

# The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

ALICE THACHER POST, Managing Editor

Vol. IX.

Number 442.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1906.

## CONTENTS.

### EDITORIAL:

Ownership of Natural Wealth.....	577
Bryan and Some of His Recent Friends.....	577
Bryan and Sullivan.....	577
Cause of Higher Rents.....	577
American Intervention in Cuba.....	577
The Revolutionary Cause in Cuba.....	578
Annuling Cuban Independence.....	579
Cuban Civilization.....	579
A Labor Union Problem.....	579
Senator Bailey and the Railroad Question.....	580
The Independent Ticket in Chicago.....	580
Judge Windes' Traction Decision.....	580
Legitimate and Illegitimate Fortunes.....	580
Elementary Civics.....	581

### NEWS NARRATIVE:

The United States Intervenes in Cuba.....	583
Politics in the United States.....	584
Mr. Bryan's Speaking Trip.....	584
Progress of Chicago Traction Movement.....	584
Municipal Ownership Questions in Seattle.....	585
The New San Francisco.....	585
Progress in Russia.....	585
News Notes.....	586
Press Opinions.....	587

### RELATED THINGS:

Our Mother's Store (verse).....	588
The Human Heart is Sound.....	588
A Foolometer.....	589
Public Ownership as a Suffrage Educator (Winslow).....	589

### SERIAL:

The Confessions of a Monopolist (Howe).....	590
---	-----

### BOOKS:

Songs of Russia.....	597
Coniston.....	597
Books Received.....	598
Pamphlets.....	598
Periodicals.....	598

### CARTOON:

The Tug-of-War in the Republican Camp.....	598
--	-----

## EDITORIAL

### Ownership of Natural Wealth.

The richest silver deposit in the world is reported to have been discovered in Canada. The vein is said to be six feet thick, and so soft at the top that it can be worked with a steam shovel. It is a wonderfully rich gift of nature to mankind. The Standard Oil Company owns it.

+ +

### Bryan and Some of His Recent Friends.

Whatever any one may think of the merits of Mr. Bryan's railroad ownership ideas, no one can

deny that his announcement of them has operated to drive off unwelcome hangers-on whose support would alienate sincere men and subject his own sincerity to question. It has done this smoothly and effectively without his having to tell the not-wanted that they were trying to climb into the wrong band wagon.

+ +

### Bryan and Sullivan.

Mr. Bryan did a good job when he held up Roger C. Sullivan to the national gaze as a type of the man whose presence officially in the Democratic party stultifies party principles and does the party harm. He could not well have done this with any other Democratic official of similar character, for all the other corporation agents in the Democratic machine have title to their positions in the party. Sullivan alone has a bad title, and this has enabled Mr. Bryan properly to demand his retirement. But the opportunity open, Mr. Bryan has utilized it effectively to declare his own position not only with reference to Sullivan but to all other Democratic officials who are also corporation agents.

+ +

### Cause of Higher Rents.

Noting the increase of rents in New York, an exchange attributes it to increase in the price of house-building material. That is doubtless an element. But the last assessment of the Borough of Manhattan discloses another. The site values alone of Manhattan have increased \$180,000,000 in two years. This increase in the cost of house sites goes far to parallel the increase in the cost of building materials. It is enough to build 1,800 houses costing \$100,000 each.

+ +

### American Intervention in Cuba.

What would Americans of the early '60's have thought if Louis Napoleon, reminding them of their indebtedness to France for their independence, had warned them that he would intervene to prevent anarchy if they went on with their civil war? It is hardly necessary to ask. Americans of that time would have defied Louis Napoleon if strong enough to fight him and one another at once, and they would at least have denounced him roundly if too demoralized and weak to fight him. They would certainly have realized the incongruity with their independence of such an assumption on his part. And the present generation

would look at the matter in the same way. We should all say at once that ours was not an independent country if any foreign ruler, however much we were indebted to his country historically for our independence, could, with the slightest claim of right, have made such pretensions regarding us at the time of our civil war. Yet, what we should have resented on the part of Louis Napoleon toward ourselves in the middle of the nineteenth century, we are applauding President Roosevelt for doing toward the Cubans at the beginning of the twentieth.

+

The only difference between President Roosevelt's action with reference to Cuba at this time, and such a supposition regarding Louis Napoleon with reference to the United States nearly half a century ago, is that the Cuban constitution authorizes the United States to intervene in Cuba under certain circumstances. But this clause was arbitrarily forced upon the Cubans by our government, and was finally accepted by them upon an understanding which leaves to us no more right to put down civil war in Cuba now than Louis Napoleon would have had to put down civil war in the United States in 1861-65.

+

Let us recall the circumstances under which the intervention clause of the Cuban constitution was adopted. As an amendment to the army appropriation bill in the United States Senate on the 25th of March, 1901, the following clause, paragraph 3 of what is known as "the Platt amendment" (vol. iii, pp. 762-63), was adopted as a condition of our assenting to Cuban independence:

That the government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the treaty of Paris on the United States, now to be assumed and undertaken by the government of Cuba.

This clause was incorporated into the army appropriation law, and naturally enough the Cubans objected to it. Their objection was not only natural but it was right. For the United States had at the outbreak of the Spanish war solemnly declared that—

The United States hereby disclaim any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and assert their determination, when that is

accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

But upon representations officially made by President McKinley, through Secretary Root (vol. iv, pp. 104, 122), the Cubans accepted the superimposed conditions. These representations were to the effect that the Platt amendment had for its object simply the guaranteeing of the independence of Cuba, and did not "contemplate interference with its government or the exercise of a protectorate or of sovereignty," and also that intervention would take place only "when independence is endangered by outside powers, or grave interior disturbances creating anarchy" occur. It is now asserted, of course, that the Cuban civil war does create anarchy; or, as President Roosevelt puts it, will "assuredly throw" Cuba "into anarchy." But there is no more reason to anticipate that result in Cuba now, than there would have been in the United States in 1861. Under existing circumstances American intervention is equivalent to the establishment of an arbitrary protectorate. It is not improbably the forerunner of an application to Cuba of the colonial policy under which we govern the Philippines.

+ +

### The Revolutionary Cause in Cuba.

That the Cuban revolutionists are not creating disorder wantonly is fairly evident from their address to the American people, in which they object to American intervention. The question is their question, they say, a question of their rights and duties, and one that they themselves must settle; and they ask us, and fairly ask us, to consider that this question is "fraught with more consequences to Cuba than momentary commercial loss or gain," for it involves their constitution and their liberties. We fear they are talking into wooden ears when they make this appeal. Most Americans, though not as much under the spell of the devilish type of commercialism as they were a few years ago, still find it difficult to realize anything more momentous to any people than commercial loss or gain. But it certainly is worth while for us, before intervening in this foreign family quarrel, to consider whether the Cuban revolutionists may not possibly be right. They justify their civil war upon the ground that under the empty name of a republic, the shackles of the overthrown Spanish dominion have again been imposed upon them, that their constitution has been cast aside with contemptuous egotism, that the royal laws of the ancient regime have been revived and issued with the very forms and words of the royal Spanish decree, and that absolutism

has again fastened itself upon Cuba. These things are possibly true. And is it for us to intervene for the suppression of a revolution vitalized by such a cause?

+ +

#### **Annulling Cuban Independence.**

Both in Cuba and in the United States, influences are evidently at work for despoiling Cuba of her independence, and making her a colonial appendage, like Puerto Rico or the Philippines, to the United States. The Cuban considerations are commercial and spring from the landed interests there that would be financially benefited by American control. Considerations in the United States are both commercial and imperialistic. In certain American quarters the recognition of Cuban independence has always been distasteful. The following quotation from the editorial columns of the Chicago Inter Ocean of the 15th, regarding our present military occupation of Cuba, faithfully expresses that spirit: "The American people have been shown how peace and order can be secured in Cuba, and some day they will insist that their government shall do there what should have been done in 1898."

+ +

#### **Cuban Civilization.**

In support of the policy of subjugating Cuba, the idea that Cuban civilization is inferior, doubtless has much influence. An instance is afforded by the Chicago Tribune of the 15th, which describes the revolutionists as "an undisciplined, turbulent, rebellious people," Negroes or half-breeds—"a Spanish-African blend"—who have a "chronic and constitutional aversion to work," and whom the United States ought to take hold of with a strong hand and shake into some kind of order. A sober commentary, unintended but direct, upon this superficial judgment, may be found in Cassier's Magazine for September. It is written by a mining engineer of large experience in the West Indies, who describes the natives of Santo Domingo, the same "Spanish-African blend" as the "turbulent" Cubans, in these favorable terms:

Though a mixed race, I believe the Dominicans are the best of the West India natives. Daily intercourse with them and their employment in large numbers have given me a high opinion of the Dominican "man with the hoe." Absolutely illiterate, and in some respects primitive as a savage, he is naturally intelligent, peaceable and hard-working. As is usual among mountaineers, there is good character here, and upon its development the future prosperity of the islands will depend.

This engineer evidently had no designs upon the

labor, the property or the liberties of the Dominicans. Otherwise he would have found them, as exploitationists always pretend to do, inferior to other races, and fit only for exploitation by the white race. It is hardly in the nature of a lazy white man to think of a "lower" race or group of people without itching to have them forced to work for him.

+ +

#### **A Labor Union Problem.**

In skilled employments in which men are hired by the day or the week, a perplexing question of wages-regulation is arising. All men in a trade are not equally skillful; and in most trades, perhaps, there is a class of lower grade men who can do, after a fashion, a large proportion of the work as it runs. These men tend to hold wages down. If unions established minimum wages on the basis of the value of the well-skilled men, employers would be driven to resist unionism because they could afford to pay such wages only for part, and a comparatively small part of their work. The result is a tendency under union rules to a low minimum. To obviate this difficulty, some trade unionists advocate a technical examination for admission into unions. This would certainly improve unionism in one respect; it would make membership a guarantee of good workmanship. But on the other hand, the less efficient workmen who were excluded would be a constant menace to the strength of the unions. Since they would be competent to do such work in the trade as does not require high skill (a large proportion in almost every skilled trade), their pressure for employment would probably be so great as to disrupt the unions. And if wages within the union were classified, supposing that to be possible, the first-class mechanic would be out of employment except when high grade work was demanded. As economic conditions now are, the only course consistent with the maintenance of unionism seems to be to stand firmly by the present policy of fixing a minimum wage and letting employers pay more if they wish to and when and to whom they wish.

+

So long as opportunities for employment are restricted by law, the supply of workers being thereby kept in excess of opportunities for work, trade unions can be only defensive organizations and at a great disadvantage at that. But let restrictions to employment be removed, so that opportunities for work will constantly exceed the supply of workers, and the adjustment of wages to competency will be a simple and entirely practicable

matter. The essence of the whole question is the relation of the number of workers to opportunities for work. And the right end of this question is not the idea of too many workers, but of too few opportunities.

+ +

#### Senator Bailey and the Railroad Question.

One of the most persistent of the public men of his own party who urged Mr. Bryan to say nothing in favor of railroad ownership by government, was Senator Bailey of Texas. It now transpires that Mr. Bailey is in the midst of corporation combines, making money as a lawyer for great predatory interests. Mr. Bailey claims the right to practise law and to serve as a Democratic Senator at the same time. No one disputes this. But he has no more right, while a Senator, to practise law for clients whose interests depend upon senatorial action or inaction, than he would have to take retainers from any other two clients whose legal rights conflict. It may be that Mr. Bailey is not in fact influenced as a Senator by the interests he represents as a lawyer, but that is something which few believe and about which even he himself cannot be sure.

+ +

#### The Independent Ticket in Chicago.

Thanks to the efforts of the Hearst papers, a clean and strong judicial and county ticket of men of both parties has been put into the field against the tickets (pp. 458, 464) of the two machines. And this has been supplemented by an independent county ticket, to which the voters who are disgusted with the machine nominations can rally with reasonable hopes of success. As the ticket of the Democratic (Roger C. Sullivan) machine is losing by declination most of the good candidates upon it, there is reason to believe that the contest will be between the Republican machine, aided by Sullivan, and the independent ticket.

+ +

#### Judge Windes' Traction Decision.

One of the ablest judges on the bench in Chicago, Judge Thomas G. Windes, has made a decision which brings the Chicago traction question a long ways nearer to final adjustment in accordance with the policy of Mayor Dunne. By holding that the Mueller law is constitutional (p. 560) and the action under it of the City Council valid, his decision removes the last hope but one of the traction companies. That one last hope is the Supreme Court of the State, to which an appeal now goes directly and from which a decision may

be expected before the first of the year. Judge Windes' decision is so clear, strong and comprehensive, and his standing as a jurist is so high, that a reversal is hardly probable.

+ +

#### Legitimate and Illegitimate Fortunes.

The Houston Post drew the correct line of demarcation between legitimate and illegitimate fortunes when it said in its issue of July 29: "If men are accumulating dangerous fortunes in the United States it is because they are enjoying privileges to which they are not entitled. By applying correct principles to such conditions, the remedy would be automatically afforded. It would be wrong to take away one's property because less successful men may think he has too much. Let every man earn every cent that he legitimately can and let him have what he earns, but stop the system of giving to a few men the privilege to exploit the masses. Let not the many rob the few, but for heaven's sake stop the few from robbing the many."

+ +

If this were made the guiding principle, a vast number of baffling problems would vanish. And that it is coming into recognition as the true guiding principle there are many reasons to believe. The foregoing quotation from the Houston Post, for instance, finds an echo in the editorial columns of the Ohio State Journal of September 15. Commenting with gratifying directness upon a remark of Goldwin Smith that inequalities of wealth have sprung from inequalities of bodily and mental powers which social revolution cannot change, the Journal truly says: "The social conflict—the political contention, possibly—is not to change these natural conditions. There is a problem that lies before that—something within the range of practicability—which relates to the removal of those artificial inequalities which the law has set up, whereby a man makes a million or two, not by virtue of some favor that God has given him in intellect, industry, aspiration, but purely through some privilege that law has given him in response to some influence that is shrouded with suspicion. This is what is hurting the country—not the diversity of fruits gathered through the natural inequality of men."

+ + +

To whomsoever the soil at any time belongs, to him belong the fruits of it. White parasols and elephants mad with pride are the flowers of a grant of land.—Sir William Jones's Translation of an Indian grant of land, found at Touna.

## ELEMENTARY CIVICS.

Some of the vague notions about the American flag that prevailed before the Civil War were ludicrously exemplified by a community of average intelligence and sterling patriotism, not more than seventy miles from New York, who held their first "Union mass meeting" in 1861 under the folds of an immense home-made flag. They came near to using a flag of red, white and blue stripes and an insignificant number of blue stars upon a white field. A neighbor who had "been to the city" returned in the very nick of time to advise a change.

Mistakes like that could not now occur. The American flag has become as familiar as the face of a friend, and along with familiarity there has grown up a warm affection for it in the hearts of the people.

But this affection is not necessarily a good thing. It portends good or evil according to its essential character. To idolize the flag itself, its combination of fibre and color and form, is to worship a fetich. To cherish it as a symbol merely of the glory of the past is to live out our patriotism in graveyards. Unless "Old Glory" means to us something different from that and far deeper, by making it an object of adoration we deaden civic conscience and furnish equipment for demagogues. If, on the other hand, we revere the flag as our symbol of liberty, remembering that liberty is not a sacred corpse to be preserved, but a growing tree to be nurtured and guarded, the aureole of a new glory will bathe "Old Glory" in resplendent light.

Doing this with intelligence is good citizenship. But it must be done with intelligence. Patriotism without sense, like faith without works, is dead; it may be noisy, but nevertheless it is dead. It needs the vitalizing force of intelligence, and this it is the function of what we call "civics" to supply.

+

"Civics" denotes the science of citizenship, of the relations between citizens and the government. It includes duties in society, governmental methods and machinery, law in its direct applications to the interests of society, political economy, and the history of civic development and movement. Its field, therefore, is so extensive that if good citizenship depended upon a comprehensive knowledge of the subject we might well throw up our hands in despair and turn this popular government of ours over to the absolute management of doctors of sociology. But good citizenship depends upon no such impossible condition.

An every-day kind of man can grasp the elementary principles of civics readily and apply them intelligently. It is not a loose aggregation of the elements of all the sciences that this science in part includes—ethics, political science, law, political economy, and political history,—but a combination or melting into a complete whole of so much of what is elementary in those sciences as relates directly to the rights and duties of the citizen as a citizen.

Civic ethics is the flux with which this melting is done, the integrating factor of the science. It refers, not to each man's duties to other men individually, which is private morality, but to the duties of each to his community as a whole and the duties of the community as a whole to him.

+

When the idea of civic ethics is caught, the deepest of all political truths springs to the surface. It is seen at once that there must be such a thing as right social order, such a thing as a principle of government that will stand the test of ethics, a principle that does not depend upon history, but is right simply and solely because it is ethical.

And we need not wait long or go far to learn that this principle of government is the democratic principle. Democracy is the only morally sound principle of government. It alone aims to secure equal rights, and until inequality of rights can be squared with our sense of justice, the democratic principle cannot be rejected without repudiating ethics as a civic factor.

+

Chief among the corollaries of this central principle are home rule and universal suffrage.

The principle of home rule is violated whenever the local affairs of a community are controlled from outside. To illustrate with our own institutions: Every municipality should be absolutely independent regarding those affairs which in their nature concern its citizens alone; affairs that in their nature are of common concern to the citizens of the State at large, and do not affect the rights of citizens of other States, should be managed by the State; and affairs that in their nature are of common concern to all the States, together with those that relate us to foreign peoples, should be subject to Federal control. Under existing laws the principle of home rule is but imperfectly recognized, and one of the most pressing duties of good citizenship is to improve the laws in this respect.

The only just limitations of suffrage, the other

chief corollary of the central principle, are those that nature plainly imposes or that personal conduct compels. Idiots and lunatics cannot vote; they are by nature incapacitated for intelligent judgment. This is also true of children. Convicts may be justly held to have forfeited the right by personal conduct, provided the penalty is appropriate to the crime. But it is difficult if not impossible to specify other limitations that would not violate the central principle. Basing suffrage upon accidents of birth, upon sex, or upon wealth, is in effect a positive repudiation of the principle. Possession of wealth, so far from indicating civic superiority, is often evidence of the possession of civic qualities of the worst order. The sex limitation is so desperately false in principle that in democratic communities its defenders are forced to argue that women vote by proxy through men, an argument which in its final application would prove that an absolute monarchy is a democracy because the monarch votes the proxies of his subjects. Hereditary suffrage is so foreign to our ideas that we should spontaneously reject it if it were baldly proposed; but there is a tendency to regard the "well-born" as peculiarly qualified to govern, which at bottom is much the same thing. Educational limitations are of a different order, and offer more room for unprejudiced debate. It is doubtful, however, if they accomplish any good civic purpose, for illiterates are not the most dangerous citizens.

+

Most questions relating to suffrage rise out of the deplorable economic conditions of large cities, which are so bad that the democratic principle is often said to have broken down in cities. It is a false saying. The fault is not with democratic principle, but with the inadequacy of our recognition of that principle. We are not true to democracy, and aristocratic conditions creep in. Both the fact and the effect are more clearly seen in cities, because it is in cities that un-democratic conditions, though they prevail everywhere, are most highly developed.

According to the census of 1890, 94 families out of every 100 in New York were tenants. Allowance must, of course, be made for tenants who lived in hotels or fine houses or commodious flats, but even after that allowance, what a startling story of want upon the one hand and wealth upon the other these figures suggest. It is this juxtaposition of want and wealth that explains the breaking down of democracy in cities. How can the poverty-born or the poverty-stricken have

civic pride or civic virtue where evidence of vast wealth continuously confronts them, and exhibitions of indolent and often insolent luxury are on every hand? How can men be good citizens when they are barely able to live with hard labor while fellow-citizens enjoy the most delightful products of labor without laboring? This is a condition in which "beelers" flourish and "bosses" rule. Nor is it confined to cities. It is a general condition, and it has been growing worse. Is the cause to be found in private conduct, or in civic institutions?

That is the most vital question that good citizenship is called upon to answer. If private conduct is the cause, the citizen, as citizen, cannot help it; if civic institutions are the cause, every citizen is morally bound to help it. But the question cannot be answered intelligently without an understanding of the elements of political economy—not the mazes of the economics of the schools, but the great facts and great principles of industrial life which every one who thinks can understand.

+

Ethics points the citizen to the ultimate aims of citizenship, and arouses his sense of civic duty; civil law and the machinery of government furnish him with tools and explain the manner and circumstances in which they may be used; political history offers him examples and inspiration; but if he would learn the true way to do the right thing he must turn to those elements of political economy which consist simply in common-sense reasoning about a few of the large facts of every one's observation and experience.

For the determination of general civic policy it is enough to know elementary principles. To decide whether government ought to be democratic or aristocratic, whether special privileges giving economic advantages ought to be maintained, whether suffrage ought to be universal, whether taxation ought to be equalized in proportion to benefits, and the like, does not require expert knowledge. For the adjustment of details expert knowledge of present and historical conditions may be indispensable; for in adjusting details we are confronted with a condition as well as a theory, and those who best understand both theory and condition are most fully equipped for the task. But in deciding upon policies, which is the primary function of citizenship, the thing desired rather than the details of accomplishment, is the first consideration.

## 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, September 19.

### The United States Intervenes in Cuba.

By the 12th the United States government had four cruisers and one gunboat in or near Cuban waters, following in the wake of the Des Moines, reported last week as ordered to Key West (p. 559). The insurgents continued advancing. By the 13th they were in complete control of the province of Pinar del Rio, and of Santa Clara province except the city of Santa Clara, and held Havana province up to within a mile of the city of Havana. Under date of the 11th the insurgents issued the following proclamation to the American people, from their "Headquarters in the Field," near Cruces, Santa Clara province:

To the American People: Difficulties have arisen among us regarding questions of liberty and law or of peace. We do not ask for sympathy. We ask only an open field, that we may settle with Cubans and for Cubans the issues that we have joined.

There has come a time in the history of this republic when the only way to secure a permanent and righteous peace safe in regard to constitutional liberties is by war. Under the empty name of a republic the shackles of the overthrown Spanish dominion have again been imposed upon us.

Our constitution has been cast aside with contemptuous egotism. Royal laws of ancient regime have been revived and issued to us with the very forms and words of royal Spanish decrees. Absolutism is again fastening itself upon Cuba, and in the more dangerous guise and formulas of a republican system that is but the shell of democratic ideals, it has become necessary to resort to arms, not for war if it can possibly be avoided, but as a demonstration before the court of last resort that the spirit that for a century has fought against royal oppression still endures and will suffer again the hardships of campaigns rather than yield the fruits of their hard won liberties by a vast majority.

Cuba is with us. If the present administration in Havana so chooses it will be war. No longer will we be tricked by commissioners from Palma and armistices whose authority and validity he then denies. The intervention of the United States we do not wish. It is our own Cuban question—a question of our rights and liberties—that we ourselves must settle. And in considering the question we ask consideration of the fact that it is one fraught with more consequences to Cuba than of momentary commercial loss or gain.

The rights and properties of Americans will be respected by our forces. That all in Cuba will suffer as the result of the depression due to war is unfortunate and inevitable, but it is the Cubans, our countrymen, who will suffer most, and with their patriotism they are gladly accepting the sacrifice, for out of it will emerge the firmer rights and absolute liberties of real constitutional government.

To those Americans who believe in the liberties of all peoples, and that right and justice should triumph even

over peace, we present to your sympathies our cause.

(Signed)

EDUARDO GUZMAN, General Defe la Division de las Villas.

ORESTES FERRARA, General de Brigada Sabino Caballero.

JACINTO PORTALLO, Colonel Abelardo Rodriguez dey Rey Teniente.

Chiefs of the army in Santa Clara province.

+

On the 14th President Roosevelt addressed a letter on the subject of intervention to Mr. Donzalo de Quesada, the Cuban Minister to the United States. After giving expression to his friendly sentiments and his hopes for Cuba, the President said:

Our intervention in Cuban affairs will only come if Cuba herself shows that she has fallen into the insurrectionary habit, that she lacks the self-restraint necessary to her peaceful self-government, and that her contending factions have plunged the country into anarchy.

I solemnly adjure all Cuban patriots to band together to sink all differences and personal ambitions, and to remember that the only way that they can preserve the independence of their republic is to prevent the necessity of outside interference, by rescuing it from the anarchy of civil war.

I earnestly hope that this word of adjuration of mine, given in the name of the American people, the staunchest friends and well wishers of Cuba that there are in all the world, will be taken as it is meant, will be seriously considered, and will be acted upon, and if so acted upon Cuba's permanent independence, her permanent success as a republic, are assured.

Under the treaty with your government I, as President of the United States, have a duty in this matter which I cannot shirk. The third article of that treaty explicitly confers upon the United States the right to intervene for the maintenance in Cuba of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty.

The treaty conferring this right is the supreme law of the land and furnishes me with the right and the means of fulfilling the obligation that I am under to protect American interests. The information at hand shows that the social bonds throughout the island have been so relaxed that life, property, and individual liberty are no longer safe.

I have received authentic information of injury to and destruction of American property. There should be cessation of hostilities and some arrangement made which will secure the permanent pacification of the islands.

I am sending to Havana the Secretary of War, Mr. Taft, and the Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Bacon, as the special representatives of this government, who will render such aid as is possible toward these ends. I had hoped that Mr. Root, the Secretary of State, could have stopped in Havana on his return from South America, but the seeming imminence of the crisis forbids further delay.

Through you I desire in this way to communicate with the Cuban government and with the Cuban people, and, accordingly, I am sending you a copy of this letter to be presented to President Palma, and have also directed its immediate publication.

+

The Cuban Congress met in special session on the 14th (p. 559), and though lacking one or two of a quorum in both Senate and House, proceeded to meet the crisis by granting full powers to President Palma to carry on the war, including the right to appropriate any public funds for war purposes; revoking appropriations voted at the preceding session

of Congress, in order to permit the diversion of the moneys involved to prosecution of the war, and authorizing increases of the rural guards to 10,000, and the artillery to 2,000 men. With the approach of the American emissaries a truce was called by President Palma, but apparently with only temporary effect, according to the dispatches, although the following letter from General Castillo, the commander of the insurgents in Havana province, to Mr. Sleeper, the American chargé d'affaires at Havana, was reported on the 17th:

In view of the letter of the President of the United States to the Palma government, I have the honor to inform you that we are disposed to suspend hostilities in order to facilitate peace efforts, provided these are based on new general elections, with guarantees of justice and legality, and on the resignation of the present forced administration and guarantees that the peace be lasting.

The revolutionists do not intend to permit government by force. They insist that the people possess the inviolable right of electing congress and provincial and municipal officers. We have no candidates, but we shall never permit elections manipulated by executive fraud and violence to stand.

If through the mediation of Mr. Roosevelt's government and a fair construction of the laws, honest elections ensue, the people who are in arms will suspend operations as soon as you secure a similar disposition on the part of Palma. With other interests and respecting the majesty of the government we sincerely hope for a peace which shall cement justice and honesty through the arbitration of the President of the United States.

+

On the 19th Secretary Taft and Mr. Bacon arrived in Havana.

+ +

#### Politics in the United States.

After the adoption of its platform (p. 558), the State convention of the Independence League in New York, nominated on the 12th a full State ticket. Inasmuch as large numbers of delegates to the Democratic convention to be held next week were known to favor the nomination by the Democrats of William Randolph Hearst for governor, it had been supposed that the Independence League might nominate Mr. Hearst, and then, without making any further nominations take a recess until after the Democratic convention, so as to make fusion between the two parties possible. But this policy was voted down by the delegates to the League convention, and the following candidates were nominated:

Governor, William Randolph Hearst; lieutenant governor, Louis Stuyvesant Chanler; secretary of state, John S. Whalen; treasurer, George A. Fuller; controller, C. H. W. Auel; state engineer and surveyor, Frank L. Getman; attorney general, John Ford. Mr. Hearst appeared personally before the convention, accepting the nomination in an informal speech and promising a formal letter later.

+

On the 11th the Republican convention of Ohio (p. 489) organized at Dayton. A sensational incident was the speech of Senator Foraker, in which he defended his right to oppose President Roosevelt or any other man, and declared that the convention must not indorse him as senator nor the party re-

elect him if his methods were not liked. Senators Foraker and Dick, leading the Hanna faction of the party, dominated the convention on the 12th. A reform movement led by Congressman Burton of Cleveland to oust Senator Dick as chairman of the State executive committee was defeated by 573 to 285. Both senators were endorsed, and Carmi A. Thompson was nominated for secretary of state. The platform demands the maintenance of the Republican policy of protection and the correction of tariff schedules along protective lines and by the Republican party.

+

In Colorado the Democrats nominated Alva Adams (vol. vii, p. 805) for governor on the 13th. The platform endorses Bryan for President. On the 15th the Republicans nominated Philip B. Stewart for governor. The Democratic convention in California (p. 560) endorsed Bryan for President and nominated Theodore A. Bell for governor on the 12th; and on the same day the Democratic convention of Connecticut nominated Charles F. Thayer for governor. On the 14th the Democratic convention of Wyoming nominated S. A. D. Kelster for governor. The Republican convention for New Hampshire met on the 18th. After 9 ballots in a hard struggle by Winston Churchill (p. 506) against the railroad candidate, Charles M. Floyd, the latter was nominated, the vote being 408 for him, and 335 for Churchill, with 56 scattered. Churchill succeeded in getting into the platform demands for the abolition of railroad passes and for a registration of lobbyists.

+ +

#### Mr. Bryan's Speaking Trip.

Leaving St. Louis where he spoke on the 11th (p. 561), Mr. Bryan went to Louisville, speaking there on the 12th to an audience of 2,000. Explaining here his New York speech on government ownership of railroads, he said:

I have spoken for myself and myself alone. I did not know how the suggestion would be received, but it has not been treated as harshly as I thought possibly it might be treated. There is this, however, I do expect, namely, that those Democrats who oppose government ownership will accompany their declaration with the assertion that they will favor government ownership whenever they are convinced that the country must choose between government ownership of the roads or railroad ownership of the government.

On the 13th Mr. Bryan spoke in Cincinnati, Ohio, to 10,000, on the 17th at Raleigh, Durham, Burleigh and Greensboro, N. C., and on the 18th at Charlotte, N. C.

+ +

#### Progress of Chicago Traction Movement.

The last act but one in the legal phases of the movement for municipal ownership of the traction service of Chicago (p. 560) took place in the court room of Judge Thomas G. Windes of the Circuit Court of Cook County, Illinois, on the 16th, when Judge Windes delivered his opinion in support of the Mueller law and the ordinance adopted pursuant to it by the Chicago City Council.

+

The argument, which occupied several days, had been made by leading lawyers in opposition to the

traction policy of Mayor Dunne, and by Walter F. Fisher (special counsel for the city) in support of that policy; and when Judge Windes delivered his opinion he reviewed at great length every important point that had been raised. The technical basis of the decision is a demurrer to a bill for an injunction, which has the effect of admitting the facts set out in the bill and denying that they show any right to judicial interference. Judge Windes sustained the demurrer and dismissed the bill. Consequently, the certificates authorized by the Council and the people on referendum (p. 32) are held to be valid. The case now goes directly to the Supreme Court of the State upon appeal by the adversaries of the municipal ownership movement.

+

While these legal proceedings are in progress, the negotiations for purchase (pp. 347, 361) are also moving forward. The Union Traction and the Chicago City Companies submitted on the 17th their valuation of their property, including both their franchises and their tangible property. Their valuation is as follows:

	Union Traction.	City railway.
Tangible property .....	\$29,294,472	\$20,103,936
Intangible property .....	13,825,040	10,322,228
Totals .....	\$43,119,512	\$30,426,164
Grand total .....		\$73,545,676

Mayor Dunne declares this sum to be grossly excessive.

+ +

**Municipal Ownership Questions in Seattle.**

At the municipal referendum election in Seattle on the 12th, two questions relative to municipal ownership were voted upon. One of the questions proposed bonds for extending the water supply system, and this was carried. But the heat of the contest was over a proposed issue of bonds to establish a municipal traction system, which was bitterly fought by financial interests. Socialists of local prominence also opposed it. The plan had been proposed by the city engineer, Mr. R. H. Thompson. It contemplated a complete system, and proposed general bonds to the amount of \$1,272,000 and bonds upon the revenues of the proposed system to the amount of \$3,000,000. To legalize the plan the bonds had to be voted by three-fifths of a popular vote. The ordinance authorizing the plan had been adopted in City Council, August 17, with only one dissenting vote, although that body is composed of 13 Republicans and but two distinctly municipal ownership members. The Republicans voted affirmatively because their platform last spring had pledged them to support the municipal ownership policy. At the election a total vote of 13,154 out of a total registration of 23,000 was cast. It resulted in 5,974 for the bond issue, and 7,180 against it. There was an affirmative majority in 6 out of the 11 wards, and a three-fifths affirmative vote in only 2. The strongest adverse ward was the 1st—the "tough" ward of Seattle. Commenting upon the result of the election the Seattle Star of the 13th describes it as follows:

The Seattle Electric Company, aided by other public service corporations, put up a fierce fight at the polls yesterday and crushed down the proposition to establish a city owned street railway system. Corporation interests were solidly lined up together in this contest, backed

by three newspaper organs. Money was spent without stint and extraordinary efforts were put forth to obtain votes. Employees of the electric company and several other corporations were made to understand quite plainly that votes in favor of the municipal system would be not only displeasing, but decidedly risky. Many of the men knew they would be closely questioned as to how they voted, and would either have to lie out of it or tell the truth and take the consequences. But there was undeniably a large number of votes cast against the project by citizens who really believed that a municipal system, while right in theory, would not work well in practice. They were in some cases misled by untruthful statements published in corporation serving dailies, and were thus given a wrong impression as to the condition of the city's finances and its credit. Others again, who were not misinformed, but who honestly doubted the wisdom of municipal ownership of street railways, voted to perpetuate the Seattle Electric Company's monopoly in this city. The fact must not be overlooked that nearly 6,000 voters expressed themselves in favor of the municipal street railway scheme.

+ +

**The New San Francisco.**

San Francisco has gathered herself together and is laying out what is almost a new city (pp. 278, 280, 530, 542, 565). It is now declared that the actual damage by earthquake was but three per cent. of the total loss, ninety-seven per cent. being fire loss. The huge magnitude of the fire loss is laid to the breaking of the ill-constructed water mains of the private company which supplied San Francisco with water. Hereafter the city is to own and operate its water supply. Mr. Shafter Howard tells in Collier's for Sept. 1st of the city's plans for a special independent salt-water supply system for fire purposes. He says that—

This system will differ from those of Brooklyn, Philadelphia, and the one now being built in New York City, in that it will be elastic and capable of withstanding seismic disturbances, such as that of April 18. It will have an outer conduit of reinforced concrete, six feet high and four feet wide, carrying an inner conduit of steel or cast-iron twelve-inch pipe suspended from the ceiling of the outer conduit; this inner conduit to have flexible joints every twelve feet. These outer conduits will be required only at street crossings, and for the rest the spaces underneath the sidewalks will be used as the outer conduits, the inner being suspended from the sidewalk beams. With twenty miles of these elastic and protected conduits throughout the city, running from the water front through ten or twelve of the city's important streets, with emergency gates connecting them with the fresh-water supply system in the hilly parts of the city, and with eight pumping plants at the various terminals on the water front keeping a constant pressure in the mains, reservoirs will not be needed, and a constant and inexhaustible supply of water assured the Fire Department for the city's protection. This measure is a popular one in San Francisco, and will be built by the issue of bonds. It will take millions to do it, but as an insurance to property owners and to the city in general it will be worth many times its cost.

+ +

**Progress in Russia.**

The Constitutional Democrats are rallying (p. 418), but under difficulties. Mr. Stolypin, the prime minister, having prohibited a proposed meeting, their executive committee sounded the Finnish authorities in regard to a meeting in Finland, preferably at Helsingfors, to be held Sept. 21st. Not meeting with encouragement, an agent was sent on the

13th to Stockholm, to see if a meeting could be arranged for in Sweden. Mr. Stolypin is reported as saying that he considered the Constitutional Democrats to have been an undesirable party in the Douma because their "respectability" was a cloak for highly dangerous sedition and criticism. He liked the "group of toil" better. The Constitutional Democrats are said to be disturbed at the government's activity in putting its agrarian program into operation (pp. 441, 511), lest the distribution of so much land may win from the peasantry an acquiescence in the continuing life of the autocracy.

+

The ancient Diet of Finland, dating from 1772, and consisting of four chambers—nobles, clergy, burghers and peasants,—passed out of existence on the 18th, to be succeeded by a parliament of one chamber, elected by universal male and female suffrage (vol. viii, pp. 630, 715; vol. ix, p. 300).

+

The much-feared and hated General Trepoff died on the 15th at his villa at Peterhof, of angina pectoris, according to official announcement. He had been prefect of the Moscow police under the Grand Duke Sergius; chief of police in St. Petersburg after "bloody Sunday"—Jan. 22, 1905; then chief of the Russian secret police; and latest of all, master of the palace at Peterhof, from which position he was removed early this month on the ground of failing health (p. 537).

## NEWS NOTES

—The fifteenth Universal Peace Congress was opened in Milan on the 15th.

—Aaron T. Biss, an ex-governor of Michigan, died at Saginaw on the 16th of apoplexy at the age of 69.

—Elihu Root, United States Secretary of State, left Callao, Peru (p. 561), on the 16th, for Panama.

—At Budapest, on the 16th, a monument to George Washington was unveiled in the city park amid great enthusiasm.

—More fighting with the Pulajanes is reported from Bara and La Paz, on the Island of Leyte, in the Philippines (p. 560).

—The Independence League of Chicago nominated a full county ticket on the 18th, and endorsed the independent judicial ticket.

—A demand for postal savings banks was made on the 15th at a large mass meeting in Chicago presided over by Mayor Dunne.

—Earthquakes continue in Chile (p. 560), and a volcano in the province of Nuble is in full eruption. Earthquakes are also reported from Sicily.

—Walter S. Logan, formerly president of the American Bar Association and a New York lawyer of pronounced sociological radicalism, died in New York in July.

—A dispatch from Vienna under date of the 13th states that under the new electoral reform bill of Austria the privilege hitherto accorded to women

who are landed proprietors, of voting at parliamentary elections, is abolished.

—At the New York Democratic primaries on the 18th the Murphy faction defeated the Mayor McClellan faction; and in Brooklyn, Patrick McCarren was continued in power in the party.

—John Alexander Dowie was defeated by Wilbur Glen Voliva in an election for the position of General Overseer of the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion, held on the 18th by order of Judge Landis, receiver for the Zion properties. In a total of 1,919 votes cast, Voliva received 1,906.

—Representatives of Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras were reported on the 16th to be in conference at San José, Costa Rica, for the purpose of signing a general peace treaty, in accordance with the preliminary peace treaty signed July 20th on the United States cruiser *Marblehead* (p. 395).

—The capital of Alaska has been changed from Sitka to Juneau. This change, to take place at some future time, had been provided for in a bill relating to Alaska some years ago. But a decision of the department of justice in Washington on July 20th, made the original plan suddenly and prematurely operative.

—The Empress of China has discovered that the edict issued several years ago forbidding the binding of little girls' feet to keep them of baby size all through life, has not met with general obedience. She has therefore issued another edict to the effect that in the future no men are to be taken into the government service whose wives or daughters have their feet bound.

—A frightful typhoon (as cyclonic winds in the China Sea are called) struck the city and harbor of Hongkong in the forenoon of the 18th, almost without warning. The harbor was full of shipping, large and small. The list of disasters is a long one, including the wrecking of five or six warships and more than 20 steamships, the loss of perhaps 1,000 lives, and the destruction of \$1,000,000 of property.

—The new Georgia child labor law prohibits the employment in any factory or manufacturing establishment of children under ten years of age under any circumstances. After January 1, 1908, night work between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m. is prohibited to all children under fourteen in factories; and all children under fourteen must also after this date for day work be able to read and write and have had twelve weeks' schooling, at least six of which must have been consecutive.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (see p. 491) for the month ending August 31, 1906, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for August, were as follows (M. standing for merchandise, G. for gold and S. for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M.....	\$241,005,200	\$213,210,094	\$27,795,106 exp.
G.....	1,901,326	17,774,224	15,872,898 imp.
S.....	8,409,801	6,009,878	2,399,923 exp.
	\$251,316,327	\$236,994,196	\$14,322,131 exp.

—A number of women in Italy having applied to have their names put on the voting lists, the matter was carried to the provincial court of appeals at

Ancona. The court has just decided in favor of the women, stating that under the Italian Constitution "The right to vote is a political right, which belongs to all the subjects of the kingdom save the exceptions specified by law. Such exceptions must be expressly stated, and it is not permissible to infer them from the silence of the law. Citizenship, considered as the highest political right and the foundation of all others, is defined in the civil code in general terms common to both sexes."

—The monthly statement of the United States treasury department (see p. 444) for August, 1906, shows the following for the month ending August 31, 1906:

Gold reserve fund .....	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash .....	200,686,875.03
Total .....	\$350,686,875.03
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1906 .....	328,087,283.25
Increase .....	\$ 22,599,591.78

—The Separation Law for the regulation of the relations of the state and the church in France (p. 463), is to be enforced in its entirety, but with the greatest respect for conscience and with broad interpretations, according to a dispatch of the 13th. Religious "associations" must be formed wherever it is desired to continue church services, and the Pope has declared against these for the Catholics. But the government hopes that opposition will subside. A decree closing a place of worship can only be issued where worship has not been exercised during a twelve-month preceding the enactment, or where no worship association has been formed; and no church will be closed before December, 1907.

—Four thousand Chicago Greeks crowded the two largest halls of Hull House and thronged the neighboring streets on Sunday, Sept. 16th, in a mass meeting for denunciation of the recent aggressive attacks of Bulgarians on the Greeks of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumania. The warfare was declared to be inhuman and unprovoked, and to be a manifestation of the continual creeping encroachment of the Slav. Ambassadors, to whom the resolutions will be sent, were requested to call the attention of their governments to the awful situation, and the President of the United States was requested to use his good offices in the matter. Thousands of dollars were contributed to the cause.

—The monthly treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government (see p. 445) for August, 1906, shows the following for the month ending August 31, 1906:

Receipts:	
Tariff .....	\$55,188,804.00
Internal revenue .....	43,955,418.87
Miscellaneous .....	9,162,226.98
	-----\$108,306,449.85
Expenses:	
Civil and Misc. ....	\$23,248,372.17
War .....	23,090,376.49
Navy .....	17,831,539.41
Indians .....	4,235,240.75
Pensions .....	25,073,108.96
Public works .....	14,596,790.77
Interest .....	5,586,743.03
	-----\$113,662,171.58
Deficit .....	\$ 5,355,721.73

## PRESS OPINIONS

### THE CUBAN PROBLEM.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Sept. 17.—Theodore Roosevelt believes that the president of the United States should be the high constable of the continent. Unless the common notion of him is mistaken, or a prompt Palma victory occurs, he will try his belief with the confidence and enthusiasm of experimenters in both mechanical and political aeronautics.



Auburn (N. Y.) Citizen (Dem.), Sept. 14.—In landing United States marines from the cruiser Denver and encamping them in the streets of Havana, Commander Colwell committed a grave act of indiscretion, which, in spite of all the efforts of the administration at Oyster Bay to undo it must heighten the Cuban internal complications and render the situation more delicate and serious. . . . If the United States succeeds in backing out gracefully and effectively from the Colwell dilemma, it will have great luck. It would not be amiss for Secretary Bonaparte to brush up his navy captains on their knowledge of international custom and law, and see how many he has like Colwell.



Mother Earth (Anarch.), September.—The big heart of the government is bleeding. It made a profitable bargain by liberating the Filipinos and the Cubans, who have since given ample cause for mourning. The liberated have proven themselves utterly unfit for the sort of freedom designed in Washington. What does the liberty of our colonies consist of, anyway? 'Tis merely removing the obstacles in the way of the American capitalists who are eager to press profits from the conquered people. Those who entertain a higher conception of liberty are Anarchists, and should be put in the care of the Secretary of the Navy, Bonaparte, who is about to transplant the knout to American soil. Liberty that stands for profits, for law and order, can be defined as collective stupidity that will suffer politicians and speculators to draw the wool over the eyes of the people. The Filipinos seem to have lacked proper appreciation for such order; therefore they had to be annexed. The Cubans were allowed more elbow space; they were guaranteed self-government—on paper. But according to the reports from Washington, they have made poor use of it; now they, too, will have to be annexed. What a terrible disappointment to the liberty-loving zeal of our government. Its intense desire is to carry the torch of liberty to all the nations of the globe; but as they are not so civilized as we Americans, it is our duty to make them so, even with Biblical and other cannons.



The Springfield (Mass.) Republican (Ind.) Sept. 13.—By reason of its geographical proximity to this country and its political relations with the United States, under the Platt amendment, Cuba presents a problem that is unique, and, possibly, of growing complexity. While the insular republic began its existence in 1902 under many highly favorable conditions, in certain other respects it was placed at a decided disadvantage. How the Cuban government was enfeebled is now being clearly demonstrated in the futile efforts to suppress speedily the insurrection through the government's own inherent power. As a result of the Platt amendment, the new republic made almost no effort to develop sufficient military force to maintain itself against internal attacks, its whole dependence in an emergency being placed in the United States government. It did not equip a single gunboat, and the so-called rural guard, or police, was the utmost extent of the government's

provision for its own defense. That Cuba finds itself far less prepared to deal with rebellion than Mexico or even Venezuela, not to mention Guatemala, which has lately encountered successfully a formidable uprising, is undoubtedly the direct result of the reservation of large powers of intervention by the United States when it withdrew its military forces from the island. The United States once occupied Mexico. Had our government, in withdrawing from that country, established itself in the same tutelary position which it now holds with relation to Cuba, it is much to be doubted that so strong a Mexico as exists to-day could have developed. We left Mexico, however, to depend upon itself entirely, and, whatever the future may bring, it is certain that for some 30 years no insurrection in that country has had the ghost of a chance to succeed. It need not be urged that the comparison between Mexico and Cuba is complete, yet the general proposition which Mexico's experience illustrates is hardly open to dispute. The best way to enable a country to maintain itself by its own strength is to throw it wholly upon its own resources. For such is the only method of determining whether that country can successfully buffet the storms to which every young nation is necessarily subject. We have flattered ourselves upon our wisdom in keeping Cuba tied to a lifeline, since it was thrown out to swim its own course, yet to-day we are distressed because, in its peril, the country does not breast the waves of revolt with a stronger and surer stroke. Why should it? The truth is that the Cuban government, from its beginning, has been conscious of the American lifeline and has adapted itself to lifeline conditions.

+ +

BRYAN.

The Johnstown Democrat (Dem.), Sept. 13.—It should be remembered that the persons who are now inveighing against Mr. Bryan have never been with him. They are the persons who have been opposing him from the first hour of his career. Mr. Bryan has made no new enemies, but he has been brave enough to keep his old ones.

+

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Sept. 15.—The fiction that the South is fearful of government ownership lest the "Jim Crow" cars will have to go should deceive no one. It was dragged forth in an effort to set the South against railway regulation, but it failed miserably. The people of the South are not a set of fools, even though at times their "leaders" may seek to make them ridiculous.

+

Auburn (N. Y.) Citizen (Dem.), Sept. 5.—We recall no occasion upon which any public man holding the relation to politics that Mr. Bryan does, has put himself on so high an ethical plane. Not only that, but should political action in this country, on the part of all parties, be so uplifted, the practical results in applying the great doctrine of equality and the resultant diffusion of justness and prosperity would be millennial.

+

The Akron (O.) Times (Dem.), Sept. 11.—Mr. Roosevelt will now be the resort of the baffled late Bryan boomers. Now he will,—by way of comparison at least,—be the safe and sane one to preserve the vested interests of the country against spoliation at the hands of the Nebraskan, who, alas! learned nothing, broadened none, and took on no culture while on his travels, but came home still a plain man of the people, content to stand up for the people's welfare and wholly unavailable as a corporation candidate. Well, as Mr. Bryan is thus thrust back upon the people, the people should hold up his hands in the fight he must make against the consolidated forces of organization, money, prestige, influence,—everything that is powerful and alluring, everything that makes for that which

already has more than it is entitled to or can safely be allowed to keep.

+ +

THE BANNER MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP CITY.

The Louisiana School Review (New Orleans), September.—Monroe, La., has really done a unique thing in American municipal history, it seems—at least, we have not seen the claim disputed—by owning and operating its street railway. It is an enviable eminence—the American championship in municipal ownership. As soon as Tom Johnson can disentangle his Cleveland road from injunctions, however, he will be claiming the heavy weight championship.

---

## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

---

#### OUR MOTHER'S STORE.

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

Oh, June delight! Oh, miracle each day  
Which points our path and signals us away!  
The piled luxuriance of pink and white  
Where orchards lately bloomed, a holy sight,  
Is now transformed to bowers of densest green,  
Where swelling fruits expand each day unseen.  
This wealth unreckoned is our Mother's store,  
Who never paints "No Trespass" on her door.

Who first called Nature "Mother"? In his soul  
The partial vanished in the larger Whole!  
A mother feeds her child with smiles and songs;  
No less her milk unto her babes belongs!  
A lavish mother has each son of earth,  
And sky and flower and mountain make him mirth.  
No less her fruits, and every hidden wealth  
Which warms and nurtures him and brings him health,  
Belong to him by equal right divine  
With airs that circulate and suns that shine.  
A mother lifts not one, thrusts others down,—  
For one a kiss, for one a niggard frown;  
Each hungering child receives his needful share,  
And drinks her being as he drinks the air,  
While all her children she in turn would call  
To share with each as she herself with all.  
What son were he, by food maternal blest,  
Who turned and pushed his brother from the breast!

+

Our Mother hails us! Comrades,—women, men!—  
All ye who honor her! With voice and pen  
Say something,—loftily,—from day to day,  
To bring the year for which the nations pray,  
When none of needed bounty shall go bare,  
But all in Nature's wealth have ample share.

+ + +

#### THE HUMAN HEART IS SOUND.

Wm. J. Bryan at Overflow Meeting Outside of Madison  
Square Garden, New York, Aug. 30, 1906.

The heart of the human race is sound. I have traveled in many lands, listened to many strange tongues, and met people of many hues, but I have found that the human heart is sound everywhere. I have found, too, that the sense of justice is sound everywhere. It is strong in this country of ours. Upon this strong sense of justice we must build our

trust. We must appeal to this sense of justice and say that among the men of our business world there must be no giants. We must say that no man that God has made should be forced to take an inferior position to the corporate men made by the trusts. We must have government monopolies if monopolies are necessary or where they are necessary.

+   +   +

### A FOOLOMETER.

The following story from Harper's Weekly is respectfully commended by Bolton Hall to those who are "relieving poverty":

Some visitors who were being shown over a pauper lunatic asylum inquired of their guide what method was employed to discover when the inmates were sufficiently recovered to leave.

"Well," replied he, "you see, it's this way. We have a big trough of water and we turns on the tap. We leave it running, and tells 'em to bail out the water with pails until they've emptied the trough."

"How does that prove it?" asked one of the visitors.

"Well," said the guide, "them'as ain't idiots turns off the tap."

+   +   +

### PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AS A SUFFRAGE EDUCATOR.

For The Public.

Earnest and careful investigations have been made and are still making by various bodies and public-spirited individuals into the results of municipal ownership in other countries, and the subject is a favorite one for discussion on many platforms in the United States. But the information which may result from these inquiries and discussions, if the present impressive trend of thought and opinion continue, may not be so important as a means of forming judgment as to the desirability of this method of ownership, as helpful perhaps in furnishing hints for the details of an already determined result. The most hopeful optimism can scarcely believe now in any process of relenting on the part of the great accumulations and combinations of capital in the course which they are pursuing, nor for any final help from the laws against the power which they exert. Hence it is scarcely necessary to go into the arguments furnished by those who are trying to stem the rising tide of public opinion by the Partingtonian besom of argument.

A defence of human nature, however, must be pleaded with all the strength of the most earnest conviction against the aspersion which is cast upon it by those who maintain that great pecuniary rewards are the necessary incentive to the service of humanity. The splendid results which accompany private discovery and manipulation (though these results are often filched from the inventor by the promoter) are not necessary to stimulate the man of science. Here again, as we believe we may safely trust the mass of people, we can also trust the great exceptionally gifted sons of men to do their best, as the best has been done and is being done to-day from real love of mankind, of science and of the truth, in thousands of laboratories and workshops all over the world. The foreboding that it will be otherwise is as untrue as it is unworthy. It is scarcely fitting to name here the one great Example or the

innumerable army of his followers of whom the world was not worthy; but are we not assured that Galileo, Newton, Galvani, Franklin, Harvey, Rumford, Nasmyth, Wedgewood, Darwin, Watt, Arkwright, Ericsson, the Stephenson, Pasteur, Graham-Bell, and their fellows made their contributions to humanity without hope of fee or reward, and would have made them in any case, even though their only compensation might have been their risk and labor and an approving self-consciousness?

It is said that industry may be stifled by the oppression of municipal ownership laws, as some of the American experts claim that it is stifled in Great Britain; but the people are the law, and they are, if ever, to learn wisdom through experience,—wisdom of general application, which will be of infinitely more value to them than the immediate material benefits derived from the private administration of their affairs by the little coterie of heaven-born "haute finance" and industrial chieftains. The belief of those who retain their faith in democracy is unshaken that when the truth is grasped by the slow-growing general apprehension that public ownership is a private ownership in which every citizen is a stock-holder who can influence his dividend by his own vote, as he certainly cannot do in any private corporation; not only will he be aroused to the fulfillment of his duty in these particulars but in all the other responsibilities of the suffrage.

From the ends of the world private enterprises are changing over into public control. New Zealand experiments have passed almost into precedents, and from Japan, which has suddenly become the cynosure of western eyes, the last word has come which rounds up the now almost unbroken chain of public railway ownership beyond England and America. What is offered in the United States to allay the dread of the arrogant and constantly increasing combinations of capital which aim to control not only the instruments of industry and all large reproductive undertakings but even the natural supplies of energy stored up in land and water?

We have been offered recently the alternative of the intervention of paternalism, but, however attractive for a time the brilliant and vigorous exercise may be of personal authority and influence by a popular functionary, a democracy cannot be long content with a control of its affairs inconsistent with its fundamental principles, nor its consciousness be permanently dulled in a comatose torpor only sporadically aroused by violent appeals to spasmodic action.

Daily diligence in the duties of citizenship; constant pressure upon our servants in the government, not so much to make but especially to execute good laws; perpetual vigilance, in short, is the price and safeguard of liberty. The extremes of indifference and of hero-worship are equally inconsistent with it. If liberty seems to have failed in producing the results claimed for it, since an inert people has allowed itself to be robbed right and left by a protective tariff, by the theft of public franchises and in a thousand other ways, only to be galvanized into activity by the voice of a demagogue or by the stimulus of some alarming crisis,—the true remedy for the loss of liberty is more liberty!

Is it not apparent that the enlargement and particularization of the sphere of his function must be the

efficient means of making the exercise of it deeply and persistently interesting to the citizen? Was there ever cause for complaint in any town of lack of interest in town-meeting when the warrant contained some new item of expenditure which directly involved an increase in the tax rate, were it only a few mills in the thousand?

Patriotism may be sluggish, but it is no cynical criticism, and only the recognition of a wholesome truth, to assert that the pocket nerve of the masses of the people is highly sensitive and quickly responsive. The selfishness of the capitalist may and often does operate against the public good, but the selfishness of the poor is the righteousness of the nation; the working man's demand for the due proportion between wages and the expenses of livelihood, is the voice of its conscience. The mass of the people may be blinded by the effects of indirect taxation and many forms of public theft, but it could not be deceived or made indifferent in the exercise of its power if that exercise affected directly the daily needs of life; if it had an obvious part in controlling the administration of the business, and consequently the cost, of furnishing heat and light, transportation and food and housing, of the necessary facilities for work and play, day in and day out.

Let the voter be aware that his vote does not merely help some boss or some party-or some platform, or procure for him some vague and untrustworthy promise of political reward, but that it helps to guide the affairs whose economical, upright and efficient management saves him money in his daily expenses, as Mayor Johnson of Cleveland has proposed to do by giving his fellow-citizens three cent car fares; and the voter will break away from platform and boss and party, and eagerly seek to cast his vote for honest men and honest measures which mean so much to him and to his family.

The very vital and pressing question of our day is how to prevent the tremendous capitalization of natural monopolies and reproductive undertakings now pressed forward with an eagerness which distinctly suggests that our captains of finance and industry foresee that the day for expropriation of public rights and public franchises is drawing to a close, so that to secure their enormous profits their inflated stocks and bonds in uncounted billions may be quickly distributed among multitudes of innocent investors, as in the case of Mr. Morgan's Georgia railway, purchased for \$7,000,000, and capitalized at \$42,000,000. This is indeed the paramount issue. Volumes of water are being solidified every hour of every business day into an indebtedness which it may be impossible to reach except through confiscation, saddling the state or the community with a monstrously increasing burden in the rapidly approaching day of public ownership.

ERVING WINSLOW.

+ + +

"Now," said the fond father to his little daughter, "I must go to town and earn some money to buy bread for little Annie."

"And to buy yachts for dada," responded the child, who seemed to have grasped the humility of the situation.

—Sporting Times.

## THE CONFESSIONS OF A MONOPOLIST

By FREDERIC C. HOWE, Ph.D.

Copyright, 1906, by The Public Publishing Company. All rights reserved.

+

### SYNOPSIS OF PRECEDING CHAPTERS.

In previous chapters the hero has related early experiences which tended to make him a monopolist, establishing it as a business principle with him to always tie a monopoly to any competitive business in which he engaged. He studies law, but finds the practice of it repugnant to his moral sense. He enters politics as a necessary step in the development of a land boom, a street railway and a gas company, in which he becomes successively interested. He learns first the value of a franchise, and second the value of control of political machinery as a business asset. He begins by "working" a City Council. Then by craftily appealing to the "business" element and to good citizenship, with the aid of a Sunday-closing crusade, he nearly wins out in an exciting mayoralty campaign. He discredits the Opposition Mayor, elected in spite of his efforts; gets hold of one Councilman after another by subtle influence, by bestowal of business graft, or by actual purchase; and procures his desired street railway franchise from a dumb Council, over the Mayor's veto. He then goes into the business of developing some coal mines. By playing off one railroad company against another he obtains rebates from one, which in the end ruins the road, besides driving his competitors out of business. In Chapter VII he accidentally runs against Amalgamated Copper on an upward market. It seems like gambling on a sure thing. Day by day he buys, while all the time it goes up. At last the tide turns. Day by day Copper falls. Finally he sells out, poorer by \$100,000, thankful that he was not wrecked, as hundreds in his city were. But he has not yet grasped the rules of the game. In Chapter VIII he learns the rules of the game:—how a panic is created; that the West buys on a bull market, and how to bull the market; that Wall St. profits by a bull market, but has things just where it wants them when the stocks begin to tumble; then the West drops its money, and Wall St. gets both stocks and money. Having learned his lesson he plays the game, and wins.

+

### CHAPTER IX.

#### I Become a State Boss and Am Elected to the United States Senate.

Through my street railway, gas, banking and railway connections, I had become the most influential person in the city. I was Chairman of the Republican Committee, and raised all the campaign funds. My enemies called me the Boss. The interests which I directed were the largest contributors to both parties; in fact, we kept the organizations alive between elections. Nobody else was interested, except at elections, and in time we reduced our methods to a system. Through the convention plan the make-up of city and county tickets was determined beforehand. Our business required this. And as time went on we became mixed up in State affairs as well. All sorts of measures were constantly coming up in the Assembly, and we found it necessary to look after the legislative ticket as well as the Council. I was frequently called to Washington to confer with the

President and the Senators from the State. In connection with them I disposed of the Federal patronage, and gradually came to be an influential force in State matters and to be entrusted with the local campaign in national affairs. I had found it advisable to acquire an interest in one of the local papers. Journalism was not only profitable, for we had a franchise from the largest press association in the country, which gave us a control of its service in the city, but we found it expedient to be in a position to mould public opinion on local and State matters, and in this way protect our many interests from the assaults of sensational papers always ready to make capital out of attacks upon property and vested rights.

I began to feel the joy of power. Not only this, but politics had come to envelop my business. I could not let go of one without letting go of the other. For under the laws of the State we could not secure perpetual grants, as is done in the East, and the council still retained a large measure of control over service and charges. After the fight with Ballantyne this fact became more apparent to us. He had created a sentiment in the city that was hostile to the gas and street railway companies, and even his departure from politics did not allay it. The people criticised the service, opposed little extensions and everything we did. They had forgotten the days when I was hailed as a public benefactor for developing the city. While our franchises were perfectly secure and could not be legally attacked, there were many petty annoyances to which we were put. Our property was now assessed on the same basis as other personal property, but an agitation had arisen in the State to assess our franchises at their value in the market, as well as our property. This would have greatly increased our valuation, and cost us annually hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Things were slowly getting beyond my control in the city and county. The Democratic party had never forgotten Ballantyne, discredited and defeated though he was. It had enjoyed a taste of power and the men with whom he had surrounded himself were tarred with his opinions. Moreover, there was a growing tendency to vote independently in city elections, to scratch the ticket and ignore the demands of party regularity. There was constant danger of striking legislation. A sentiment for municipal ownership was also growing in both parties. There was talk about regulating the street railway, reducing fares, or of compelling us to grant transfers, as well as for cheaper gas. All this I saw, although I did not greatly fear it, for even though the council should be against us we could always rely upon delay if not success by carrying the ordinances by injunctions into the courts.

We really had more to fear from the State Legislature than from the city, for while there was constant local agitation and considerable hostility against us, we had thus far been able to control both parties, and especially the city Council, and so long as we retained the convention plan of making nominations we had little to fear. In the last session of the legislature, however, we had been put to considerable annoyance by the activity of Senator Bradley, who had represented his county in the Assembly for three terms and was the recognized leader of the Senate.

He had secured the assent of the upper house to a measure abolishing the convention plan of making nominations and the substitution of a direct system under which the primaries of both parties were held jointly, and nominations for the city, county and State officers were made by the people without the intervention of delegates and the convention. Along with this he had carried on an aggressive fight for the taxation of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, street railway, gas and mining companies on their franchise value measured by the market value of their stock and bonds. Through his commanding influence he had worked this measure through the Senate, along with the primary law. The former measure would have quadrupled the taxes on my mining and railway properties, and more than trebled the assessment of our street railway and gas properties. In order to encompass their defeat we had called in the aid of Senator Stillman, who had come from Washington on an imperative telegram from me. Stillman was a brilliant speaker, and had slowly risen to the United States Senate through the Legislature and the lower house of Congress, and had managed to acquire a large fortune in his capacity of attorney for many large corporations. We had retained him at an extravagant figure to protect our interests before the Assembly. Through his influence a hurried caucus of the Republican members of the lower house was called, and a resolution passed substituting a harmless taxing measure for that which Bradley had passed in the Senate. The caucus also declared against the Direct Primary Bill. Stillman had some control over the Speaker, and when Bradley's measures came over from the Senate they were referred to a committee from which they could not be withdrawn except by the action of the House. In this way we pigeon-holed the measures, for had they once gotten before the House public opinion would have forced their passage. Stillman had managed this by threats, cajolery and promises of Federal patronage. His influence had been so serviceable to us that we had subsequently made him General Counsel of our railway system.

We had gotten through the last Assembly with safety, but Bradley had now grown ambitious and had recently announced his candidacy for Governor, and the farmers and newspapers in the smaller towns were supporting him. I knew the man well enough to feel that he would drive things through the Assembly with a high hand if he were elected Governor, and the State was so strongly Republican that there was little chance of electing a Democrat, even had we been disposed to adopt this alternative. There was, therefore, no use in seeing him or endeavoring to qualify his program by offering him our support. For through our control of the county machinery we were able to return the largest single delegation to the Assembly, and about one-fourth of the delegates to the Nominating Convention. With my backing he could have had the nomination. It was manifestly necessary to beat him before the Convention.

I canvassed the situation carefully, and finally went to Washington. I called directly upon Senator Williams, who was the senior Senator from the State. He was an old man who had served the State continuously in one capacity or another ever since the Civil War. His third term as Senator was expiring

and he was a candidate for re-election before the Assembly to be elected in the fall. Of late he had paid but little attention to State politics, and was out of touch with the organization, but the affection and esteem of the people for his long service rendered the retention of his seat practically dependent upon his own wishes. Up to that time there was no question of his return. He was one of the few poor men in the Senate. He supplemented his salary by literary work and lecturing.

He received me cordially in the Senate and took me to his committee room, with an inquiry as to whether he could be of any service to me. I had no liking for my mission and wanted to be out of the matter as quickly as possible. So I bluntly told him that I had come down to talk over matters, and see about the candidacy of Bradley for the Governorship.

"You know, Senator," I said, "Bradley gave us no end of trouble in the Assembly last winter. He introduced a lot of radical bills, and is not a safe man. He is trying to throw all the burdens of taxation on to the rich, and will not listen to reason. If he were permitted to pass such legislation as he has espoused, it would bankrupt a lot of corporations who have built up the State. Now," I continued, "I came to find out how you stood towards him, for, of course, we cannot permit him to have the nomination for Governor. With your influence we can beat him, and we have about decided to support John Martin, a banker from the eastern part of the State, who is a conservative and a reliable man, and who has generously contributed to the party's success for years. With your help and that of Senator Stillman we will be able to defeat Bradley and nominate Martin, and I came to see you in order to explain the situation."

Williams was very much surprised, and said: "Why, you know, Mr. Palmer, I fear I cannot help you. I could not do anything like that. I was in the same regiment with Bradley's father in the war. He comes from my own county, and I have been proud to watch over the young man's career since he has been in the Senate. I know he is perfectly honest in his ideas, and has always been a reliable party man, and I think he has earned this nomination by his good work in the Assembly. In fact, I didn't know there was to be any opposition to him. As you know, I haven't taken very much interest in local matters for a number of years, but had intended writing letters to my friends throughout the State to help the young man all I could. Further than this, he made the nominating speech for me for the Senate when I was last elected, and in so far as I made any campaign he looked after it for me. You can see, Mr. Palmer, that I could not go back on him now, even though I were so inclined, and I am sorry that you feel toward him the way you do, for I am confident he would make a most excellent Governor."

I urged all the considerations I could upon Senator Williams, although I felt confident he could not be induced to change his mind. However, I was rather indifferent to his decision, for he possessed little influence of a practical sort, his popularity lying with the people rather than with the organization. And if he would not consent to see Bradley and call him off in a personal way, he could be of very little assistance to us.

Moreover, I was maturing other plans. I had now accumulated a large fortune. It was constantly increasing in value and required political rather than business skill. The street railway franchise which we had obtained was now secure for fifty years, and the city was growing so rapidly and our earnings increasing at such a rate that our securities were readily marketable. I had been before the State Assembly enough to be pretty familiar with its methods, and the character of the men who composed it, and was now in touch with all the leaders in the State. We had found it necessary in recent years to secure a good deal of legislation, and prevent striking measures, and I had looked after these matters.

With my family I had spent some winters at Washington, and I had there become acquainted with many members of Congress, and through Stillman had met most of the leaders in the Senate. And as I looked about that body, I noticed that the majority of them were business men like myself. In fact, the most of the Northern States were represented by men whose interests were identical with my own. The Western States had sent on mining kings, while the Middle and Eastern States had sent railway and street railway owners and men who had risen to eminence in their profession as railway attorneys. As a matter of fact, there were few Northern States outside of New England which were not represented by business men of my class. My mind would not abandon the idea that if those men could get into the United States Senate, why shouldn't I? Moreover, my wife wanted to go to Washington, and one of my daughters had just come out into society and liked the gaiety of the Capital.

After leaving Senator Williams I went immediately to see Senator Stillman. I could speak to him with the utmost candor, as he was our counsel and we were paying him a handsome retainer. I said:

"Stillman, we've got to beat this man Bradley for the nomination. He is a dangerous man, and if he carries his plan through, he will break up your control of your city and tax our properties out of existence. We want you to turn in now and use your influence to beat him in the Convention. You have controlled most of the Federal patronage for the last six years and can send a lot of delegates to the Convention. Couldn't you send for some of your postmasters and revenue officers, have them come to Washington and go over the situation? Martin is perfectly acceptable to us for Governor, and he has backed you up in your campaign. He is a safe man and nothing can be said against him. As soon as we get this thing started, and the primaries are coming on now in a couple of months, you can get in touch with your postmasters and other friends and bring them into line. Through your influence and my own we can pretty nearly control the Convention, and I expect to see Boss McGuire to-morrow."

Stillman had to fall in with my plan, for he had everything to gain and nothing to lose by so doing. He agreed to send for his men, and through them get in touch with the situation in the State.

That night I started home and stopped off to see McGuire, who was the Boss in the second largest city in the State. I had known him for a number of years, and in the preceding session of the Assembly we had used his influence to beat Bradley's measures. He

had been a paving contractor in his early days, and through his touch with the city had acquired absolute control over it. He had drifted into the saloon business and was said to control the gambling outfits in the city. He owned a stone quarry and a brick works and represented an Eastern asphalt paving company. One or the other of his materials was specified in all paving and sewer contracts, and by this time he had grown to be a man of financial as well as political influence. He had handled the franchises for the local street railway company in the council, which were subsequently sold out to an Eastern syndicate at a big profit, and was now said to be desirous of securing legislation from the next Assembly for the brewers' syndicate.

For this reason it was necessary for him to have a Governor on whom he could rely, and I knew Bradley was not his kind of man. If I could line him up, I felt we had Bradley beaten, and with him it was not necessary to beat around the bush. We speedily came to terms. He controlled the delegation from his county to the State Convention, and would make up the legislative ticket. I arranged that our delegation to the Assembly would back his measures if he would support Martin for Governor and me for the United States Senate. He already hated Senator Williams, who had ignored all his recommendations in making Federal appointments, and had lost no opportunity to condemn his political methods.

But even with this combination of Senator Stillman and McGuire, I did not feel secure. Bradley was a popular campaigner, and had the younger members of the party with him. He was a brilliant speaker of the agitator sort, and was going about from county to county looking after his interests. To make things more secure, I called a conference of the leading railway officials of the State. They all had local attorneys to look after their interests in the counties through which their roads passed, and had great influence with the county auditors. I explained to them the dangers of Bradley's election; showed them that if he had his way, their taxes would be increased by millions, and that the next step would be some attempted reduction of freight and passenger rates like those which had been tried by the Granger laws of the West.

We worked out a plan of campaign. From them I secured promises of campaign subscriptions. Through their general counsel they were to get in touch with their local attorneys, and make a fight in the Convention, and where possible have the local attorneys go to the Legislature themselves. This was the more easy inasmuch as most of the attorneys had been chosen because of their political prominence. In the Democratic counties the same policy had been pursued. For the railways wanted some one who would look after their taxes, who knew the juries, and kept in touch with local political affairs. By this means we would be able to undermine Bradley in the country districts where he was strongest, and secure a strong following of able men in the Assembly who would aid the city delegates. I took the names of their attorneys, and one by one had them call upon me, and then aided them materially in their campaigns. For while I was not chairman of the State Committee, I had been made treasurer, and distributed the campaign funds myself.

In my own county I arranged for the selection of delegates to the State Convention who were satisfactory to us, and subsequently made up the slate for the Assembly.

On the evening of the State Convention we had perfected our arrangements. We controlled the Temporary Chairman, who appointed the Committee on Credentials, which passed upon contesting delegates. The Committee threw out a number of counties representing Bradley, and by this means we increased our majority on the floor. The Committee on Permanent Organization reported officers favorable to us, and, although Bradley made a vigorous fight, Martin was easily nominated, and resolutions of an ambiguous sort relative to taxation and election reform incorporated into the platform.

The following November the State ticket was elected by a large majority, and the Republicans had an easy control of both houses in the Assembly. All this time I was in frequent consultation with Stillman and McGuire over the Senatorship. A few weeks before the Assembly convened interviews appeared in a number of the leading papers from prominent politicians suggesting my candidacy for the Senate. These were backed by editorials to the effect that this was a business age, and business men were needed to deal with the large affairs of the nation. They said our expanding trade, the necessity of a protective tariff and measures of this sort demanded that we have men of business experience, if America was to take her proper place in the family of nations.

On the convening of the Assembly caucuses of the Senate and House were held for the nomination of Speaker and Clerk. These were most important offices to us. The Speaker made up all committees, and the Clerk, through his influence and control of legislative matters, was able to be of great assistance to us. We had decided upon satisfactory candidates, and they were chosen with but little opposition. There was little danger from any tax legislation, for the State Convention had shelved Bradley's proposals, and the committees were so made up that they would follow our wishes in their reports upon pending legislation.

The chief fight was to be over the United States Senatorship and the legislation demanded by the brewers. There was a strong undercurrent of opposition to the latter measure among the country members, while they were mostly favorable to Williams for the Senate. Williams was very popular with them, and the temperance sentiment in the smaller communities was very pronounced. I knew the representatives from my own district could be relied upon to do as I wanted in these matters, as there was little interest in temperance legislation in the larger cities, and the Brewers' Association was an influential force in politics. I opened headquarters at the leading hotel and announced my candidacy for the Senate. I called in the representatives from the country districts. I was sure of my own delegation and that of McGuire, as well as of some friends of Senator Stillman, who was supporting my candidacy in a quiet way. He did not want to appear openly in the matter because of his long intimacy with Williams. But that was not necessary, as I had the support of his friends in the Assembly. As Treasurer of the State Committee I had met with many of the candidates, and my

# Publishers' Column

## The Public

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

Familiarity with The Public will commend it as a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

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

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

### TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION

Yearly ..... \$1.00  
Half yearly ..... .50  
Quarterly ..... .25  
Single copies ..... .05  
Trial subscription—4 weeks ..... .10  
Extra copies in quantity, \$1.00 per 100, in lots of 50 and upward; if addressed to individuals, \$1.50 per 100.  
Free of postage in United States, Canada, Cuba and Mexico. Elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week.

All checks, drafts, postoffice money orders and express money orders should be made payable to the order of The Public Publishing Co. Money orders or Chicago or New York Drafts are preferred, on account of exchange charges by the Chicago banks.

Subscribers wishing to change address must give the old address as well as the new one.

Receipt of payment is shown in about two weeks by date on wrapper.

The date on wrapper shows when the subscription expires. All subscribers are requested to note this date and to remit promptly for renewal of subscription when due.

### TERMS OF ADVERTISING

Per agate line, each insertion.....\$ 0.00  
Per inch (14 lines), each insertion..... 1.00  
Per column, (120 lines), each insertion..... 10.00  
One-quarter page (30 lines), each insertion..... 5.00  
One-half page (120 lines), each insertion..... 10.00  
One page (240 lines), each insertion..... 20.00  
Last cover page, each insertion ..... 25.00  
Last cover half page, each insertion..... 12.50  
Last cover quarter page, each insertion..... 6.25  
Advertising forms close on the Tuesday preceding the Saturday of publication.

Hours: 10 a. m. to 4 p. m. Telephone Harrison 1927

**CHARLES L. LOGAN, D. O.**  
**OSTEOPATHIC PHYSICIAN**  
Office: 45 Auditorium Bldg.  
**HOTEL WARNER—EVENINGS CHICAGO**

**EDWARD POLAK**  
4030 Third Avenue NEW YORK CITY  
Real Estate Auctioneer  
and Broker  
Investments carefully made in New York real estate for out of town clients. BEST OF REFERENCES.

**SUCCESS IN LIFE**  
By LOUIS F. POST  
A reprint of a favorite little essay in THE PUBLIC, first published in 1902.  
16mo, paper, 14 pages, 4 cents, postpaid. One dozen copies 25 cents, postpaid.  
**THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO., First National Bank Bldg., CHICAGO**

long interest in State politics made me known to the balance. I also set the wires in motion from New York and Chicago, and in this way secured the support of the railway interests, who suggested to their attorneys, of whom there were half a dozen in the Assembly, that it would be a courtesy which they would appreciate if they would support me for the Senate. This was effective in a majority of cases, for the railway attorney in a small town is second in importance only to the judge, even though his retainer does not exceed a few hundred dollars a year; and a word from the General Counsel with such men is of great weight.

I had placed the outside conduct of my campaign in the hands of Buckley and McGann, whose experience in local affairs stood me in good stead. They knew how to reach men whom I could not. They entertained them, got acquainted with their habits, found out about their home connections and necessities. In this way they were able to learn how they stood, and keep them in line. I told them that I did not want to know anything about what they did or how they accomplished it, but that my friends had raised a campaign fund of \$20,000, which had been deposited for their use, and that they might have some entertaining to do with some of the members. By these various means I was soon pretty certain of election, for, as far as I could learn, I had rounded up a majority of the Republican members before the caucus.

There was strong opposition, however, and pronounced indignation among the country members over the retirement of Senator Williams. Some bitter speeches were made in the caucus, and many of the papers of the State opposed me with vehemence. But so long as I had the votes at my back I felt that such voices could be ignored, especially as they would be just as loud in support of me as soon as the election was over. For the country newspapers subsist on political patronage. Their revenue comes from the publication of ordinances and the printing of party documents and political matter.

On the night before the caucus there was a round up of all my adherents, and on the following day my name was the only one presented to the caucus, Senator Williams having in the meantime announced that he would not be a candidate for re-election. I was glad he had done this for it made it easier for many of the men to support me. For they could always retire behind the action of the caucus and say that they were bound by it, which they could not have done had Williams made a fight. Moreover, it made our control of the Assembly more secure. Bradley had been on the ground looking after the candidacy of Williams, but he had no organization and nothing to offer the men. For we controlled the State organization, we had organized both houses, and many men were willing to trade their votes for positions on good committees, like Railways and Transportation, Corporations, Judiciary and City. For the big measures came before these committees, and the sort of men who most wanted to get on these committees were the men we really most wanted there. Bradley had no inducements to offer and had to make his fight single-handed. He made some disagreeable charges, said it was the first time money had ever been openly used in the election of a Senator, and that the State

had now passed into the hands of a triumvirate of Bosses, Doodle and Beer.

But we had eliminated him from State politics. He was discredited, as were his socialistic theories and high-sounding virtues. We now had nothing to fear from taxation measures or legislation which aimed to break up the party organization. Moreover, before the session ended we were able to secure some much-needed legislation permitting street railway, gas and electric lighting companies to consolidate. This was in the line of economy and would enable us to combine our properties and greatly increase their earnings. We also made it impossible for cities which had already granted franchises to companies, to make competing grants. In this way we made ourselves secure from striking companies which were organized merely to be bought out. As for the Brewery Syndicate, the legislation which they desired was of an unimportant sort, and while some opposition to it appeared, it was passed in the closing days of the session.

My long experience in politics had made me rather indifferent to what the press might say. I had learned that the public has a short memory and that success easily glids public opinion. Among the editorial expressions on my election the following are indicative of the divergence in point of view. The first is from a State paper, the second from one of the leading periodicals in New England.

+

Editorial in the ——— World.

THE BUSINESS MAN IN POLITICS.

The election of Mr. W. B. Palmer to the United States Senate by the joint action of the Assembly yesterday is indicative of a new era in politics. While all citizens regret the retirement of Senator Williams, after his many years of distinguished service to the State, their regret is in a sense assuaged by the choice of so distinguished a successor. No man in the State has done more for the development of the community in which he lived than has Senator Palmer. Drawn after graduation from college to the then developing West, he has lent his energy to the upbuilding of its industries and the development of its great resources. Starting life with nothing save untiring ability to work and an insight approaching genius for business, he rapidly acquired a position of eminence in his chosen city, and despite his commanding wealth has always borne his share in the political life of the community. With such talents as he possesses for finance, with years of experience as President of the United Trust Company, his counsel will be of service to the nation in these days of specious financial proposals and populist agitation.

During the past decade America has assumed a commanding position among the powers of the world. Our trade is expanding, the mills and factories of New England and Pennsylvania and the golden prairies of the West are sending our surplus products into the markets, so long held in undisputed sway by Great Britain. America has outgrown her limitations. She has become a world state, and the change which has come over our point of view and business interests is reflected in the choice of such a man as Senator Palmer to represent the commonwealth at Washington. It is time we had more business men in politics. The disturbing influences engendered by proposals for tariff reduction, for cheap money and a stay-at-home foreign policy can only be checked by men whose large experience and unquestioned success enable them to speak with the conviction born of experience in such matters.

# Announcements

## MEETINGS, LECTURES, DEBATES, ETC.

**Chicago**—Single Taxers desiring to assist at open-air meetings to be held in Chicago are requested to send their names and addresses to John Weiler, Jr., 30 Macedonia St., Chicago.

**General**.—Mrs. Estella Bachman Brokaw, Station A, Pasadena, Calif., wishes to correspond with persons who have carefully read Oliver R. Trowbridge's "Bisocialism."

### ATTORNEYS

**FRED. CYRUS LEUBUSCHER,**  
COUNSELOR AT LAW.  
Rooms 811, 812 81, and 814  
258 Broadway, Borough of Manhattan.  
Telephone: 404 Cortlandt. NEW YORK

## WILLIAM H. HOLLY

### LAWYER

1506 Tribune Building. . . . . CHICAGO

Telephones: { Central 2056  
Automatic 4065

## John Moody & Co.

Dealers in

### Investment Securities

35 Nassau Street, New York

## Our Advancing Postal Censorship

By LOUIS F. POST.

28 pages, 6x8, 8 cents, postpaid; 100 copies, \$2.25, postpaid.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY  
First National Bank Building, Chicago

**WANTED**—Capable man, with progressive ideas on public questions, to organize and manage lecture course in home city. For basis of compensation and full particulars, address

**Dept. A, International Lecture Association**  
610 Steinway Hall, CHICAGO

## Our Despotic Postal Censorship

By LOUIS F. POST

Reprinted from The Public of March 10, 1906

Paper, 33 pages (3x6), 3 cents, postpaid; 100 copies to one address, \$1.75, postpaid; 100 copies to varying addresses, \$3.00, postpaid

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY  
First National Bank Building, Chicago

## THE SINGLE TAX By George A. Briggs

An address before the Elkhart Society of the New Church.

18mo, paper, 66 pages, 10 cents, postpaid.

The Public Publishing Co., First National Bank Building, Chicago

If the Assembly just opened would rest content with what it has done and then adjourn, the business interests of the State would breathe easier.

+

Editorial from the ——— Republican.

#### THE DEGRADATION OF THE SENATE.

Press dispatches from the State of ——— announce the election of William B. Palmer to the United States Senate to succeed Senator Williams, who now retires from that body after eighteen years of distinguished service. Few men have passed so many years in that body and enjoyed such universal respect and affection as Senator Williams, and the reasons assigned by him for declining to be a candidate for re-election are not in harmony with the recent activity of Mr. Palmer in the politics of his State, or the occasional "Inspired" editorial which suggested his name during the past few months. Advices from Washington indicate the real reason to be a loss of control of the State organization, which has passed into the hands of Palmer, who has risen in the past few years from the position of "boss" in his own city to an absolute control of the State. To the credit of Senator Williams be it said, that he has ever been unwilling, and as politics are now organized, probably unable to control the organization, which has been instrumental in his unseating.

The advent of such a man as Boss Palmer, as he is locally known, into national politics indicates the extent to which commercialism has invaded our politics. His election demonstrates the degradation which has submerged American politics through the corrupt use of money. The means by which Mr. Palmer rose to local prominence in the Republican party differ in no essential respect from the means employed in a dozen other States. Drawn into politics by the nature of his business, which was that of dealing in franchises, privileges and tax evasions, he used his political power for the furtherance of his private ends. And while the disclosures of boodling and corruption in connection with the street railways and gas franchises in his native city have not been traceable to him personally, they have been brought to the door of those interests which he owns and controls. In the past few years the power which he has acquired at home has been used in the State for the holding up of needed legislation, and the methods of his rise to power in the councils of his party have recently been exposed in a biographical sketch in one of the leading magazines. These exposures have not been denied. They are but typical of the process by which business and politics have become woven together. The one is dependent upon the other. An examination of the Congressional Directory shows the same thing to be true in State after State. In the East it is the street railways and the railroads which are in control of the States. In Pennsylvania it is the industries protected by the tariff. In the Middle West the franchise and transportation companies are sending their lawyers and representatives to the Senate, while in the far West those who have organized these States in order to evade taxation, to prevent adequate labor laws, and otherwise to subordinate the welfare of their commonwealth to their own pecuniary advantage, have thereafter taken advantage of their powerful organization for their own election to the United States Senate. This is no longer exceptional. It has become well-nigh universal. An enumeration of the highest legislative assembly in the land forms a catalogue of directors, officers and attorneys of the great privileged interests of America. The special lobby has largely disappeared. The United States Senate has become its own lobby. When one appreciates this fact, the hostility to the Isthmian Canal becomes manifest; the indifference to railway regulation is explained, and the impossibility of anti-trust legislation and of tariff reduction is demonstrated. Everywhere it is the same. It is not retail or wholesale business, but monopoly in-

# THE CITY

## The Hope of Democracy

BY  
FREDERIC C. HOWE, Ph. D.

### Contents

INTRODUCTORY
THE NEW CIVILIZATION
THE PROFIT ACCOUNT
THE LOSS ACCOUNT
THE AMERICAN CITY AT WORK
THE SOURCE OF CORRUPTION
THE BOSS, THE PARTY AND THE SYSTEM
THE WAY OUT—MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP
DOES MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP PAY?
THE CITY REPUBLIC
THE CITY CHARTER
THE COST OF THE SLUM
THE CITY'S HOMES
THE CITY'S WRECKAGE
THE WARDS OF THE CITY
THE CITY BEAUTIFUL
THE CITY'S TREASURE
THE REVENUES OF THE CITY
THE CITY FOR THE PEOPLE
THE HOPE OF DEMOCRACY
INDEX

Emphatically the best work on the present outlook of the city. Every chapter is valuable, timely.—*Unity, Chicago.*

A simple, lucid, penetrating analysis of the economic, social and political problems that our city must solve. The style of the book is such a delight, its marshalling of facts so impressive and its point of view so unusual, that all students will welcome it, while the vigorous and intensely practical way in which the questions of the hour are discussed make the book exceedingly useful to public officials and active men of affairs.—*Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow, Cincinnati, Ohio.*

The book is a bugle blast to the hosts of American democracy.—*Joseph Leggett, in the San Francisco Star.*

12mo, cloth, 319 pages, with index, \$1.50  
(postage 15 cents).

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.  
First National Bank Building, CHICAGO

terests which are making their way to Washington. The retirement of Senator Williams is in keeping with this process, which has all the ear-marks of concerted action; while the election of Mr. Palmer but emphasizes the process which is going on, and impels to the conviction that the great issue before the American people is whether monopoly shall own the Republic or the Republic own monopoly.

(To be continued.)

## BOOKS

### SONGS OF RUSSIA.

**Songs of Russia.** Rendered Into English Verse by Alice Stone Blackwell. Published by the Author, 1906, 45 Boutwell Ave., Dorchester, Mass.

"This little volume aims to give a glimpse into the thoughts and aspirations of some Russian lovers of freedom as revealed in their poetry." Certainly the twenty-nine poems (all short) make us wish for more than a glimpse. The different phases of Russian feeling for liberty are strikingly represented.

The utterly hopeless dirge is sung by Polivanov, who spent twenty years in prison, and soon after his release committed suicide. The wild defiance of the desperate reformer is shouted by Gorky in his "Storm-Finch":

The Storm-finch soars fearless and proud 'mid the lightnings,

Above the wild waves that the roaring winds fret;  
And what is the prophet of victory saying?

"Oh, let the storm burst! Fiercer yet—fiercer yet!"

But the two most interesting contributors are Nadson and Nekrasov, who strike the minor and the major chord of optimism. Nadson's is the sweet, self-conscious voice of the gentle-spirited seer, who turns often for comfort to man's love and nature's beauty.

Nekrasov, in the few short lyrics given us, shows himself undoubtedly the talented poet and powerful prophet of freedom. He may be telling gloomy truths, but his poems have the ring of a paean of victory. Witness "Russia's Lament," and "Freedom."

The Jew's cry for universal liberty is heard in two weird narrative poems by Rosenfeld, and in Edelstadt's "At Strife," all translations from the Yiddish. On finishing the book one feels like saying to the author: "Thank you, for the inspiring selection of poems, and, thank you, again, for an introduction to Nekrasov."

ANGELINE LOESCH.

\* \*

### CONISTON.

**Coniston.** By Winston Churchill, author of "Richard Carvel," etc. With illustrations by Florence Scovell Shinn. Published by the Macmillan Company, New York. Price, \$1.50.

A fine study of politics and politicians, not of the past as it purports to be, but of the immediate present. The scenes are in New England, the period Grant's administration, the political and politico-business maneuvers anywhere in the United States and now. This novel is one of the hopeful signs of

"The most important contribution to economic science during the past quarter of a century in this country."—*Detroit Tribune.*

## Bisocialism: The Reign of the Man at the Margin

By OLIVER R. TROWBRIDGE

An entirely new and original, as well as thoughtful and scholarly, work on Economics. It for the first time furnishes a scientific means for determining the proper scope of Economic Science, and discusses all its phases and phenomena in a complete and consistent manner. It treats of the positive theory of value, and points out clearly the distinctive economic principles which dominate the established order, and also those involved in anarchism and in the different forms of socialism. It discusses the economic principles involved in all the leading reform movements since the civil war.

I am delighted with "Bisocialism. I think nothing but Post's oral lectures can equal it as a plain and lucid explanation of the fundamental principles of political economy. There is, I think, no publication that so simplifies the whole science which has mystified so many people.—*F. M. Crunden, Librarian of Public Library, St. Louis.*

In the flood of economic literature which has poured from the press since "Progress and Poverty" marked a new era in this field of inquiry, no saner contribution to the discussion of the great problem of the distribution of wealth has been made than this from the pen of Mr. Trowbridge. He has treated his subject as no one else has attempted to do. Undoubtedly he has written a clear and powerful exposition of the science of political economy. In certain aspects it is perhaps the best thing in its line that has been produced.—*Warren Worth Bailey, in Johns town Democrat.*

12mo, cloth, 427 pages, \$1.00; by mail, \$1.10.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.  
FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING, CHICAGO



THE TUG-OF-WAR IN THE REPUBLICAN CAMP.

Stand-Patism Wins!

the times. It is artistic, but not merely for art's sake; it is true, but to a general intent rather than in detail; and it lifts the veil that hangs between good citizenship and practical politics. One of the stories of that intermingling of bad business and bad politics which the people are just coming to realize, it is entertaining to the sophisticated and illuminating to the innocent; and the love plot that threads its way through the business and political complications is unique and full of interest.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

--The Art of Wall Street Investing. By John Moody, author of "The Truth About the Trusts." Published by The Moody Corporation, 35 Nassau St., New York. Price, \$1.00 net.

--Moody's Magazine, A Monthly Review for Investors, Bankers and Men of Affairs. Vol. I. December, 1905-May, 1906. Published by The Moody Corporation, 35 Nassau St., New York. Subscription price, \$3.00 per year.

## PAMPHLETS

Legislative Procedure.

"The Growing Complexities of Legislation," by Don Ensminger Mowry (University of Wisconsin,

Madison), offers a very attenuated remedy for a very dangerous disease. Because "representative legislation does not result" from our present legislative system, "measures that are really desired by the people" being "seldom enacted," he proposes certain details of change, including skilled legislative draftsmen. The latter is doubtless important; but if we are to have legislation that the people desire, we must provide for their declaring directly the principle they wish enacted, as well as for draftsmen and legislative committees to embody that principle in appropriate form. Yet the Mowry pamphlet is an excellent statement, with references, of the existing and growing complexities in which our methods of legislation involve us.

## PERIODICALS

A statistical paper on wages and hours of labor from 1890 to 1905 occupies the first 170 pages of the Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor for July, and one on retail prices of food for the same period fills out the following 140 pages.

+

In the International Socialist Review, September, Ellis O. Jones, under the title "The Future of the Democratic Party," concludes that that party has

no future, but that approaching political alignments will be such as to eliminate it.

+

Enlarged in size, the Fairhope Courier has extended its editorial scope. One of its departments now is a Single Tax Talk, conducted by J. Bellangee, who opens his first contribution with the suggestive remark that moral ideas are to most people "conventional rather than convictional."

+

The American Magazine (New York) for October comes fully under the control of the new editorial corps, sketches and portraits of whom are given in the opening pages. Some of the names are familiar to readers of McClure's, among these being Ida M. Tarbell, Ray Stannard Baker and Lincoln Steffens. William Allen White is also in the corps, as is F. P. Dunne, who in the same number contributes "Mr. Dooley on the Power of the Press." Mr. Steffens contributes a suggestive police story, and Mr. White writes in a new strain in behalf of human brotherhood.

+

A fine specimen of newspaper work is the "Henry George Memorial Edition" of the Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat, which bears the date of September 1. Among the contributors are Judge Edward Osgood Brown, William Lloyd Garrison, Ernest Crosby, John Z. White, ex-Gov. Lucius F. C. Garvin, John S. Crosby, Joseph Leggett, John DeWitt Warner, Gov. Folk, Mayor Tom L. Johnson and William J. Bryan. John DeWitt Warner gives George his true intellectual place when he says of him: "His great gift was in life's hurly burly to know the great and simple from the petty and complex." This appreciation of George's intellectual character is aptly supplemented by Bryan's declaration that "he put into his work a tremendous heart power."

+

The University Digest, "an international magazine of the best things thought and said," makes its initial appearance with the month of September. Its aim is to serve as "a primary source of information to the student in every interest of life, as well as to the man of affairs," meaning by primary source, "such knowledge about a masterpiece in literature, art or science, for example, which is derived not from comments upon these great productions, or from dictionaries and magazine articles, but from the original works themselves." The method pursued is "to condense, select and arrange an author's thought, and then to pass it through a sieve, so to speak, which, while permitting the details to run out, shall preserve and present the essentials." The book thus treated in the current number is Prof. Foster's "Finality of the Christian Religion," while the magazine articles are Sir Oliver Lodge's "A Scientist's Catechism," from the Hibbert Journal, and R. F. Cholmeley's "The Education of Our Boys and Girls" from the Independent Review. (Published monthly, except July and August, by the University Research Extension, Auditorium Building, Chicago; subscription \$3.00, single copies 50 cents, sample copies 25 cents.)

# THE ART OF LIVING LONG

The famous work of LOUIS CORNARO,  
the Venetian Centenarian

Edited by WILLIAM F. BUTLER

Louis Cornaro, who fathomed the secret of longevity more effectively probably than any other person, is a character unique in history. Though possessed of a delicate constitution from birth, his life despaired of by physicians at forty, he lived to fully set forth, at the ages of 83, 86, 91 and 95, the methods whereby he secured that complete mental and bodily power which was always at his command until his death at 103—the first to reduce the science of simple living to a system.

This most practical instructor in the means to a long, healthy and happy life, an octavo volume, illustrated, bound in full cloth, gilt top—a handsome edition—will be sent on receipt of price, \$1.50, post-paid, to any address in the United States or any foreign country.

There are very few books, the study of which would be of as great service to the American people as "The Art of Living Long."—James J. Hill, President Great Northern Railway.

I have for forty years carried out the idea of Cornaro. My forefathers had the same characteristic and lived beyond one hundred.—Thomas A. Edison.

The Art of Living Long is unprofitable unless it be also an art of living well. Cornaro, in his quaint book, attempts to teach us how to attain by the same means both of these desirable ends.—Felix Adler, New York.

As a most practical illustration of the disastrous result of incorrect and the curative and life sustaining virtue of correct habits \*\*\* is without a parallel in literature.—Health Culture, New York.

Nothing better than the rules which this Venetian laid down in the sixteenth century has since been discovered.—Public Opinion, New York.

## The Public Publishing Company

First National Bank Building, Chicago

## Proportional Representation

Including Its Relation to the Initiative and Referendum

By ALFRED CRIDGE

With Appendix by Robert Tyson and a Biographical Sketch of the Author

MEMORIAL EDITION

Only a few copies of this edition remain, and are here offered at a very moderate price. This little book should be in every library, public and private.

12mo, heavy paper cover, 69 pages,  
15 cents, postpaid

**The Public Publishing Company**

First National Bank Building, Chicago

## THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

By HERMANN LIEB

An effective statement of the origin, history, and usefulness of The Initiative and Referendum and of their great importance in the self-government of American cities.

12mo, 178 pages, cloth, 75c.,  
postpaid; paper, 40c., postpaid

**THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.**

First National Bank Building . . . CHICAGO

## The Critic and Guide

EDITED BY

WILLIAM J. ROBINSON, M. D.

IS the most unique journal on the continent. It is the only one of its kind. Every intelligent man and woman who is not afraid to think, who is not afraid to read the logical conclusions of other thinkers, appreciates and loves it.

The *Critic and Guide* it was that started the fight against the fraudulent and poisonous patent medicines, and it is due largely to its efforts that the battle is being fought successfully on the side of justice, decency and health.

Numerous problems, untouched by any other publication, are handled by the *Critic and Guide* in a bold, breezy, unconventional and, withal, scientific manner.

Every physician and every intelligent layman will be better off for reading the *Critic and Guide*. You will not be sorry for subscribing to it—you will be sorry for not having subscribed before. One dollar a year. And it is worth it. Three dollars for four years. Ten dollars for life.

### SPECIAL OFFER

To all readers of THE PUBLIC, mentioning this ad, we will send the *Critic and Guide* until January, 1908 for ONE DOLLAR; and to those making the request, we will also send several back copies free.

**The CRITIC AND GUIDE**  
12 Mt. Morris Park (West), New York