

# The Public

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## EDITORIAL

### The Movement against Coeducation.

Coeducation in the Chicago University is said to have "broken down." To the impartial man up a tree it looks more as if it had been "broken into" or "broken up."

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### A Delightful Prospect.

The Republican leaders of the country are looking forward with delight, so their organs say, to a great reduction of their majority in Congress. They consider it so much easier to manage a small majority than a large one. Some

of the more astute, however, are fearful that this thing may be overdone.

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### An Honest Chicago Mayor.

Mayor Dunne has been criticized for many things, justly in some instances perhaps and unjustly in most; but nobody has yet accused him of dishonesty. And now the Chicago Tribune, his most virulent and recklessly slanderous adversary, is obliged to admit in its issue of the 13th that his "personal honesty is not questioned" even by the Tribune. The voters of Chicago of both parties who have so long sighed for an honest man for mayor might profitably make a note of this.

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### Chicago Schools and Chicago Newspapers.

The attitude of the Chicago newspapers of the self-righteous and pretentiously respectable sort, toward the efforts of what they call the "Dunne members" of the Board of Education to substitute a genuine merit system for the wretched system of secret marking of teachers now in use in the public schools, exposes either their own idiocy or their own bad faith. In their news columns they cut out vital parts of the proposition, and in their editorial columns they denounce the proposition for weaknesses caused only by these omissions. This attitude may be explained upon the theory of bad judgment or of bad faith, but not upon any theory of intelligent and honest journalism.

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### Railroad Ownership.

In a discussion of Mr. Bryan's railroad policy the Minneapolis Farm, Stock and Home of the 1st ably supports a suggestion which in one form or another has been advanced during the past twenty years, and which should not be lost sight of as the railroad problem becomes more acute. As presented by Farm, Stock and Home, the original suggestion is modified to this form: "One trunk line government owned and operated road from the Atlantic to the Pacific—costing, if a double track, less than the Panama canal will when completed—would be sufficient to demonstrate practically what railroad services can be rendered for while making a fair return on actual capital invested in the enterprise." In support of this proposal it is argued that this one "vital point demonstrated, the rest will be easy;" for "the power of

public sentiment alone, buttressed by the demonstrated truth, would soon compel all roads to come to the same plane; or if not, that truth would make possible, even easy, legislation so intelligent and just that successful evasion of it would be impossible." To these considerations, Farm, Stock and Home adds: "But at the most it would require government ownership of not more than ten per cent. of all our railroads to constitute a rail-rate regulation system that for ease and economy of operation, positiveness of action and satisfactory results will never be approached by mere legislative enactment and official administration. Such limited public ownership would destroy railroad monopoly; would 'take railroads out of politics;' would make rebating impossible, for every patron would be in the enjoyment of the minimum and only rate; it would orphan every trust; every city, town and individual would enjoy equality of opportunity as to transportation." That this plan would operate to make the ascertainment of just rates possible we are disposed to believe. But with private interests still in control of all rail highways except a few nationally owned trunk lines, we should fear for the honest management of those lines. As in New York the Vanderbilt lines corrupted State canal management, so we should fear that private railroad rings might corrupt national trunk line management. The only true way, as we believe, of killing railway corruption and monopoly, is to construct and maintain governmental rail-highways, with time table regulations which would allow any person to run trains on equal terms with every other person. This would encourage the free play of competition in transportation, and there would be little chance to corrupt train despatchers. Short of that, however, the plan of Farm, Stock and Home is the best of which we know.

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#### Getting without Giving.

A most interesting and romantic story of the greatest institutional method of getting without giving, of taking without earning, of living in the sweat of other men's faces, comes by way of the New York Sun. In its issue of the 2nd, that paper publishes the letter of a correspondent (Kinahan Cornwallis, once editor of the old Knickerbocker Magazine), who tells of the explanation made to him in the '60's by John M. Bixby of the manner in which that millionaire got his great fortune. Here is the story as Mr. Bixby told it:

I should be as poor as a church rat but for one incident in my life. I had wealth forced upon me

and didn't know it. I had come from the backwoods of New York, and a dollar looked like a big sum to me. I was a raw and struggling young lawyer, and paid \$4 a week for my board and washing, and found it hard to make both ends meet. It looked as if I should starve at the law, so I was looking for work outside of it.

Just then a friendly lawyer in the office where I had desk room said to me: "Here's a chance for you to buy a farm, Bixby. I want to sell it to close up the estate. You can have it at the appraised value, \$200. I think you will be able to get more for it in time."

"No, thank you," said I, "I have no money."

"But," said he, "I will take your note for it and renew it till you sell it."

The upshot was that I took his advice and gave him my note for \$200 for the farm. I felt very nervous about giving my note for such a large amount, and once offered to sell the farm back to him for the note. But after two or three renewals of the note New York had grown so fast northward that I was able to sell a small part of the farm for more than enough to pay the note and interest and taxes. The rest of the farm was then free and clear, and if I had kept it all I should now be worth about \$7,000,000. As it is, I have sold parcels of it that have brought me more than \$1,500,000 in cash, and I value what I have left at two or three times as much—all made out of nothing, by giving a note for \$200, almost against my will, and when I was practically not worth a dollar.

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Mr. Cornwallis characterizes Mr. Bixby's story as "a commentary upon the great rise in real estate in New York during the last two generations," and as enabling "us to see how rapidly and easily the Astor and other large landed estates grew so enormously in wealth with the growth of Manhattan." But there is nothing peculiar about the Bixby case except the size of the fortune. Fortunes innumerable, larger and smaller, have been made in the same way. The significance about it all is not that some men are made rich by this private appropriation of the value of public growth; the significant thing about it is that many men are thereby robbed. In comparison with the vast volume of land values that are annually diverted unearned to private pockets, in village and town, on the prairie and in the city, the Bixby instance is but a minor illustration of a gigantic system of institutional robbery.

\* \* \*

#### Eva J. Turner.

Friends of the Henry George movement outside of Brooklyn, N. Y., can have little realization, if any at all, of the impetus which Eva J. Turner, who died last month, contributed to that movement. Her work, dating back to the 80's, was incessant throughout her life. Once a mem-

ber of Henry Ward Beecher's church and of Thomas G. Shearman's bible class, she became a Christian Scientist some sixteen years ago. In her single tax affiliations she was president of the Brooklyn Woman's Single Tax Club, and among her personal friends she numbered Thomas G. Shearman and Henry George. She was a wholesome type of the woman who is the better woman for being a good and useful citizen.

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## HEROIC TREATMENT FOR A DYING PARTY.

It has long been the misfortune of the Democratic party to be the nominal guardian and repository of principles of which its own leaders were afraid. It has had to fight protectionism while abhorring free trade, and to oppose monopoly with no love or care for industrial liberty. "Equal rights to all; special privileges to none," which is what Democracy must mean if it is to honestly mean anything, has a radical not to say revolutionary sound in the ears of the safe and sane Democrat which fills him less with ardor than with distrust and fear. Thus the Democratic party has been cribbed, cabined and confined to a course of mere criticism and faultfinding, unable to offer effective opposition either to the openly plutocratic tendencies of Republicanism or the well-meant but clumsy tinkering and patchwork contemplated by the various reform parties.

Now the "poor old Democratic party," pronounced moribund by its own accredited organs, has received what was for weeks proclaimed in leaded editorials to be a threatened death blow. Hearst has succeeded in capturing the Democratic nomination for governor of New York, and it may accordingly be presumed that the "historic" party is indeed *in articulo mortis*. At such a juncture it is often permissible for unofficial and perhaps unorthodox friends of the patient to diagnose the case and prescribe such heroic measures as may alone be expected to effect a favorable change in a condition so desperate.

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It should be apparent to the ordinary understanding that a political party dying of uselessness and purposelessness must be revived, if at all, by a vigorous use of genuine principles. Moreover, these principles must not be figuratively inclosed in gelatine capsules or smothered in raspberry jam, but they must be openly and definitely declared and applied to all phases of the political

and social condition with logical directness and unflinching courage.

Such a course may not at this time restore the Democratic party, reduced as it is to the last extremity by long indulgence in negatives and inferentials, platitudes and unrelated abstractions. But the only choice lies now between the fundamental truth and extreme unktion.

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"It is not Democratic doctrine," says a recent Democratic platform, "that the masses should seize the government to obtain better wages for themselves, shorter hours of labor, more leisure, cheaper food, better houses, lower rents and cheaper transportation." Perhaps not; but in the eyes of the masses such a proceeding looks democratic when contrasted with the practically unresisted use of the government by "the classes" to obtain more privileges and greater fortunes for themselves.

"It is no part of the function of government to increase the individual's income," this platform continues; "but for those who have acquiesced with scarcely a protest in governmental measures for increasing the large incomes of appropriation, the less said the better about the generally ineffective attempts to increase through legislation the meager returns to useful labor. Convulsions and hysterics at this time of day over the feeble imitation class politics of organized labor have a preposterously belated appearance calculated only to contribute to the gaiety of nations.

It would have been vastly more conducive to the health and vigor of the Democratic party to have been a generation or so earlier in the field with its bold opposition to paternalism and its stern insistence on the proper limitations of governmental functions. But better late than never; while there is life there is hope.

The restoration of the Democratic party lies not in decrying and discouraging the ambition of the unprivileged to use their numerical advantage in politics and government as they have long seen the privileged use their pecuniary advantage. It lies, on the other hand, in showing how the improved material conditions with which the people are tempted in the vain promises of paternalism may be easily, abundantly and permanently secured through the freedom of opportunity which is the industrial goal of genuine Democracy. Of necessity, governmental favors and assistance are for the few only; liberty alone is for all.

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What are the principles of democracy, so revered in vague abstractions, so shunned and slurred over

in their concrete application to actual affairs? "The only proper functions of government are the maintenance of order and the administration of justice."

What is justice? "Equal rights to all; special privileges to none."

What are the equal rights of all? "The right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

These are the sole, the simple, the all-embracing, the eternal principles of democracy.

But the right to life is not a mere right to be protected from deadly violence. It is a right to the necessary means of life, a right to the use of any unused portion of the earth's surface, and as to the portions in use a right to an equal share in their social value. And liberty is not merely permission to exchange one employer for another, with a limited choice as to which landlord shall receive one's earnings. Liberty means free trade, no tariffs, no license fees, no taxes on any useful products of labor. It involves free public highways of every kind and description, in city and country—not free wagons or free cars, but access on equal terms to the roads whereon both move.

The two functions of a democratic government are to maintain order and to administer justice, these being the only activities necessary to the object of its existence which is to secure the natural and inalienable rights of men. Let this be done, that there may be no need of eight-hour laws, employers' liability laws, child-labor laws, trust regulation, limitation of fortunes, old-age pensions or any other of the numberless complicated and unwieldy contrivances wherewith it is sought to nullify a great injustice by means of a multitude of lesser ones.

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If the Democratic party still fears these great issues more than death, then the immediate future belongs to the paternalistic program, followed in due time by the industrial cataclysm, after which perhaps the revolution of socialism will have its day. But if in these seething times of stress and struggle and latent revolt the party of Jefferson could dare boldly to proclaim and champion the doctrine of equal rights to all and special privileges to none, in the full, plain, honest meaning of that all-comprehending democratic creed, then though that party be dead yet shall it live.

E. P. ROUNSEVELL.

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Since the affairs of men rest still uncertain,  
Let's reason with the worst that may befall.

—Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar."

## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

Week ending Wednesday, October 17.

### An Educational Question.

Throughout the country in educational circles questions of public school government have long been a subject of eager discussion, and nowhere has the controversy been keener than in Chicago where the present Board of Education, a majority of whom have been appointed by Mayor Dunne, are regarded as being in sympathy with the teachers' view of the subject. The opposite view is characterized as "the one man power" idea. Some phases of the subject were brought to an issue on the 12th through the presentation to the school management committee of the Board, by a sub-committee, of a report which is described by the local press as revolutionary. The following comparison of the present system with the one proposed shows the extent and relative value of the two systems:

#### Present System.

1. Teachers are admitted to the service on the basis of normal school study or grade school experience, and upon examination conducted under the supervision of the superintendent.

2. At the end of three years' probationary service an "account of stock" of the teacher is taken, and if she is considered worthy of continuance in the service she receives a full certificate.

3. Salaries advance automatically year by year from the first year to and including the seventh.

4. No salary advance is allowed after the seventh year unless the teacher passes a special examination or produces a certificate of excellence in certain studies pursued in a degree-giving academic institution or in the normal extension classes.

5. Teachers not passing

#### Proposed System.

1. Teachers are admitted to the service on the basis of normal school study or grade school experience, upon report of a standing commission of educational experts, one appointed by the superintendent, one by the school management committee and one from the faculty of the normal school by the principal.

2. At the end of three years' probationary service an "account of stock" of the teacher is taken, and if she is considered worthy of continuance in the service she receives a full certificate.

3. Salaries advance automatically year by year from the first year to and including the seventh.

4. No salary advance is allowed after the seventh year unless the teacher is reported as progressive from observation of her work by two out of three of the following persons: The proper district superintendent, the superintendent of another district and the principal of the normal school or a member of the faculty deputed by the principal.

5. Teachers reported as

either of the above salary promotional tests remain in the service indefinitely at the seventh year's salary. The salaries of teachers passing either of these tests advance automatically year by year to the maximum.

6. Separation from the service is effected by non-election at the beginning of the school year, and by removal at any time with or without cause by majority vote of the board and without any provision for a re-hearing.

7. The competency records of teachers are kept by means of secret percentage marks made semi-annually by their respective principals and equalized by the board of district superintendents.

nonprogressive in the seventh, eighth and ninth years of their service to be separated from the service.

6. Separation from the service is effected by dismissal for specific cause stated in writing, and filed, the same to be inoperative for — days, during which time the teacher may appeal to the school management committee, which is required to give him or her an opportunity to show affirmatively the injustice of the dismissal. If the committee sustains the dismissal or the teacher does not appeal within the prescribed time, the dismissal takes effect.

7. The competency records of teachers are kept by means of descriptive reports made annually by the principals in February and by the district superintendents in May.

In the proposed plan there is provision also for encouraging teachers voluntarily to utilize the normal school extension system and to induce principals, when reporting adversely upon the competency of their teachers, to give them written or oral advice regarding their work.

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**Newspapers and Education in Chicago.**

Owing to a libelous attack upon the Board of Education of Chicago by the Chicago Tribune, the following resolution proposed by Raymond Robins was adopted by the Board on the 10th:

Whereas, The integrity of the members of the Board of Education is a matter of great public importance; and,

Whereas, The Chicago Daily Tribune, a newspaper published in this city, in its issue of Oct. 10, 1906, makes and publishes the following editorial statement: "When Mayor Dunne packs the Board of Education with freaks, cranks, monomaniacs and boodlers and turns over to them the care of one of the greatest school systems in this country he is doing much to bring Chicago into disrepute"; and,

Whereas, This charge that certain members of this board appointed by Mayor Dunne are "boodlers," if supported by reasonable evidence, should result in an indictment by the grand jury of such "boodlers"; and,

Whereas, If this charge is not supported by reasonable evidence then the Chicago Tribune is guilty of a false and libelous slander of the Mayor of Chicago, the Honorable Edward F. Dunne, and a false and libelous slander of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Board of Education of the City of Chicago does hereby make public demand upon the editor and publisher of the Chicago Tribune to specify

those members of this board appointed by Mayor Dunne who are "boodlers" and to furnish the state's attorney of Cook County with the evidence upon which the above charge of "boodlers" was made, and that the secretary of this Board be and he is hereby directed to mail a copy of this resolution to the editor and publisher of the Chicago Tribune and another copy to the state's attorney.

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Upon the basis of the same editorial in the Chicago Tribune, Mayor Dunne addressed the following letter on the 11th to the State's Attorney:

My Dear Sir: In the edition of the Chicago Tribune of Oct. 10, 1906, there appears an editorial entitled "Who Discredits Chicago?" In this editorial appears the following sentence:

"When Mayor Dunne packs the Board of Education with freaks, cranks, monomaniacs and boodlers and turns over to them the care of one of the greatest school systems in this country he is doing much to bring Chicago into disrepute."

In this statement I am charged as the executive of this city with packing the Board of Education with boodlers. This charge is either true or false. If it is true I should be indicted for malfeasance as a public official. If it is false the managing editor of this paper, who is responsible for the publication of this article, should be indicted for criminal libel.

I respectfully urge upon you to at once take proceedings to investigate the truth or falsity of this charge and bring the same to the attention of the next grand jury. Either I am a criminal or the author of this statement is guilty of a violation of the criminal libel laws of this State. Very truly yours.

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The States Attorney has published a statement to the effect that he will give this matter consideration at the earliest opportunity, while the Tribune has published an editorial asserting its confidence in Mayor Dunne's personal honesty. It has taken no action, however, on the demand of the Board of Education for a specification of the members of the Board appointed by Mayor Dunne whom it denounced as "boodlers."

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**Local Political Nominations in New York.**

Tammany Hall made judicial nominations on the 10th, giving three Supreme Court judgeships to supporters of Mr. Hearst. One of the three was Recorder Goff and the other two were Judge Samuel Seabury and John Ford. Mr. Ford, a Republican who had been nominated for attorney general by the Independence League, withdrew (p. 584) in favor of the Democratic candidate.

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**Mr. Bryan's Speaking Tour.**

Wm. J. Bryan arrived in Chicago on the 17th, after having spoken to immense and enthusiastic audiences subsequent to his departure from Memphis (p. 609), at South McAlester, Muscogee, Vinita, and Tulsa, in Indian Territory, and at Guthrie, Okla., on the 27th. On the 28th he addressed great audiences at Enid, Medford and Blackwell, in Oklahoma. He then opened the Missouri campaign at Kansas City on the 29th, and after a brief rest he spoke on the 3d at St. Jo. Returning to Missouri he made a campaign tour on the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th, speaking eight and ten times a day throughout the

State to large audiences. His Illinois campaign began on the 15th at Pittsfield. It was continued before immense meetings at Jacksonville and Carrollton on the 15th, and at Vandalla, Centralia, Mount Vernon and Effingham on the 16th. From Chicago on the 17th Mr. Bryan went to Janesville, Watertown and Madison, Wis.

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#### Cuban Pacification.

Mr. Taft, United States Secretary of War, and Mr. Bacon, Assistant Secretary of State, with Mrs. Taft and Mrs. Bacon, left Havana on the battleship Louisiana on the 13th (p. 655). According to the press dispatches the departure of Mr. Taft was the signal for an extraordinary demonstration of friendship by many Liberal and ex-revolutionary leaders, but the former government officials showed no disposition to join in the farewell, either collectively or individually, and no prominent Moderates appeared at the palace or the wharf to participate in the leavetaking. Brigadier-General Funston (p. 633) left Havana for the United States on the same day on the battleship Virginia. It is reported that the Provisional Governor, Mr. Chas. E. Magoon, appointed by President Roosevelt (p. 655), will govern for the present without a cabinet.

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"The Army of Cuban Pacification" is to be the designation of the United States army in Cuba, by order from Washington on the 15th. All expenses of the intervention are to be paid from the Cuban revenues. This includes the cost of getting all troops to Cuba, and will include all costs of returning them to their various posts in the United States. The expenses are reported as already exceeding \$1,000,000.

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#### Russian Congresses.

Inaction in regard to endorsement of the Viborg manifesto on the part of the Congress of the Constitutional Democrats in session at Helsingfors, (p. 656), has called out the Social Democrats. At a secret and largely attended meeting of their central committee in St. Petersburg on the 11th it was decided in line with the Viborg manifesto (p. 394), to endeavor to induce the conscripts of this year, who have just been notified by the authorities to appear for enrollment, to refuse to undertake military service.

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A reactionary congress, that of the League of the Russian People, opened at Kiev on the 14th. The congress dispatched a telegram to the Emperor declaring that the autocracy alone was able to consolidate the empire and assure the welfare of his majesty's subjects.

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"I haven't seen you for an age, Herr Doctor, notwithstanding that we live only a few streets apart here in Berlin. I learned with so much regret that you've been ill this spring."

"Who told you that?"

"My brother wrote me from India."—*Fliegende Blaetter*.

## NEWS NOTES

—Austria-Hungary has excluded American meat food products from its territory.

—Earthquakes (p. 657) were reported from Sicily and from New Mexico on the 12th.

—The Republican convention of Rhode Island (p. 657) on the 11th re-nominated Gov. G. H. Utter for Governor.

—Dr. E. B. Foote, Sr., the distinguished physician and medical publisher of New York, died on the 7th at the age of 80.

—The latest estimates of the loss of life in the Hongkong typhoon of Sept. 18, have risen from 5,000 (p. 610) to 10,000.

—The Illinois Association of the Church of the New Jerusalem (Swedenborgian) met in annual session on the 13th at Chicago.

—The question of separation between church and state seems to be coming up in Spain just as it has come up in France (p. 587).

—Iceland (p. 635) is to have its first railroad. It will run out from Reykjavik, the capital, about 45 miles through a fertile part of the country.

—The legislative assembly of the State of Western Australia voted 19 to 8 on the 16th for secession from the federal Commonwealth of Australia.

—Ex-Governor L. F. C. Garvin (vol. viii, p. 510) has been nominated for Congress by the Democrats in the Second Congressional District of Rhode Island.

—A ranch for the breeding of elephants on a large scale is being established near Valentine, Texas. Five elephants arrived there on the 14th, and other shipments are to be received within a few weeks.

—Only tenants who have children will be admitted to the apartment house just built by Mr. Fritz Kanhule at Two Hundred and Sixteenth St., New York. It is large and low, and has a playground at the rear.

—Leaders of the Mexican outlaw raiders who captured the town of Jiminez on Sept. 27, and were later routed by Mexican troops (p. 634) have been captured at Del Rio, Texas, by United States marshals.

—The revolutionists in Santo Domingo (p. 607) have signed a peace agreement with the government, but refuse to lay down their arms as long as the government maintains an armed force at Monte Christi.

—Herbert S. Bigelow, of Cincinnati, has arranged his pulpit affairs so as to enable him for a year or two to devote nearly all his time to advocacy throughout Ohio of the adoption of the initiative and referendum.

—The London County Council, according to press dispatches of the 16th, has decided to petition Parliament to take steps to make women eligible to election to the county council in the same manner and under the same conditions as men.

—The English League for the Taxation of Land Values held its annual dinner in commemoration of the life and work of Henry George on Sept. 24. Mr. Harold Rylett, who had recently returned from his journey around the world, toasted "Our friends in other lands," and assured the league that their

"friends in the United States were 'perfectly straight.'"

—Mr. Bryan, in a speech at Jacksonville, Ill., on the 15th, said that "the Democratic party is not only 100 years old. It is 25,000 miles wide; that's the size of the Democratic party. One party leads toward the people, the other away from the people."

—The use of the metric system in weights and measures and in monetary dealings has been decided upon by the Kynoch Company, limited, of Birmingham, England, manufacturers of ammunition. The results of the experiment are looked for with interest.

—Harrell College, a Negro institution at Seneca, S. C., was reported as being partly wrecked at midnight of the 12th by dynamite cartridges placed by unknown persons under each corner of the building. The President had advised Negroes not to work for white people, and had in consequence received a letter advising him to leave Seneca.

—At the Democratic legislative convention for Bergen County, New Jersey, on the 11th, the following clause was put into the platform: "We demand the submission of a constitutional amendment to the voters of the State, which will prepare the way for the adoption of a system of direct legislation through the initiative and referendum."

—The Rev. Samuel Porter Jones, the evangelist, commonly known as the Rev. "Sam" Jones, died on a sleeping-car in Arkansas, on the 15th. In the exercise of his calling Mr. Jones was no respecter of persons. "Dudes and bums," he would say, "millionaires and paupers, gold-buggers and silver-diggers, when the band begins to play, all look alike to me."

—The White Sox, the champion baseball team of the American Association, and the Cubs, the champion team of the National League, both teams of Chicago, played a series of games last week at Chicago for the world's championship. The sixth and deciding game was played on Sunday, the 14th, when the Sox won.

—At the convention of the National Purity Federation at Chicago on the 10th (p. 657) a committee was appointed to secure such legislation as, while suppressing the publication of obscenity, will make the inhibitions so certain that any one by reading the law may know whether he is violating it or not, and so discriminatory as to prevent hereafter the suppression of scientific or educational literature.

—The Fifteenth International Peace Congress, which opened at Milan September 15 (p. 586), continued in session until the 22nd. The Congress settled upon the union of civilized states with an international judicial system, as being of the first importance. Disarmament of the nations under the present condition of things was believed to be impossible.

—Major General Leonard Wood, commanding the army in the Philippines, in his annual report makes a strong plea against reducing the number of troops in the Islands. The total garrison now numbers a little more than 20,000 men. General Wood recommends the dispatch of a number of army officers to Japan and China, to acquire the languages there. "It is highly probable," he says, "that our position in the Philippines will render it important that we

should have a number of officers familiar with these languages."

—The methods of the imperial government of Great Britain in handling the Newfoundland fisheries question leads a newspaper of a far-distant colony, the Mercury of Natal, South Africa, to insist upon the democratic principle that the affairs of a self-governing colony shall not form a subject of correspondence between the imperial government and a foreign state, without the concurrence of the colony interested.

—Mrs. Jefferson Davis, the widow of the President of the Confederacy, died at the Hotel Majestic in New York on the 16th. The maiden name of Mrs. Davis was Varina Howell. She was born in Natchez, Miss., in 1826, and married Mr. Davis in 1845. Of the six children—four sons and two daughters—born to Mr. and Mrs. Davis, but one survives, Mrs. J. A. Hayes, now a resident of Colorado Springs.

—The Afro-American Council held its ninth annual session in New York, October 9 to 11. The Council is the oldest organization of its kind in the country, and is composed of local Councils of Afro-Americans in all parts of the United States. Its avowed purpose is the defense of the civil and political rights of the Negroes. This is regarded as the most successful meeting held since the foundation of the Council. Bishop Alexander Walters, of New Jersey, is the president of the Council.

—The monthly statement of the United States treasury department (see p. 587) for September, 1906, shows the following for the month ending September 30, 1906:

Gold reserve fund .....	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash .....	221,213,096.15
Total .....	\$371,213,096.15
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1906 .....	328,087,283.25
Increase .....	\$43,125,812.90

—Miss Bertha Krupp, called the richest woman in the world, was married by civil process on the 13th, and by religious ceremony on the 15th, to Lieutenant Gustav von Bohlen and Halbach, at her home in Essen, Prussia. The Emperor of Germany was one of the guests. Miss Krupp was the largest inheritor of the Krupp cannon works at Essen. Her wealth is estimated at more than \$100,000,000. She is mistress of 63,000 workers, and owns 560 mines in Germany alone. Besides she has scores of stone quarries and gun and armor works at Magdeburg and at Essen, the latter said to be worth \$75,000,000.

—A petition of Negroes to the Interstate Commerce Commission against the use of "Jim Crow" cars on inter-State railroads, was filed at Washington on the 10th. The petition complains that "under present conditions colored inter-State passengers are denied equal privileges with white inter-State passengers," being "compelled by the railways of the South to ride in what are commonly known as 'Jim Crow' cars, which are usually filthy and uncomfortable, and are denied the right to eat in railway dining cars and occupy berths in sleeping cars because of their color, all of which is a violation of the Hepburn railroad rate regulation law passed at the recent session of Congress by practically the

unanimous vote of Democratic and Republican members of that body."

—To Henry O. Tanner, a Negro, has been awarded the N. W. Harris prize for the best painting at the annual exhibition of American artists now open at the Art Institute, Chicago. Mr. Tanner was born in Pittsburg, and studied in Paris with Benjamin Constant and Jean Paul Laurens. He received honorable mention at the Paris salon of 1896, third medal at the salon of 1897, second medal at the Universal Exposition, Paris, in 1900; second medal at Buffalo in 1901, the Walter Lippincott prize at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts at Philadelphia, second medal at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904, and second medal at the Paris salon of 1906.

—The Bureau of American Republics is to be reorganized by the Secretary of State, Mr. Root, and put on a basis of much greater efficiency, according to the special Washington correspondent of the Chicago Record-Herald, who says: "Upon the bureau's work depends the wide circulation of knowledge respecting the resources, the commerce, and the education of Pan-America, and the execution of the resolutions adopted by the various Pan-American conferences; the effective preparation of a plan to simplify and make uniform the customs and consular regulations and uniformity of the bases on which the official statistics of all the American countries shall be formed—in a word, the preparation of a plan under which not only will statistics and commercial data be circulated but which will insure 'the greatest development and amplification of commercial relations between American republics.'"

—The monthly treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government (see p. 587) for September, 1906, shows the following for the month ending September 30, 1906:

Receipts:	
Tariff .....	\$82,468,814.83
Internal revenue .....	65,446,900.01
Miscellaneous .....	11,887,926.00
	\$159,803,640.84
Expenses:	
Civil and Misc.....	\$32,379,276.47
War .....	31,425,885.15
Navy .....	24,872,858.81
Indians .....	4,893,983.00
Pensions .....	35,967,306.56
Public works .....	18,631,420.96
Interest .....	5,761,595.62
	\$153,932,326.57
Increase .....	\$ 5,871,314.27

—Mr. Ng Poon Chew, editor of the Chinese daily paper of San Francisco, who lost everything in the earthquake and fire last Spring (p. 208), has recently written to Mrs. Marie Howland, of Fairhope, of the successful re-establishment of his paper. He says: "I worked hard to keep up the publication after the fire. I only lost one week's time, consequently I only missed six issues. When my Chinese type and presses were burnt up, and after I got safely over to Oakland, I immediately got out my paper, the without a single Chinese type. Our paper after the fire was a small affair, only ten inches wide by fifteen inches long. I got the copies drawn on white paper in Chinese characters, and made arrangement with the Oakland Herald to make the cuts for me each day, and also print my paper from their office. So

in this way I kept up the life of my paper for four months until my Chinese type arrived from China five weeks ago. I am now issuing my paper in its usual size before the fire from my own plant."

## PRESS OPINIONS

### A PLEA FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT IN INDIA.

India (London), September 28.—But why is India to be left so persistently in the cold? If Persians and Chinamen are "ready for representative" institutions, and if the educated men in those countries are to be allowed to have a voice in public affairs, why is India to be excepted? There is no difficulty in India's way (except, must we say, the Civil Service?) that China and Persia are not surmounting.

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### A NEGRO ARTIST.

Chicago Chronicle (Rep.), October 17.—Nobody will begrudge Henry O. Tanner, the colored American artist, now in Paris, the honors which he carried off for his striking and admirable painting at the Art Institute. He is the first colored painter, though there have been many colored poets. The truth is that the African mind has in it a rich vein of imagination, which will some day astonish the world. It is far more apt to excel in the direction of art than of science.

+ +

### NEWSPAPER GARBLING.

Tucker's Liberty (Anarch.), Oct.—The Chicago Evening Post notices my new catalogue, paying especial attention to the advertisement of Liberty therein and quoting several of the "appreciations." But it could not bear the thought of a Chicago judge commending an Anarchistic periodical, and so it garbled the sentiment uttered by Judge Edward Osgood Brown, who "contents himself," says the Post, "with the rather equivocal statement that Liberty is 'an almost unique publication.'" Of course, if this were the whole of Judge Brown's statement, it would be equivocal. But, taken as a whole, what he said was absolutely unequivocal: "I have seen much in Liberty that I agreed with, and much that I disagreed with, but I never saw any cant, hypocrisy, or insincerity in it, which makes it an almost unique publication." That is to say, Liberty is unique because it is sincere, nearly all the other periodicals in the United States, including the Chicago Evening Post, being more or less insincere. And the Evening Post could hardly have established its own insincerity better than by its garbling of Judge Brown's remark, with the intent of making its readers believe that the remark was not a compliment to Liberty, but a slur.

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### CONSERVING PUBLIC MINERAL LANDS.

(New York) Journal of Commerce (financial), Oct. 10.—What the government has left of resources of this kind should be conserved and made to yield its value to the people in one form or another. If public mineral lands are hereafter to be turned over to private ownership at all, it should be on terms having some relation to their actual value; but it is a question whether they should not be retained by the government and the privilege of mining let out on equitable terms to private enterprise. If a railroad corporation may acquire a rich area of ore lands formerly belonging to the nation, and derive a revenue from every ton of ore taken out by a lessee, why should not the government derive a similar income from its domain which is good for nothing but mining? It may be late in the day for this policy, after untold wealth in the natural resources of the country

has been improvidently turned over to monopoly and speculation, through which tribute is levied on the industries of the people for the enrichment of a few; but because the bulk of our heritage has been squandered is no reason for letting the remnant go in the same way. The time for prodigality in public lands, regardless of their value, has gone by. What has been lost cannot be recovered, but what remains may be saved.

\* \* \*

#### IS STRENGTH "SUPERIOR" TO COURAGE?

The (New York) Nation (ind.), October 4.—Inferior races seem marvelously slow in recognizing their own inferiority. A recent dispatch tells of the capture, by Dutch troops, of a native capital in the East India island of Ball, under these gratifying circumstances: "The followers of the [native] princes, numbering in all 400 men, were killed in attempting a desperate sortie. The Dutch losses were four Europeans killed and ten wounded." This outcome shows clearly that the status of the natives of Badong, as compared with that of the Hollander, is only as 1 to 100. This record, of course, is not quite so creditable as the clean bag of 600 Moros that Gen. Wood placed to his credit some time ago, or the almost equally meritorious drive made lately by the British in Natal, where 575 Zulus were slain without the loss of a single white man. Germany, too, though young in colonial experience, has turned out a piece of work marked by the characteristic national thoroughness. In the course of a year's fighting in Southwest Africa, the Herero nation, we are told, was reduced from about 80,000 souls to 2,000, mostly women and children. That savage races, after being taught such wholesome lessons of obedience, should venture again and again to challenge the rights of their European masters, would indicate that primitive man is not only the slave of his medicine man, but that his memory is very short.

\* \* \*

#### THE UN-DEMOCRATIC DEMOCRAT.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), Oct. 10.—The "old-time Democrat" who objects to democracy is a familiar figure. The country has become well acquainted with him during the past ten years. His fundamental objection to his party is that it is not Republican. Real democratic principles are highly objectionable to him. When his party declares for the welfare of the masses, as against the interests of the classes, he bolts. Hence it is that he has almost forgotten when he voted the Democratic ticket. He still calls himself a Democrat, and has himself interviewed as one, and wishes it to be understood by the public that his ballot, for this occasion only, is lost to the Democracy. As a matter of fact, he regards equal rights as a dangerous innovation. The country is going to the dogs if the masses are to be given a chance not merely to govern but to keep what belongs to them, either as small merchants, manufacturers or workmen. He is an instinctive believer in privilege—the privilege of the well-to-do and socially high placed to pouch what others produce. He is not a Democrat at all and never was, though he has labeled himself as one. Human society, it has been happily said, is made up of those who make things and those who take things. The "old-time Democrat" is with the latter always. He is in reality an old-time Tory. Ancestry, family habit, environment, or what not, has caused him to classify himself as a Democrat—but he takes to the Republican party as a duck does to water. When did the "old-time Democrat" side with his party when his party stood for things democratic? Not within the memory of men whose political activity reaches even as far back as 1896. The "old-time Democrat," in actual fact, is an active Republican, and as good a friend at the polls as the trusts and their allies can find anywhere. Politically, he is a humbug, and the best thing that can be said about him is that he doesn't know it. He is one of the best and most faithful friends of the Plunderbund.

## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

#### "MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN."

Belshazzar had a letter,—  
He never had but one;  
Belshazzar's correspondent  
Concluded and begun  
In that immortal copy  
The conscience of us all  
Can read without its glasses  
On revelation's wall.

—Emily Dickinson.

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#### ABRAHAM LINCOLN ON MOB RULE.

Extracts from an Address by Abraham Lincoln, Delivered  
Before the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Ill.,  
Jan. 27, 1837—Reprinted from "Letters and  
Addresses of Abraham Lincoln," Unit  
Book Publishing Co. 1905.

I hope I am over wary; but if I am not, there is even now something of ill omen amongst us. I mean the increasing disregard for law which pervades the country—the growing disposition to substitute the wild and furious passions in lieu of the sober judgment of courts, and the worse than savage mobs for the executive ministers of justice. This disposition is awfully fearful in any community; and that it now exists in ours, though grating to our feelings to admit, it would be a violation of truth and an insult to our intelligence to deny. Accounts of outrages committed by mobs form the every-day news of the times. They have pervaded the country from New England to Louisiana; they are neither peculiar to the snows of the former nor the burning suns of the latter. . . . Whatever then their cause may be, it is common alike to the whole country. . . .

Your are perhaps ready to ask, "What has this to do with the perpetuation of our political institutions?" I answer, "It has much to do with it." Its direct consequences are, comparatively speaking, but a small evil, and much of its danger consists in the proneness of our minds to regard its direct as its only consequences. . . .

When men take it in their heads to-day to hang gamblers or burn murderers, they should recollect that in the confusion usually attending such transactions they will be as likely to hang or burn some one who is neither a gambler nor a murderer as one who is. . . .

By the operation of this mobocratic spirit which all must admit is now abroad in the land, the strongest bulwark of any government, and particularly of those constituted like ours, may effectually be broken down and destroyed—I mean the attachment of the people. . . .

At such a time, and under such circumstances, men of sufficient talent and ambition will not be wanting to seize the opportunity, strike the blow, and overturn that fair fabric which for the last half century has been the fondest hope of the lovers of freedom throughout the world. . . .

There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob law.

## BOOKER T. WASHINGTON ON RACE WAR.

An Address Before the Afro-American Council in Session in New York, October 11, 1906.

In the season of disturbances and excitement if others yield to the temptation of losing control of their judgment and give way to passion and prejudice, let us, as a race, teach the world that we have learned the great lesson of calmness and self-control; that we are determined to be governed by reason rather than by feeling. Our victories in the past have come to us through our ability to be calm and patient, often while enduring great wrong.

Again, I am most anxious—and I know that in this I speak the sentiment of every conservative member of our race—that our race everywhere bear the reputation of a law-abiding and law-respecting people. If others would break the law and trample it under foot, let us keep and respect it, and teach our children to follow our example. In this connection I repeat what I have uttered on a recent occasion—that every iota of influence that we possess should be used to get rid of the criminal and loafing element of our people and to make decent, law-abiding citizens.

To the members of my race who reside in the Northern States let me utter the caution that in your enthusiastic desire to be of service to your brethren in the South you do not make their path more thorny and difficult by rash and intemperate utterances. Before giving advice to the Negro in the South the Negro in the North should be very sure that what he advises is that which he himself would be willing to take into the heart of the South and put into practice. Be careful not to assist in lighting a fire which you will have no ability to put out.

Some may think that the problems with which we are grappling will be better solved by inducing millions of our people to leave the South for residence in the North, but I warn you that instead of this being a solution it will but add to the complications of the problem.

While condemning the giving of prominence to the work of the mob in the South, we should not fail to give due credit to those of the white race who stood manfully and courageously on the side of law and order during the recent trying ordeals through which this section of our country has been passing. During the racial disturbances the country very seldom hears of the brave and heroic acts of a certain element of Southern white people whose deeds are seldom heralded through the press.

The indiscriminate condemnation of all white people on the part of any member of our race is a suicidal and dangerous policy. We must learn to discriminate. We have strong friends, both in the South and in the North, and we should emphasize and magnify the efforts of our friends more than those of them who wish us evil.

I have said we must differentiate between white people at the South. We can not afford to class all as our enemies, for there are many who are our friends. The country must also learn to differentiate between black people. It is a mistake to place all in the same class when referring to labor, morality or general conduct. There is a vicious class that dis-

graces us; there is also a worthy class which should always receive commendation. Further, we must frankly face the fact that the great body of our people are to dwell in the South, and any policy that does not seek to harmonize the two races and cement them is unwise and dangerous.

Creation—construction, in the material, civic, educational, moral and religious world—is what makes races great. Any child can cry and fret, but it requires a full-grown man to create—to construct. Let me implore you to teach the members of our race everywhere that they must become, in an increasing degree, creators of their own careers.

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## LYNCH LAW IN THE SOUTH.

From the October Number of Alexander's Magazine, Boston.

This last outrage in Georgia has made it very hard for a native of the United States of America with African blood in his veins to abstain from outcry, and continue to do his work, whatever it may be, in quietness and confidence, even here in the North.

How much harder for those of us living south of Dixon & Mason's line, who, till the whole body of our decent white fellow citizens is roused to cry "Halt!" have to run the risk of similar outrages.

How impossible for those living in Atlanta, or its neighborhood into whose souls the iron has entered, wrecked as they are by the death or mutilation of those dearer to them perhaps than life itself!

And yet, even to such an one, prostrate with grief, the Master, were He here in the body, would come, and bending over him, lovingly would whisper, "Dry your eyes, brother, forgive them, for they know not what they do. Nineteen hundred years ago I came with glad tidings from Our Father; ever since, little by little, the forebears of those who are ill-treating you (then among the most savage of the human race) have taken those glad tidings for themselves and their children. But what have they done, what are they now doing to my brethren, whom I love, to whom more than to any others, I was sent, and but for whom my message might have been delayed till now?"

"Look across the Atlantic. In the least civilized part of Europe to be an Israelite is to be exposed to atrocities even worse than those which are making agony here for you, and for all decent men, women and children, North or South.

"In the most civilized part, only the other day, soldiers of high standing were perjuring themselves in order to disgrace and drive out of the army a Hebrew officer, simply because he was a Hebrew. In the island, the 'cradle of the race' which is now persecuting you, it was the middle of the last century before my brethren were allowed to help make the laws of the country. And even in this good new world, which claims to be the refuge for all who are ill-treated in the old, to be a Jew—to belong to my race—though the 'hatred, scoffing and abuse' have disappeared, is still to invite a sneer.

"Courage, brother! What can you expect? Courage! work and wait; have faith; and never despair of your country!"

## A LITANY OF ATLANTA.

From the New York Independent of Oct. 6, 1906.

O Silent God, Thou whose voice afar in mist and mystery hath left our ears an-hungred in these fearful days—

*Hear us, good Lord!*

Listen to us, Thy children: our faces dark with doubt, are made a mockery in Thy sanctuary. With uplifted hands we front Thy heaven, O God, crying:

*We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord!*

We are not better than our fellows, Lord, we are but weak and human men. When our devils do devilry, curse Thou the doer and the deed: curse them as we curse them, do to them all and more than ever they have done to innocence and weakness, to womanhood and home.

*Have mercy upon us, miserable sinners!*

And yet whose is the deeper guilt? Who made these devils? Who nursed them in crime and fed them on injustice? Who ravished and debauched their mothers and their grandmothers? Who bought and sold their crime, and waxed fat and rich on public iniquity?

*Thou knowest, good God!*

Is this Thy justice, O Father, that guile be easier than innocence, and the innocent crucified for the guilt of the untouched guilty?

*Justice, O Judge of men!*

Wherefore do we pray? Is not the God of the fathers dead? Have not seers seen in Heaven's halls Thine hearsed and lifeless form stark amidst the black and rolling smoke of sin, where all along bow bitter forms of endless dead?

*Awake, Thou that sleepest!*

Thou art not dead, but flown afar, up hills of endless light, through blazing corridors of suns, where worlds do swing of good and gentle men, of women strong and free—far from the cozenage, black hypocrisy and chaste prostitution of this shameful speck of dust!

*Turn again, O Lord, leave us not to perish in our sin!*

From lust of body and lust of blood,

*Great God deliver us!*

From lust of power and lust of gold,

*Great God deliver us!*

From the leagued lying of despot and of brute,

*Great God deliver us!*

A city lay in travail, God our Lord, and from her loins sprang twin Murder and Black Hate. Red was the midnight; clang, crack and cry of death and fury filled the air and trembled underneath the stars when church spires pointed silently to Thee. And all this was to sate the greed of greedy men who hide behind the veil of vengeance!

*Bend us Thine ear, O Lord!*

In the pale, still morning we looked upon the deed.

We stopped our ears and held our leaping hands, but they—did they not wag their heads and leer and cry with bloody jaws: "Cease from Crime!" The word was mockery, for thus they train a hundred crimes while we do cure one.

*Turn again our captivity, O Lord!*

Behold this maimed and broken thing; dear God, it was an humble black man who toiled and sweat to save a bit from the pittance paid him. They told him: "Work and Rise." He worked. Did this man sin? Nay, but some one told how some one said another did—one whom he had never seen nor known. Yet for that man's crime this man lieth maimed and murdered, his wife naked to shame, his children to poverty and evil.

*Hear us, O heavenly Father!*

Doth not this justice of hell stink in Thy nostrils, O God? How long shall the mounting flood of innocent blood roar in Thine ears and pound in our hearts for vengeance? Pile the pale frenzy of blood-crazed brutes who do such deeds high on Thine altar, Jehovah Jireh, and burn it in hell forever and forever!

*Forgive us, good Lord; we know not what we say!*

Bewildered we are, and passion-tost, mad with the madness of a mobbed and mocked and murdered people; straining at the armposts of Thy Throne, we raise our shackled hands and charge Thee, God, by the bones of our stolen fathers, by the tears of our dead mothers, by the very blood of Thy crucified Christ: "What meaneth this?" Tell us the Plan; give us the Sign!

*Keep not thou silence, O God!*

Sit no longer blind, Lord God, deaf to our prayer and dumb to our dumb suffering. Surely Thou too art not white, O Lord, a pale, bloodless, heartless thing?

*Ah! Christ of all the Pities!*

Forgive the thought! Forgive these wild, blasphemous words. Thou art still the God of our black fathers, and in Thy soul's soul sit some soft darkenings of the evening, some shadowings of the velvet night.

But whisper—speak—call, great God, for Thy silence is white terror to our hearts! The way, O God, show us the way and point us the path.

Whither? North is greed and South is blood; within, the coward, and without, the liar. Whither? To death?

*Amen! Welcome, dark sleep!*

Whither? To life? But not this life, dear God, not this. Let the cup pass from us, tempt us not beyond our strength, for there is that clamoring and clawing within, to whose voice we would not listen, yet shudder lest we must, and it is red, Ah! God! It is a red and awful shape.

*Selah!*

In yonder East trembles a star.

*Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord!*

Thy will, O Lord, be done!

*Kyrie Eleison!*

Lord, we have done these pleading, wavering words.

*We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord!*

We bow our heads and hearken soft to the sobbing of women and little children.

*We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord!*

Our voices sink in silence and in night.

*Hear us, good Lord!*

In night, O God of a godless land!

*Amen!*

In silence, O Silent God.

*Selah!*

W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS.

Done at Atlanta, in the Day of Death, 1906.

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## THE WHITE LIGHT.

For The Public.

Lines Written on Reading Progress and Poverty.

Fond souls have sung their blessing on the poor,  
Brave hearts have spoken, too, in sympathy,  
Their simple heartfelt annals, plain, obscure,  
Their contrite, patient lives in misery;  
Here lay the future's hope, of honor crowned,  
Here virtue's stay and genius' camping ground.

Ay, true, and honor be to those who sang

The transports of the lowly as the high;  
Still the lost voice was dumb, no clarion rang  
With combat's wide-flung challenge and reply  
On a drawn field, where wrong and freedom be,  
But urged submission and the bended knee.

The bard of Scotland sang a higher strain,

The tide of independence amply given,  
Asked in a new and a defiant vein  
If lord and slave were ordinance of heaven;  
The fuller soul that paused in love's young hour  
To shed a tear on penury's waste flower.

Since then the tide hath risen till it holds

The sheen of a new hope, a new redress;  
A prophet and a champion now unfolds  
The sons and daughters of the wilderness;  
And poet, seer and sage as one arrayed  
Have raised the banner of a new crusade.

Henceforth shall tears not fall for poverty,

Nor pity trace the tragedy of gold;  
But where affliction haunts and sorrows be,  
A voice shall peal to man like thunder rolled;  
'Twill call for other weapons, other spears,  
Nor rest until a world of waiting hears.

For now the cloak from falsehood torn away,

Hath left the course of retribution clear;  
The weapons of the militant new day,  
Unlike the supplication and the fear,  
Shall rout the plague injustice and the lie,  
Shall force the foe to battle and to die.

And Greed shall yield, for in the people's name

The world will fight to urge the prophet's dream—  
The interests of the nations and their aim—  
And Greed shall yield that citadel supreme,  
The long-locked storehouse, the maternal sod,  
That man may go unbegging to his God.

Nor shall we mourn for wrongs in war's turmoil  
(We shall not weep for earth's own kings of men),  
Nor brother beg of brother leave to toll

When the new light hath broken upon his ken;  
Since the white light hath fallen, its course shall be  
Guide of the virile world till it be free.

WILLIAM HOFFMAN.

## MR. BRYAN ON THE DRAGO DOCTRINE.

From Speech at Madison Square Garden, New York City,  
Aug. 30, 1906.

I venture to suggest that we may not only promote peace, but also advance our commercial interests, by announcing as a national policy that our navy will not be used for the collection of private debts. While protecting the lives of our citizens everywhere and guaranteeing the personal safety of all who owe allegiance to our flag, we should, in my judgment, announce that persons engaging in business and holding property in other lands for business purposes must be subject to the laws of the countries in which they engage in business enterprises.

Many profitable fields of investment are now closed because the people of the smaller nations are afraid that an investment of foreign capital will be made an excuse for a foreign invasion. Several times on this trip this fact has been brought to my attention, and I am convinced that for every dollar we could secure to American investors by an attempt to put the government back of their private claims, we would lose many dollars by closing the door to investment.

Mark the distinction between the protection of the lives of our citizens and the use of the navy to guarantee a profit on investments. We do not imprison for debt in the United States, neither do we put men to death because of their failure to pay what they owe; and our moral prestige, as well as our commercial interests, will be conserved by assuring all nations that American investments depend for protection upon the laws of the country to which the investors go.

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## THE WILD BORNEE.

This is the greatest living curiosity, Ladies and Gentlemen and my little Friends. It is so ferocious that it will go thousands of miles to kill people, and will slaughter its fellows at the command of its masters. Don't be afraid: this one is thoroughly trained. This specimen was procured at enormous expense; the color makes all the difference. The black variety is worth over \$1,000 a head. Little brown specimens have been sold in their native land at \$2 apiece, but the Bureau of Labor at Washington calculates that the annual value of such a one as this is over \$1,500.

This is the only animal that builds elaborate dwelling places, but does not live in them; and that works all the time.

You observe how intelligent it looks, but its intelligence is all in its hands, for it produces its own food in vast abundance, but does not know enough to take sufficient for itself. It has enormous strength, and is incredibly stupid, for it will destroy its young in order to please those whom it is accustomed to obey.

In captivity it spends much of its time in stuffing little bits of paper, which its master gives it, into a box, and thinks it of the greatest importance which

bit it will stuff in. If it knew its power, we could never restrain it.

No matter how lean it is, it never kicks so long as the bulls and bears are fat, because it thinks the country is prosperous. If you stir it up, it growls; but it doesn't do anything. —(Twist its tail, Mr. Corner.)—that's its Vox Populi.

Its name? It is called Americanus Working-Manus, or Parti-voter.

—"The Game of Life," by Bolton Hall.

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## THE DARTMOUTH COLLEGE CASE DECISION.

John Z. White in the St. Louis Mirror of Oct. 4, 1906—  
With an Introduction by Wm. Marion Reedy,  
Editor of The Mirror.

Mr. Bryan's proposal of government ownership of railways; Mr. Folk's proposal of taxing corporations upon the actual value of their property, including franchises, or upon the earning capacity as an estimate of valuation; every proposal to do anything to a corporation that the corporation doesn't want done, is met with the proclamation by corporation lawyers: "You can't do it. Marshall's decision in the Dartmouth College case forbids. That decision holds a charter, or a franchise, is a contract, that no State can impair the obligation of contracts. If the corporations aren't willing to submit to those things you can't do them without impairing the obligation of contracts." This Marshall decision is the backbone, the vitality of all corporate power. It is the secret of corporate tyranny over the people. It is the buttress of every corporation iniquity which reformers try to remedy. It is the fetich of all the courts. It is the gospel of all lawyers. It is sacred because it was formulated by Webster, and embodied in the law by Marshall and Story. It has been so for eighty-seven years. But now the law as laid down by these giants is questioned. Their logic is attacked. The conclusions of the Supreme Court that have been held sacred and binding on all courts forever are denied. They are shown to be absurd. With government ownership and corporation regulation the intensely vital issues they have become, we shall hear much of the Dartmouth College decision being as unassailable as Divine Writ. The war of the new democracy, the true republicanism of this day and the future, must be against this decision, which supports all the corporation iniquities and infamies. This article by John Z. White sounds the first note of the battle cry to which all American radicals must rally, for the law of the Dartmouth College decision is the issue upon which both the great parties are to split in such way that all those in both parties who believe in liberty, in the rule of reason, in freedom from the tyranny of "artificial persons" will eventually be in one party, and all the beneficiaries of the tyranny and corruption of artificial persons will be in another party. Marshall's decision has made for the enslavement of men to corporations. It must be reversed and its logic denounced if this government is to fulfil the purposes of its founders or realize the hope and faith of mankind that

found expression in the Declaration and in the Constitution.

EDITOR OF THE MIRROR.

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The people of the United States are much disturbed by private monopolies.

Very many, possibly the majority, appear to view the situation as hopeless.

All manner of remedial measures are proposed.

Kansas attempted a public oil refinery; various municipal enterprises are under consideration; it is even suggested that the amount of business that one corporation may do shall be limited to a given fraction of the total business of the country in any particular line; while a message from the President to Congress informs us that state regulation of railroads has thus far achieved but little.

"How not to do it," is still the distinctive characteristic of American public life.

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Is the President not aware of the fact that early in our history the Supreme Court adopted a policy and established a precedent that deprived the people of their natural remedy for corporate aggression?

The doctrine affirmed by the decision in the Dartmouth College case is the source of most of our present industrial abuses.

Instead of seeking the overthrow of that doctrine, our so-called statesmen seem bent on devising schemes that admit its truth, but attempt to dodge its consequences.

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Daniel Webster conducted the case for the college. John Marshall and Joseph Story delivered the principal opinions.

Those opinions were essentially repetitions of Webster's argument.

The case is interesting. Story said so, and in this respect his opinion is sound.

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As told by Wheaton, the story is as follows:

In 1754 Dr. Wheelock began teaching the Christian religion to Indian children. He included some white children, and added educational to religious instruction.

The school was charitable, and contributions were sought. Finally the favorable attention of Lord Dartmouth and others in England was secured.

Originally, Dr. Wheelock intended to bequeath the school and its funds to twelve men with power to fill vacancies, that the trust so formed be perpetual.

The English contributors believed an incorporated organization more desirable, and in 1769 there was secured from the English crown a charter.

The "Trustees of Dartmouth College" is formed in harmony with the plan of Dr. Wheelock, being composed of twelve men who, with other privileges, have power to fill vacancies, and thus is self-perpetuating.

The charter declares its provisions unalterable by the crown, and that the twelve trustees may make rules and regulations for the government of the col-

lege not repugnant to the laws of Great Britain or New Hampshire.

After the Revolution the State of New Hampshire increased the number of trustees to twenty-one, and appointed a board of twenty-five overseers.

The college corporation resisted this action, and was defeated before the Supreme Court of that State.

The constitution of New Hampshire (art. 15) reads: "No person shall be deprived of his property, or immunities, or privileges, put out of the protection of the law, or deprived of his life, liberty or estate, but by judgment of his peers, or the law of the land."

The New Hampshire court said: "That the right to manage the affairs of this college is a privilege within the meaning of the bill of rights, is not to be doubted. But how a privilege can be protected from the law of the land by a clause in the constitution declaring that it shall not be taken away but by the law of the land is not very easily understood."

Upon appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States it was held that the charter from the crown is a contract, and therefore that said laws are null and void, because in violation of the Constitution of the United States, which reads (art. 1, sec. 10): "No State shall pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts."

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In his contribution to this interesting case Judge Story said: "It is a principle of the common law \* \* \* that the division of an empire works no forfeiture of previously vested rights of property."

And of course the division of empire does not destroy sovereign power—that power passes, it does not disappear.

The people of England, through their agent, Parliament, as an act of sovereignty, can, could and did revoke grants made by the crown. All grants issued by the crown were and are subject to this condition.

Webster admitted this power of Parliament, but urged that "in modern times it has exercised this power very rarely"; that "even in the worst times this power of Parliament to repeal and rescind charters has not been exercised"; that "Parliament could not annul charters as a matter of ordinary legislation, but only as an act of omnipotent sovereignty"; that "no legislature in the United States has such power."

New Hampshire, by its sovereign agency (legislative, executive and judicial), declared these laws in full force and effect.

When these agree has not sovereignty spoken? What further appeal is possible—save to the mob?

Therefore, unless the Constitution of the United States delegated to the Federal Government power to annul charters, or prohibited it to the States, it has continued to reside in each State as an inherent sovereign right.

The tenth amendment to the Constitution reads: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

There was no pretense that power to annul charters was delegated to the United States, but it was held the clause declaring that "No State shall pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts," is such prohibition to the States.

In our early history States too readily repudiated

debts. For this reason this Constitutional prohibition was inserted, and yet this decision pretends that in it is concealed the destruction of a great sovereign prerogative.

Even if a grant be absurd or unjust, or secured through corruption, still are the sovereign people helpless. According to this decision there is no power in the United States that can annul charters—because of a Constitution ordained "to promote tranquillity," and to secure other "blessings."

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The vital question before the Supreme Court, therefore, was—Is the charter from the crown a contract?

Chief Justice Marshall disposed of the matter by saying: "It can require no argument to prove that the circumstances of this case constitute a contract."

On the contrary, very energetic argument is required; much more forceful than any advanced by either counsel or court.

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As a point from which to view the matter in hand, let us first perceive the conditions of equitable social adjustment.

Blackstone says truly that: "The laws of nature are coeval with mankind and are binding everywhere and at all times," and that "all human enactments derive whatever force and vitality they may have from their conformity to those great originals," and that "any human laws made in contradiction of the laws of nature must eventually fail and become null and void."

As a condition of nature, then, men live on the earth, and must produce things from its materials in order to continue life.

Some, if able, will rob, or wantonly or carelessly injure others, and to prevent such trespass all the people (strictly, the majority) within a given territory organize the police power.

To utilize the earth efficiently it is necessary that parcels be exclusively occupied by individuals. To this end the whole people ordain a method of holding land.

In other words, each man has the right to peacefully occupy and use the earth, and the only known way to maintain this right (security of person and property) is by the exercise of the supreme force.

This supreme force is sovereignty. Sovereignty is dominion; government its organized agency.

States are not corporate agencies to be compelled. They are sovereign agencies that command. They bow not to the past; they rule not the future; but they control the present.

To yield this power in any degree is, in that degree, to yield the only power in nature whereby civilized society is possible.

To argue that sovereignty can, in part, surrender itself, is to argue that a thing can divest itself of its essential characteristics.

If we argue that sovereignty can partly surrender itself, must we not logically agree that it can do so wholly?

Sovereignty is the arbitrary will of the majority, and finds justification for its exercise in the fact that nature (i. e. the constitution of man, together with

that of his environment) compels the assertion of that will.

The supreme force is often used to the disadvantage of some, but such act is in violation of natural equity and "must eventually become null and void."

This is nature's social law. "Conformity to this great original" is the State's duty.

\*

It will be observed that sovereignty does not originate in the divine right of the King, nor in the legislature, nor in the so-called social compact, nor in the conscious contract that James Willson tried to deduce from the assertion that governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Like the right of each man to peacefully use the earth, sovereignty exists of itself. The State is but the agency of sovereignty, organized to conserve this right to peacefully occupy.

Plainly, while a State may contract with a citizen to build a school house, it cannot contract with him regarding matters of sovereignty.

Such act would be an attempt to "agree" that the greatest force is not the greatest force—an attempt in degree to surrender sovereign agency.

A charter gives power to the possessors as against other citizens, but not as against the State.

A State therefore may create a corporation by permitting a group of persons to exercise sovereign powers, but such act is to delegate, not to surrender power. It is a license, a permit—not a contract.

In short, a State may delegate portions of its power, but it can abdicate no part of its sovereign agency.

Any agent may make contracts as to matters in the conduct of business proper to his agency, but who will urge that he may contract away any part of the title to the business enterprise itself? Are we to understand that an agent may absolve himself of his agency, in any degree?

A corporation holds power only because it is sustained by sovereignty. It is not only created by law, but also is sustained by law, and has no being save for law.

To admit the power to grant charters and deny the power to annul them, is like admitting the existence of one side of an object while disputing the existence of the other side; or like asserting the positive and denying the negative pole of electricity; or like disputing the similar conversion of a syllogism.

\*

The Supreme Court was right, when, in the "Slaughter House" and other cases, it held that no part of the police power may be "contracted" away. Each citizen must submit to this phase of sovereign authority.

But is land-holding less a result of sovereignty than police regulations? One may refuse a particular parcel of land, but cannot refuse all land and live. Either as owner or tenant he must conform to the methods ordained. He may, however, refuse to erect any building.

Men and land include all things social, and if sovereignty be asserted as to these it is complete.

\*

Webster dimly perceived that to contract, all par-

ties must be free to withhold consent, and he said: "What proves all charters of this sort to be contracts is that they must be accepted, to give them force and effect."

Can we not with equal justice say the relation between master and slave is contractual?

The master grants permission to attend a picnic. The slave "accepts"—and we have a contract.

Or, the master commands a like act, and the slave refuses, even preferring death—and no contract results.

Is not the permission or the command without "force and effect" unless the slave "accepts"?

"Accept," says the master, "and live a slave, or fail to 'accept' and die a man."

Corporations live. Men die. Therefore, says the State, according to this decision, accept this charter and live an artificial, immortal person, or fail to accept and die as the God of nature designed in his "great originals."

\*

If we are agreed as to the nature of sovereignty and its agency, we perceive the validity of the British rule that the Parliament can annul charters. Also we will be able to note the virtue of the positions taken by the court.

Two principal assumptions were made:

First, that land grants are irrevocable.

Second, that corporations are persons.

Some positions were evaded, but, on the important matter of "privileges" there is agreement, as follows:

Blackstone said: "Franchise and liberty are used as synonymous terms, and their definition is, a royal privilege, or branch of the King's prerogative, subsisting in the hands of the subject."

Webster quoted Prof. Sullivan as saying that, "The term liberty signifies the privileges that some of the subjects, whether single persons, or bodies corporate, have above others, by the lawful grant of the King."

Webster then said: "The plaintiffs have such an interest in this corporation."

Privileges, then, are partialities, favoritisms, "grants of the King's prerogative," "advantages that some have above others."

Per contra: They are handicaps, burdens, oppressions, tyrannies upon those same "others."

"What is one man's privilege is another man's right," is a wise saying attributed to Andrew Carnegie.

Of corporations Justice Story said: "An aggregate corporation at common law is a collection of individuals united into one collective body, under a special name, and possessing certain immunities, privileges and capacities in its collective character which do not belong to the natural persons composing it. \* \* \* It is in short an artificial person, existing in contemplation of law, and endowed with certain powers, and franchises, which, though they must be exercised through the medium of its natural members, are yet considered as subsisting in the corporation itself, as distinctly as if it were a real personage."

Marshall said of this corporation: "An artificial immortal being was created by the crown, capable of receiving and distributing forever, according to

the will of the donors, the donations which should be received by it."

And said Webster: "A grant of corporate powers and privileges is as much a contract as a grant of land."

"Was it ever imagined," asked Story, "that land voluntarily granted to any person by a State was liable to be resumed at its own good pleasure?"

The nature of privileges is agreed to; also that corporations hold privileges; also that "a grant of franchises is not in principle distinguishable from a grant of any other property," as asserted by Story.

But cannot the State take the physical thing, land, under power of eminent domain; and did not John Marshall say, in *Providence Bank v. Billings* (4 Peters, 562), referring to land grants, that: "This grant is a contract, the object of which is, that the profits issuing from it shall inure to the benefit of the grantee? Yet the power of taxation may be carried so far as to absorb these profits. Does this impair the obligation of contracts? The idea is rejected by all," etc.

If the State can take the land under condemnation, and its value (profits) by taxation, what becomes of the contention of Webster and Story that land granted may not be resumed? And we are all agreed that land grants and franchises stand or fall together.

Thus one principal assumption is destroyed. It has no validity in reason, and from a different point of view, as shown in the case quoted, even Marshall was able to perceive the truth.

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The second principal assumption was necessary to the conclusion, because if the corporation was not a "person," there was no party with whom the crown might contract.

It is agreed that a contract is "an agreement between two or more persons to do or not to do a particular act."

As a corporation does not exist until the charter issues, it would seem that, if the charter is a contract, the corporation must be a party to its own creation.

Perhaps the State creates a corporation, or artificial person, and then contracts with that artificial person to do what it has already done, viz., create a corporation.

Story dealt with this point after the following manner:

"From the nature of things, the artificial person called a corporation must be created before it can be capable of taking anything. When, therefore, a charter is granted, and it brings the corporation into existence without any act of the natural persons who compose it, and gives such corporation any privileges, franchises, or property, the law deems the corporation to be first brought into existence, and then clothes it with the granted liberties and property. \* \* \* There may be, in intentment of law, a priority of time, even in an instant, for this purpose."

The corporation must exist before it is "capable of taking anything."

Certainly; and it must "be" before it can contract to "be." To "be" is one of its liberties and all of its liberties are in the "contract."

As Marshall said: "A corporation is an artificial

being, invisible, intangible, and, existing only in contemplation of law, it possesses only those properties which the charter expressly confers upon it."

One of which properties is to "be." "The law deems the corporation to be first brought into existence and then clothes it," etc. Never mind about clothing it. Get it born first—as a contract.

Story said those who oppose his view should "consider whether or not they do not at the same time establish that the grant itself is a nullity for precisely the same reason."

As a contract, we do establish "precisely" that.

Story had yet another line of approach. He said: "An executory contract is one in which a party binds himself to do or not to do a particular thing. An executed contract is one in which the object of the contract is performed."

The non-professional mind can readily perceive how one may contract to make a pair of boots, or to sell or to deliver a pair, but how can one contract to make a pair that is already made?

Seemingly, in the court's view, a charter is an executed contract. That is, "the object of the contract is performed." But this does not relieve the situation. For, even though the making and the performance of the contract be simultaneous, there can be no contract without parties, and the corporation or artificial person does not exist until the charter issues.

Not only is the "person" artificial but the whole concept is artificial and wooden and bears no semblance to those "great originals" to which Blackstone rightly declared all permanent law must conform.

One feels impelled to warn the profane reader that this is not a discussion of farce-comedy.

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The facts in the case appear simple enough, before Webster indulged in intellectual gymnastics, or the court applied its alchemy.

It seems that a group of persons applied for, and received, "an advantage above others," a "grant of the King's prerogative;" or a privilege sustained by sovereign power,—that is, a charter.

The grant being secured, the group thereby becomes an organization of persons upon whom the State has conferred certain specified favors.

If the corporation is an artificial person "in contemplation of law," it can very bluntly be asserted that the law assumes as true what is not true, but is absurd.

When told that the law supposed his wife acted under his direction, Mr. Bumble replied: "If the law supposes that, the law is an ass—an idiot. If that's the eye of the law, the law's a bachelor; and the worst I wish the law is, that his eye may be opened by experience—by experience."

We are getting experience, and it is to be hoped our eyes will open. Mr. Bumble's estimate of the law was, in some respects, extremely accurate.

The second assumption seems untenable, and with its dismissal the case vanishes.

A corporation is an organization—not an organism, and certainly not a person.

Its charter is but the expression of the grant of authority conferred. If the State has power to con-

fer, it also has power to withhold or withdraw—that is, to annul. Unless, of course, there is some power in government greater than sovereign agency.

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Story suggested that power to annul charters might be reserved by the legislature, either in each charter or by general law.

Such reservation surely cannot give to a legislature a power not already possessed. Otherwise an act may not only tend, as Webster feared, but easily secure, "the union of all powers in the legislature."

And if the legislature cannot so add to its own powers, but can by act secure the reservation, does it not follow that the reservation exists regardless of the act?

Does a legislature possess power through contract with individual citizens, or is its power delegated to it by the sovereign people?

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After agreeing to the nature of privilege, and listening to the definition of corporations, and observing Justice Story's assurance that these grants imply on the part of the grantor "a contract not to reassert the right" (although it is agreed that Parliament can annul), and being told that "the only effect of the charter was to give permanency to the design;" in fact, being duly impressed with the solemnity of the whole proceeding (and why should not artificial, immortal beings be viewed with awe?), we are suddenly startled by Marshall's assertion that "From the fact that a charter of incorporation has been issued nothing can be inferred which changes the character of the institution or transfers to the government any new power over it."

If this assertion is true, why do men seek charters?

If the character of the institution was not changed, what contract was made?

And what did Story mean in saying that a corporation possesses "certain immunities, privileges and capacities in its collective character which do not belong to the natural persons composing it"?

We must infer a change in the character of the institution, and that change is the possession of political powers not before held.

It is these political powers that Story said "do not belong to the natural persons composing" the corporation.

These "branches of the King's prerogative" are political because the whole of the King's prerogatives are political. The State is political. It has political power only to give.

It was to this sort of power that Webster referred when, after describing privilege, he declared that his clients "have such an interest in this case."

The character of the institution was changed by the exchange of a private for a public administrator. All corporations are public for the reason that all their powers are derived from the State. Corporate powers are part of the State—(sovereign powers subsisting in the hands of the citizens,—to use our terms in place of the British form).

On the same point Mr. Hopkinson, of counsel for the college, asked: "If the property of this corporation be public property, when did it become so? It

was once private property; when was it surrendered to the public?"

The property was not surrendered to the public, but its administration was given to the public by the voluntary act of its owners.

The owners preferred to entrust it to a publicly established agency (viz., the corporation), rather than to leave it by bequest to private parties, in accord with the original intention of Dr. Wheelock.

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Distinguishing between public and private corporations and indicating that the physical property with which a college corporation is endowed is called its "foundation," Story said: "If the foundation be private, though under the charter of the government, the corporation is private, however extensive the uses may be to which it is devoted, either by the bounty of the founder, or the nature and objects of the institution."

And in this class of private corporations he places hospitals, banks, canals, insurance, turnpikes and bridge companies.

This conclusion gives to a corporation the character of its physical property, while common sense asserts its character to be that of the source of its authority.

It is a corporation because the State created it. Is it not more in harmony with right reason to say, "If the grant be from the public, the corporation is public, however slight be the uses to which its political power is devoted"?

Do the privileges of a corporation spring from its foundation, or from the State?

Its power "to be" is of the State; its permanence, or "immortality," is of the same source.

How can we say that the privileges of a corporation are sovereign powers in the hands of a citizen, and at the same time say the corporation is private?

To classify corporations as civil and eleemosynary, or as public and private, is to divide them according to their uses, and is entirely proper as an aid to convenient identification; but to make this classification the basis of philosophical distinction is merest twaddle.

A corporation is a group of persons holding "privileges," and the nature of privileges is agreed to. Whether the corporation is used to conduct a Sunday school, a great city, a railroad, or a manufacturing plant is immaterial.

A gun, whether a toy pistol or the most improved rifle, is still a gun; and whether in the hands of an honest man defending his home, or in the hands of a highwayman attacking his victim, it is still a gun.

A corporation holds political power. Its power to "be" is political. And all the fancy balancing indulged by counsel and court operates to conceal, not to destroy, this truth.

The New Hampshire court, as before stated, said it was difficult to understand "how a privilege can be protected from the law of the land by a clause in the Constitution declaring that it shall not be taken away but by the law of the land."

In reply Webster quoted Blackstone as follows: "And first it (i. e., the law), is a rule; not a transient or sudden order from a superior, to or concerning a particular person; but something permanent or uni-

versal. Therefore a particular act of the legislature to confiscate the goods of Titus or to attain him of high treason does not enter into the idea of a municipal law; for the operation of this act is spent on Titus, and has no relation to the community in general; it is rather a sentence than a law."

Webster added, "Everything that may pass under the form of an enactment is not therefore to be considered the law of the land. Such construction would render constitutional provisions of highest importance inoperative and void."

All of which is true, but the case in hand is an instance of the "universal and permanent" rule that sovereignty can annul charters.

Webster seems to have dodged the issue, or begged the question; which reminds us that of one of counsel's arguments Story said, "The fallacy of the argument consists in assuming the very ground in controversy."

This is precisely the method of the court throughout most of this case.

Many eminent authorities, voicing sound doctrines as to the proper relation between sovereignty and the person, were quoted—and then the doctrines were applied to corporations.

Herein lies the plaintiff's need for asserting corporations to be persons—and herein is the lameness of this absurd decision.

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In conclusion, sovereignty is not a subject of contract.

Nature forces the majority to be sovereign. Sovereignty of necessity relates to persons and to land.

These two exist of themselves. All else in the social state is subsidiary.

The whole string of sophistries indulged by the court were to the end that these simple truths be submerged.

It is only as these simple truths are clearly apprehended that social freedom is possible. Marshall was a Tory. His whole career proves it. A Tory is not a friend of freedom.

The truth is that power to regulate corporations or annul their charters inheres in each State—save for this precedent.

Deprived of this power by this invasive rule, the people flounder on, rapidly losing faith in the great American experiment.

Does anyone doubt that our Western States would long since have regulated railroads and other corporations in the interest of common honesty if the group of attorneys called the Supreme Court did not bar the way?

The people think they live under the Constitution. In fact, they live under Marshall's decisions.

If it were not for the slavish submission of the present court to the name of Marshall, would we need to be outraged by the spectacle of sovereign States like Idaho, Montana and Colorado in the West, and Pennsylvania and New Jersey in the East, lying bound at the feet of a lot of soulless corporate pirates, as reckless of human rights as any horde that ever sailed the Spanish Main?

Let the court confine itself to its own affairs, and leave the States to attend to theirs.

The decision was in degree destructive of the

## Publishers' Column

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rights of the States (which in itself is of no moment), and thereby of the people's rights (which is of great moment).

It was not adjudication. It was usurpation. Thus far it has been endured.

One judge dissented. Let us revere his name—it was Duvall.

\* \* \*

THE PLUM TREE.

(With Apologies to D. G. P.)

For The Public.

I would that our Solons could be picked like plums From off the political tree, For if one was rotten we'd cast him aside— With our stomachs he'd never agree. We could pinch him and taste him and look at his skin, Discern if his meat was quite firm; If he was the right color and sound to the core We could put him inside for a term.

I fear we would throw many plums on the ground To fester in Honesty's sun; Their black skins would crack, for corruption is rife In the heart of many a one. Once torn from the bough whose lengthy green shade Hides the spots that lurk 'neath their bloom, The over-ripe fruit, Senatorial brand, Would soon find Obscurity's tomb.

And rather than feed on Monopoly's plant, I'm sure that you all will agree, We'd find a much finer species of fruit On Public Opinon's tall tree. The public's coy palate's the one to be pleased; Let's gather the crop our own way And elect our law-makers by popular vote; Then may the pleb have his day.

CLYDE C. WESTOVER.

\* \* \*

Upton Sinclair writes: "Perhaps you may be surprised to be told that I failed in my purpose, when you know of all the uproar that 'The Jungle' has been creating. I wished to frighten the country by a picture of what its industrial masters were doing to their wage-slaves; entirely by chance I had stumbled on another discovery—what they were doing to the meat supply of the civilized world. In other words, I aimed at the public's heart, and by accident I hit it in the stomach."—Woman's Journal.

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"It is 900 years since the failure of a bank in China," said a bank examiner. "More than nine hundred years ago, in the reign of Hi Hung, a bank failed. Hi Hung had the failure investigated, and to his indignation found it had been due to reckless and shady conduct on the part of the directors and the president. Hi Hung at once issued an edict that the next time a bank failed the heads of its president and directors were to be cut off. This edict, which has never been revoked, has made China's banking institutions the safest in the world."—Seattle Municipal News.

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In Denver, where the women have the franchise, a very remarkable Juvenile Court judge was not nominated a candidate on either ticket in the last election because he has failed to please the politicians

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ADDRESS

THE INDUSTRIAL TRIBUNE CORONA, N. Y.

of either party. The women of Denver, by petition, put Judge Lindsay upon an independent ticket and elected him. It was not merely the women interested in the philanthropic activities of Denver; they were joined by the women who had seen the lives and known the experiences of the boys and who had realized the beneficial results of the Juvenile Court and who wished to have them continued.—Jane Addams.

+ + +

One rainy day a new comer [to Cape Elizabeth, Me.], who had joined the gathering at the store composed of fishermen and summer visitors, ventured to enumerate some of the distinguished men who had come from Maine.

"There's Longfellow," he said, "and Hannibal Hamlin and James G. Blaine, William Pitt Fessenden, Thomas B. Reed and—"

Here an old fisherman looked up from his work of splicing grass blades and broke in:

"Smart? Those fellows smart?" he questioned. "You just come down an' see Josh Pillsbury 'skin fish."—Lewiston (Me.) Journal.

## BOOKS

### "MATERIALIST MONISM."

**Science and Revolution.** By Ernest Unterman, Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co.

In this study of human evolution the author deals with the "three great riddles," the solution of which is supposed to answer the questions: "What will be the fate of the universe? What part is death playing in relation to life? Does individual life imply individual immortality?"

The solution of these vital problems is found, from the writer's point of view, in "materialist monism"—otherwise "a uniform conception of the universe as a natural organism." There is no dual principle in creation. Evolution follows a natural law in which is no element of the so-called supernatural. The theories of Romanes, Haeckel, Jacques Loeb and others furnish to the mind of the author of "Science and Revolution" superabundant proofs for the physiological nature of the "soul" and the fundamental unity of "soul" life in all organisms. From the "unicellular protozoa and protophyta and multicellular metazoa and metaphyta" is traced the descent of man, and from such a beginning it truly doth not yet appear what he shall be. Virtually the author admits this. In the endless unfoldment and advancement of cell life is it not quite possible that the organ of human understanding may be so far developed in the materialist monist that he will have an enlarging conception of a Supreme Intelligence inspiring and guiding the grand scheme of evolution through limitless cycles of being? He may still spell God with a little "g"; it does not matter. But he will not be so unscientific as to deny the axis on which the universe turns—the vital Center about which the whirling world-dust revolves.

The author of "Science and Revolution" renders fine service in summarizing and classifying the valuable works of philosophers and scientists whom he appears to have diligently followed in pursuit of

## Impressive and Disinterested

The keen book readers of the press have received Frederic C. Howe's new book, **THE CONFESSIONS OF A MONOPOLIST**, with some very straightforward remarks; for example, thus:

If you want to catch on to "the great game" of getting rich quick and easy; if you would know the secret of getting things for nothing and having a whole community work for you without pay; if you want to catch the real esoteric inwardness of city politics and ascertain how to boss the bosses, read "The Confessions of a Monopolist" by Frederic C. Howe. Here are the very guts of success laid bare. This book is worth ten thousand novels of politics like "Coniston" or any of the others, which may or may not be literature, but surely are not politics in the raw. Mr. Howe does a round unvarnished tale deliver, with no maudlin love motive, no long arm of coincidence, no climaxes. His book is the deadliest text book of practical politics that ever was printed. It is the story of the men of affairs in your own city, ward and precinct, of the successes who simply rob the community by taking toll of its life, its increase, its activities. It murders the fiction that the people govern themselves, for it deals with things that you see, but do not heed, going on around you every day. It goes deeper than "The Jungle." It is the condensation of all the recent muck-raking and absolutely unexaggerated. Anyone can understand it. No one can refute it. It should open men's minds to the infamy of the methods of privilege with startling light. It is the world of graft in microcosm, and told "as easy as an absey book."—*St. Louis Mirror*.

The story is a masterpiece of cold-blooded satire, like Dean Swift's "A Modest Proposal." The author laughs at the conclusions of the old school of political economy, industry, frugality, honesty. These are to him all exploded ideas. If you would be rich, secure a monopoly, and make society work for you. "With monopoly in one hand, and with the other hand on politics, one can do more in a few weeks' time than can a whole army by watching its pennies, dimes and dollars."—*Boston Transcript*.

Such a view of the inside workings of corporations, trusts, and general banking on a large scale, that it will serve as an eye-opener to many who have had heretofore but a vague idea of how things are run when politics and business unite to fleece the people. It is as racy as any romance and cannot fail to hold the attention to the last.—*The School Weekly, Chicago*.

**The Confessions of a Monopolist.**  
By Hon. Frederic C. Howe. 12mo,  
cloth, 170 pages, \$1.00 (postage 8c.)

**The Public Publishing Company**  
First National Bank Building, Chicago

truth. It should be remarked that he has done equally good service in exposing the narrowness and bigotry of the church in its conflict with science. With what he calls religion Ernest Unterman deals with a free hand, but religion in its truest sense is too large, tolerant, and open to the power of truth to raise any barriers in the way of human progress. The "religion" that fears the freest research and unfolding of natural laws is itself a byword and a reproach. For when either comes into the knowledge of absolute truth, religion and science are one. We are all "monists"—though we use unlike terms to express a like consciousness of the single Power of the universe.

"Science and Revolution" is entitled to the candid consideration of all opponents of its philosophy who, while rejecting its conclusions, may still follow its course of reasoning with interest in the scientific facts on which its arguments are based. As a reverent student of Karl Marx the author finds in materialist monism the science and religion of the proletariat who, in the evolutionary processes of revolution and reaction, is to become the ruling power in the political, social and economic world.

"The proletarian mind," concludes the author, "conscious of its origin, its present and future place in society and the universe, its social, terrestrial and cosmic mission, can exclaim triumphantly, 'I was, I am, and I shall be!'"

A. L. M.

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**MAGIC.**

**The Old and the New Magic.** By Henry Ridgely Evans. With an Introduction by Dr. Paul Carus. Published by The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago. Price \$1.50 net.

For the reader, totally unacquainted with, and possibly uninterested in magic, to be delightedly plunged into so new a world of absorbing fun, is one of the good things of life. A rapid sketch of magic as aid to ancient priestcraft, followed by several most exciting essays on "certain famous prestidigitateurs"—Cagliostro, Robert-Houdin, Hermann, and the rest, all interspersed with marvelously funny anecdotes, and personal reminiscences of the amateur ventures of the author,—all this, together with frequent peeps under the magic table, spell an entrancing few hours of recreation.

Even so innocent a revel as this book must have its serious aspect. When an author puts the word "magic" into his title, his attitude toward the supernatural must be stated. The author's and his own view Dr. Carus voices:

The old magic is sorcery, or, considering the impossibility of genuine sorcery, the attempt to practice sorcery. . . . In speaking of modern magic, we refer to the art of the prestidigitateur, and exclude from its domain the experiments of hypnotism as well as the vulgar lies of fraud. . . . Magic proper (i. e. the artifices of prestidigitation) is produced by a combination of three factors: (1) legerdemain proper, or sleight of hand; (2) psychological illusions, and (3) surprising feats of natural science with clever concealment of their true causes.

To add to our delight, Dr. Carus, in an interesting and authoritative introduction, assures us that magic is very needful matter for our investigation:

We all should know something of the general methods

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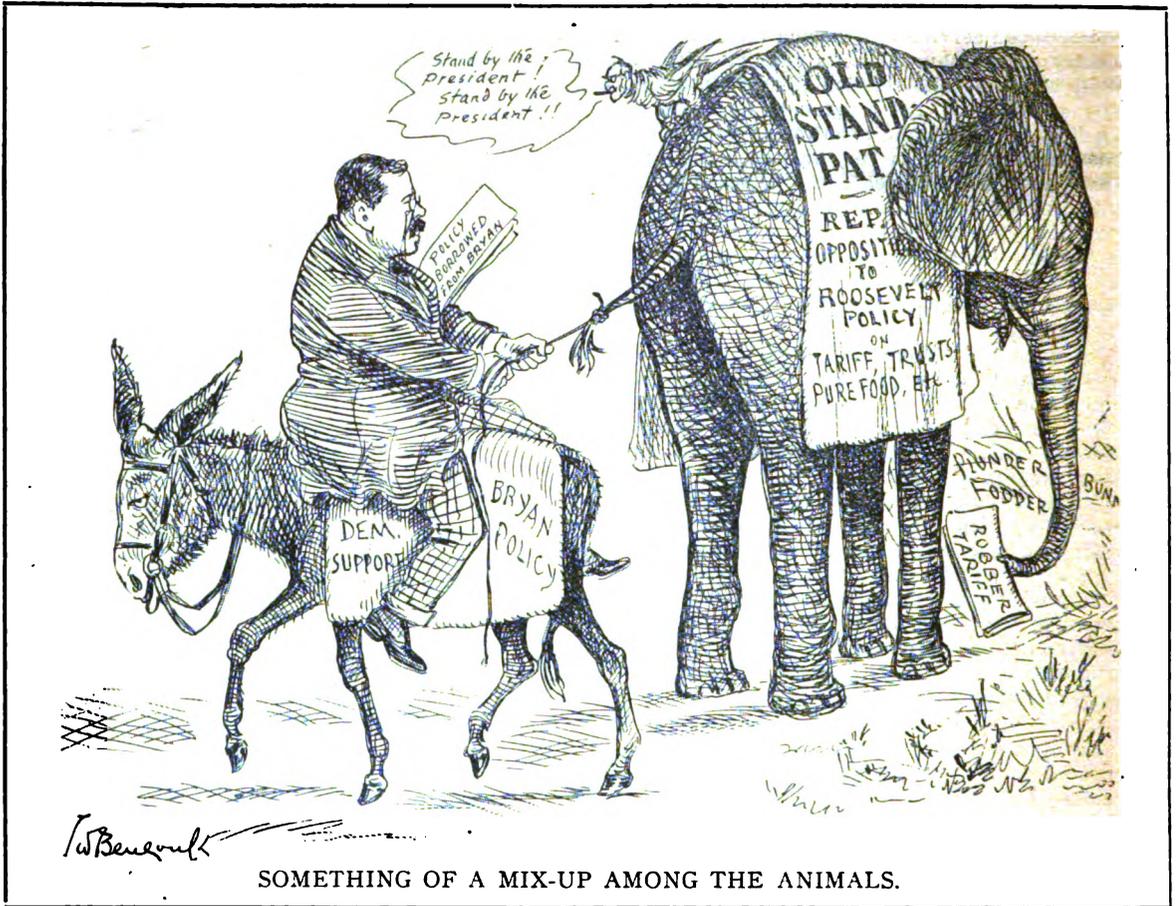
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of magic, and sometime in our lives witness the extraordinary feats bordering on miracles, with which a prestidigitateur can dazzle our eyes and misguide our judgment. Modern magic is not merely a diversion or recreation, but may become possessed of a deeper worth when it broadens our insight into the rich possibilities of mystification, while a peep behind the scenes will keep us sober and prevent us from falling a prey to superstition.

ANGELINE LOESCH.

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### PATHOS OF THE HAREM.

**Disenchanted.** By Pierre Loti. Translated by Clara Bell. Published by the Macmillan company. London and New York. Price \$1.50.

The cultured woman of the Turkish harem in the 20th century and her rising discontent, "disenchantment," is the theme of this novel; or, in the author's words, "The high level of culture prevailing in the harems of Turkey, and the suffering which comes of it." Her story of pathos and anguish is told in a series of brilliant letters, supposed to have been written by Djenan, an inmate of the harem, to a famous French novelist while he was an attache of the embassy in Constantinople. Through these letters and clandestine meetings with Djenan and her two sisters he gains intimate personal knowledge of the chief events in the immolating life and environment that crushes the spirit of the woman of the Orient

in her vain longing for physical expression adequate to her new intellectual horizon. Moved by the eloquent and lovely Djenan's pleadings, he promises to write a novel upon his return to his native land, unmasking the monstrous iniquities of an institution by which the Turks fetter the soul, as the Chinese do the feet, of their women. Djenan, who worships her foreign champion afar off, suffers from unrequited love and dies of poison; but the novel she prayed for is written in the compassionate belief that "the wonderful Prophet of Islam, who was above all else compact of light and charity, cannot have desired that the rules he dictated of old should become in the lapse of time a cause of suffering," and that a remedy exists and will be found. The tale abounds in vivid descriptions of the habits, customs and ceremonies of woman's life in the land of the Turk, and is translated from the French into rich, idiomatic English.

W. H. STACKPOLE.

### BOOKS RECEIVED

- A Strange Flaw. By Henry S. Wilcox. Published by Thompson and Thomas, Chicago. 1906.
- Industrial America. Berlin Lectures of 1906. By J. Laurence Laughlin, Ph. D., Head of the Department of Political Economy in the University of Chicago. Pub-

lished by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1906. Price, \$1.25 net.

—Ring in the New. By Richard Whiteing. Published by the Century Co., New York. 1906. Sold by The Public Publishing Co. Price \$1.50, postpaid.

—Memories and Thoughts. Men—Books—Cities—Art. By Frederic Harrison. Published by the Macmillan Company, New York and London. 1906.

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## PERIODICALS

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Thomas E. Watson is reported to have severed his connection with Tom Watson's Magazine, which had come under the control of Col. W. D. Mann as chief stockholder in the corporation.

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Charities and Commons for October includes an extensive and interesting consideration of the tenement builders of to-day, from the pens of many sociologists, with illustrations of the Phipps model tenement houses, designed for erection in New York. (New York, 105 E. 22nd St.) A. T. P.

+

That truly democratic English journal, The New Age, now edited by Joseph Clayton, announces its twelfth birthday and a new series. The New Age stands in Great Britain for the things that The Public tries to stand for in the United States. During the unhappy war in South Africa the Age was fairly militant in its uncompromising anti-jingoism; the Boers had no better friend. Indeed, The New Age never tires of being the friend of those who are oppressed, whether they be little peoples hunted down by savage "superior" races, or proletarians disinherited by privilege. (1 and 2 Took's Court, Furnival St., London, E. C. English subscription, 6 shillings, 6 pence for a year.) A. T. P.

+

Lincoln Steffens writes of Ben B. Lindsey, "the just judge," the judge who is the friend of every boy in Denver, in McClure's for October. Mr. Steffens thus states the principle upon which Judge Lindsey works in developing the characters of the boys whose confidence he has gained by his genuine sympathy with their points of view:

The game of correction is interesting, especially when you are the center of the game. It's one of the most interesting games "a feller" ever played, and the Judge has a fascinating way of playing it. Having done something wrong, you try to do something that's right, positively right. This is the Judge's great doctrine. He calls it "overcoming evil with good." There's nothing "sissy-boy" about it. You have done an evil thing; you are not therefore bad, only so much weakened. So you go and do a good thing. This not only balances the evil, it "strengthens a feller."

Now, then, a good thing a feller can usually do right away is to go out and bring in some other kids that are "swipin' things." You mustn't tell the Judge who the other fellers are. That would be snitching. But it's all right to get the other fellers to come in and "snitch up" on themselves, just as you have "snitched up" on yourself. That gets them into the game; helps them and, since the more fellers there are in on it, the easier it is for you—it helps you.

A. T. P.

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This little volume will serve an admirable purpose. The author has succeeded remarkably in packing into a small compass the substance of the life and work of the great anti-slavery leader, and has made the book as fascinating as a piece of high-class fiction.—*The Advocate of Peace, Boston.*

Mr. Crosby has written a wholesome book for the times, and we hope that it will have a wide reading.—*The Dial, Chicago.*

A daring challenge.—*Unity, Chicago.*

The book is rich in quotable passages, and for those who can enjoy a skillful argument waged upon a strictly unconventional point of view, it makes uncommonly lively reading. Since the author is always so terribly in earnest, his style is trenchant and vigorous, and "Garrison the Non-Resistant" is an example of this strenuous peace maker at his best.—*The Philadelphia Record.*

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