, resigned early in April of this year. After his resignation, which was for the purpose of becoming a candidate to fill his own vacancy, Mayor Rose was ousted from the office by the Supreme Court, and the election authorities refused to place his name upon the official ballot, the Supreme Court having assumed to make him ineligible until the expiration of the regular term. But at the election, which occurred on the 8th, he received a plurality of 1,600 over his Republican and Socialist adversaries—an increase of 600 over his original plurality. His Republican adversary for the mayoralty, E. E. Venard, had been his leading antagonist in the city council, and as president of the council had become acting mayor upon Mayor Rose's resignation. According to the Associated Press dispatches—

the question of Rose's right to hold the office of mayor will now be tested. The Supreme Court held that its action in ousting Rose rendered him ineligible to be a candidate for office again at this time. Rose contends that as he had resigned before the Supreme Court

acted in his case the ouster proceedings against him were ineffective.

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#### The French Elections.

Parliamentary elections in France took place on the 6th, the number of seats in the Chamber of Deputies to be filled being 591. The various factions of French politics were arrayed in two great parties, the supporters of the ministry on one hand and its opponents on the other. The former, composed of radical republicans, socialists and radical socialists, were known as "the bloc," and the latter, composed of nationalists, clericals, royalists, Bonapartists, anti-semites, etc., as "the anti-bloc." A heavy vote was reported from all parts of France, and 262 ministerial members were elected against 169 of the opposition. The results in a few districts are not yet reported, but in 155 there will be reballotings in consequence of the failure of any candidate to poll a majority.

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#### Russian Politics.

Preliminary to the assembling of the first Russian parliament, which is set for the 10th (p. 30), the Constitutional Democrats met in convention on the 4th at St. Petersburg to discuss the policy and programme of their party in the parliament. Prince Paul Dolgoroukoff was chosen president of the convention. The convention has been attended by 200 delegates to the parliament and a large body of peasants. The latter are insistent upon the adoption by the party of a land-nationalization policy, but the leaders of the party incline to peasant proprietary.

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The general political situation in Russia on the eve of the opening of the parliament is forbidding. The Czar is accused of disloyalty to his pledges of political rights, there is a new ministry whose purposes are uncertain, and popular resentment at official treachery and oppression is again expressing itself by means of assassination.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—The excitement in Paris over anticipated uprisings of workingmen (p. 103) has subsided.

—The international postal convention is in session at Rome. N. M. Brooks and Edward Rosewater represent the United States.

—Ex-Congressman Robert Baker of New York spoke on municipal ownership on the 4th at a joint meeting of the Multonomah and the Young Men's Democratic Clubs of Portland, Oregon.

—On the 4th the electoral vote for President of Cuba (vol. viii., p. 579) was announced by the Cuban Congress in joint extraordinary session. All the votes had been cast for the re-election of President Palma.

—Postmaster General Cortelyou recommended to Congress on the 6th the appointment of a commission to inquire into the subject of second-class mail matter, with a view to ascertaining what modifica-

tions of the present second-class laws are necessary, the commission to render its report to Congress not later than Dec. 10.

—Edwin Burritt Smith, among the most prominent of Chicago lawyers, died on the 9th of consumption, at the age of 52. Mr. Smith was a conservative Democrat of radical tendencies, a free trader, an advocate of home rule, and a believer in municipal ownership of municipal monopolies and in the referendum and initiative.

—The monthly statement of the United States treasury department (see p. 35) for April, 1906, shows the following for the ten months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1906:

Gold reserve fund .....	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash .....	157,126,224.62
Total .....	\$307,126,224.62
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1905 .....	292,490,322.46
Increase .....	\$ 14,635,902.16

—The monthly treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government (see p. 35) for April, 1906, shows the following for the ten months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1906:

Receipts:	
Tariff .....	\$251,220,003.45
Internal revenue .....	206,132,639.97
Miscellaneous .....	34,214,966.59
	\$491,567,610.01
Expenses:	
Civil and Misc. ....	\$105,814,625.09
War .....	82,085,616.38
Navy .....	94,687,752.06
Indians .....	10,849,116.40
Pensions .....	117,578,320.89
Public works .....	54,224,581.80
Interest .....	22,297,031.79
	\$487,537,044.41
Surplus .....	\$ 4,030,565.60

## PRESS OPINIONS

### CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS AND THE AMERICAN NEGRO.

New Orleans Times-Democrat (Dem.), Apr. 27.—Whatever the Negroes have done in this country they owe to the leadership and assistance of the whites. At no time in the four thousand years of known history have they ever been able to stand alone. Mr. Adams now sees that the belief to the contrary long entertained by himself and his friends cost us years of turmoil and trouble, many lives and hundreds of millions of dollars in property. It is too late to lament over these losses now, but the South will feel some satisfaction at the acknowledgment, now publicly made, that the beliefs on which the reconstruction policy of the government was founded were wholly false. There are some negrophiles who may be expected to keep up the fight, but their number is steadily growing less and the defection of Mr. Adams proves that no intelligent New Englander is able to study the Negro question practically and personally, instead of theoretically from a distance of two thousand miles, but reaches the same conclusion as the Southern people as to the impassable chasm between the white and Negro races, "the ineradicable and insurmountable differences between the two races," as Mr. Adams calls it, "which renders it impossible for them to live together under the same system of government."

The (Memphis) Moon (Negro), May 5.—A certain old gentleman of seventy, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Second, has in the May Century announced his final conclusions as to the Negro race in time and eternity and

more particularly in the United States. This is not the first time Mr. Adams has startled the world by his acute but disconcerting conclusions. In a book called "Lee at Appomatox" he discovered some time since that in the battle for freedom, Lee was right and Grant was wrong. It seems that Mr. Adams has spent two years in the Egyptian Soudan, where by the help of a book of explorations written by Captain Baker some forty years ago he has made some harrowing discoveries. The natives we are told are naked and dirty and showed Mr. Adams apparently very little personal respect. Moreover, Mr. Adams thinks that Omdurman, founded in 1885, and wasted by war as late as 1898, is a less pleasant dwelling place than London. From these and other equally astute observations Mr. Adams, with startling and unabashed logic, concludes that the collector of the Port of Atlanta ought to be disfranchised because he is wealthy, educated and brown. He is not only vastly pessimistic and sarcastic over the Negroes, but he has his opinion of Filipinos, West Indians and all such trash. In fact there is throughout his Century article a strong intimation that God only made one real first-class intelligence outside His own and christened that Charles Francis Adams, Second!

Springfield Republican (Ind.), Apr. 26 (weekly ed.).—It seems, after all, that Mr. Adams has really discovered nothing more in his African journey than that the black race on that continent is backward compared with other races elsewhere. . . . It is certainly true that the black races of central Africa, struggling from the earliest times against peculiarly adverse tropical conditions of life, were never protected by mountain walls, as were the Greeks and the Romans and the Hindus, against hostile races outside. In the case of the Negro race one result was the Arab invasion from the north, which in historic times did much to destroy the indigenous civilization of the black tribes and which, in the great forest belt around the west coast, resulted in the establishment of the declimating and altogether demoralizing slave trade. No one, traveler or scientist, has yet produced, so far as we know, any convincing evidence to show that with the physical conditions of its habitat made favorable the black race, even if left alone in Africa, could not rise far in the scale of civilization, as other races have done. On the other hand, there is much evidence to show that when the environment is improved the black race shows qualities, tendencies and powers which indicate that its "survival value" in nature is inherently very high. The experience in British South Africa has shown that this race does not tend to die out when in contact with white men; rather does it increase rapidly in numbers. The Negro will not imitate the red Indian. Nor is there in the history of the race in America reason for thinking that the black race, under favorable conditions, is not capable of enormous progress. With us it is simply a question of adjustment between two races of widely different social and ethnological history, and not in the least a question of the inherent capacity of the Negro to advance.

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### SYMPATHY FOR SAN FRANCISCO.

Elizabeth (N. J.) Times (Dem.), May 1.—If the spirit which has actuated thousands of our people who have given to the cause of the stricken San Franciscans—that spirit of the brotherhood of all men—were more than an evidence of feeling called forth by an extraordinary occasion; if it were the spirit of every day, pervading our society, our business, and our government, on all occasions and at all times, how wondrously effective as a means of national reformation it would be. If the determination now evinced in this universal desire to help those who we know need our assistance, were manifested in a general insistence that justice be done to all, that fairness and even handedness do away, except in extraordinary circumstances, with even the need for charity, how much nearer our free-government ideals and our objects of true equality, we, as a nation, would find ourselves.

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### GEN. FUNSTON.

The (Maine) Rockland Opinion (Ind. Dem.), Apr. 27.—When there was so much to be done, the first thing this man could think of was to shoot somebody; when

the whole country was waiting with agonized interest for news from the afflicted people of the doomed city, all he could think of to report was an account of how many thieves had been shot by his orders. It is quite in harmony with his exploits in the Philippines, the cruelty and treachery of which shocked everybody but Theodore Roosevelt, his patron and defender. Indeed, Funston is only a type of a class of people who think that, no matter what the trouble is, the first and principal thing to do in any exigency of life, is to kill somebody. As the old-school physicians used always to bleed a patient, no matter what ailed him, so these Rooseveltian doctrinaires think blood-letting is the sovereign cure for every evil and affliction, from a strike to an earthquake.

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## GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION.

New York Press (Rep.), May 3.—Mr. Bryan's immoderate crusade against "government by injunction" finds echo to-day in quarters where ten years ago it was decried as heresy. It is because the abuses of the injunction have grown since that day, and not decreased. It is because the people have become more and more exasperated by legalized injustices. It is because they see that the real danger to the Republic is not the encroachment of the legislative on the judiciary or the invasion of the executive into the courts. The courts have practically unlimited power to repel those assaults upon their rights. The real menace is the battering down of the will of the people, as expressed through their legislatures and their executives, by the judiciary. It is this very power of injunction, now availed of by the gas trust to paralyze one of the most just and most popular legislative acts passed in this State in years, that has brought the whole American people into subjection to the railroads and trusts. The syndicated railroads and trusts have appointed their United States Senators. The Elkinse and Aldriches and Spooners and Forakers, the Clarks and Burtons and Mitchells, these are the real powers who appoint our Federal judges. From the products of such a judiciary system come the outrages of the injunction.

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## MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP SENTIMENT.

New York Press (Rep.), May 3.—The press agencies of public utility monopolies have been extremely active in their efforts to spread the impression that there has been a strong reaction against municipal ownership as evidenced in the result of the recent election in Chicago. A well considered paper in the current number of the Review of Reviews proves conclusively that the sentiment for public ownership and operation of public utilities was never stronger in Chicago than it is to-day. And now comes the municipal election in Omaha to show how rapidly and overwhelmingly this movement is sweeping over the whole country.

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## IN CONGRESS

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, April 30-May 5.

**Senate.**

Consideration of the bill for the regulation of railroad rates was resumed on the 30th (p. 6208), when May 4th was set for discussion under the 15-minute rule and the disposal of amendments (p. 6212). On the 1st the same bill was under consideration (p. 6250), and also on the 2d (p. 6321), the 3d (p. 6391), and the 4th, the proceedings of the latter day being under the 15-minute rule and with reference to amendments.

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**House.**

Consideration of the agricultural bill was resumed on the 30th (p. 6214) and continued on the 1st (p. 6263),

and on the 2d (p. 6333), when the bill was passed (p. 6345). The naval appropriation bill was taken up on the 3d (p. 6417) and its consideration continued on the 4th (p. 6511) and 5th (p. 6551).

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**Record Notes.**

Speech of Representative Sulzer on the merchant marine (p. 6188). Speech of Representative Williams on the watch trust (p. 6194). Text of Senator Newland's concurrent resolution on government aid for rebuilding of San Francisco (p. 6316). Speech of Senator Spooner on railroad rates (p. 6525). Message of President Roosevelt transmitting Garfield report on oil transportation (p. 6488).

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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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**SAN FRANCISCO.****For The Public.**

God's finger touched us; and we knew  
What Desolation's horror meant,—  
We who, in proud security,  
Across the seas our message sent.

Our message: breathed it peace, good will,  
The reign of brotherhood begun?  
We signaled with the bayonet,  
And spoke with thunder of the gun.

More dreadful than the earthquake's shock,  
More pitiless than flames that ran,  
The scourge of war swept island homes—  
"Man's inhumanity to man."

Oh, while before Thy judgments, Lord!  
We tremble, with our pride laid low,—  
And to our bitter, naked need  
The founts of brotherhood outflow,—

Unseal our eyes, that we may know  
In this dread hour, the higher law;  
And, through the anguish of our loss,  
Renew our spirits in Thy awe.

FRANCES M. MILNE.

San Luis Obispo, California.

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**THE FIGHT AT SAN JACINTO.****An Editorial in the Chicago Tribune of April 23, 1906.**

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, in a recent address, complained of the women's clubs because they "used razors to cut kindling wood." His epigram has some truth in it, but there are exceptions, and a notable one he will find at San Jacinto, Cal., in one of the most remarkable small town elections ever known. It was a straightout fight between the women and the saloon-keepers, and the women cut their kindling wood with broadaxes. They won the election, and when the last vote was counted they caused all the factory whistles to be blown. They put an offensive mayor out of a job and deposed a more offensive political boss. A solitary saloon candidate was elected, and the women called upon his wife and made her promise to see that he behaved and then called upon him with a similar demand. She promised and her husband also promised and has behaved ever since.

The women of San Jacinto simply took the reins in their hands at the start and did the driving.

went to the convention with their husbands and voted on the nominations. They selected for their leading candidate a reformed member of the old Missouri Quantrell gang, who was not afraid of man or devil. Having made their nominations, they and their daughters solicited campaign funds and made a great success of it. He would have been a bold man who refused to contribute.

When the campaign began there was but one paper in the town and that was a saloon advocate. The women started another and they made it so warm for that editor that he made personal threats against the female editorial staff. They simply dared him to carry them out, and then called him perfectly awful names. They managed to secure the baseball club, the pride of San Jacinto, by their blandishments. They gave suppers of home cooking where they would do the most good. On election day they did not go near the polls, but sent their husbands to look after things while they remained in consultation. They had red hot frijoles and tamales set out on the lawns and walks for the voters. The young and pretty ones had some confidential talks with these voters. The husbands were instructed to keep their wives informed by telephone how things were going, and whenever a report came that things looked squally the reply would be, "Get busy! Have something doing," and immediately something was done.

When the result was announced, as already said, they caused the whistles to be blown, but did no more gloating over the defeated. They were satisfied with quiet congratulations among themselves and "told you sos" to their husbands, and then went back to their bridge whist as if nothing had happened. They did not cut their kindling wood with razors. It is a lesson to women's clubs of what may be done when women concentrate their energies upon a single object.

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## IS IT WABBLING, OR WHAT?

For The Public.

My second best friend Dobbs and I had a serious misunderstanding last week. The public may not care to know that my left eye is but little darker than its companion, and that Dobbs' nose has resumed its normal shape, but the cause of the rupture will no doubt merit attention and stand as a warning to those who care to read. It is worth while to remark here that I found hot water a good remedy for black eyes and face contusions, and Dobbs will probably never ask me to pay for his lunch again. So uncertain and transitory are our relations to our second best friends.

The trouble started when Dobbs said Roosevelt wobbled. I was inclined to let the matter rest until I looked into the dictionary and saw the iniquity that might be involved in the charge of wobbling, and then my temper got very warm.

The idea of charging a man with wobbling who never abandoned a friend, and who has consistently stood in the front ranks of every reform, from race suicide clear down to free trade in Standard Oil, was so repugnant to my notion of fair play that I called Dobbs to account at once.

"What do you mean by saying that Roosevelt is a wabblor?" I asked Dobbs in as gentle a tone as I could command.

"I didn't say he was a wabblor," replied Dobbs. "I merely remarked that he wobbled."

"Which is a distinction without any difference," said I.

"Have it as you will," said Dobbs; "I'll prove my point before I get through with you. Didn't Roosevelt say he wanted the Interstate Commerce Commission empowered to fix railroad rates at a reasonable figure whenever they were found to be unreasonable; and that he wanted the law made so the rates so fixed should remain in force until the decision of the Commission should be set aside or reversed by some court of competent jurisdiction?"

"I think he did say it, or words to that effect," said I.

"Does he now endorse a measure that leaves the power remaining in the courts to hold up the Interstate Commerce Commission indefinitely whenever the railroads desire to take it into court, or does he not?" queried Dobbs with a sneer spreading all over his countenance.

"Well! Suppose he does endorse such a measure? What of it?" I asked.

"Well, that's wobbling," asserted Dobbs.

"And I say it's not wobbling," I replied, with a good deal of heat. "It's just common ordinary good judgment. When a man has tackled a job and finds it's too big for him, and quits before he's beaten, you have no business to call it wobbling. A wise man knows when he's got enough."

And then Dobbs laughed, and laughed in such a manner that a policeman had to separate us.

It may be truthfully said that my opinion is unchanged, and Dobbs is stubborn, too.

JACKSON BIGGLES.

\* \* \*

## A PREACHER'S REPLY TO AN EDITOR.

Tom Watson's Magazine bears the motto: "Equal rights to all—special privileges to none."

His April number contains two editorials, one on the race and the other on the land question. These editorials strongly suggest the propriety of amending Mr. Watson's motto to read: Equal rights to all except Negroes—special privileges to none except landlords.

Nothing was to be expected of Mr. Watson on the race question. But we were not prepared to find from his pen a freshman's essay on the land question.

Mr. Watson says he sees no distinction "in principle between the private ownership of a cow and private ownership of a cow-lot."

Suppose the owner abandons both the cow and the cow-lot. Suppose he pays his taxes in order to retain his title, but decides to expend not another hour's labor on either the cow or the cow-lot. What happens? In a few days the cow dies; the lot remains. That is one point of distinction between cows and cow-lots which vitally affects the principle of ownership.

Now, suppose a prospector discovers coal on the adjoining lot, or suppose enterprising men build a great city on the surrounding land. In either case the owner can sell the lot for more than a man could make caring for a herd of cattle.

Coal mines are not discovered in cows. Neither

does it ever happen that beefsteak can be sold for ten thousand dollars a front foot. Yet Mr. Watson sees no distinction in principle between the private ownership of cows and cow-lots.

But Mr. Watson does say this: "As to the abuse of land ownership, that is an entirely different question. I agree that there should be no monopoly of land for speculative purposes."

Why not, Mr. Watson? Do you ever speak about the abuse of cow ownership? Suppose you have a cow, and do not choose to milk her. Are you under any obligation to let me milk her? If I were to insist upon any such right, would you not tell me to go raise my own cows? But when the United States Steel Trust says to its competitors: "Go, make another Connelsville coal field; these sixty thousand acres are all mine," you talk about the abuse of land ownership. Yet the Trust is simply applying to that coal field the same unqualified right of private ownership which you apply to your cow. How can you complain of that if, as you say, there is no distinction in principle between the ownership of cows and coal mines?

Would it not be well for Mr. Watson to get together with himself on this land question? For instance, he says: "Undoubtedly Nature teaches that the earth belongs in common to the entire human race." In the same breath he says: "Property in land differs in no wise from property in horses and cows." Then it must be the undoubted teaching of Nature that Mr. Watson's horses and cows belong in common to the entire human race.

In Pittsburg there is a lot which cost \$2,000 sixty years ago. It has increased in value 100 per cent every year. It is now worth \$120,000. This is just for the land, and it is twenty-four feet one way by one hundred the other. Mr. Watson, was that value added by the labor of the owner, or by the growth of Pittsburg? If the city made the value, why should not the city take the value?

HERBERT S. BIGELOW,  
Pastor Vine Street Congregational Church,  
Cincinnati, Ohio.

May 6, 1906.

\* \* \*

## SOCIALISM OR INDIVIDUALISM?

For The Public.

The destruction of monopoly does not mean the establishment of socialism. It does mean state and municipal ownership and control of the people's property. The people's property is every form of wealth which man has not created by his own labor. It includes every part of the land and water and air except what man by his labor has contributed. It includes coal, gas, oil and all other mineral deposits, and it includes all the benefits of location and natural fertility. Ultimately the land like the roadways will be the subject of private possession only to the extent necessary for individual labor and actual use. No man or corporation will be permitted to possess a road or a mine or a field or a city lot except so far as it may be necessary for his actual use. He will not be permitted to hoard or monopolize it. The proper use of a road is for passage only, and private right therein can extend no farther; but the proper use of a mine or a farm or a water power may extend to exclusive possession for generations if the pos-

essor and his heirs will continue to pay the rent therefor. But in either case the property is the people's, and will always be subject to the people's will and right of control.

It will be seen that franchises to use such public property as roadways or water power are the sources of all artificial monopoly, and the private ownership of land is the source of all natural monopoly. Practically all the monopolies in modern life arise from the private ownership of mines, oil fields, gas wells or franchises to run railroads through private and public property at will; or the right to lay pipes or conduits, or to place poles or rails in public streets for gas, electricity, water, telegraph or telephone or electric railways. Abolish these sources of monopoly and you have abolished monopoly. For monopoly has no other source of life than the power to exclusively enjoy some natural or artificial special privilege. We have not yet noticed in this country the baneful influence of unrestricted private ownership of land in general because land is so abundant, but particular forms of land monopolization as coal, oil, gas and other mineral deposits have become very apparent sources of evil. These and every other form of land monopoly will ultimately be abolished. The coal baron will be recognized to have just such a property in his mine as his labor entitles him to, and the unearned increment above this labor investment will be recognized as the people's, to whom he must pay tribute. This tribute in the form of rent or tax will be so heavy that he cannot afford to hold his property except in so far as he can profitably use it, and the monopolistic feature will thereby perish. The recent enormous Liberal victory in England upon the issue of taxation of land values was an indication of how the people are beginning to feel upon this proposition in places where the land has already been cornered.

It may be that the public will at times find it desirable to lease for a short term and under severe restrictions certain governmental rights of way for steam railroads, or in public streets for electric railroads or telephones or other public use; but the recognition of the impossibility of an exclusive private use in any one of these public rights or to land generally will become universal. We shall have an age when the right of each individual to use the earth and everything therein and thereon will be limited only by the like right of every other person to so use it. Then shall we have equality of opportunity—equal rights. But private ownership of property and the individual right to labor and to engage in a private enterprise will not be lost, but rather infinitely enlarged. This will not be socialism or anything like socialism. It will be an increase of individualism. It will be the restoration of competition in its fullness, and the establishment of a complete democracy in industry.

It is true that up to a certain point more capital will be required to conduct any business as industry advances. Factories and the expense of maintaining them will grow larger up to a certain point, but it is not true that the amount of capital necessary to conduct a competitive business in the future will be indefinitely increased. When these natural monopolies which arise from the exclusive private ownership of the land, and the artificial monopolies which arise

from the awarding of franchises, have been abolished. the limit at which combination of great capital in an enterprise continues to be an economic advantage is quickly reached. When the factory or combination of factories has attained a certain size, unless there is one of these artificial or natural monopolies back of it, the trust falls to pieces of its own weight. Without the tariff and the railroads, which create an artificial monopoly, the beef trust and the sugar trust could not exist for a year, but the coal trust and the oil trust could. Why? Because the two latter have the firm foundation of natural monopoly to build upon. We destroy the artificial monopoly of the tariff and the railroad franchises and we kill their creature, but to kill the Standard Oil Company or overthrow the reign of the coal barons we must strike deeper down to the rock bottom of natural monopoly. Why cannot a trust live without a franchise or some form of land monopoly to rest upon? Because without these foundations the unwieldiness of the enterprise after it has reached a certain size makes it economically unfit. It becomes honeycombed with parasites. Every employe and agency and sub-agency tends to become a vampire. Agency is a necessary evil at the best. Whoever would have his work well done must do it himself. The farther the servant is from the master the less faithful and enterprising will he be. When the owner's vigilant eyes are far removed the work will lag and will become automatic. Eternal vigilance and eternal invention are the price of success in any business enterprise. No one will have these but the owner, and the more he has to depend on agents and servants the less will vigilance and enterprise permeate the undertaking. Each servant will tend in the long run to try to benefit himself by doing the least amount of service for the largest reward, including graft; and thus the unwieldy trust falls of its own weight, if it has not a franchise or a natural or other artificial monopoly to stand on. The chief support of the great trusts in America to-day is the favoritism shown toward big shippers by the railways, which are our greatest artificial monopolies. When preferential rates are abolished by state ownership or control the trusts will be largely undermined. They will not be exterminated until all franchises, rights of way and private property in land have disappeared. Then enterprises widely separated will no longer combine. In the single-headed trusts, because the raw materials and the market will be equally open to all men, and the combination of existing enterprises will only induce other capital to enter the field in competition. The numberless new competitors will each enter with superior advantages because each will have the personal supervision and resourcefulness of its owner at its head. That fact means everything when new methods, new machines and new devices are constantly being invented to turn small losses into small profits. This personal element—this direct supervision of the owner over his own business—preventing waste and graft and constantly devising superior economic means, is everything in the problem, and the trusts cannot meet it. No system of agencies and sub-agencies, involving as they do dependence upon hired help, can ever compete with the personally conducted enterprise.

It may be asked how there can be a true democrati-

zation of industry when the amount of capital required to start a workshop or factory even under these conditions is greater than the masses can hope to get together. The answer is the answer that the weavers of England and Scotland gave long ago. It is co-operation, voluntary co-operation. When the land has been thrown open to the masses and each man can earn at least a bare subsistence on his farm, wages will inevitably rise. Instead of there being ten men seeking nine jobs, there will be ten jobs seeking nine men. The demand will be greater than the supply, and wages will rise. Intelligence and mental stability will rise with the rise of wages. There will be a small surplus of wealth in each wage-earner's pocket, and a small surplus of intelligence and initiative in his brain beyond what is required for his job. This small surplus of intelligence and wealth will be put to use here as it has been so largely put to use in England and Scotland. Co-operation will come as soon as the barriers of natural and artificial monopoly are broken down. Then wage-earners will combine to build the factory and the workshop. There will be co-operative industry.

Can it compete with the capitalist competitor? No man will be only an employe or agent in the co-operative shop. He will be part owner. It will be his business. He will be working for himself, not for another. This will be an inspiration to him. To be one's own master, to build and shape one's own product, is always an inspiration. He will be quickened and rendered resourceful. He will be honest and faithful to himself. His soul will be in his work. The wage-earner in the capitalist's shop can never compete with the co-operative worker as a workman, and the capitalist's enterprise must ultimately fall before the co-operative. Thus will the democratization of industry be established, and thus will the specter of socialism be forever laid by universal individualism.

WALLACE THAYER.

\* \* \*

## THE MAN WITH THE MUCK-RAKE.

With Acknowledgments to Edwin Markham.

For The Public.

"The wound that must be cut  
No wise physician will attempt to cure  
By incantation, elegy or song."

—The Ajax of Sophocles.

✦

'Mazed at Corruption's brazen front, he leans  
Upon his rake and gazes on the scene;  
With sorrow for his country on his face  
And in his mind the pillage of the land.  
Who bade him rise, incensed, and cry aloud,  
To heedless men, to careless ears;  
Abused and scoffed at, but who hopes  
To rouse the people from lethargic sleep?  
What stirred his pen to write the galling words  
Which sting the guilty calloused knaves?

Whose were the treach'rous hands that made the muck,  
Malod'rous, foul, of danger to the State,  
Which he so bravely tries to clear away?  
Who loosed Corruption's unclean flood, so vile?  
He sees the land the Lord God made and gave  
To sturdy freemen for their home;  
The land they wrought from wilderness  
And thought it one where Freedom long might reign,  
The prey of spoilers, while its people dream  
In stupid drowse, their vigilance beguiled;  
And, in their dreams, alone, are free.

He sees Corruption rife on ev'ry hand;  
The courts defied, in insolence of law,  
And stolen wealth sapping the Nation's strength  
By subtle chicanery in its senate halls.  
He sees judicial ermine dragged in shame,  
To smirch with filth, or gloze with praise,  
And round the State, in close embrace,  
The snaky, slimy folds of Bribery coil.  
Wilt blame the one who lights the beacon's flare,  
Or those who lure the ship to wreck?

O masters, lords and rulers of this land,  
How will the future reckon with these wrongs?  
Down the Eternities doth Justice wait,  
And mills of God, though long-delayed, grind sure.  
Your children's voices, yet, will cry to Heav'n,  
Despairing from the filth, obscene,  
Their freedom stifled in the muck.  
Think you, when Molock Plutus rules the land,  
They will escape the selfish wrack you made,  
The upas tree you reared in greed?

Not so! If Augean-task defeats the Man,  
Then swelling flood of muck o'erwhelms at last,  
Man, Rake and Nation, Home, and all that's good,  
In common woe; while o'er the filthy ooze,  
To which deceived eyes will turn e'en then,  
Flaps lazily the banneret,  
Bearing the arms you love so well,  
Two pillars, argent, twined with serpent or;  
"In hoc signo spes mea,"\* for device,  
In gold, upon a riband gules.

NESLOR SHALMORE.

\*In this sign is my hope.

\* \* \*

## ALWAYS DISCONTENTED.

Reprinted from *The Socialist Spirit*, for Which It Was  
Translated by Agnes Wakefield from  
Vorwaerts, of Berlin.

She had risen at five, although she had gone to bed at two o'clock. A tired expression was on her prematurely faded face. But a smile flitted over it as she dusted a large bookcase filled with cheap popular editions of learned authors—and then old Goethe's picture, a Mercury and a Venus. Opposite, on the wall, were some seventy-five cent etchings of Boecklin's "Island of the Dead" and "The Fire-worshippers."

"Children resemble their parents. It has come down to him through generations—this enjoyment of learning—this struggle for light! What a pity he can't study! Is it really impossible?" She sighed, and, with a last look at those little treasures, went out of her son's small room that had only one window from which nothing but a high brick wall could be seen. Oh, that brick wall, how she hated it, for it shut off the view of an old garden!

Going into the kitchen, she prepared a simple mid-day meal which her son would have to eat alone when he came back at noon, because she got home as late as seven. Then she left the house.

Since her husband's death she had been the private secretary of a rich man who did not pay too much for her knowledge of languages and her discretion. The time she had left, she employed in literary work. Like those who suffer in silence and shun the sympathy of others, she kept away from the other tenants in the house; she was therefore generally regarded as proud.

Her hair had long ago turned gray with sorrow and anxiety; poverty with pitiless hand had engraved runes of sadness in her face, so that she seemed much older than she really was. Only her

form still retained maidenly grace and slenderness. She usually walked with light, elastic steps through noisy Friedrich street; to-day she had a lagging gait. No wonder! She had done the washing all alone and then copied a long article.

"Well, little Mrs. Doktor, you're creeping along so! What's the matter now? I thought you'd soon be rid of all your worries—with your good position!"

Just at the entrance of the market those words met her ears.

"Go on ahead, Grete," continued the speaker, "and don't shake up the strawberries so! Get an Old German cake at the bakery on the corner."

And again turning to the other: "Well, now, only tell me what you're doing," puffed Lawyer Falk's plump wife. "Just see how well you're looking again, almost chic! And how do you ever manage to keep so slim! If I were only as slender as you are! But why do you creep along so to-day?"

"I am unusually tired this morning, Mrs. Falk."

"Tired? But, good heavens, why? You live so quietly by yourself, free from wearisome social duties, no visitors trouble you, and besides you work sitting down! I'm surprised that it makes you tired! Only think of the poor shop-girls—how they're to be pitted—they have to stand up all day! But you can sit! And in spite of your sedentary occupation you keep so slender! If I only had the prescription!"

"Work and worry," said the other, smiling sadly, "are brilliant means of keeping slender."

"Oh, now, away with your bad jokes! It's your disposition to be a little discontented, isn't it? But think, just what is it that you lack? Your boy—who doesn't need it—everything flies into his head so fast! My Edgar told me yesterday that your son has won a prize again! But everything is topsyturvy! You, who never have to go into society again, have a form like a girl at eighteen. Your boy, who can't go to college, learns so easily—and Edgar, who must study law, finds it so hard! When one only thinks of it—"

"Yes, you may be right, Mrs. Falk."

"Isn't it so? Now, good-bye, keep up your strength, my dear woman. Many a poor widow hasn't so easy a life as you have! Just console yourself always by thinking: 'I work sitting down.' Yes, yes! Contentment—contentment—that is true happiness!"

The lawyer's well-fed wife called a cab. The slender widow walked on.

Going up the carpeted stairs in her employer's house, she met a friend of her youthful days, who lived there on the second floor.

She, also, noticed her tired gait.

"Now, Clara, what's the matter that you're so tired already, early in the morning?"

"I rose very early this morning, for I wanted to have my washing out of the way before coming here."

"Yes, but you see it's good luck that you have to do your own housework! You'd surely have the liver complaint, with your sedentary occupation, if there weren't that counteraction! But come to see me some time, Clara! That is, not this week, for we have visitors. Oh, I tell you, it's a fuss and worry with the unreliable servants! And next week are the races and the yachting excursion. Well, I'll write to you when I'm alone. Good-bye, Clara, and keep your head up! There's nothing gained by discontent!"

The tired woman smiles and goes to her work. The head of the firm rings. She hurries into her employer's private office.

"My good Mrs. Doktor, you're looking so pale and tired out again! But I've so often told you not to work so much outside of office hours, it injures your health and your services. To say nothing of the fact that it's really not pleasant to see before one, a face so worn out and so evidently discontented! But you must understand that, don't you?"

\* \* \*

STATE AND MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP IN SWEDEN.

III. THE POSTAL SERVICE.

For The Public.

It seems to have been universally recognized that the operation of the postal service is a proper governmental function. All over the world the governments of the civilized nations have assumed the duty of carrying written messages between individuals. This has become such a self-evident proposition that one hardly ever imagines the postal service turned over into private hands and managed and operated as a private monopoly. But in fact it is no more appropriate that the postal service should be administered and operated by the government than it is that the telegraphs and the telephones of the country should be owned and operated in this way. Postal service, telegraphs and telephones are nothing but different means to the same end, and they are all of the same monopolistic nature, the monopoly prohibiting their successful operation as competitive businesses. Whether the message transmitted is written or spoken does not change the nature of the service, and no one who admits that the government assumes a proper function in conducting its postal service can logically or sincerely assert that the government is going beyond its proper territory by taking charge of the telegraph and the telephone service of a country.

If we now consider to what extent the postal service properly ought to transmit articles by mail, we will have to ask ourselves whether there is any reasonable cause why the government should only transmit very small packages. Why should not the mail service be open for any kind of packages the public would be willing to pay suitable rates for?

If the postal service was restricted to messages only, an objection could be raised to carrying packages. But as the postal department in all countries does always handle any kind of matter up to a certain limit in weight, it is not very evident why an objection should be raised to its handling any goods wanted to be so forwarded. In short, why should not the postal department by the institution of a parcels post handle the larger portion of the transportation now usually turned over to the express companies, and for which exorbitant rates are charged?

There are of course some objections, but they can be easily overcome. It would perhaps not be well if the mail service would be required to regularly handle trunks and heavy boxes. But such matter would seldom be transmitted by mail on account of the rates being necessarily comparatively high.

In Sweden, the postal system which we here propose to compare in some particulars with the pos-

tal system of this country, the parcel post has proved to be an institution of the greatest advantage, and of great convenience to the public. The rates are very low for all packages below 11 pounds in weight, but for heavier packages the rate is proportionately higher, thus preventing them from transmission by mail, not by prohibition, but on account of economical considerations to the sender. This is a very well devised rate-regulation, for while it prevents heavier matter from being usually transmitted by mail, it permits such transmission in emergency cases.

The postal department in Sweden is a very old institution, dating back as it does to 1636, when the first regular mail routes were established by the administration. During such a long period it is evident that the department has had ample time to develop itself, and it has solved many a "problem" which in this country is still considered as unsolved. If we make a comparison between the rates charged here and there, and also a comparison between the services rendered, we may see more clearly wherein we could improve upon our own postal service, and make it not only self-supporting, but more useful to the public also.

However, before entering upon any direct comparison of rates let us take into consideration a few facts which are necessary for an impartial judgment. In the first place Sweden is at an advantage in an economical comparison of the paying qualities of its postal department because of not being such an extensive country, and thus not necessitating such distant transportation of its mail. It is true that Norway and Denmark are in such co-operation with Sweden that the same rates are uniform all over the Scandinavian countries; but even that does not create any distances in any direction of more than about 1,250 miles. On the other hand it must be remembered that Sweden and Norway are comparatively sparse in population, and that the business per capita carried on in the United States is so enormously much greater that the postal department in the United States is facing a far more inviting business proposition. It has often been asserted here that because of the constant deficit in the postal department's finances, it is a fair proof that government operation of public utilities is not advantageous or practical. Even if we had not the records of Europe to turn to, where the postal service in every country of any consequence is a paying business, the reasons put forth are worthless, inasmuch as the postal service in this country has never had a fair show. It has been expected to turn into private pockets in form of compensation for mail transfer by railroads such enormous sums that there was no possibility of making both ends meet.

But, after having given due credit both to the smaller size of the European country with which we are making our comparison, and also to the advantage possessed by the United States in form of greater business per capita, if we now return to our original comparison of rates charged in the United States and in Sweden we will find the conditions as follows:

1. Letter Rates.

	U. S.	Sweden.
½ ounce .....	2 cents	2.7 cents
4½ ounces .....	10 cents	5.4 cents
9 ounces .....	18 cents	8 cents

For local letters the rate is one-half the one stated, in Sweden.

2. Domestic Papers and Periodicals.

	U. S.	Sweden.
7 ounces .....	2 cents	1.1 cents
For local transmission the rate is one-half the one stated, in Sweden.		

3. General Parcel Post.

	U. S.	Sweden.
2.2 pounds .....	36 cents	8 cents
6.6 pounds .....	Not admitted	13.5 cents
11 pounds .....	Not admitted	20 cents

And for heavier packages 4 cents extra for each additional 1.1 pounds.

Registration fee is 8 cents in the United States and 4 cents in Sweden. Special delivery is 10 cents in this country, compared with 5.5 cents in Sweden.

4. Postal Money Orders.

	U. S.	Sweden.
For \$7 .....	8 cents	4 cents
For \$27 .....	12 cents	8 cents
For \$67 .....	25 cents	9.5 cents
For \$100 .....	30 cents	11 cents
For \$135 .....	45 cents*	11 cents

The above comparisons show fairly well that in but one case, the case of simple letter rate, the rates are higher in Sweden than in this country; otherwise the rates are always lower, and in some cases so much lower that no reference either to lower wages paid or shorter distances for transmission, can explain the difference. There are a number of special features connected with the Swedish postal service which only to a small degree increase the work of the department, but which offer great convenience to the public for a very small fee. In the first place we may mention insurance of valuable matter transferred by mail. Any letter or package may be insured against loss, and the value of the enclosed matter, as stated by the sender, will be paid over to him in case of non-delivery. Such insurance makes transmission by mail of any matter of value absolutely safe. The rates charged are as follows:

8 cents for value up to.....	\$135
13.5 cents for value up to.....	270
For values larger than \$270 the rates are proportional so as to amount to 28 cents for \$1,000, \$1.73 for \$10,000, \$4.73 for \$50,000.	

Another feature which has proven to greatly stimulate smaller business transactions by mail, is the C. O. D. system of the postal department. Any matter of value can be transmitted by the mails; the post-office of the addressee collects the value required, and upon notice that such value has been collected the postoffice from which the package or letter was sent will pay its value over to the sender.

Subscription on all domestic and a great number of foreign newspapers and periodicals can be done directly in the postoffice, and in fact this is practically the only method for subscription of papers ever used. The price paid includes the rate for transmission of the paper or periodical by the mails, and the post-office pays over to the paper only the subscription rate. The paper turns over to the postoffice so many copies of each issue for each different post-station, and the final distribution of the paper is done by the post-station where the subscription was received. This system, it is claimed, has proven to lessen, not to increase, the work necessary in the distribution of the papers in the mails, and in case of non-delivery all complaints can be made directly at the post-office where the subscription was received, thus adding to the convenience of the subscriber. There is

\*Sent in two money orders in U. S.

# Announcements

## MEETINGS, LECTURES, DEBATES, ETC.

**Chicago**—Brand's Hall, Clark and Erie Streets, Sunday, May 13, 2 p. m. A meeting under the auspices of the Chicago Federation of Labor, to protest against the kidnapping at Denver of the officers of the Western Federation of Miners.

**Brooklyn, N. Y.**—Fourth Unitarian Church, Church Ave. and East 18th St., Flatbush, Sunday, May 13, 8 p. m. Lecture: "The Single Tax—the Panacea," by H. B. Maurer.

**Brooklyn, N. Y.**—Fourth Unitarian Church, Church Ave. and East 18th St., Flatbush, Sunday, May 20, 8 p. m. Debate: "Socialism vs The Single Tax," between Courtney Lemon for Socialism and James R. Brown for the Single Tax.

## Society for Ethical Culture Free Lecture Course

Sunday Mornings at 11 o'clock,  
Steinway Hall, 17 E. Van Buren St., Chicago

An important series of lectures upon English leaders, representatives of moral and social progress, is now being given by Professor Charles Zeublin of the University of Chicago.

SUBJECTS:

May 14. Thomas Hill Green.

## The Single Tax Review

is a 64 page quarterly magazine which is a record of Single Tax progress throughout the world. It is indispensable to every one who wishes to keep in touch with the steady advance, under various names and in various phases, which the economic philosophy of Henry George is making in this country and elsewhere. Contributions by all the leaders of the movement appear in its pages.

Price \$1.00 a year, or ten subscriptions for \$5.00. For every two new subscriptions a cloth bound copy of Progress and Poverty (the Doubleday-Page \$1.00 edition) will be mailed to any address.

PUBLISHED AT

11 FRANKFORT STREET  
NEW YORK CITY

no commission charged by the postoffice for thus acting as agent, beyond the regular rate for the transmission of the paper.

In connection with the postal department are conducted the postal savings banks. The administration for the regular postal service and that of the postal savings banks are separated, but each postoffice acts as bank as well, accepting deposits and paying out deposited money when required. The money can be deposited at any postoffice in the country and withdrawn at any other postoffice. But a few days' notice is required when withdrawing at a place where the depositor is not known, so as to permit a comparison of the signature with the record signature filed at the central bureau. The postal savings bank was organized in 1884, and the government guarantees the deposits. However, the subject of postal savings banks is in itself large enough to be given particular consideration, and will be returned to in a later issue.

There is, however, another issue just now before the people of this country, which it may be proper to mention in connection with the postal service. The Swedish government has never vested in the postal department any autocratic power of censorship, and has never found it necessary to do so. The only matter which can be confiscated in the mails arbitrarily by the postal officials is postal cards with drawings or pictures considered to be obscene. But any printed matter, whether in the form of books or periodicals, has to be referred to the judicial authority for confiscation if considered unfit for circulation. A jury is then appointed, a certain number of its members by the prosecutor, a certain number by the offender, and an equal number by the judicial tribunal where the case is to be tried; and the jury then pronounces upon the question whether or no the matter was unfit for circulation.

In regard to the use of the mails for fraudulent business, the postal authorities are out of the question altogether. If a man is known to conduct a business of this character it is the proper function of the police authorities to interfere, not the postal authorities. In fact it is very difficult to understand why it has been regarded as a proper function of the postal department in this country to act as a kind of autocratic prosecutor and judge in criminal matters. For if the fraud committed is not a crime in the eyes of the law, what objection would there be to the transmission by mail of its correspondence? And if it be a crime, why should not the police authorities act instead of the postal authorities. The postal department's true function is to carry and distribute mail, not to censure and withhold. Let each department of our government conduct only such business as is within its proper territory.

Once more returning to a comparison between the financial results of the postal departments as conducted in Sweden and in the United States, it may be well to point out that in spite of the lower rates of the former country the postal service yielded a net income of 7.7 per cent of its gross income in 1899, and that it has always been not only self-supporting, but has also turned over large sums to the treasury of the state. The failure of the postal department in this country to do the same must be charged to several causes, the most important of which is the unduly high charges paid to the railroads

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## A Letter from Jack London

Glen Ellen, Cal., Apr. 28, 1906.

Dear Comrade Kerr:—

At last, after being thrown out of gear by the earthquake, I am getting around to dropping a line about Mr. Moore's **THE UNIVERSAL KINSHIP**.

I do not know of any book dealing with Evolution that I have read with such keen interest. Mr. Moore has a broad grasp and shows masterly knowledge of the subject. And withal the interest never flags. The book reads like a novel. One is constantly keyed up and expectant. Mr. Moore is to be congratulated upon the magnificent way in which he has made alive the dull, heavy processes of the big books.

And then, there is his style. He uses splendid, virile English and shows a fine appreciation of the values of words. He uses always the right word.

Yours for the Revolution,

**JACK LONDON.**

The Universal Kinship. By J. Howard Moore. International Library of Social Science, Volume 3. Cloth, 331 pages, \$1.00. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 264 East Kinzie street.

for transportation. If we would improve upon our postal service we can do so only by recognizing the true nature of our express service and railroad monopoly.

ERIK OBERG.

\* \* \*

### FREE TRADE POETRY IN 1847.

Lines Cut from a Newspaper and Quoted at an English Banquet in October, 1847, by Mr. William Crawshaw, "the Celebrated Ironmaster." Reprinted Here from the Times of Hereford, England.

If God's free bounty bids the globe produce  
More than enough for all its creatures' use,  
Shall man monopolize the free supply?  
See brutes well fed while human beings die!  
Forbid it, heaven! While earth's prolific fields  
For man and beast alike abundance yield,  
Free as the winds, and changeless as the sea  
Should intercourse between all nations be.  
Wherever land is found, or oceans roll,  
Or man exists from Indus to the Pole,  
Then would unfettered industry be paid  
In the rich wealth its own free hands had made;  
Then would mankind fulfil high heaven's decree,  
And earth with fruitfulness replenished be.  
Then would war's blood-red banner soon be furled  
And peace and plenty reign throughout the world;  
While freighted fleets would traverse every sea,  
And commerce wing her way unchecked and free,  
Island be linked to island, main to main,  
Binding all Nature fast in love's harmonious chain.

\* \* \*

"No," said the authoress, with a sweet, haunting smile, "my ideals are too high to permit me to marry, unless it were, perchance, to advertise my books!"—Life.

\* \* \*

Rector: I'm glad to see you are such a constant attendant at church, Patrick.

Patrick: Oh, I enj'ys it, sorr. I sits me down and lays me legs up and thinks o' nothin'.—Life.

\* \* \*

"Mister Jedge," called out the colored witness, after he had been on the stand a full hour, "kin I say one word, suh?"

"Yes," replied the judge. "What is it?"

"Hit's des dis, suh: Ef you'll des make de lawyers set down en keep still two minutes, en gimme a livin' chance, I'll whirl in en tell de truth!"—Atlanta Constitution.

## BOOKS

### DEMOCRACY IN HISTORY.

A History of the United States and Its People, from the Earliest Records to the Present Time. By Elroy McKendree Avery. In 15 volumes. Volume II. Published by The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland.

The primary object of this unique history, the first volume of which was reviewed in these columns about a year ago (vol. viii, p. 110), is to make an accurate record of the birth, growth and maturity of the American Republic which will be generally read. Whether this result will be attained remains yet to

# Religion and Politics

By Rev. ALGERNON SIDNEY CRAPSEY

Rector of  
St. Andrew's Protestant Episcopal Church  
of Rochester, N. Y.

The author's thesis is as follows: "There are in Christendom two institutions, the church and the state, which, from the beginning of Christian history, have borne a varying relation to each other. It is to this constantly varying relation of the church to the state that I now invite your attention, not as a matter for mere academic discussion, but as of vital interest to our social, our political, and our religious life."

The book stands the test of the scholars. It proves the author conversant with the history of the church and intensely interested in the economic problems of the day. It is a little epitome of the Christian church from Jesus to the present time, where he finds "a commercialized church in the commercialized state."—*Unity, Chicago*.

Dr. Crapsey strikes a higher note. His complaint is concerned about the alliance of Christianity with the very institutions against which its founder rebelled, and the substance of his cry is, Back to Jesus! "The Kingdom of God, which Jesus lived and died to establish, was to be all that the Roman empire was not—a kingdom of peace instead of war, a kingdom of righteousness instead of injustice, of mercy instead of cruelty." But the churches of to-day, do they stand for peace, for justice, for mercy? Do they not stand rather essentially for those conditions for which the Roman empire stood. "We are at the beginning," says Dr. Crapsey—"we are at the beginning, not at the end, of the Christian era."—*The Public*.

A discussion of society as politically and ecclesiastically organized, from the point of view of the religion of Christ as conceived by the author. \* \* \* It is suggestive in certain places, and it bears witness to at least one minister's zeal for social righteousness.—*The Outlook*.

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be seen, but the second volume as well as the first justifies the highest expectations. The author has performed his task so well that the readers have no task at all. They may give themselves over to the enjoyment of a fascinating narrative with all confidence in its accuracy.

To make the work trustworthy without loading it down with documentary evidence, to invest the narrative with personal interest and tell it in clear English, to enhance its clarity by a liberal use of maps, and to supplement the literary performance with the most artistic aids of beautiful book making, are declared purposes of both publisher and author, which have thus far been faithfully adhered to. Eminent experts have been called into consultation to assure accuracy, and to make the work beautiful the manufacturing details have been attended to with reference to the highest accomplishments of the bookmaker's art. Originally planned for a 12-volume work, the number of volumes has been increased to 15 in order to fulfill the promise of completeness. But what most strongly commends this history to us is the fact that along with accuracy and attractive style it is profoundly though not partisanly democratic. The democratic spirit is not injected into the narrative, but is recognized and given its value as the facts reveal it.

The present volume, beginning with Champlain's expeditions, covers the period from 1600 to 1660, and deals with colonial affairs. Here, then, is the story of the pilgrims and the settlement of New England, with such incidents as the despotic expulsion of Roger Williams and the democratic immigration to Connecticut, together with the story of the contemporaneous settlement of Virginia and Maryland, and the struggle of the English against the Dutch for the possession of Manhattan. Readers to whom the period is a recollection of school studies from books that were mere skeleton histories of colonial times, will find the skeleton here covered with the flesh of vital narration. The mere outline of the colonial period is, in point of interest, as a chart to a romance in comparison with this picturesque narrative.

As with the first volume so in the second, special papers on related subjects supplement the narrative. The special paper with which the second volume opens explains the difference between "old style" and "new style" calendars; while one of the concluding papers treats of "the puritan and the heretic," another offers "a glimpse of Plymouth," and in an appendix are collected the list of the Mayflower passengers and a bibliography of the colonial period.

\* \* \*

**A STORY OF DOUBLE CONSCIOUSNESS**

Double Trouble; or, Every Hero His Own Villain. By Herbert Quick, author of "Aladdin & Co." and "In the Fairyland of America." With illustrations by Orson Lowell. Published by the Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis.

Taking his cue from the occasional newspaper reports of instances of double identity, Mr. Quick has written a witty and entertaining novel, in which the double meaning of the "double trouble" of the title is humorously sustained and the hero made indeed to meet as his own villain. The love plot is a novel-

**THE JUNGLE**  
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**UPTON SINCLAIR**

A sombre and terrible picture of life in the Chicago stockyards, from the point of view of the workingman. It narrates the adventures of a family of Lithuanian emigrants who came to America in search of fortune, and shows the conditions that turn the hero into a criminal and a tramp. There are startling revelations concerning methods in the meat-packing industry, and glimpses of all Chicago's under-world of crime and "graft." The story, which is one of unsparing realism and tense excitement, has been hailed by the author of "The Plum Tree" as "the greatest novel published in America in fifty years."

It is one of the most powerful and terrible stories ever written. As a portrayal of industrial conditions I have never read anything in literature that equals it.—Robert Hunter, author of "Poverty."

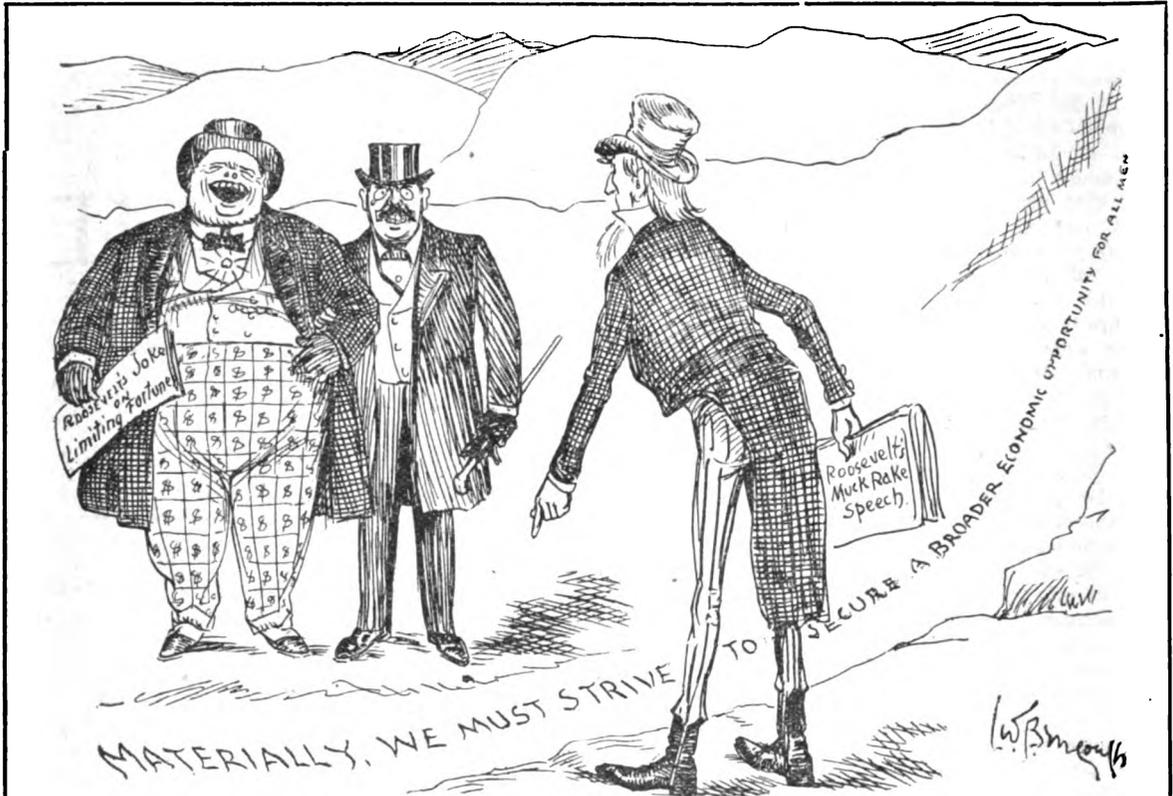
It comes nearer than any book yet published among us to being the "Uncle Tom's Cabin" of the social tragedy of our great cities.—Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

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TAKING HIM SERIOUSLY.

Uncle Sam—There you struck a fundamental truth, Mr. President. Follow up that trail as a practical politician, and you'll do something!

Plutocracy (*sotto voce*)—Why, Ted, the old chap actually seems to believe you meant it!

ty, and the double identity of the hero-villain affords a fine opportunity for political and business satire, of which the author avails himself with judicious self-restraint. One of the characters, for instance, delicately suggests that "many a man gets credit at the bank on the strength of the safe and conservative vices he practices." Most of us will acknowledge the shrewdness of the same character's observation that a conservative man "mustn't be for any reforms except impractical ones." It is rather hard on clergymen as a class to allow a political manager to say: "With the preachers exhorting for us and the wet goods push and sports plugging enthusiastically, and not a drop of water spilling from either shoulder, the outlook couldn't be better"; but it does describe certain phases of politics. So does this quotation from another politician of the respectable yet candid sort, admonishing a reform leader who expected the support of the church vote: "I tell you that there are too many pillars of the church with down-town property to rent, for you to keep either them or their pastors in line; they'll find moral issues to fight the ten commandments on, if they have to."

\* \*

### PROTECTION IN ENGLAND.

The Hungry Forties. Life under the Bread Tax. Published by T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square,

## The Public

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

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Advertising forms close on the Tuesday preceding the Saturday of publication.

London. Sold by The Public Publishing Co., Chicago. Price 20 cents postpaid.

This is a paper-bound book of personal letters and other testimony from contemporary witnesses, in which the condition of the English people under the protection regime is interestingly described. Some idea of the whole may be gained from this extract from one of the letters: "At the date of my birth—August 3, 1817—the protectionist system was at its height; and it was felt most keenly by the workers because of the way in which it kept up the price of bread. Parliament had just forbidden the importation of all foreign wheat, when the price was below 80 shillings a quarter, and the laborers in my part of the country could scarcely have a wheaten loaf from one year's end to the other, having to put up with barley bread." Of these letters, it may well be said, in the language of Mr. Brougham Villiers, who writes the concluding chapter, that they "read like the records of a besieged city." And why shouldn't they? There is no difference between a besieged city and a country walled in with a protective tariff, except in degree, and even that difference is lacking with great masses of the "protected" population.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Larger View of Municipal Ownership. By John A. Zangerle, Cleveland. To be reviewed.

—Relations of the Railways to the Public. By Frank Parsons, Ph. D., with the assistance of Ralph Albertson. Published by C. F. Taylor, Philadelphia, in Equity Series. To be reviewed.

## PERIODICALS

In "The Law of Compensation," Howard E. Morton tells a thrilling story in the *Cosmopolitan* for May. Whether intended or not to be a story with a moral, it has a moral of tremendous significance, one which frenzied financiers as well as criminal highwaymen ought to appreciate.

Albert Brandt, the publisher of the *Arena*, opens the May number with an article on Criminal Wealth versus Common Honesty, in which he handles the muckrake rather more freely perhaps than Mr. Roosevelt would approve. Among the other papers is one by ex-Congressman Baker on immigration, and the first chapter of a primer on direct legislation, prepared by Prof. Parsons, Eltweed Pomeroy and others. A personal note on Frederic C. Howe, of Cleveland, will interest the many readers of Mr. Howe's "The City the Hope of Democracy."

### SINGLE TAXERS, ATTENTION!

All interested are requested to attend a meeting to consider the extension of a novel organization, having enormous possibilities for the spreading of radical thought. This organization was founded by Charles Frederick Adams, the well-known single taxer of New York, about two years ago, and now includes most of the prominent single taxers of that city. Come to Room 1601 Unity Building, Chicago, Thursday evening, May 17, at 8 o'clock.

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Organizers for Illinois

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invented by Miss Lizzie Magie of Washington, D. C., will be manufactured and ready for the market about June 1st.

### DESCRIPTION

The Landlord's Game is played on a board about 18 inches square, divided into 46 spaces representing all the various institutions of modern commercial life. The names of some of these spaces are "Soakum Lighting System," "Slambang Trolley," "Gee Whiz Railroad," "Lord Blueblood's Estate," "Wayback," "Boomtown," "Easy Street," "Broadway," "Timberlands," "Oil Fields," "Jail," "Poor House," etc.

The play on the board is started by the throw of dice which indicates the moves of the players and from that time on the transactions between individuals, corporations and the government are entered into with vim and interest. At the start the players are equally equipped but as the moves continue the majority of the players are apt to be forced into poverty, some even arriving at the Poor House, while one player generally becomes the millionaire.

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Mrs. Jennie L. Munroe, Vice-Pres. of the National Woman's Single Tax League, says:

A thorough understanding of the principles of the Landlord's Game is equal to a whole course in political economy.

Rev. Alex. Kent, Pastor People's Church, Washington, D. C., says:

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