GENERAL LIBR
UNIV. OF M
JUL 2 190

The Public

A Journal of Fundamental Democracy and
A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

Eighth Year | CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JULY 29, 1905 | Number 382

LOUIS F. POST
EDITOR

Entered at the Chicago, Illinois, Postoffice as Second Class Matter

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION

Yearly	$2.00
Half Yearly	1.00
Quarterly	.60
Single Copy	.05

Extra Copies, $3.00 per 100, in lots of 50 and upward; if addressed to individuals, $4.00 per 100

For Advertising Rates and Other Particulars of Publication, See Cartoon Page

The Receipt of a Sample or Marked Copy by a Non-Subscriber is an Invitation to Subscribe

FOR TABLE OF CONTENTS SEE FIRST INSIDE PAGE

Live Questions

We have obtained a limited number of copies of "LIVE QUESTIONS" by John P. Altgeld. This book comprises the courageous Governor's papers, speeches and interviews, with his messages to the Legislature of Illinois, and a statement of the facts which influenced his course as Governor on several famous occasions. It is an octavo book of 1,009 pages, illustrated and indexed, bound in cloth. The price has been $2.50 net. We will sell our copies, while the supply lasts, for $1.50, with 28 cents added for postage.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY
First National Bank Building, - - CHICAGO

The Books of Louis F. Post

ETHICS OF DEMOCRACY

A Series of Optimistic Essays on the Natural Laws of Human Society

Second Edition, with Portrait of the Author. 12mo, bound in rich blue cloth, printed on high-grade, hand-laid paper, gilt top, deckle edges, 398 pages, $2.00; by mail, $2.12.

You have done a great work, one that will live a monument to a man with a great moral purpose, and the ability to put it into plain, simple words within the comprehension of the everyday man. The greatest accomplishment in the work is that you have made complicated problems simple and easy to understand.—*Tom L. Johnson.*

THE PROPHET OF SAN FRANCISCO

A Sketch of Henry George's Life

16mo, bound in cartridge paper, 60 pages, 20 cents postpaid. Ten copies, $1.00 postpaid.

This interesting monograph was a labor of love by Mr. Post, and in it he makes a lucid explanation of the Single Tax philosophy as Henry George expounded it. It is especially valuable for dispelling prejudice and stimulating inquiry among the thoughtful of conservative habits.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.
First National Bank Building, CHICAGO

THE MOODY CORPORATION

DISPENSERS OF FINANCIAL STATISTICS

Wise men insure their lives—why not insure your *investments* by putting on the safety-valve of expert knowledge?

JOHN MOODY, President

Main Office: 35 Nassau St., New York
Chicago Office: 535 The Rookery

THINGS AS THEY ARE

By BOLTON HALL

The chapters comprising the first part of this volume are designed to show, in a logical manner, the purpose and order of the development of man. The parables illustrate the principles shown in these chapters.

A vigorous book inspired by a searching but far from bitter philosophy.—*Boston Transcript.*

16mo, cloth, ornamental, gilt top, 75 cents; by mail, 80 cents.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.
First National Bank Bldg., CHICAGO

Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to advertisers.

Digitized by Google

AN EXCEPTIONAL OPPORTUNITY

The New Library Edition of the Complete

Works of Henry George

Including the

LIFE OF HENRY GEORGE

By HENRY GEORGE, Jr.

Just Published, in ten volumes, 12mo., handsomely bound in buckram, with gilt tops, untrimmed edges, etc. It contains a full set of portraits, and is in all respects equal to the well known MEMORIAL EDITION, issued in 1898, which is now out of print, and which sold for $25.00 per set.

What Tom L. Johnson Says of This New Enterprise

"Gentlemen:—

"I wish to congratulate you on bringing out a new library edition of the Works of Henry George. The day is not far distant when the professional or business man who does not understand the philosophy of Henry George will stand discredited in any intelligent community.

"A knowledge of this philosophy will broaden and strengthen any man, morally and intellectually; will make him a more public spirited citizen, and better equip him for the activities of business and professional life. It will give him a clearer comprehension of his duties to his fellow man, to the State and to the Great Ruler of the Universe; lifting him immeasurably above the plane of vanity, sordidness and selfishness which now seems to be the chief end of man.

"I hope and believe that your enterprise will be a success beyond your most sanguine expectations."

"Very truly yours,

TOM L. JOHNSON.

LIST OF THE VOLUMES:

Volume I. **Progress and Poverty.**

Volume II. **Social Problems.**

Volume III. **The Land Question.**

This volume contains three short works: (1) A brochure of seventeen short chapters and entitled "The Land Question;" (2) "Property in Land," a passage-at-arms with the Duke of Argyle; (3) "The Condition of Labor," an open letter to Pope Leo XIII., in reply to the Pope's encyclical letter on "the condition of labor."

Volume IV. **Protection or Free Trade.**

Volume V. **A Perplexed Philosopher.**

Volumes VI. and VII. **The Science of Political Economy.**

Volume VIII. **Our Land and Land Policy.**

This volume contains, besides selected speeches, lectures and miscellaneous writings, the pamphlet which, first published in 1871, was the forerunner of "Progress and Poverty" eight years later.

Volumes IX. and X. **The Life of Henry George.**

TERMS OF PURCHASE

This handsome set of books, of uniform size and boxed, will be delivered free of all further cost to any address in the United States (with customs duties added to Canada and Mexico, and to other foreign countries at the extra expense of foreign expressage and customs), for $15.00, CASH WITH ORDER, or for $17.50 IN INSTALLMENTS, payments to be made $2.00 on delivery and $2.00 thereafter monthly until the set is paid for.

AGENTS WANTED

In every locality for the sale of these and other important books. Descriptive circulars on application.

The Public Publishing Co.,

First National Bank Building, Chicago, Ill.

THE EQUITY SERIES

Edited by C. F. TAYLOR

A Group of Valuable and Well-Written Books on Great Questions of the Day

THE LAND QUESTION FROM VARIOUS POINTS OF VIEW. By various writers. No other single book gives the various phases of the land question. No student of the land question, and really no voter, can afford to be without this book. Paper covers; 246 pages. Price, **25c.**

RATIONAL MONEY. By PROF. FRANK PARSONS, of Boston University Law School. The only book on the money question which is fair and just to gold, silver and every other product. Paper covers, 180 pages. Price, **25c.**

THE TELEGRAPH MONOPOLY. By PROF FRANK PARSONS, of Boston University Law School. Here this question is presented in a fullness and completeness never before attempted. Paper covers; 239 pages. Price, **25c.**

DIRECT LEGISLATION. Consists of Chapter II from "The City for the People," with important additions, and complete index. This is considered the best book as well as the latest and one of the cheapest on that subject of growing importance, direct legislation. Paper covers; 173 pages. Price, **25c.**

THE BONDAGE OF CITIES. Consists of Chapter III from "The City for the People," with important new matter, and a Model Charter, for the preparation of which a fee of $100 was paid. Paper covers. Price, **25c.**

THE ORGANIZATION AND CONTROL OF INDUSTRIAL CORPORATIONS. By F. E. HORACK, A. M., Ph. D. Shows need of a National Incorporating law. Paper covers; 207 pages. Price, **25c.**

POLITICS IN NEW ZEALAND. Paper covers, 108 pages, with 16 pages of illustrations. Price, **25c.**

ANY OR ALL SENT POSTPAID, ON RECEIPT OF THE PRICE.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY

First National Bank Building, CHICAGO, ILL.

THE THEORY OF HUMAN PROGRESSION

By PATRICK EDWARD DOVE.

Edited, with Biographical Sketch, by Alexander Harvey.

This work, first published in 1850, is an inductive philosophy explanatory of social evolution. Unlike most inductive philosophies, it is essentially democratic. Dove discovered the moral law in the facts of human experience. In this he was unique, and consequently without renown among the inductive philosophers of the nineteenth century; but the present tendency of inductive philosophy toward the recognition of moral harmonies in the universe, and therefore in the direction of democracy, is forcing his book into recognition. It is indispensable to students of social science.

12mo., cloth, 412 pages, $1.00; by mail, $1.10.

Paper, 50 cents; by mail, 58 cents.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY,

First National Bank Building, - - CHICAGO

Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to advertisers.

Digitized by Google

The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

Volume VIII Number 382

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JULY 29, 1905.

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:
The mysterious teamsters' strike.....257
Feminine incapacity.....257
The Niagara movement.....257
Direct legislation in California.....257
Majority rule in Texas.....258
Promotion of the single tax idea.....259
The Mistakes of Trades Unionism.....260

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:
Louisiana (Dillard).....262

NEWS:
The British Ministerial crisis.....263
Norway and Sweden.....263
Action of the Russian Zemstvos congress.....263
Russian censorship.....264
China and the Russian-Japanese war..264
Peace negotiations in the United States.....264
The Chicago traction question.....264
The teamsters' strike.....265
"The Niagara Movement".....265
Discontent in Porto Rico.....266
News Notes.....266
Press Opinions.....266

MISCELLANY:
The Oak Said to the Eagle (verse).....267
Subsidy vs. Equality.....267
Our Land Error.....268
The Bird Decoration Again.....268
Joule and George.....268
A Race Bogey.....268

BOOKS:
War of the Classes (Dillard).....269
The Wandering Host (Edson).....270
Ruskin Systematized.....270
Books Received.....271
Pamphlets.....271
Periodicals.....271

CARTOON—Fortune Flows Right Out of the "Wall" (Bengough).....272

For terms and other particulars of publication see cartoon page

EDITORIAL

The mysterious teamsters' strike.

We should be glad to chronicle this week the end of the teamsters' strike. It seemed to be at an end when the teamsters themselves called it off unconditionally. But the mysterious hand which has made itself felt so often before, has again pulled a mysterious string, and once again this mysteriously begun strike is mysteriously revived. This time, however, there appears to be but little vitality in the revival.

Feminine incapacity.

The ghost of the man who, after demonstrating the intellectual "incapacity" of women, with statistics of the short weight of the feminine brain, died and disclosed to the dissecting anatomists a brain of still shorter weight, must have experienced some mortification. But after the recent exploit of Mrs. Sophie Mayer, of New York, how must those lawyers feel who speak slightingly of the professional abilities of women. She has just been admitted to the bar at the head of nearly 1,000 candidates—at their head. And most of them were men. Not only that, but during her career in the law school she led most of her classes, also mostly men. With such a notable example before us, and any number of minor ones, is it not reasonable to conclude that if women are unsuccessful as lawyers, the incapacity is of the conscience rather than the intellect?

"The Niagara Movement."

We publish in full this week the belated address of "The Niagara Movement," organized at Buffalo during the present month. We do this not only because it is an address of a race which gets but scant hearing for a fair recital of its grievances, its bitter grievances, but also because the document is a self-respecting appeal from oppressed to oppressor, and one of the best expressions of worthy Americanism that has seen the light in many a day. The man of whatever color who reads it without at least a spasm of fraternal sympathy, puts his manhood to a risky test; the American, wherever his domicile and whatever his party politics, who ignores its principles had better question his patriotism. If he is white and has any sense of fair dealing in his soul, he will recoil in utter shame for his race from this dignified indictment of its treatment of the Negro: "The Negro race in America, stolen, ravished and degraded, struggling up through difficulties and oppression, needs sympathy and receives criticism, needs help and is given hindrance, needs protection and is given mob violence, needs justice and is given charity, needs leadership and is given cowardice and apology, needs bread and is given a stone." The sting of it is its truth.

There is just one false note in that address. It is the recognition as legitimate, of discriminations based on poverty. Possibly nothing more is meant than that he who is too poor to pay for a dollar's worth must be content with a discrimination which necessitates his buying less than a dollar's worth. But the context implies that something else is meant, namely, that discrimination as to rights, such as Negroes suffer under, may be legitimately made against the poor of any race. And indeed the Negro race is not without representatives who, though vociferous enough in denouncing discriminations based on color, are indifferent to discriminations based on wealth. It is largely because the Negro race has too many leaders of that type, that the race prejudice among organized workingmen, which was dying down, has revived. Every Negro should clearly understand that the question in connection with which he finds himself "a problem" is at bottom not a Negro question. That is only a form of the real question, which is the man question, and the man question is everywhere and always a question of common rights against special privilege.

Direct legislation in California.

It will be remembered that under the municipal home rule system of California, some of the cities of that State have charters providing for what are known as direct legislation and the recall. Direct legislation is a method, usually the initiative and the referendum, whereby the people may by popular vote command their representatives, as in the initiative, to enact a particular law or laws in execution of a general policy for which the people declare, or may by popular vote, as in the referendum, veto laws which their representatives have enacted. The recall is a method whereby the people may, by popular vote, recall a representative, de-

Digitized by Google

claring his office vacant and electing a successor. Direct legislation and the recall are features of the charter of Los Angeles, and the latter has been successfully tried—the first time in the United States if not in the world. A member of the City Council having been accused of grafting (vol. vii, p. 412), a petition for his recall was signed by the requisite number of voters and at the election he was ousted from office and a successor chosen. This case was taken to the Supreme Court of the State, which decided early in June last in favor of the grafter; and great pains were taken to notify the newspaper readers of the country that the court had held the recall to be an unconstitutional device. This proved to be a false statement. The court had not passed upon the constitutionality of the device at all. Its decision rested upon a technical defect in the recall petition. But in less than a month thereafter a judge at San Diego walked boldly in where his superior judges had feared to tread, and decided offhand that the direct legislation and recall clause of the San Diego charter (vol. vii, p. 713) is unconstitutional.

—

This San Diego precedent is interesting, though neither authoritiative nor respectable. It was made without the aid of forensic argument or any appearance of judicial consideration, by Judge Torrance, who is said to have been once impeached and to have been saved from conviction by corporation influence. A petition had been filed calling for a special election to vote upon the establishment of the grade of a particular street. The city authorities refused to call the election, on the ground that the direct legislation clause of the charter applied only to matters of general municipal interest, and also because legislation as to streets was otherwise provided for in the charter. A mandamus was thereupon applied for, and to the petition for this writ the city authorities demurred. When the demurrer came up for argument before Judge Torrance, neither side argued on the constitutionality of the law. As the local newspaper report has it, "neither seemed to care to argue that the referendum clause was good law," but "one seemed to argue that whether it was good law or not it did not apply to the case in court, while the other contended that if it was good law in any case, it was in the one under consideration." It will be observed, therefore, that the constitutionality of the referendum was not argued at all. Probably both parties wished it killed. Possibly the proceedings in question, in no wise calculated to arouse general public interest, were instituted for that very purpose. At any rate Judge Torrance went out of his way to sustain the demurrer for constitutional reasons, notwithstanding that the question of constitutionality had not been raised. He said he had given the subject much consideration. But this must have been as a hostile partisan and not as an impartial judge; for he decided the case immediately at the close of arguments which did not touch the point. As a judge he had had no opportunity to consider the question; and his opinion indicates that he had given but little consideration to it even as a partisan. His main contention is that the people, when they elect a legislative body, are, under our system of government, not only bound by the acts of that body, but so effectually bound that they can neither direct nor veto legislation by it nor recall its members, although the law expressly provides this protection. Such a law is regarded by Judge Torrance as unconstitutional unless the constitution not merely allows it but permits it expressly. If the finger of the corporations did not direct that decision, it has never directed any. The referendum, which until recently seemed to corporations as "a jolly joke on the populace," has begun to impress them very seriously.

Majority rule in Texas.

The legislature of Texas has tried an experiment along the general lines of direct legislation which corporation judges may not be able to circumvent. Instead of operating upon office holders directly, it is intended to operate indirectly but effectually upon them through the nominating conventions of political parties. The originator of this reform is A. M. Kennedy, of Mart, who introduced the bill in the lower house of the last Texas legislature, of which he was a member. He writes of it that "three years from now it will be invoked against the delivery of the Texas Democrats to our friends Belmont, McCarren, et al." This bill, as enacted, provides that—

> whenever delegates are to be selected by any political party to any State or county convention by primary election or primary convention, or candidates are instructed for or nominated, it shall be the duty of the chairman of the county or precinct executive committee of said political party, upon the application of ten per cent. of the members of said party (who are legally qualified voters in said county or precinct), to submit at the time and place of selecting said delegates any proposition desired to be voted upon by said voters, and the delegates selected at that time shall be considered instructed for which ever proposition for which a majority of the votes are cast; provided, that the number of voters belonging to said political party shall be determined by the votes cast for the party nominee for governor at the preceding election; and provided further, that said application is filed with the county or precinct chairman at least five days before the tickets are to be printed, and the chairman may require a sworn statement that the names of said applicants are genuine; provided, further, that all additional expense of printing any proposition on the official primary ballot shall be paid for by the parties requesting the same.

—

This Texas law is described by Geo. H. Shibley, writing in behalf of the People's Sovereignty League (Bliss Building, Washington), as "a veritable Gibraltar against the ruling few." He regards the Democratic voters of Texas as now the ruling power in the State, "if they care to exert themselves," and asks: "Why shouldn't the Texas system be installed in every Democratic State?" In furtherance of the

Digitized by Google

suggestion he proposes a plan of organization for State leagues to secure the enactment, by pledging legislative candidates, of the Texas law in every State of the Union. The referendum has proved so useful in Chicago, though only advisory, that movements for its extension in mandatory form to party organizations as well as to legislatures, deserve all possible encouragement. If party conventions were brought in this manner under the direct control of the party membership, and legislatures under the direct control of the body of the people, the grafter would be out of business. Grafters know this, even if the people they despoil have yet to learn it.

Promotion of the single tax idea.

Under the efficient management of Frederick H. Monroe, "the Henry George Lecture Association" (with headquarters at 610 Steinway Hall, Chicago), which is conducted in behalf of the single tax idea, has grown within the past three years into an institution of national importance, and its influence has more than kept pace with its geographical development. Its first lecturer, John Z. White, is now concluding a tour of the Pacific coast and the Rocky Mountain region, after having spent two years in the most exacting kind of lecture work from the Mississippi to the Atlantic coast; and Herbert S. Bigelow, who has done occasional lecturing under the same auspices, is to join Mr. White as a general lecturer, as are Ernest Crosby, Jerry Simpson and John W. Bengough, all under Mr. Monroe's management, for the coming lecture year. As Mr. Monroe describes the work, it is a campaign of education before established associations—commercial, social, educational, labor, political and religious. The craving for creating new political parties, so common with men of reform ideas, is not fostered by Mr. Monroe and his associates. He declares that they have "no desire whatever to organize a political party." Doubtless he might have added that they have no desire, either, to agitate or organize along class lines. It is one of the virtues of the single tax idea that what it offers is for men, simply as men. It appeals to no class instinct, if there be such a thing, but to the human sense of equal rights and reciprocal duties.

—

Another movement in behalf of the same cause, but more explicitly for the purpose of getting the ear of people who are commonly distinguished as "the working classes," has been undertaken by John Weiler and L. P. Straube, both of whom are active and well known labor unionists in the printing trades. They have organized "The People's Single Tax Propaganda Movement," (headquarters at 508 Schiller Building, Chicago), with a view to distributing literature and holding meetings in populous residence districts, the meetings to be made attractive by entertainments and then to be utilized for explanatory talks. The first tract issued for this movement is peculiarly well adapted for its purpose. Written by Mr. Weiler, its argument is addressed to labor unionists,—most effectively, we should suppose, and certainly with irrefutable truth. The question propounded is whether the single tax would prove a better remedy for labor's ills than labor unions, and the answer is a brief elaboration of this succinct statement: "The price of land determines the price of labor. When land is cheap, labor is dear, and vice versa. Dear land causes a surplus in the supply of labor, and thus depresses wages; cheap land causes a scarcity in the supply of labor, and thus raises wages." As the single tax would make land cheap, Mr. Weiler truly argues that "wages would go sky-high, not at the expense of consumers, but at the expense of land rent. What land would lose in value, labor would gain. The cities would be deserted by large numbers who preferred working on their own hook upon the land abandoned by speculative dogs in the manger. This would cause a scarcity in the supply of wage slaves. The wage slave would become valuable. His services would then command a high price. He would be enabled to dictate what hours he preferred to work. He would have money to burn. He could lay off whenever he pleased without fear—in a word, it would make him free in reality as well as in name. The young men growing up would find things easier. It would no longer be necessary for labor unions to place restrictions upon them. The young man who wanted to learn a trade or profession would then have all the opportunity he wanted. Labor would, under the single tax, be so scarce and hard to get that no new hand would displace an old one, as is often the case now, but every newcomer would fill a want for help."

—

These are only some among many instances of effective work in promotion of principles which, without flourish of trumpets, or display of organization, or muster roll of converts, are influencing the common thought of English-speaking countries to a degree little suspected by observers who estimate the progress of a cause by its statistics. There are prophecies in plenty that social forces are lining up for a battle royal between socialism and plutocracy; but if we were to venture an utterance prophetic, we should say that the battle royal will be in different array. Plutocracy is too decadent for any battle royal. Aristocracy might fight a prolonged battle, but plutocracy never. And aristocracy is effete. When the battle royal comes it will not be between socialism on one side and either plutocracy or aristocracy on the other. It will be between the principles of the socialist and those of the single taxer; not necessarily or probably under their names or banners, but certainly over their issues. And in that battle royal the principles of the socialist will go down. For while socialism readily appeals to the materialist and the paternalist, to the man who believes that human rights and duties and liberties are only names without substance, that moral right and moral wrong are

Digitized by Google

nothing but historical flotsam and jetsam, and that the individual is merged in the collectivity—although socialism readily appeals to such as these, and so makes headway while its principles are not generally discussed, it does not appeal to the great common thought, which is neither materialistic nor paternalistic, but is now, as it always has been and always will be, sensitive to considerations of right and wrong and averse to individual submergence. To prophesy thus is not to imply that in this battle all who think themselves socialists will be found on the socialistic side, nor that all who think themselves opposed to socialism will be on the other side. Socialism is as yet a somewhat indefinite term, and many who call themselves socialists because they oppose plutocracy, revolt with the rest of us at the distinctive doctrines of the cult that claims the name of socialism and is best entitled to it both historically and by dominance in the organized socialist movement.

THE MISTAKES OF TRADES UNIONISM.

In a country of vast resources like the United States, abounding in prosperity, or at all events, potential prosperity, and where, as Carlyle grimly put it, every male biped that does not grow feathers can share in the making of the laws by which industry is regulated and wealth distributed, it is remarkable that our organized laborers should have found no better remedy for their economic grievances than the old-fashioned and barbarous strike. One can understand the working masses of St. Petersburg and Moscow, whose souls and bodies practically belong to the autocracy, ceasing work enmasse because political power is denied them; but where political power is so plentifully distributed as it is in the United States, the continued existence of the strike can only be explained on the supposition that the workers have not yet learned to use the weapons placed in their hands.

Advocates of trades-unionism would have us believe that the strike, the boycott, the union label, the closed shop, and such like remedies, have brought great good to the workers. Of the 22,000 odd strikes which have occurred in the United States in the twenty years from 1881 to 1901, it is claimed that fully one-half were successful. They may have been successful in the sense of achieving the immediate object desired by the strikers, but whether they have left the workers substantially better off permanently may well be doubted. Apparently they have not prevented the generally admitted fact that in recent years the prices of the necessaries of life have risen faster than have the wages of the workers. If there is one thing which the history of the strikes has demonstrated, it is this: that there is always a large supply of unemployed labor in the country ready to work for the wages rejected by the strikers and to frustrate the efforts of the latter, except where powerful moral, legal or other barriers intervene. Whatever direct advantage trades-unionism may have brought to special interests, it has not made much impression upon the volume of poverty as a whole, judging by the existence of the ten millions of people whom Mr. Robert Hunter, after an exhaustive study of the subject, estimates to be underfed, under-clothed and underhoused in this country.

That the trades-unionist movement is very strong numerically is undeniable. One-third of the workers in our leading trades and industries are computed to belong to it—probably nearly 3,000,000 of workers altogether. This is a big proportion of the country's voting power. But power without intelligence will not avail much—except to the enemy, and unfortunately trades-unionism seems at present to have more power than intelligence.

In order to fight our enemy with any chance of success we must know his weak points. It matters not whether we are fighting a single enemy—a burglar who comes to rob our house, for example, or a whole army in the field, a knowledge of our opponent's vulnerable points is most essential. One blow intelligently aimed at the right spot and at the right time may send him staggering; whereas, striking at him right and left, without scientific method or purpose, will probably exhaust us sooner than it will him. And furthermore, if we are honorable and fair-minded, we will take care not to hit the wrong man; we will respect the rights of neutrals, and try to see that nobody suffers from the quarrel who is not an active participator in it.

Now, surely these principles are applicable to economic and industrial quarrels. How far are they carried out by the trades-unions? Let us see. The men strike against the capitalists. They think of the capitalist only as the owner of the machinery and tools of production. But the capitalist is generally something more than that. He is the monopolist of natural resources and of means of transport. He occupies all the important passes, so to speak; he controls the bases of supply and has possession of all the economic strongholds. Arising out of his mastery of these advantages there is, at the very threshold of the field of production, a reservoir of idle labor, which he can tap at any moment to enable him to work his machinery and thus dispense with his regular hands. Now a wise labor leader, after a careful survey of the ground, could not help but see that a bold, open, frontal attack in the face of such odds, would be useless. It might be brilliant like the Balaklava charge, but it would not be war. He would see that the true method of attack is to dislodge the enemy from the passes, cut off his base of supply, and prevent the hungry reserve enemy from rushing to his assistance, by making common cause with them and absorbing them in the ranks of the employed. Instead of conducting labor's campaigns on broad, comprehensive lines such as these, the labor-leaders fight, not monopoly, but capital proper; that is they attack their natural ally and partner, leaving their real foe in undisturbed possession of his unfair advantages. Is it any wonder that they so often fail?

Another charge to be brought against the labor unions is that in their struggle with the capitalists they do not sufficiently respect the rights of neutrals. Of the thousand strikes a year which

Digitized by Google

we have in this country, not one is carried through without injury to the public. In many cases the injury is very great. The coal strike, the meat strike, the recent Interborough strike in New York and the teamsters' strike in Chicago, may serve as examples. The amount of public suffering which strikes occasion when they paralyze a whole industry, or an important public service, is almost incalculable.

The New York Sun in a recent editorial says that the prolongation of the coal strike of 1902 was the means of killing ten times as many Americans as perished by wounds and disease during the Spanish-American war. The figures may be exaggerated; we have no means of measuring the amount of death and suffering which resulted from the stoppage of the nation's fuel supply, but we can well believe that thousands of lives must have been thus sacrificed, principally the very young, the delicate and the aged; all of them persons who did no injury to the strikers or the operators.

Now, even if we put the matter on no higher ground, the fact that strikes inevitably entail such grievous consequences on unoffending parties is surely sufficient to stamp them as unjust and cruel methods of industrial warfare. When a weapon is so unreliable that it wounds those who use it as often as it does those against whom it is directed, and when it cannot be used at all without seriously wounding a third party, who has nothing to do with the quarrel, it would seem that it is time to discard it. But I would even go as far as to say that the very principle of strikes is indefensible. They are in defiance of the social well-being and ignore the organic interdependence of society. Trades have no natural rights as such; it is the individuals belonging to them that have the rights, and the right to combine to bring to a standstill an industry which is interwoven with the national life and on which scores of other industries may depend is not one of those rights.

Trades-unionism as currently interpreted, does not make for economic justice. It starts by throwing the worker on a false scent, fostering the mischievous idea that the world owes a man a living at the trade he has learned, regardless of the ebb and flow of invention and social progress, which are ever making and unmaking trades. It encourages the delusion that the providing of work for people is an end in itself, whereas, it is only a means to the end, the end being the procurement of the goods which the worker requires, and for which he exchanges his work. It assumes labor to be a rigid, stereotyped, homogeneous thing, instead of a plastic commodity, responsive to every expression of the social will. Its exclusive care is for the man who is already in employment; it has no concern for the man who is out of employment; he is a "scab" or a "blackleg" if he should assert his elementary right to work, even though it be to allay the pangs of hunger. It is monopolistic in its essence; quite as truly as the Standard Oil company or the Steel trust; its devices for artificially cornering the supply of labor by limiting the number of apprentices and by the meddlesome system of licenses, badges, closed shops, etc., are exactly on a par, in principle though less in degree, with the capitalistic schemes to overthrow competition through the shutting down of plants and the locking up of the natural sources of supply.

That labor has rights and very important rights, too—and not merely organized labor, but non-union labor—every impartial mind must admit. That there is such a thing as a fair rate of wages for each trade, at any given time and place, even though it may be impossible to say off hand in dollars and cents what it is, is undeniably true. But it is certain that strikes and strike methods afford us no assistance in settling the question. A strike is a trial of strength—a tug-of-war in which all the influences, external as well as internal, that can be marshalled on either side, play their part. It is thus no more a true means of arriving at economic justice than a war is a true means of arriving at international justice. In the one case as in the other, it is the stronger side, not the justice side that wins. In the anthracite coal strike in 1902, the men won out, not because they happened to have justice on their side, but because they were "protected" by a law which prevented non-certificated miners from competing with them. The same cause would, doubtless, have enabled them to win out had their demands been less just. But the true justice of the matter is lost sight of when strikes and trade disputes are regarded as two-sided contests where the parties are free to "have it out." In reality they are three-sided contests, of which, however, only two sides do the fighting, the third side, viz, the public, merely looking on and paying for the game.

It is not correct to say, as is often done, that the quarrel between capital and labor is over the division of their joint product. It is really over the division of what they can squeeze from society for their joint product. The distinction is important. Given the power to control prices—and this power can be attained by combination,—and it is all the same to capital and labor whether the quantity of their joint output be large or small. And as a matter of fact, in some cases where they have come to terms we see them trying to enrich themselves, not so much through an increased output, as through charging increased prices for the same or a less output. In New York city, for example, the policy of the building trade is to build few houses and to charge as much for them as if they built many. It would not be an unnatural outcome of present tendencies if an alliance between organized capital and organized labor were to be formed, with the object of securing "fair wages" and "fair dividends," through unfair prices to the consumer. Of course, if such a plan were to become general, it would defeat its own object, the men losing as consumers what they had gained as producers.

We, therefore, see that "fair wages" means wages which shall be fair to the public as well as to the wage-earner and the employer. There is no way of securing this "fair wages" except the open market; an open market for labor and an open market for products. If we had an open market, the price of labor and the price of everything else would tend to adjust itself to the cost of production, which is the only true guiding

Digitized by Google

principle in any rational scheme of social economy.

The only right that labor can claim that does not constitute a wrong to somebody else is the right to work without obstruction; the right to go into an open and unobstructed market and bargain freely for the sale of what it offers to produce. The union laborer claims this right for himself, but denies it to the "scab," while the capitalist monopolist would avail himself of the "scab's" right to work, but would, at the same time refuse him free access to the natural media on which his work can be most profitably expended. Now the right to work is a mockery unless it means access to the free gifts and productive powers of nature. It is as wrong for the monopolist (under whatever name he may be masquerading) to lock up the coal lands or the oil lands, for example, as it is for the trades-unionist to prevent the "scab" from earning an honest living. Free labor and free land are the indispensable conditions of economic justice.

The closed shop and the closed field are both standing menaces to the commonwealth. Abolish them, and the labor problem would be solved, for the overplus of labor would be absorbed in the newly-liberated channels of production, and aggrieved labor, no longer swamped by an army of starving competitors, could meet capital on a fair footing and force it to concede fair terms. Laborers would then be as independent as in the nature of things anyone can expect to be, and their increased earnings would not come out of the pockets of the consumer (as is often the case at present), nor out of the pockets of capital as capital, but out of that increased productiveness of nature which social progress develops.

Such a plan would restore elasticity to our industrial system; there would be free choice of occupation; the individual would once more assert himself; collective bargaining would cease, for individual bargaining would be preferred under free conditions; and aggressive trades-unionism, with all its irritating and tyrannical system of badges, labels, boycotts and other strife-breeding contrivances would perish, along with lockouts and trusts, with the disordered conditions which give birth to them all.

Thus by stoutly asserting the right to work in all its fullness, and by renouncing the so-called right to keep others from working, can labor come by its own. The open market is the one central goal towards which the laborer, the employer and the consumer can jointly move without injury but with benefit to each other's interests. Without it, there can be no permanent relief for labor as a whole. We may, by unfair class legislation, go on relieving labor superficially, but we shall be relieving in a circle; always relieving and always coming back to the point from whence we started, like Sisyphus with the rolling stone, or like the dog that thought he was feeding himself when he bit his tail off.

The above criticisms, it is hardly necessary to explain, have to do with the methods, and not with the fundamental aims of organized labor. With those aims the writer is in full sympathy. These criticisms we meant to be candid, because candor is the only attitude becoming any well-wisher of a just cause who sees that cause languish because its energy is misdirected and running to waste.

If organized labor will only employ the same energy in securing legislation that would bring about economic justice for all alike, that it now does to secure its immediate ends through means which are fast becoming intolerable to the rest of the nation, the victory will not be far off. It might die in the arms of victory, but it would have earned an immortal epitaph which would be worth dying for.

T. SCANLON.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

LOUISIANA.

Alexandria, La., July 24.—This is one of the most progressive little cities in America. It has a population of ten thousand, most of whom live in homes that are neither offensive mansions nor offensive hovels. The town in its new growth is happily free from both extremes. The stranger who drives over it is struck at once by the number of modest cottages, which have the air of being owned by the occupants. This is especially true of the new part, known as West Alexandria. Here the paving has hardly kept pace with the growth, but in the main parts of the town there is more good paving than the visitor will see in any other Southern town of equal size.

The new post office is a pleasing building; but the pride of the town is justly centered in the court house and high school, both of which are excellent specimens of architecture, that would do credit to a city of any size. The court house cost a hundred thousand dollars, the high school fifty thousand; and the erection of each was financed in such a way as to make the burden fall as lightly as possible upon the taxpayers. I was informed that there was no graft in either job.'

Indeed, one gets the opinion that Alexandria has been singularly fortunate in her management—except in one respect, which is the striking object lesson that suggested the present communication. Surely in the main the town business has been wisely administered. She owns her light and water works, and has operated these successfully for several years. I attempted to get definite figures, but was unsuccessful because of the manner in which the accounts are kept. All, however, admit the success of the plants, and every business man I spoke to on the subject heartily approved of the theory of municipal ownership.

This makes all the more surprising the glaring contrast of the one exception. I don't say that nowhere else in the world could one find a more striking object lesson. It is so striking that all the people on both sides of the river are beginning to see the asburdity of the situation, and even stockholders wear a sickly smile when the theme comes up.

Across the Red river from Alexandria lies the village of Pineville, and a good part of the parish of Rapides, of which Alexandria is the county seat. In Pineville are the National cemetery and all the cemeteries of Alexandria. Half a mile away is the new State asylum. There is, naturally, a great deal of passage and traffic across the river. Until a few years ago there was only a ferry; now there is a handsome iron bridge. But, instead of the two towns, or the parish, building this bridge, it was given over to a private corporation. This corporation last year paid eight per cent. quarterly dividends, 32 per cent. for the year. The charges are so high that complaints are loud and constant. If you wish to take a walk across and back, it costs you a dime; if you drive, fifty cents. No wonder the people are complaining, and regretting that they did not do the work themselves. They are having a convincing object lesson, and it does not seem rash to predict that within five years they will either buy the present bridge or parallel it with another.

In Alexandria, as in other parts of the

Digitized by Google

State, the question of assessments has been much discussed during the past few months. For this awakening of public attention to this most important matter, Governor Blanchard deserves great credit. He was here recently, and in a group of leading citizens, who had called at the hotel, he spoke with great earnestness and intelligence, showing how much more sensible in every way is a proper assessment with lower rates than a ridiculously low assessment with high rates. During the conversation the interesting fact came out that the upper and poorer lands of the State, which are more subdivided, are assessed relatively much higher than the rich alluvial and valley lands which are held in large plantations. But this is an old story.

One is not long in Alexandria without hearing the name of General Sherman. He was, at the outbreak of the civil war, superintendent of the military academy, the ruins of which may still be seen some three miles out of Pineville. Mr. Jonas Rosenthal, an old inhabitant, and the present enthusiastic and efficient president of the school board, told me that Sherman often loafed in his store and told good stories. He says that Sherman declared he would never fight against the South, but afterwards wrote that the pressure was so great he had to go in.

J. H. DILLARD.

NEWS NARRATIVE

Week ending Thursday, July 27.

The British ministerial crisis.

The Speaker's ruling of the 18th in the British House of Commons adverse to the Ministry on its proposal regarding Irish representation (p. 248), was followed on the 21st by a defeat of the Ministry in the Commons on a question also affecting its Irish policy. Mr. Redmond, the leader of the Irish party in the House, had offered an amendment to the Irish land act (vol. vi, p. 282). It proposed a reduction of the land commission. This amendment, opposed by the Ministry and supported by the Opposition, was adopted by a vote of 199 to 196, a result which was followed by cries for the resignation of the Ministry.

—

After this defeat, the Prime Minister refused to declare his future action, and on the 22d only a short sesison was held, Mr. Bannerman, the Liberal leader, having moved an early adjournment on the ground that it would be unseemly to proceed with business while the Ministry was considering its position. The Prime Minister insisted upon doing some business, but only enough to avoid Mr. Bannerman's implication. In the evening the Prime Minister had an audience with the King, and upon the reassembling of the Commons on the 24th he argued from the floor, in a speech citing precedents, that such defeats as that of the 21st had never been regarded as ground for resignation or dissolution, and announced that the Ministry did not purpose either to resign or to dissolve Parliament because of that day's occurrence. He declared that it would be a grave evil if the tenure of ministers was made dependent on such votes, and hoped the practice would never prevail of allowing a ministry united in itself and possessing the confidence of the majority of the House to abandon its post merely in consequence of such a vote. In all proceedings since, the Ministry has maintained a majority of about 60.

Norway and Sweden.

The special joint committee of the two houses of the Swedish Riksdag, to which had been referred the Ministerial bill for adjusting the details of separation of Norway from Sweden (p. 198) delivered its report on the 25th. The report declares it to be self-evident that the union was not dissolved by the action of the Norwegian Storthing, since—

a contract cannot be broken by one party's parliament. Therefore the Storthing's action can only be considered as Norway's declaration that she does not desire any longer to maintain it. It is for Sweden to decide what action is necessary. According to the laws she would be fully justified in using the necessary force to re-establish the union. This would seem to be the natural course in the first excitement, but reflection shows that it would be against the true interests of Sweden. There was great mutual advantage in the union, but its maintenance by force would make the union a source of weakness instead of strength. Sweden should not therefore employ force, but must insist that its permission is necessary to dissolution. Sweden must agree to the cancellation of the act of union on certain conditions, insisting as a preliminary on a satisfactory settlement of all affairs mutually affecting the two countries.

Following are the conditions of separation outlined by the report as feasible:

1. The establishment of a zone on each side of the frontier separating the kingdoms, within which the existing fortifications shall be razed and new fortifications may not be erected.

2. The right of pasturing reindeer belonging to Swedish Laplanders in North Norway.

3. That the transit trade through both countries shall be secured against unjustifiable obstruction.

4. That the status of Sweden in respect to foreign powers as established by treaty shall be clearly defined so that Sweden shall be completely freed from responsibility for Norway to other states.

The report emphatically disapproves of any action by Sweden, either in the direction of a dissolution of the union or recognition of Norway's independence, until the Norwegians have had an opportunity through elections or a plebiscite of expressing their wishes. If the popular vote of Norway favors a dissolution, the Storthing must then, in the view of the committee, legally approach Sweden to this end, and if a satisfactory agreement can be reached the committee recommends Sweden's assent. In conclusion, the committee's report refuses to recommend that the Riksdag authorize the cabinet to negotiate with Norway, as demanded by the Ministerial bill referred to it, but proposes instead that if Norway legally approaches Sweden, in accordance with the committee's proposal, negotiations be opened.

—

In consequence of the adverse report on their bill, the Swedish ministers resigned on the day of the delivery of the report, the 24th.

Action of the Russian Zemstvos congress.

No official force has been exerted to suppress the Zemstvos congress in session at Moscow (p. 247), and on the 20th, by a vote of 220 to 7, the congress ordered the first reading of a constitution for Russia, which had been proposed by its committee. The principal features of this draft are:

1. An elective bi-cameral parliament, representing the whole Empire regardless of creed or race, and composed of 840 members.

Digitized by Google

2. A ministry on the British model, formed by a kanzier (prime minister), who selects his associates after being himself selected by the Czar.

3. The Czar to retain command of the army and navy and to have a veto on legislation.

—

On the 21st a manifesto urging the people to discuss the political situation regardless of the opposition of the authorities, and to yield only to superior force, was adopted in principle, after a long and heated debate; but as the result almost caused a formal rupture between the moderates and the radicals, the drafting of the manifesto was postponed. A resolution adopted on the same day condemned the systematic violation of the rights of the zemstvoists and dumaists and declared for upholding the natural rights of man by pacific means. A noteworthy incident of this session was the receipt of a resolution of sympathy from union labor officials expressing the hope that the congress would secure freedom of the press and a responsible ministry. The congress adjourned on the 22d.

—

The term "dumaist," in addition to "zemstvoist," necessitates an explanation. The "zemstvos" of Russia are district and provincial assemblies, composed of representatives elected by the peasantry of the country districts by householders in the towns, and by landed proprietors. These are the local legislatures of the Empire, corresponding vaguely in function to our State legislatures and county boards. But the towns and cities of Russia have in addition municipal legislatures somewhat like our city councils, and these are called "dumas." They represent the householders of their respective municipalities. It is of delegates from those two classes of representative bodies, the "zemstvos" and the "dumas," that the Moscow congress is composed.

Russian censorship.

For publishing reports of the proceedings of the Moscow congress, referred to above, in defiance of the censorship (p. 248), the St. Petersburg Slavo was on the 21st suspended for a month. Another St. Petersburg newspaper, the Novosti, which had attempted to organize the press in general for the purpose of ignoring this censorship by publishing reports of the proceedings of the congress, was on the same day suspended indefinitely.

China and the Russian-Japanese war.

Russia's negotiations with the Japanese for peace (p. 246), have drawn from China an intimation of her interest in the peace conditions and her possible intervention. It is made in the following note to the Powers, of which the President of the United States was diplomatically apprised on the 22d:

Having viewed with profound regret the unfortunate interruption of peaceful relations between Japan and Russia, the Imperial government now learns with sincere gratification that negotiations are about to commence for the restoration of peace and amity. But in the present conflict Chinese territory has been made the theater of military operations. Therefore, it is hereby expressly declared that no provision affecting China, without the approval of China being previously obtained, which the treaty of peace may contain, will be recognized as valid. The diplomatic representatives of China in Japan and Russia have been instructed by telegraph to communicate this declaration to the governments of Japan and Russia respectively.

Peace negotiations in the United States.

Baron Komura, the envoy charged with peace negotiations in behalf of Japan (p. 246), who arrived at Seattle with his suite on the 19th, left for Chicago on the 20th on the private car of James J. Hill, the American railway magnate. He passed through Chicago on the 25th and arrived in New York on the 26th. Mr. Witte, the Russian envoy, left Paris for New York on the 26th.

The Chicago traction question.

While A. B. du Pont, of Detroit, and Glenn E. Plum, of Chicago, are preparing specifications for municipal traction construction (p. 249) along the lines of Mayor Dunne's "contract plan," the litigation over the 99-year claims of the traction companies is making progress. On the 22d the Union Traction Company filed its answer in the quo warranto proceedings (pp. 138, 185) brought to require it to show by what right it claims occupancy of the public streets. The answer is a lengthy document of 266 printed pages. A similar answer was interposed by the Chicago City Railway Co. Both companies filed a motion to dismiss the proceedings as involving no public question.

—

Another phase of the traction controversy was presented on the 26th by the Chicago City Railway Co., which filed a bill in chancery in the Federal Court asking an injunction against all interference by the city. In this bill the traction company claims that—

1. The City Railway has lawfully acquired the right to operate its cars on 119 different lines until such time as the city may purchase the properties as provided by the ordinance of 1858.

2. The company has the right by statute to collect a five-cent fare from each passenger and cannot be compelled to divide that fare with any other line belonging to another company.

3. The company has the right to operate the present cable and electric lines by cable and electricity respectively until 1958, and thereafter until the city shall purchase and pay for the lines.

4. The company has the right to install the underground trolley on any of its 119 routes, if it so desires, and operate in this manner until 1958.

5. The several contentions of the city hostile to the rights of the company claimed under the 99-year act are all unfounded.

6. The city has no right to allow another company to operate street cars in Adams, Washington, Harrison, Desplaines and Twelfth streets, or in any other street in which, prior to November 16, 1863, it had authorized the complaintant to construct a line.

7. The ordinance of March 20, 1905 [authorizing the chancery suit by the city, which has been discontinued], should be adjudged an attempt to take the property of the complainant without compensation.

8. Any attempt on the part of the city to bring about the construction of street car lines competing with the complaintant should be adjudged an impairment of the contract obligations entered into by the State, city and City Railway company in various acts and ordinances.

9. In case the city should refuse to enact the proper legislation the Federal court should fix a reasonable compensation which the company shall pay for the continued use of the trolley rights which have expired.

No proceedings in open court have yet taken place in this suit.

Digitized by Google

The Teamsters' Strike.

Pursuant to the order of the Teamsters' Joint Council (p. 249), the department store delivery drivers and the railway express wagon drivers held special meetings on the 20th for the purpose of voting on the question of calling off the strike unconditionally. They voted in the affirmative and later on the same night the Joint Council formally called off the strike. This was hailed as the end of the trouble. But when the strikers returned individually to work, their applications were rejected, under orders from the employers' union, if they wore labor union buttons, the employers' union having agreed not to countenance the open wearing of these buttons hereafter. For that reason the truck drivers' union and the coal teamsters' union decided to remain on strike independently of the other unions until the right to expose union labor buttons is again conceded. Thereupon, at a conference of the employers' union, held at the Union League Club on the 24th, it was agreed not to reemploy any of the recent strikers, "even those who forego their buttons and other union principles, until all of the unions that struck decide to end the struggle;" and notices were immediately sent to employers to stop hiring drivers who had been in the strike. It was announced also that individual employers would not meanwhile arrange settlements with individual strikers.

Statistics of the strike as estimated by the Chicago Tribune on the 21st were as follows:

Teamsters originally called out at Montgomery Ward & Co.'s	71
Total number of teamsters eventually involved	4,620
Persons killed in strike violence	21
Persons injured (reported by police)	415
Police on strike duty	2,300
Deputy sheriffs on strike duty	3,400
Cost to city for extra police protection	$ 306,500
Cost to county for extra deputy sheriffs	$ 100,000
Cost to unions for strike benefits	$ 350,000
Loss to teamsters in wages	$ 700,000
Cost to employers (wages and lodging of strike breakers and protection of wagons)	$2,000,000
Shrinkage in wholesale, retail and freight business (estimated)	$6,000,000

Among the 21 persons reported above as killed are included strike breakers killed in quarrels with other strike breakers in the quarters provided for them by the employers' union, and bystanders shot without justification by strike breakers and special deputy sheriffs selected for appointment by the employers' union.

"The Niagara Movement."

A national conference of American Negroes, to which some newspaper reference has been made but which has been inadequately reported, met at Buffalo, N. Y., on the 11, 12 and 13th, at the call of Prof. W. E. Du Bois of Atlanta, Ga. Fourteen States were represented by 29 leading Negroes, and a permanent organization under the name of "The Niagara Movement" was formed, of which Prof. Du Bois was elected the secretary and George H. Jacobson of Cincinnati the treasurer. The platform adopted demands—

1. Freedom of speech and criticism.
2. An unfettered and unsubsidized press.
3. Full manhood suffrage.
4. The abolition of all caste distinctions based simply on race or color.
5. The recognition of the principle of human brotherhood as a practical, present creed.
6. The recognition of the highest and best human training as the monopoly of no class or race.
7. A belief in the dignity of labor.
8. United effort to realize these ideals under a wise, pure and fearless leadership.

The animus of this movement is evidently opposition to Booker T. Washington's theory of industrial education for Negroes as Negroes and without reference to their rights as men. Its address to the American people, put forth at the Buffalo conference, is as follows:

The members of the conference known as The Niagara Movement, assembled in annual meeting at Buffalo, July 11, 12 and 13, 1905, congratulate the Negro-Americans on certain undoubted evidences of progress in the last decade, particularly the increase of intelligence, the buying of property, the checking of crime, the uplift in home life, the advance in literature and art, and the demonstration of constructive and executive ability in the conduct of great religious, economic and educational institutions. At the same time, we believe that this class of American citizens should protest emphatically and continually against the curtailment of their political rights. We believe in manhood suffrage; we believe that no man is so good, intelligent or wealthy as to be entrusted wholly with the welfare of his neighbor. We believe also in protest against the curtailment of our civil rights. All American citizens have the right to equal treatment according to their behavior and deserts. We especially complain against the denial of equal opportunities to us in economic life. In the rural districts of the South this amounts to peonage and virtual slavery; all over the South it tends to crush labor and small business enterprises; and everywhere American prejudice, helped often by iniquitous laws, is making it more difficult for Negro-Americans to earn a decent living. Common school education should be free to all American children, and compulsory. High school training should be adequately provided for all, and college training should be the monopoly of no class or race in any section of our common country. We believe that in defense of its own institutions, the United States should aid common school education, particularly in the South, and we especially recommend concerted agitation to this end. We urge an increase in public high school facilities in the South, where the Negro-Americans are almost wholly without such provisions. We favor well-equipped trade and technical schools for the training of artisans; and the need of adequate and liberal endowment for a few institutions of higher education must be patent to sincere well-wishers of the race. We demand upright judges in courts, juries selected without discrimination on account of color, and the same measure of punishment and the same efforts at reformation for black as for white offenders. We need orphanages and farm schools for dependent children, juvenile reformatories for delinquents, and the abolition of the dehumanizing convict-lease system. We note with alarm the evident retrogression in this land of sound public opinion on the subject of manhood rights, republican government and human brotherhood, and we pray God that this nation shall not degenerate into a mob of boasters and oppressors, but rather may return to the faith of the fathers—that all men were created free and equal, with certain unalienable rights. We plead for health—for an opportunity to live in decent houses and localities, for a chance to rear our children in physical and moral cleanliness. We hold up for public execration the conduct of two opposite classes of men: the practice among employers of importing ignorant Negro-American laborers in emergencies, and then affording them neither protection nor permanent employment; and the practice of labor unions of proscribing and boycotting and oppressing thousands of their fellow-toilers, simply because they are black. These methods have accentuated and will accentuate the war of labor and capital, and they are disgraceful to both sides. We refuse to allow the impression to remain that the Negro-American assents to inferiority, is submissive under oppression and apol-

Digitized by Google

ogetic before insults. Through helplessness we may submit, but the voice of protest of ten million Americans must never cease to assail the ears of their fellows, so long as America is unjust. Any discrimination based simply on race or color is barbarous, we care not how hallowed it be by custom, expediency or prejudice. Differences made on account of ignorance, immorality, poverty or disease may be legitimate methods of fighting evil, and against them we have no word of protest; but discriminations based simply and solely on physical peculiarities, place of birth, color of skin, are relics of that unreasoning human savagery of which the world is and ought to be thoroughly ashamed. We protest against the Jim-Crow car, since its effect is and must be to make us pay first-class fare for third-class accommodations, render us open to insults and discomfort, and to crucify wantonly our manhood, womanhood and self-respect. We regret that this nation has never seen fit adequately to reward the black soldiers who in its five wars have defended their country with their blood, and yet have been systematically denied the promotions which their abilities deserve. And we regard as unjust, the exclusion of black boys from the military and naval training schools. We urge upon Congress the enactment of appropriate legislation for securing the proper enforcement of those articles of freedom, the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States. We repudiate the monstrous doctrine that the oppressor should be the sole authority as to the rights of the oppressed. The Negro race in America, stolen, ravished and degraded, struggling up through difficulties and oppression, needs sympathy and receives criticism; needs help and is given hindrance, needs protection and is given mob-violence, needs justice and is given charity, needs leadership and is given cowardice and apology, needs bread and is given a stone. This nation will never stand justified before God until these things are changed. Especially are we surprised and astonished at the recent attitude of the church of Christ—on the increase of a desire to bow to racial prejudice, to narrow the bounds of human brotherhood and to segregate black men in some outer sanctuary. This is wrong, unchristian and disgraceful to twentieth century civilization. Of the above grievances we do not hesitate to complain, and to complain loudly and insistently. To ignore, overlook, or apologize for these wrongs is to prove ourselves unworthy of freedom. Persistent manly agitation is the way to liberty, and toward this goal The Niagara Movement has started and asks the co-operation of all men of all races. At the same time we want to acknowledge with deep thankfulness the help of our fellowmen, from the abolitionist down to those who to-day still stand for equal opportunity and who have given and st give of their wealth and of their poverty for our advancement. And while we are demanding, and ought to demand, and will continue to demand the rights enumerated above, God forbid that we should ever forget to urge corresponding duties upon our people: The duty to vote; the duty to respect the rights of others; the duty to work; the duty to obey the laws; the duty to be clean and orderly; the duty to send our children to school; the duty to respect ourselves, even as we respect others. This statement, complaint and prayer we submit to the American people, and to Almighty God.

Discontent in Porto Rico.

A growing sentiment against American rule is reported from Porto Rico. It crystalized last week in a joint convention of both the political parties of that nondescript American province (vol. iii, pp. 1,17,21,27,35,57,487,506,649, 697; vol. iv, p. 149; vol. vi, pp. 578, 633, 739) to protest against American rule. The convention was composed of delegates from 65 of the 66 municipalities of the island, and on the 25th it adopted a memorial to Congress for relief. The memorial is reported to recite that on this the seventh anniversary of the American invasion of Porto Rico, the preponderance of power still rests with an Executive Council composed of heads of departments appointed by the President of the United States, who—

arrive here knowing nothing of the language, customs or needs of the country, and twenty-four hours after disembarking take their seats in the Executive Council and determine the fate of the island.

While the memorial calls for no change in the composition of the House of Delegates, which consists of thirty-five members elected by the people, it demands the following amendments to the Foraker law:

1. The organization of an insular Senate, to be composed of two senators each, from seven districts, in place of the Executive Council.

2. That the proposed Senate and House possess the same privileges granted to the House under the Foraker law.

3. That the Secretary of Porto Rico, the Attorney General, the Treasurer, the Auditor, the Commissioner of Education and the Commissioner of the Interior, continue in their present offices under the present titles, but that they form no part of the Executive Council.

4. That the officials named be appointed by the Governor, with the consent of the insular Senate, and not by the President of the United States.

The memorial was adopted by a rising vote, the delegates cheering for five minutes.

NEWS NOTES

—The third annual convention of the American Institute of Bank Clerks met at Minneapolis on the 20th.

—Jean Jacques Henner, the celebrated French painter, died at Paris on the 23d at the age of 76.

—The Louisiana board of health, on the 25th, ordered a yellow fever quarantine against New Orleans.

—The lower house of the Victorian (Australia) parliament passed a bill on the 26th extending full voting rights to women.

—Jerry Simpson, formerly Congressman from the Seventh district of Kansas, is critically ill at his home in Roswell, New Mexico.

—The American secretary of war, Mr. Taft, with his party, including Miss Roosevelt, arrived at Tokio, Japan, on the 25th.

—Paul Morton was on the 26th elected president of the Equitable Life Assurance Society (pp. 164, 169, 218) by the board of directors.

—The body of John Paul Jones (p. 234) was delivered by Admiral Sigsbee at Annapolis on the 24th and deposited in a temporary vault.

—Daniel S. Lamont, secretary of war under President Cleveland and previously his private secretary, died at his home at Millbrook, N. Y., on the 23d at the age of 54.

—A meeting between the Emperor of Germany and the Czar of Russia, on board the former's yacht on the 24th, off the Swedish coast, has been the occasion for much international gossip and speculation.

—John H. Mitchell, United States Senator from Oregon, was sentenced at Portland on the 25th to six months' imprisonment and a fine of $1,000, upon conviction (p. 218) of using his office to promote public land frauds.

—The joint survey of a disputed section of the United States-Canadian boundary line has just revealed the fact that three Vermont towns—Rockford, East Richford and Stevens Mills—lie on the Canadian side of the true line.

—Mrs. E. D. Rand, who endowed the chair of Applied Christianity at Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia., which was first occupied by George D. Herron, who subsequently married Mrs. Rand's

Digitized by Google

daughter, died at Florence, Italy, on the 24th.

—The U. S. gunboat Bennington was badly shattered in San Diego harbor, Cal., on the 21st, by the explosion of one of her main boilers. Of her crew, by reports of the 22d, 60 were killed, 50 wounded and 18 missing.

—At the annual opening of the convention of the United States league of building loan associations at New York on the 26th, the secretary's report showed the total assets of building associations to be $600,342,568—an increase for the year of $20,786,474.

—Peter Jensen Thirsted, a distinguished Danish disciple of Henry George, died at his home in Kirkehelsinge, Denmark, on the 25th of May, at the age of 46. Mr. Thirsted, who was a teacher by profession and occupation, wrote freely on single tax subjects, of which he was a luminous expounder, in Skole ag Samfund (School and Society), Folkeloessinig (Popular Reading) and other periodicals of Denmark.

PRESS OPINIONS

"THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT."

The Chicago Conservator (Neg.), July 22.—These men met, not because they had something to say which they wished the public to hear, but they met in the name of the American Negro with the purpose of laying plans to make a concerted demand, from one end of this country to the other, that the Negro be accorded an equal chance in the race of life with every other citizen and that the Negro youth be given that sort of education which is found to be best fitted for the most thrifty of other races. And this American spirit this organization proposes to try to plant in the breast of every Negro boy and girl in the country; and will aim to enlist the sympathy and cooperation in these and other objects announced in its statement, of all true American-loving people of all races.

Chicago Record-Herald (Rep.), July 20.—"Human savagery" all the things may well be against which the Niagara movement protests. Abstractly, the propaganda may deserve the highest sympathy. And yet it may well remain that the real leaders of the Negroes, their great benefactors, are not they who protest, but they who work at the immediate tasks which make for the well-being of the race and which tend to wipe out some of the distinctions between Negroes and whites other than those based on color of skin. The modest, busy Booker Washington, "limited," if you will, is apt to stand forth as the greatest and broadest of his race in the end.

INDIVIDUALISM VERSUS COLLECTIVISM.

The (London) Speaker (Lib.), July 1.—While we may play about with phrases like "the individual" and "the community" for all time, we all know the basic fact; we all know that the community does not exist in the sense that a man exists. You could have a man (a nasty one) without a society; you could not have a society (even a Fabian one) without a man. Therefore the old Liberal philosophers very rightly set to work to ask what were the rights of a man. The phrase, perhaps, was too hard and sharp; but it was essentially sound. Call them, if you will, the Needs of Man, or the Eternal Conditions of Manhood. But they asked what would a man always require, what would a man never easily endure, what, in short, were the things in man that cannot be ignored. One of these things was the right to liberty, the magic circle round each man of a narrow godhead, an imperfect omnipotence.

LAND HUNGER.

(Springfield, Ill.) State Journal, June 27.—The hunger in this country for lands and for homes is a great hunger. And the appetite is whetted constantly by the growing of the population and the lessening of opportunities to buy good, cheap lands. Every acre of good land anywhere in the United States is bound to grow in value. . . . Land is the basis of all wealth. Land combined with labor produces a constant reproduction of values.

HENRY GEORGE.

Chicago Chronicle (Rep.), July 21.—The economic theories of Henry George were coherent, logical and consistent. They compelled the respect of a great many people who, while they accepted the justice of the single tax doctrine, entertained apprehensions as to its just and equitable workings in practice. Henry George himself was a man of unquestioned integrity of deed and purpose. Whether he was right or wrong, all men admitted that his motives were beyond suspicion and his personal character was without a blemish. He was a man who believed that he had a mission and to that mission he unselfishly devoted his life.

THE PLUNDERBUNDS.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (ind.), July 20.—That the gravest danger to society comes from the big rich, and not as we are told, from the lawlessness of the labor unions in strikes, needs no further demonstration. Privilege has made these big rich what they are. Proudhon said: "Property is theft." Thinking people viewing our social conditions may not yet be prepared to go quite that far, but any man capable of right reason knows that privilege is robbery. All the big plunderbunds are organized on special privileges granted by city, State or nation.

AN ENGLISH OPINION OF JOHN HAY.

The (London) Speaker (Lib.), July 8.—He did much to bring about the near relationship between England and the United States, and yet his strongest personal admirers cannot think of the end of his almost unclouded career with the same warmth with which they followed its earlier and middle stages. For Mr. Hay was the chief intellectual and moral strength behind American Imperialism; he was its brain as Mr. Roosevelt was its arm. Its alliance with its English prototype helped on two fatal episodes in world-history, the Boer War and the conquest of the Philippines, both of which Mr. Hay approved. . . . Mr. Hay was an ideal exponent of a most unideal policy. Many wished for him a different part in the history of his country.

Mrs. Jackson—"Wal, parson, I knows de Bible says de meek shall inherit de earth; an' 'deed I tries to be meek as I kin!"

Parson Polhemus—"Dat's right, sistah! Dat's right!"

Mrs. Jackson—"But it'll be jest mah luck, when it comes time fo' me to inherit de earth, dat dar'll be municipal ownership."—Puck.

MISCELLANY

THE OAK SAID TO THE EAGLE.

(From the Irish.)

The Oak said to the Eagle,
How old art thou?
Clouds and the sunlight regal
Are on thy brow.

But the Eagle: Thine age, brother,
Tell it again.
We are old both one and the other,
Past dreams of men.

And the Oak: Mine age hath thriven
A thousand years,
'Gainst the winds and the rains of heaven,
And the lightning's spears.

I have seen men born and buried,
How long, how long?
The race of the red deer harried,
That was so strong.

But the Eagle laughed out scornful:
Thou dost not know
Thou graybeard, ragged and mournful,
How youth doth go.

As an eaglet cock I knew thee
An acorn smooth,
When the wind from the tree-top blew thee.
Look at my youth!

Thou that art groaning and hoary
That Time doth kill,
Look at me, clouds for my glory,
An eaglet still.

—Katherine Tynan Hinkson.

SUBSIDY VS. EQUALITY.

Like the "tainted money" controversy, Mr. Carnegie's gift of $10,000,000 in steel trust bonds as a fund for college professors who have outlived their days of usefulness, is exciting much adverse criticism and also some that is favorable.

It is unnecessary for the present to question Mr. Carnegie's motives, but what of the influence and ultimate consequence of these annuities?

Next to Rockefeller, Mr. Carnegie is the greatest beneficiary of the trust system. There is already too much trust and corporation domination in the educational work of our colleges and universities, and the influence of prospective annuities will hardly increase the professor's opposition to these industrial monsters. Rather may we not expect them to invent new excuses and apologies for monopoly's greed and avarice?

The argument is made that teachers are underpaid, and that consequently the pension is deserved. Teachers are underpaid, but the remedy should be an increase of salary rather than a pension—at least, until the aged common laborer is provided for in some way. And then the government, and not individuals who have accumulated

Digitized by Google

millions as a result of unjust laws, should grant the pensions.

With an equitable industrial system there would be no Rockefellers and Carnegies who, like parasites, fatten at the expense of less fortunate members of society.

Better than this system of unequal distribution which breeds financial princes and paupers, would be the strict enforcement of the cardinal principle of Democracy—"Equal rights to all, special privileges to none." This, while preventing the accumulation of colossal fortunes by our "captains of industry," would give to the private in the ranks of the industrial army a just proportion of his production.

Between socialism and monopoly there is a happy mean, and when it is reached all will be rewarded in proportion to what they do for society. When fair play and equality become universal, the problems of "tainted money," pensions and monopolistic charity will disappear.

Democracy's great mission to the world is to abolish subsidies and secure equality of opportunity for all.—A. R. McCook, Supt. Public Schools of Elma, Iowa, in Chicago Examiner.

OUR LAND ERROR.

From the June 15th issue of the Journal and Messenger of Cincinnati, a Baptist paper.

Four dollars a square inch is now the highest price for land in New York city—a recent sale being made at $598 a square foot. The time has passed when the best vacant land could be bought in New York by covering it with gold dollars.

This value is given by the whole country. The naked land has value because of the population to the west, since the location of New York makes it a toll-gate at which owners of real estate take toll from the whole country.

It is another example of fact that the exchange value of the selling-price of all land is given not by the owner's efforts, but by the people of the vicinity, and in some cases of an entire nation.

It shows the stupendous blunder which we have made in dealing with land which should always have been public property and should have been leased to occupants, instead of given away, or sold for a nominal sum. The lease could have been made in perpetuity with a revaluation every few years, just as the owners of land in some cities are now leasing to others who put up ten-story buildings.

THE BIRD DECORATION AGAIN.

Mr. Bernard Shaw makes a forcible protest in a letter to the "Times" of 3d instant, against the latest form of the dead-bird decorations as seen at the opera at Covent Garden. The gist of it is as follows:

At nine o'clock (the opera began at eight) a lady came in and sat down very conspicuously in my line of sight. She remained there until the beginning of the last act. I do not complain of her coming late and going early; on the contrary, I wish she had come later and gone earlier. For this lady, who had very black hair, had stuck over her right ear the pitiable corpse of a large white bird which looked exactly as if someone had killed it by stamping on its breast and then nailed it to the lady's temple, which was presumably of sufficient solidity to bear the operation. I am not, I hope, a morbidly squeamish person, but the spectacle sickened me. I presume that if I had presented myself at the doors with a dead snake round my neck, a collection of black-beetles pinned to my shirtfront, and a grouse in my hair, I should have been refused admission. Why, then, is a woman to be allowed to commit such a public outrage?—London New Age.

JOULE AND GEORGE.

For The Public.

The power which in mechanics is called energy corresponds with the power which in industrial economy is called value.

As a fly wheel stores force for all the moving parts of a machine, taking up the energy of any part when that part is retarded, and giving it out when any part requires to do more work, being quickened or accelerated, so a government treasury should receive values of taxation, and store them for the requirements of public service.

The whole science of mechanical energy rests upon the discovery by Joule in 1842 of the equivalence of heat and work. Rankine, Clausius, Regnault, and others, scientific men of all nations, joined to develop the details of this principle, and it is now accepted by every sane engineer in all computations relating to power.

The whole science of taxable values rests upon a discovery by Henry George some 40 years later. Reasoning from the equivalence of work and value, he found that the pooled use of limited facilities, land, right of way, and systems of community service gave to such facilities a great pooled or community value, derived from the work of no particular persons, but forming a natural storage reservoir of values for community purposes.

Money is the mechanism of exchange, and mechanical and financial engineering are comparative sciences. Mr. George's exposition of the natural development of community values as a natural fund for taxation and community use, is as clear, scientific and proof against rational assault as the accepted theory of mechanical energy—which it parallels in many respects.

What militates against the cheerful acceptance and application of George's theory (as much more important than that of Joule as a man is more important than a machine) is not science, but the opposition of interests which have confiscated to private purposes the values accruing from the combined energies of the entire community. This confiscation continuing from precedents established in the times of ignorance, when there was no science of taxable values, has obliged the government to raise its public revenues by various indirect, oppressive and corrupting methods of taxation, laying a double burden upon working people, and discouraging improvements and personal thrift, while the confiscators of community values are given the support of law in a deadly restriction upon the work, the enterprise, the life and the happiness of the common people. When these are educated to an understanding of their rights, their interests, and their perils, science will be left free to prevail against the gates of ignorance, and the confiscation of public values will be stopped by a simple shifting of taxation from personal and improved to land and license values.

Let us use the same right principles in finance and society which are universally approved in mechanics.

CHARLES HOWARD FITCH.

Oak Park, Ill.

A RACE BOGEY.

Mr. Sydney Olivier, an English Colonial official, who has for three periods been acting governor of Jamaica, contributes to the April International Quarterly a remarkable article on the race question in this country. In writing of "The White Man's Burden at Home," he has the obvious advantage of being a trained foreign observer, free from the prejudices and passions which are apt to beset those who treat at close range the racial relations in America. But Mr. Olivier has not been content to get his opinions about the attitude of the whites towards the blacks in the United States from books or newspapers. On several occasions he has studied the question on the spot,

Digitized by Google

impelled not merely by a personal interest, but by his duty as a Colonial official, to watch recent developments affecting the colored people.

Mr. Olivier does not hesitate to say that on these visits he has found himself "unable to account for an attitude of mind toward the race question which impressed one as superstitious if not hysterical, and which would appear from the tone of the Southern press to prevail widely in America." This is not because there is no race prejudice or hostility towards black people in Jamaica. But such antagonism as appears is unquestionably diminishing, so Mr. Olivier reports. Moreover, a Jamaican of mixed race is not debarred from occupying any position in the social life of the island, including the public service, for which he is qualified. Although the Negroes and mixed bloods are in an immense majority (there are but 15,000 whites in a total population of 700,000), it has never been necessary to defend race purity by forcing the individual Negro of merit or the race as a whole into an inferior position. Colored men are landowners, clergymen, doctors and lawyers. Many colored men are magistrates, and some are the chief magistrates in their parishes. The majority of the Negroes are peasant proprietors or employes on sugar plantations. Those who rise to high position "associate with the white residents on precisely the same terms as persons of pure European extraction."

Now, according to the theory prevalent in the Southern States, this condition of affairs should have but one result—the decadence of the white race. This has not been the case. While there has been and is intermarriage, especially between colonists of Irish, Dutch or German origin and Negroes, as also between half-whites and women of pure European blood, this ex-Governor of Jamaica has been "unable to recognize that any sort of evil has resulted from their intermarriage; I should rather say the contrary." What is still more important Mr. Olivier does not find that "social and professional equality between the two races, when resulting from compatibility of temperament and interests, conduces necessarily or strongly to a likelihood of intermarriage." Among the white creoles in Jamaica and other colonies there is a strong repugnance to intermarriage with darker peoples. But as to the mixed race being necessarily "degenerate, deficient and decadent, both in physique and morals," Mr. Olivier admits that, although he went to the West Indies for the first time sharing the prejudice of this common theory, he has found it impossible to sustain the view after studying the question in Jamaica, Honduras, the Leeward Islands, and elsewhere.

Mr. Oliver has even less sympathy with those persons who would countenance social injustice in order to prevent social equality. As an administrator familiar with judicial statistics, he finds that assaults by black or colored men on white women are practically unknown. The only terrors of Jamaican highways are the white runaways from European vessels. Women and children often live for months on plantations without white protectors, surrounded by colored people. There have been, Mr. Olivier reports, "no savage punishments here, no terrorism, no illegal discriminations against the colored." And he adds significantly, that in his opinion the propensity to the assaults most dreaded by whites south of Mason and Dixon's line is actually stimulated by the very attitude of the whites. He agrees with many psychologists in affirming that there is maintained "a constant storm of suggestion to the most imaginative and uncontrollable of passions in an excitable and imaginative race." "When a class," he continues, "makes the preposterous and self-damnatory announcement to another, whose women it has continually made the mother of its own offspring, that it is of an inferior order, there immediately is aroused all the self-assertiveness of the human claim to equality which is as fundamental in the African as in any other race." Evidently, Mr. Olivier has been in the South, and has viewed with amazement that double standard of morals which in most circles makes it perfectly permissible to disregard the purity of the Negro race while prating vehemently about the need of defending at any cost, the purity of the women of the white race.

On the political side of the Negro problem, Mr. Olivier feels that the bestowal of suffrage upon the newly emancipated slaves was a mistake, and naturally resulted in efforts to cut down the Negro electorate "by methods constitutionally indefensible and unjust." But the alarming conditions fill him with alarm. The whites' holding of their position by means of unjust devices gives the Negro race "a permanent plea of injustice," and results in a situation "demoralizing in the extreme." Mr. Olivier is even well enough versed in our affairs to see that, in order to justify its position, the minority is "almost inevitably compelled to blacken the character of the colored majority and depreciate their abilities by all kinds of misrepresentations." A truer word was never said on that point. The resulting situation, as Mr. Olivier sees, stimulates hysterics, which vent themselves in "outbursts of lust of blood and torture," and result "in social terrorism and obscurantism." Finally, Mr. Olivier's opinion that the pressure of this terrorism is so great that "sane men in America keep silence, or at best half-silence, in the face of an increasing Negrophobia which appears to be developing into a national danger," constitutes a serious warning to be taken to heart by all who believe in the continuance of truly democratic institutions.—The New York Nation.

John Bull—"Avast there, Johnny Crapaud; what are you doing to Ben Ali?"

Johnny Crapaud—"Vell, Mistaire Bull, Ben Ali he bin ver ol man; he hip sick, und he haf mooch propairtee."

John Bull—"I see the point. Go ahead, just so you don't forget your friend J. B. in the final division."

Johnny Crapaud—"It iss agreed, bon ami."

Hans—"Dunder und blitzen! Vat you two roppers do mit Ben Ali? Gid oudt mit you and leaf mein frint pe." (Sotto voce): "I haf designs on him meinsellef, aver I ain'd so soon retty yet."

F.

BOOKS

WAR OF THE CLASSES.

Whatever Jack London writes is well written and worth reading. He is free and frank in style and thought. He has lived an open, independent life, and his writing reflects his life. "I had lived my childhood," he writes, "on California ranches, my boyhood hustling newspapers on the streets of a healthy Western city, and my youth on the ozone-laden waters of San Francisco Bay and the Pacific ocean. I loved life in the open, at the hardest kind of work." Here we have a training far removed from the academic—no A B course or Ph. D. seminar work in this. Nor is there any savor of the schools in his writings. Unaffected and unspoiled, he has looked on life, and tells us plainly what he has seen, and what he thinks about it.

The present book (War of the Classes, Macmillan, New York, $1.50) is no exception. It is frankness itself. It is his clear profession of his faith in socialism. The last chapter tells "How I became a Socialist," and we see that it came by what the academic folk call

Digitized by Google

"laboratory method." It came by actual contact with things. His actual experience, without theory or knowledge of theories, brought his conviction. "I had been reborn," he says, "but not renamed, and I was running around to find out what manner of thing I was. I ran back to California and opened the books. I do not remember which ones I opened first. It is an unimportant detail anyway. I was already It, whatever It was, and by the aid of the books I discovered that It was a Socialist."

Herein, perhaps, the brilliant young thinker may have made a mistake. It probably mattered a great deal what books he opened first. The life he had lead, in close touch with toilers, had shown him the wrong, the injustice, and the hopelessness of things as they are. He saw the need of some revolution, and the programme of Socialism naturally appealed to him in its completeness. There is no indication in the book that he had made a close study of the line between the natural functions of Socialism and those which as naturally belong to the individual.

But let us not quarrel for the present with one who is doing such good work. Let us read this new book, and see what he has to tell of the Tramp, the Scab, and, most of all, the Class Struggle in the first chapter.

It is interesting to note in this first chapter how clearly and surely he puts the blame of present conditions upon the closing of the gateway of independent opportunity. Many writers seem to see this—like John Graham Brooks in his Social Unrest and Robert Hunter in his Poverty—and then they too quickly drop the subject. "The day of an expanding frontier," writes Mr. London, "of a lottery-like scramble for the ownership of natural resources, and of the upbuilding of new industries, is past. Farthest West has been reached. . . . The gateway of opportunity after opportunity has been closed, and closed for all time." So then the only opportunity left open for young ambitions lies along the rolè of retainer and courtier in one of the classes Mr. Ghent has so cleverly described in his Benevolent Feudalism. But what if natural opportunities might again be opened! And opened this time without the condition of a lottery-like scramble! Neither Mr. London nor Mr. Ghent would deny the possibility. Is it not already in some sort a part of the programme? Why not—inasmuch as its denial is confessedly the beginning of evil—make it, with its corollaries, the basis of the whole programme?

No one sees the significance of closed opportunities better than Jack London. How could the marvelous difference between the conditions of 50 years ago and those of to-day be more vividly told than in the following citation? "Had he been born," says Mr. London, "fifty years later, Andrew Carnegie, the poor Scotch boy, might have risen to be president of his union, or of a federation of unions; but that he would never have become the builder of Homestead and the founder of multitudinous libraries, is as certain as it is certain that some other man would have developed the steel industry, had Andrew Carnegie never been born." This great difference which has come in America within 50 years is too generally ignored by the orthodox, and we should be all the more grateful to writers who proclaim its truth, show the consequences, and want to do something to mend things.

J. H. DILLARD.

THE WANDERING HOST.

"The characteristic peculiarity of Pilgrim's Progress," says Macaulay, "is that it is the only work of its kind which possesses a strong human interest. Other allegories only amuse the fancy.' Within the latter class comes "The Wandering Host," by David Starr Jordan, president of Leland Stanford University (Boston: Am. Unitarian Association). Whatever pleasure is to be derived from it must belong wholly to the understanding, and not to the emotions.

This allegory might be characterized as a symbolic representation of the rise and progress of the Christian religion. "In early times," says the narrator, "there was One who made a journey and left a Chart. This chart was very simple and very plain—easy to understand. Even a child might understand it." Great multitudes start out to follow in the steps of this One over the mountain, through forest and desert to a wide, swift river. But soon disputations arise as to the meaning and directions of the Chart, and so there come into use new charts. Following the course of the narrative one can imagine the heated discussion of theologians assembled in general councils, the ascetism of monks and anchorites, the wars of the Crusades, the persecutions of heretics, the splitting into sects, and later on a dawning of the spirit of the brotherhood of man. Finally all who have gone by devious ways come together and throw away their charts, keeping and holding in reverence only the original Chart.

The narrative closes with the following beautifully expressed thought: "And some one wrote upon the Chart the single rule of the forest: 'Choose thou thine own best way, and help thy neighbor to find that way which for him is best.' But this was erased at last, for beneath it they found the older, plainer words which One in earlier times had written there, 'Thy neighbor as thyself.'"

JOSIAH EDSON.

RUSKIN SYSTEMATIZED.

In his preface to the second edition of "The Anatomy of Misery, Plain Lectures on Economics" (Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. Price, $1), John Coleman Kenworthy says that in writing the book it was his conscious effort to reduce Ruskin to system. The attempt is so well made that one is almost forced to the conclusion that the economics of Ruskin cannot be reduced to system. Indeed, anything systematic, unless it be slavery, is well-nigh unthinkable of a political economy the first principle of which, as Mr. Kenworthy declares, is expressed in this formula: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs."

The formula may answer for philanthropy, where the giver voluntarily decides both upon his own ability and the recipient's needs; but the moment the giver's volition is controlled by others, the logical outcome of the formula is slavery, for slavery is essentially an economic state in which the ability of some is forced to contribute to the needs of others. If this is done by the municipal law, it is slavery; and it must be done by municipal law, if done at all, for there is no economic law in accordance with the formula.

Evidently Mr. Kenworthy contemplates enforcement of the formula by municipal law. Anticipating the obvious question regarding idlers and good-for-nothings, he replies: "The community demands that every member shall work, according to his capacity; the idler, the good-for-nothing, can, therefore, have no just claim on wealth." Yet the formula requires others to minister to their needs, and in accordance with their needs. Something suggestive of this goes on to-day, when the needs of the Rockefellers, Astors, and their like are involuntarily administered to from the ability of thousands of their fellows. Something very like it, also lop-sided, went on in the United States when the needs of the masters were met by drafts upon the ability of their slaves. These instances lack equilibrium, to be sure, the needs being considered as all on one side, and most of the ability on the other; but that is inevitable when you attempt to systematize and enforce the doctrine, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." It runs into favoritism as certainly as a brook runs down hill.

We may remark, also, that if "the good-for-nothing" have no claim on wealth, as matter of justice, then the "good-for-little" can have only a little claim, as matter of justice, and consequently, as matter of justice, that the formula upon which Mr. Kenworthy rests his systematization of Ruskin economics is unjust. The just formula is not from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs, but from each according to his willingness and to each according to his serviceableness.

Mr. Kenworthy has great powers of clear and condensed statement, which he has used to advantage in his analy-

Digitized by Google

sis. For the most part this is beyond serious criticism. There is no reason, perhaps, for adding "demand" to "labor," "capital" and "land," as a factor of production, since the idea is involved naturally in "labor;" but as Mr. Kenworthy assigns this fourth factor to its true functions, as the cause and regulator of labor, the only question raised in this connection is one of excessive sub-division, which isn't important.

In his contention that the laborer now sells himself when he makes contracts for wages, our author risks confusions of thought by failing to distinguish between sales of the person, and sales of the person's future product. What the laborer sells is not his person. He simply contracts in advance for his future product. If he were under no undue economic pressure to accept any terms that offer, there would be neither ground nor inclination to condemn this. But the laborer's economic condition, due to the monopolization of natural opportunities, is such that he makes his wages-contract upon unequal terms, and is consequently forced to sell his future product for less than its value. This is, indeed, the essence of slavery in its results; but the deplorable thing about it is the coercion as to terms, and not the fact of the sale of future produce. The evil lies in the one-sidedness of the circumstances under which the contract must be made, and not in the wages feature.

The most striking thing about Mr. Kenworthy's book is its clear, concise, and, for the most part, accurate exposition with reference especially to the production of wealth, coupled with an incomprehensible nebulousness with reference especially to the distribution of wealth. A possible explanation is that he has fallen into the common error of thinking of distribution as synonymous with the delivery of wealth —transportation, exchange, etc., which are really parts of the processes of production—and has failed to observe that distribution in contradistinction to production, does not imply the delivery of wealth at all, but only its apportionment categorically into shares. The wealth which constitutes a man's wages is delivered to him through the processes of wealth-production, but his share or proportion of wealth is determined for him by the processes of wealth-distribution.

Failing clearly to note this difference between production and distribution, Mr. Kenworthy's book drifts away from the clean-cut analysis and coherent synthesis with which its inquiry into economic laws begins, into what can hardly be characterized otherwise than economic incoherency. This oversight and its result cannot be fairly charged to him, however, for all writers who put exchange into the category of distribution instead of production are guilty of the same fault. The worst that can be said of Mr. Kenworthy is that he has been misled by their errors.

But for that oversight, together with the impossibility of basing a coherent economic system upon the unjust, and therefore uneconomic, formula which relates the distribution of wealth to needs instead of earnings, this little book might really have deserved the encomium of Tolstoy in the second edition, that "it not only offers the reader more solid matter than volumes upon volumes of works written on the same theme, but does what multi-volumed works on political economy do not do —it states economic problems clearly and simply."

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—"The Ethics of Imperialism. An Inquiry Whether Christian Ethics and Imperialism Are Antagonistic." By Albert P. Carman. Boston: Herbert B. Turner & Co., Price, $7 net. To be reviewed.

—"The Life and Writings of Thomas Jefferson. Including All of His Important Utterances on Public Questions. Compiled from State Papers and from His Private Correspondence." By S. E. Forman, Ph. D., Johns Hopkins. Second edition. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co. To be reviewed.

PAMPHLETS

A public document of timely interest and exceptional value was issued on the 12th of May by the Department of Commerce and Labor at Washington. It is No. 2256 of the Daily Consular Reports, and it deals exclusively with the subject of municipal ownership. The contents include excerpts from the official reports of U. S. Consuls at various places and for several years. Among the particularly interesting reports is one from Canada, which describes the successful operation of a municipal street car line at St. Thomas. Another describes "municipal socialism" in Great Britain, and from this it appears that in 1902 there were in that country 931 municipalities owning waterworks, 99 owning street railroads, 240 owning gas works, and 181 supplying electricity. The pamphlet includes Consul Hamm's reports on the city-owned street cars of Leeds and of Hull. The countries included in the pamphlet are Austria, Canada, France, Germany and Great Britain.

PERIODICALS

Joseph Edwards, the founder and an associate editor of The Reformers' Year Book, has changed his address to 21 Palace Square, Norwood, London, S. E. The Reformers' Year Book, an annual compendium of information relative to the reform movements of the world, has been made increasingly useful to students of social tendencies with each succeeding issue.

An editorial in the International Quarterly for July discusses the present outlook and gives utterance to the following: "The public in general," says the writer, "is beginning to realize that we cannot hope to perpetuate political equality and the reality of republican government if we establish no limit to economic inequality, and impose no check upon the political activity of corporate powers that the State has created." When will the readers of such journals as the International Quarterly come really to believe this?—J. H. D.

J. A. Spender, in the July number of the Fortnightly Review, modestly shows how little the great statesmen of the passing day know of the real significance of passing events. He takes us back, through Lord Salisbury's Essays, to the politics of the '60's, and shows how little the great ones could tell of the future. Mr. Gladstone, we remember, asserted that Jefferson Davis had made a nation. Lord Salisbury thought that the North, whether or not it was victorious, would lead its armies upon Canada. Verily the prophets are not found among statesmen.—J. H. D.

In the Hibbert Journal for July, under the title the Birth of a Soul, the reader will find an enlightening discussion of Oscar Wilde's conversion. "Could the reformation," says the writer, "have been brought about at a cheaper price? Could the new soul have been born of any other parentage? Would anything but that terrible suffering have given the apostle of aestheticism the depth and earnestness necessary to conceive the Ballad of Reading Gaol and De Profundis? . . . Have all the churches, in nineteen centuries, thrown such light upon the problem of evil as is shed by these two books in contrast with their author's earlier writings?—J. H. D.

Prof. J. Laurence Laughlin has an article in the July Atlantic on Large Fortunes, in which not once—in not a single sentence—does he answer the real ground of complaint. There are certainly those who make indiscriminate complaints against large fortunes, and no one need find fault with him for protesting against such indiscriminate complaints. But that one should write a formal discussion of such a subject and omit the true ground of complaint is quite absurd. One might think that Prof. Laughlin had never heard of the word monopoly, but for this one sentence. Speaking of Vanderbilt's success he says: "It was not a case of monopoly; anyone else, equally capable, would have been free to do the same thing." As if this were an answer to the real complaint against monopoly!—J. H. D.

Some of us will be glad that there seems to be coming a revival of Anthony Trollope. A writer in the Fortnightly Review contributes a just and discriminating article in praise of his novels, which is sure to meet the approval of Trollope's readers. "There

Digitized by Google

FORTUNE FLOWS RIGHT OUT OF THE "WALL."

A piece of land on the corner of Broadway and Wall Street, New York, with an old-fashioned, four-story brick building, erected in 1830, standing upon it, has just changed hands at an unprecedented figure, $700,000, which means a rate of nearly $600 a square foot, and a little more than $4 a square inch This is nearly double the rate herctofore realized for land in this locality. This corner lot sold for £103 about the beginning of the eighteenth century, while in 1780 it realized £1,000. There has been no sale since 1827, when the property came into the hands of the family who have just disposed of it, the price paid being $18,275. An increase from $18,000 to $700,000 in seventy-five years is a fair indication of the marvellous growth of the big city.—*Christian Guardian, Editorial.*

is a bias in Dickens's case," says the critic, "towards the grotesque, in Thackeray's towards either sentiment or caricature, and in Marian Evans's work towards abstract ethical ideas; Trollope preserves the balance even, so that his incidents, his conversations, his people, have a perfectly amazing air of actuality."—J. H. D.

It is to be hoped that all teachers of history in our colleges may read Mr. William Roscoe Thayer's paper in the July Atlantic on the Outlook in History. "History," he says, "must be human, making its final appeal not as a monument of erudition, but as a masterpiece of art, in which the collective deeds and passion of men shall be not merely pictured with photographic accuracy, but vitalized and interpreted." This could hardly be put better; and good to see also is the following: "I like enthusiasms in historians. Impartiality may be attained at too great a sacrifice; and it requires little experience to discount personal bias where it exists." The fact is it may be doubted whether there are any impartial historians. The dull ones get the credit for being such, simply because they have no enthusiasms.—J. H. D.

"Has Mayor Dunne Kept Faith with this Community on the Traction Question?"

This subject will be discussed by LOUIS F. POST at the regular meeting of the Old Hickory Club, Friday Evening, July 28th, at 6157 Wentworth Avenue. Everybody invited.

P. J. O'CONNELL, President.
OTTO MUELLER, Secretary.

GLIMPSES OF UNIVERSAL EVOLUTION

After Haeckel, Huxley, etc. Pamphlet. By mail, 20 cents. Address Author: "J. J. JEWETT, 116 N. Broadway, Los Angeles, Cal."

OHIO LIBERTY BELL

Cincinnati, Ohio. R. H. Reemelin, Editor and Proprietor. A 32 pg. Magazine. 50 cents a year; 25 cts. for 6 mos. It is not a ONE IDEA propagandist, but clean-cut Populist—hewing to the line. It stands for 32 clever reforms each logically put. Reads like a letter from an old friend. You will not regret sending 25 cents for a trial subscription.

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 miscellany, 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.

TERMS:—Annual Subscription, $2.00; Semi-Annual Subscription, $1.00; Quarterly Subscription, 50 cents; Trial Subscription (4 weeks), 10 cents; Single Copies, 5 cents. Free of postage in United States, Canada, Cuba and Mexico. Elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week. All checks, drafts, post office money orders and express money orders should be made payable to the order of THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO. Subscribers wishing to change address must give the old address as well as the new one.

Published weekly by The Public Publishing Company, First National Bank Building, Chicago, Ill. Post office address, THE PUBLIC, Box 687, Chicago, Ill.

TERMS OF ADVERTISING

Per agate line,	each insertion,	$0.05
Per inch, (14 lines),	" "	.70
Per column (133 lines),	" "	6.65
One-quarter page (100 lines),	" "	5.00
One-half page (200 lines),	" "	10.00
One page (400 lines),	" "	20.00
Front cover page,	" "	25.00
Front cover half-page,	" "	15.00
Last cover page,	" "	25.00
Last cover half-page,	" "	12.50
Last cover quarter-page,	" "	6.25

Advertising Forms Close on the Tuesday Preceding the Saturday of Publication.

Everyone in any way interested in

Public Ownership of Any Public Utility

should have a copy of

THE CITY FOR THE PEOPLE

By Prof. Frank Parsons, of the Boston University School of Law. "Considered one of the great books of this age."

It is clear in principle, wonderfully comprehensive in its array of facts, and thoroughly indexed; invaluable for reference, or to the general reader.

Revised Edition; over 700 pages, 8 vo. In paper, 50 cents, postage paid. In cloth, $1.00; by mail, $1.20.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.
Box 687, CHICAGO, ILL.

I AM INTERESTED IN "THE PUBLIC"
AREN'T YOU?

I Am Desirous of Increasing Its Circulation
ARE YOU?

If you are you can get something of value for nothing, and no string to it.

Having come into possession of a number of authenticated maps of the United States (including all its possessions) mounted, measuring 7x5 feet, valued at four dollars each, I will send one to each of the first fifty who will send in five (5) yearly or ten (10) half-yearly subscriptions to THE PUBLIC, as per its offer of furnishing these at the yearly rate of $1.20. These maps are especially valuable to schools, clubs, hotels, offices, etc., as also in homes. **Who Will Win First One?** Single Taxers can bulk their subscriptions and so get one for their club rooms.

DANIEL KIEFER, 530 Walnut St., Cincinnati, O

Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to advertisers.

Digitized by Google

"WILCUT"

The Knife That Holds Its Edge

These knives, being made from the best steel in the world for the purpose, are absolutely perfect in their temper and are guaranteed to stay sharp longer than any others. A long, flexible knife with a sharp, keen, lasting edge, for thin or accurate slicing of ham, beef, etc., is a prime necessity in the kitchen of every efficient housekeeper. Such a one is our

12-in. Slicing Knife sent prepaid for $1.50

All live dealers sell Wilcuts, or we will send prepaid, for 40c., a 6-inch, or for 65c., an 8-inch butcher knife. Our Special

$5.00 Kitchen Assortment of Knives

includes 6-inch butcher knife, 10-inch steak knife, 6-inch boning knife, 12-inch ham slicer, 6-inch French Cook's knife, 4½-inch kitchen knife, 8-inch bread knife, 4-inch fruit knife and 4-inch paring knife. This forms a complete assortment of "sharp edged" knives for the kitchen. No equal sum spent otherwise will yield one-half the usefulness, pleasure and convenience to housekeeper or cook. Your money back if not perfectly satisfied. Send for catalog 7.

Wilkinson Shear & Cutlery Company Reading, Pa.

Captain Jinks Hero

By ERNEST CROSBY

A keen satire on our recent wars, in which the parallel between savagery and soldiery is unerringly drawn.

PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED BY DAN BEARD

There is not a dull page in the book.—*South African News, Capetown.*

The author has added to our literature a notable work of satire, which, whether right or wrong, must appeal to all endowed with the national sense of humor.—*New York Mail and Express.*

12mo., cloth, 400 pages, $1.50 postpaid

The Public Publishing Company
First National Bank Building, - CHICAGO

DO YOU WANT TO KNOW

how best to take advantage of existing conditions to advance your own interests, and to keep others from advancing their interests at your expense? Then read

BISOCIALISM

The Reign of the Man at the Margin

By OLIVER R. TROWBRIDGE

It will point out to you the five possible avenues for money getting under the established order, and thus enable you to start right if you are young, to get right before it is too late if you are of middle age, and to see just where you have missed it if you are old.

The value of this book cannot always remain unknown. It will not be easy, or even possible, to set forth in any satisfactory way its various points of merit. Yet from the housetops it ought to be proclaimed, "Here is a book unusually worth everybody's attention."—*City and State,* Philadelphia.

Handsomely bound in cloth, 12mo., 400 pages. Price $1.50 net. Add 10 Cents for Postage.

The Public Publishing Co.
BOX 687, CHICAGO, ILL.

Natural Taxation

An Inquiry into the Practicability, Justice, and Effects of a Scientific and Natural Method of Taxation.

By THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

12mo, 268 pages, cloth, $1.00; by mail, $1.08
Paper 50 cents; by mail, 55 cents.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.
First National Bank Building, - CHICAGO

The Art of Living Long

By LOUIS CORNARO

Cornaro wrote his guide to a long and healthy life in four parts at the ages of 83, 86, 91 and 95, and died at 103.

"*I have for forty years carried out the idea of Cornaro.*"—*THOMAS A. EDISON.*

Octavo volume, illustrated, bound in full cloth, gilt top—a handsome edition. Price $1.50 net; sent postpaid to any address.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.
Box 687, Chicago, Ill.

Hours: 10 a. m. to 4 p. m. Tel. Harrison 1687.

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

JOSEPH McDONOUGH
"Ye Olde Booke Man"
OLD AND NEW BOOKSELLER and IMPORTER
39 and 41 Columbia St., Albany, N. Y.
Monthly Catalog Free. Books Not in Stock Hunted for and Reported Free of Charge.

ATTORNEYS

WILLIAM H. HOLLY
LAWYER
1506 Tribune Building, CHICAGO
Telephones { Central 2056 / Automatic 4065

B. C. STICKNEY
Attorney and Counsellor at Law
Patents and Trade Marks
Expert in Patent Causes
132 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK

CONTRACTORS

GEORGE H. ATKINSON, CONTRACTOR.
Telephone, Electric Light, Trolley and Municipal Work. Trolley Roads built complete and financed.
Lincoln Trust Building, Jersey City, N. J.

"To Those Who Are Poor and Wish to Become Rich, or Who Are Rich and Wish to Become Richer"

FREE AMERICA

By BOLTON HALL

is dedicated. The book shows, in an interesting and amusing way, the evils from which we suffer as individuals and as a society, the causes of them and their cure—which is liberty. The illustrations are by Dan Beard.

Two Hundred and Fifteen Pages, 18mo. Price, postpaid: Paper, 25 Cents; Cloth, 75 Cents.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO., Box 687, CHICAGO, ILL.

Works by Clarence S. Darrow

Resist Not Evil

Fourteen chapters on the subject of non-resistance.

"It is a startling arraignment of the doctrines of force and punishment."—St. Paul Pioneer Press.

12mo., Cloth, 75c, postpaid.

A Persian Pearl

A volume of essays and literary interpretations.

CONTENTS:—A Persian Pearl (The Rubaiyat), Walt Whitman, Robert Burns, Realism in Literature and Art, The Skeleton in the Closet.

12mo., Cloth, $1.50 net, postpaid.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY
First National Bank Building, CHICAGO, ILL.

Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to advertisers.

Digitized by Google

NOW READY FOR DELIVERY

A Neat, Artistic Book of About 100 Pages, Entitled

THE ART OF WISE INVESTING

A series of Short Articles on Investment Values, pointing out the essential characteristics of safe investment securities, with a review of the financial pitfalls into which superficial examination inevitably leads. Written in an entertaining, popular style. Every investor in the land should read it.

Price, Per Copy, in Cloth, $1.00 Net.
Add Six Cents for Postage.

MOODY PUBLISHING COMPANY
35 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK
Chicago Office: 535 The Rookery

EVEN AS YOU AND I
By BOLTON HALL

A presentation, by means of popular and simple allegories, of the doctrine of Henry George and the principle which underlies it. A part of the volume is an account of Tolstoy's philosophy, drawn largely from the Russian's difficult work, "Of Life."

The earnest outpourings of a soul devoted to humanity.—*Justice, Philadelphia*

16mo, cloth, ornamental, gilt top, 50 cents; by mail, 54 cents.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.
First National Bank Bldg., CHICAGO

The Book for the Hour!

The Cost of
Something for Nothing
By JOHN P. ALTGELD

"Reveals a strong man at his mental best."
—*Chicago Tribune.*

Dealing fearlessly with recent social, business and political developments, the late Governor of Illinois warns those who enter into the spirit of modern business speculation and political corruption that there is a moral law which will exact swift and fearful retribution from those who transgress it.

At this time, when multitudes are intent on getting something for nothing, these words of a statesman and a philosopher should not pass unheeded.

12mo., cloth, gilt top. Price, $1.00 postpaid.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY
First National Bank Building, CHICAGO, ILL.

New Zealand is the most interesting corner of the civilized world to-day.

The only single book in existence giving an adequate idea of its history, and a full account of the rise and development of its remarkable institutions and government, is

The Story of New Zealand
By PROF. FRANK PARSONS
Author of "The City For The People," Etc.

It is simply impossible, within due limits, to set forth even a tithe of the varied and remarkable excellencies of this volume. It is a great book. It tells a wonderful story, and one that ought to go out into all the earth.—*City and State.*

OCTAVO, HANDSOMELY BOUND IN CLOTH, 860 PAGES, WITH OVER 170 ILLUSTRATIONS.

PRICE, $3.00 NET; ADD 38 CENTS FOR POSTAGE OR EXPRESSAGE.

The Public Publishing Company
FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING, CHICAGO

Books by Ernest Crosby

Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable
A Collection of Chants in the Cause of Justice and Brotherhood.

12mo, cloth, 188 pages, $1.50; by mail, $1.62.
Paper, 40 cents; by mail, 44 cents.

"Do not fail to get and read 'Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable.' It is a fine, true, high, noble, unselfish work. It will do you good, no matter what you believe. There is a profit in its reading you cannot afford to miss."—New York Journal.

Tolstoy as a Schoolmaster
An Essay on Education and Punishment, with Tolstoy's Curious Experiments in Teaching as a Text.

16mo, cloth, 94 pages, 50 cents; by mail, 53 cents.

"This little book is written in Mr. Crosby's best vein. It is illuminated with his own fine comments on that about which he writes, and we laid it down wishing there had been as much again of it.....We commend 'Tolstoy as a Schoolmaster' to the young and progressive teachers of the nation."—Advocate of Peace, Boston.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY
FIRST NATIONAL BANK BLDG., CHICAGO

Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to advertisers.

Digitized by Google

GENERAL LIBRARY,
UNIV. OF MICH.
AUG 4 1905

The Public

A Journal of Fundamental Democracy and
A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

Eighth Year | CHICAGO, SATURDAY, AUGUST 5, 1905 | Number 383

LOUIS F. POST
EDITOR

Entered at the Chicago, Illinois, Postoffice as Second Class Matter

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION

Yearly	$2.00
Half Yearly	1.00
Quarterly	.50
Single Copy	.05

Extra Copies, $3.00 per 100, in lots of 50 and upward; if addressed to individuals, $4.00 per 100

For Advertising Rates and Other Particulars of Publication, See Cartoon Page

The Receipt of a Sample or Marked Copy by a Non-Subscriber is an Invitation to Subscribe

FOR TABLE OF CONTENTS SEE FIRST INSIDE PAGE

OF VITAL INTEREST

The questions discussed by John P. Altgeld in his book "LIVE QUESTIONS"—his final compilation of his papers and speeches—are all of vital interest to humanity, and as much so today as when he lived. His thought is clear and far-reaching, and illuminates every subject he touches upon; witness his characterization of Chauncey M. Depew.

The book contains 1,009 pages, octavo, with illustrations and index, cloth bound; price, $1.50; by mail, $1.78.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY
First National Bank Building, - - - - CHICAGO

NOW READY FOR DELIVERY

A Neat, Artistic Book of About 100 Pages, Entitled

THE ART OF WISE INVESTING

A series of Short Articles on Investment Values, pointing out the essential characteristics of safe investment securities, with a review of the financial pitfalls into which superficial examination inevitably leads. Written in an entertaining, popular style. Every investor in the land should read it.

Price, Per Copy, in Cloth, $1.00 Net.
Add Six Cents for Postage.

MOODY PUBLISHING COMPANY
35 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK
CHICAGO OFFICE: 535 THE ROOKERY

EVEN AS YOU AND I

By BOLTON HALL

A presentation, by means of popular and simple allegories, of the doctrine of Henry George and the principle which underlies it. A part of the volume is an account of Tolstoy's philosophy, drawn largely from the Russian's difficult work, "Of Life."

The earnest outpourings of a soul devoted to humanity.—*Justice, Philadelphia*

16mo, cloth, ornamental, gilt top, 50 cents; by mail, 54 cents.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.
First National Bank Bldg., CHICAGO

THE THEORY OF HUMAN PROGRESSION

By PATRICK EDWARD DOVE.

Edited, with Biographical Sketch, by Alexander Harvey.

This work, first published in 1850, is an inductive philosophy explanatory of social evolution. Unlike most inductive philosophies, it is essentially democratic. Dove discovered the moral law in the facts of human experience. In this he was unique, and consequently without renown among the inductive philosophers of the nineteenth century; but the present tendency of inductive philosophy toward the recognition of moral harmonies in the universe, and therefore in the direction of democracy, is forcing his book into recognition. It is indispensable to students of social science.

12mo., cloth, 412 pages, $1.00; by mail, $1.10.
Paper, 50 cents; by mail, 58 cents.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY,
First National Bank Building, - - CHICAGO

Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to advertisers.

Digitized by Google

AN EXCEPTIONAL OPPORTUNITY

The New Library Edition of the Complete

Works of Henry George

Including the

LIFE OF HENRY GEORGE

By HENRY GEORGE, Jr.

Just Published. In ten volumes, 12mo., handsomely bound in buckram, with gilt tops, untrimmed edges, etc. It contains a full set of portraits, and is in all respects equal to the well known MEMORIAL EDITION, issued in 1898, which is now out of print, and which sold for $25.00 per set.

What Tom L. Johnson Says of This New Enterprise

"Gentlemen:—

"I wish to congratulate you on bringing out a new library edition of the Works of Henry George. The day is not far distant when the professional or business man who does not understand the philosophy of Henry George will stand discredited in any intelligent community.

"A knowledge of this philosophy will broaden and strengthen any man, morally and intellectually; will make him a more public spirited citizen, and better equip him for the activities of business and professional life. It will give him a clearer comprehension of his duties to his fellow man, to the State and to the Great Ruler of the Universe; lifting him immeasurably above the plane of vanity, sordidness and selfishness which now seems to be the chief end of man.

"I hope and believe that your enterprise will be a success beyond your most sanguine expectations."

"Very truly yours,

TOM L. JOHNSON.

LIST OF THE VOLUMES:

Volume I. **Progress and Poverty.**

Volume II. **Social Problems.**

Volume III. **The Land Question.**

This volume contains three short works: (1) A brochure of seventeen short chapters and entitled "The Land Question;" (2) "Property in Land," a passage-at-arms with the Duke of Argyle; (3) "The Condition of Labor," an open letter to Pope Leo XIII., in reply to the Pope's encyclical letter on "the condition of labor."

Volume IV. **Protection or Free Trade.**

Volume V. **A Perplexed Philosopher.**

Volumes VI. and VII. **The Science of Political Economy.**

Volume VIII. **Our Land and Land Policy.**

This volume contains, besides selected speeches, lectures and miscellaneous writings, the pamphlet which, first published in 1871, was the forerunner of "Progress and Poverty" eight years later.

Volumes IX. and X. **The Life of Henry George.**

TERMS OF PURCHASE

This handsome set of books, of uniform size and boxed, will be delivered free of all further cost to any address in the United States (with customs duties added to Canada and Mexico, and to other foreign countries at the extra expense of foreign expressage and customs), for $15.00, CASH WITH ORDER, or for $17.50 IN INSTALLMENTS, payments to be made $2.00 on delivery and $2.00 thereafter monthly until the set is paid for.

AGENTS WANTED

In every locality for the sale of these and other important books. Descriptive circulars on application.

The Public Publishing Co.,

First National Bank Building, Chicago, Ill.

The Books of Louis F. Post

ETHICS OF DEMOCRACY

A Series of Optimistic Essays on the Natural Laws of Human Society

Second Edition, with Portrait of the Author. 12mo, bound in rich blue cloth, printed on high-grade, hand-laid paper, gilt top, deckle edges, 398 pages, $2.00; by mail, $2.12.

You have done a great work, one that will live a monument to a man with a great moral purpose, and the ability to put it into plain, simple words within the comprehension of the everyday man. The greatest accomplishment in the work is that you have made complicated problems simple and easy to understand.—*Tom L. Johnson.*

THE PROPHET OF SAN FRANCISCO

A Sketch of Henry George's Life

16mo, bound in cartridge paper, 60 pages, 20 cents postpaid. Ten copies, $1.00 postpaid.

This interesting monograph was a labor of love by Mr. Post, and in it he makes a lucid explanation of the Single Tax philosophy as Henry George expounded it. It is especially valuable for dispelling prejudice and stimulating inquiry among the thoughtful of conservative habits.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.

First National Bank Building, CHICAGO

New Zealand is the most interesting corner of the civilized world to-day.

The only single book in existence giving an adequate idea of its history, and a full account of the rise and development of its remarkable institutions and government, is

The Story of New Zealand

By PROF. FRANK PARSONS

Author of "The City For The People," Etc.

It is simply impossible, within due limits, to set forth even a tithe of the varied and remarkable excellencies of this volume. It is a great book. It tells a wonderful story, and one that ought to go out into all the earth.—*City and State.*

OCTAVO, HANDSOMELY BOUND IN CLOTH, 860 PAGES, WITH OVER 170 ILLUSTRATIONS.

PRICE, $3.00 NET; ADD 38 CENTS FOR POSTAGE OR EXPRESSAGE.

The Public Publishing Company

FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING, CHICAGO

Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to advertisers.

Digitized by Google