GENERAL LIBRARY,
UNIV. OF MICH.
MAY 6 1905

The Public

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

Eighth Year | CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MAY 6, 1905 | Number 370

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

Special Publishers' Announcements

PORTRAIT OF MAYOR DUNNE

The portrait of Mayor Dunne published with the last number of The Public, dated April 29, in connection with a sketch of his career by Louis F. Post, has been much admired for its characteristic pose and expression and remarkable likeness. The number has proved of great interest to friends and students of the public ownership issue. Many orders for extra copies have been received. We will fill all such orders while the supply lasts. It is now limited, and no more copies can be printed. All extra copies desired should be ordered **without delay.** The price is **$3.00 per 100** in lots of **50** and upward; to individual addresses, $4.00 per 100.

A GROWING INFLUENCE

An interesting announcement is made on the last cover page of this number, addressed to "those who value THE PUBLIC and wish to see its influence grow." The attention of every reader is invited to this statement. The plan is simple and effective and everyone can respond in some measure to the suggestion made. A number of the subscription cards have already been called for. This method of getting subscriptions has been found very useful by clubs and associations as well as by individuals.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY
FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING, CHICAGO, ILL.

The Truth about the Trusts

A Description and Analysis of the American Trust Movement. By John Moody, Editor "Moody's Manual of Corporation Securities."

A COMPREHENSIVE WORK, embracing descriptions, histories and analyses of all the Great Trusts, Industrial, Franchise and Transportation, giving the facts regarding their Formation, History, Financial Relations and General Characteristics. The entire Trust Movement analyzed, and its many remarkable features vividly illuminated, the text being supplemented by a number of striking maps and charts. A truly panoramic view of the entire Trust Movement.

"The author seeks neither to attack nor defend trusts, but he does set down all the obtainable information about these corporations and classifies this vast fund of information in a most convenient and intelligent manner. The result is startling in more ways than one, even to the man that fondly imagines he has kept track of this movement in a general way. The opening statement that the large trusts in the United States have over $20,000,000,000 of capital is a bit startling in itself, but much more startling than this is the fewness of the men in control of these great corporations. * *"—*Indianapolis Sentinel.*

"It is with vast corporate bodies that Mr. Moody's book deals, and the bare recital, through hundreds of pages, seems akin to ancient fabulous tales from the mystical Orient. The trusts have discovered King Midas' secret charm and found Aladdin's lamp. Everything that they touch turns to gold."—*Boston Post.*

"At a time when the main political issue of the nation hinges on the life and activities of great combinations of capital, John Moody quite opportunely has published 'The Truth About the Trusts.' * * The analysis which the author subjoins to the consideration of many of the individual trusts, brings the book to a level not attained by the many other publications."—*Chicago Evening Post.*

The volume is a perfect mine of information on the subject of Trusts and should be in the hands of every student, statesman, lawyer, capitalist, man of affairs, investor and citizen—any one to whom the "Trust" problem is of any interest whatever.

A book of 540 large octavo pages. A very handsome volume. FOR SALE BY LEADING BOOKSELLERS, or will be sent to any address on receipt of price. Popular edition, $2 net; De Luxe edition, $5 net; add 28 cents for postage.

MOODY PUBLISHING COMPANY
35 Nassau Street, NEW YORK **535 The Rookery, CHICAGO**

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; 20. 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.

Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to advertisers.

Digitized by Google

DON'T MISS A SINGLE ISSUE OF 25 Cents a Copy; $2.50 Net a Year

The Arena Magazine

AN ILLUSTRATED REVIEW OF TWENTIETH CENTURY THOUGHT

Edited by B. O. FLOWER

While THE ARENA discusses the great questions of the day in the domains of Ethics, Education, Religion, Philosophy, Science and Art, especial attention is given to

POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

as thev relate in a vital way to the fundamental principles and demands of a pure democracy.

A FEW NOTABLE FEATURES OF THE MAY NUMBER

The Kansas State Refinery Bill

An authoritative statement of the situation in Kansas, and the important political innovation resorted to by the great progressive Western commonwealth to protect her people against the criminal rapacity of the Standard Oil Company.

A portrait of Senator PORTER, the author of the Refinery Bill, will appear in this issue.

The Assured Results of Direct-Legislation in Switzerland

By Professor CHARLES BORGEAUD, a leading member of the faculty of the University of Geneva and the greatest living authority on Direct Legislation in the Alpine Republic.

This is one of THE ARENA'S notable series of international papers by leading foreign educators, economists and statesmen on progressive democratic measures.

America in the Philippines

By REV. GEORGE FREDERICK PENTECOST, D. D. Dr. Pentecost is not only one of the most widely-known and highly-respected evangelists and pulpit-orators of our day, but his extensive travels through the Philippines, and in India, China and Japan, give special interest to his discussion,

A fine portrait of the author forms the frontispiece of this issue.

Municipal Black Plague: A Study of Municipal Corruption in Philadelphia

By RUDOLPH BLANKENBURG. The fifth in the series of amazing revelations of state and municipal corruption in Pennsylvania by one of the greatest civic leaders in the Keystone State.

Illustrated with portraits of leading statesmen and politicians of the period discussed.

Stephen Phillips: Poet and Dramatist

By ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, Ph. D., of the University of North Carolina. This is the strongest and most luminous of the exceptionally interesting and fine papers which Professor HENDERSON is contributing to THE ARENA on the great modern dramatists and their message.

A fine portrait of Professor HENDERSON accompanies the article.

Japan As Viewed by a Native Socialist

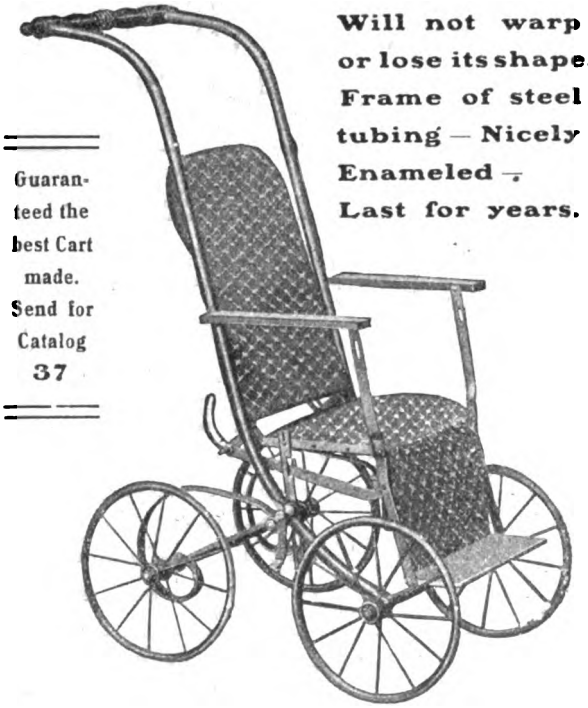
By KIICHI KANEKO, correspondent of the *Heimin Shinbun*, of Tokio, Japan. An extremely interesting paper by a Japanese scholar giving a new, and we think a remarkably impartial view of the lights and shadows of Modern Japan.

A full-page portrait of the author accompanies the paper.

Besides the Serious Articles it will also Contain Editorial Comments, The Mirror of the Present, Book Studies and Review of New Books

ORDER FROM YOUR NEWSDEALER **ALBERT BRANDT, Publisher, TRENTON, N. J., and BOSTON, MASS.**

The Foyer Steel Go-Cart

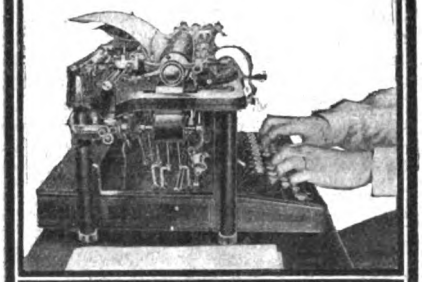


Will not warp or lose its shape. Frame of steel tubing — Nicely Enameled — Last for years.

Guaranteed the best Cart made. Send for Catalog 37

FOYER MANUFACTURING CO.
37 Fifth Avenue, Chicago.

The Test



of Service

always proves the absolute supremacy of the

Remington

Typewriter

Remington Typewriter Company
327 Broadway, New York

Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to advertisers.

Digitized by Google

The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

Volume VIII Number 370

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MAY 6, 1905

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:
Review of the Chicago strike.....65
Prof. Starr on inferior races.....68
Rockefeiler and Gladden.....68
Fraudulent foreign incorporation.....68
Racial Equilibrium 68

NEWS NARRATIVE:
The teamsters' strike in Chicago.....70
Military slaughter in Warsaw.....72
Protection in Great Britain.....72
British land value taxation 72
Municipal questions in the United States 72
News Notes 73
Press Opinion 74

MISCELLANY:
The Man at the Margin (verse).....74
Representative Government in Switzerland 74
The Cannibal and the Missionary.....75
From Earth to Heaven 75
Uncle Sam's Letter to John Bull.....76
Christian Citizenship 76
His Statesmanship (verse).....78

BOOKS:
Two Strong Novels (Dillard).....78
Politics of New Zealand 79
Periodicals.... 79

CARTOON—Wake Up, Uncle Sam.....80

For terms and other particulars of publication see cartoon page

EDITORIAL

The dangers which at this moment directly threaten Chicago, and indirectly menace the whole country, are extremely serious. Disorder has occurred, and rioting, already imminent, may possibly be precipitated before these words reach the reader's eye. To be sure, there is nothing especially serious in the possibilities of a riot, nor in an actual riot, for riots usually come and go in cities with no other effect than a temporary disturbance. But if this riot comes, it will be no outburst of local and ephemeral passion. It will come as a battle carefully planned and deliberately provoked, in an irrepressible war of hostile classes.

—

And more serious in its sinister possibliities than the rioting, something else will come. The regular army will come. With its recruits drawn from the frayed edges of society and drilled to the mechanical perfection of unfeeling automata; with its officers selected from the body of the people, but carefully trained like Janissaries to hold in contempt the order of life out of which they are chosen; with the button that controls this deadly mechanism far removed, both geographically and politically, from the community whose humiliation it may decree—every instance of the use of the standing army in local disturbances, paves the way for the coming of "the man on horseback." Yet the country is full of fools, who, for the sake of a temporary advantage to their own interests or to interests with which they sympathize, are echoing the demands and encouraging the efforts of a few imperial-minded or sordid knaves to turn the regular army into a local police force upon the slightest provocation or at the least excuse. If the Chicago riot comes, their insane wishes in this respect, fraught with the gravest dangers, as all history shows, to themselves and their children and their children's children, will assuredly be realized in one more instance.

—

In the face of such dangers to the principle of home rule, which has always been the touchstone of American liberty, the utmost intelligence and candor is demanded in considering the situation. Class feeling, personal prejudice, pride of organization, love of power, and over-solicitude for business interests, must all be suppressed; and in the fullest and widest sense the spirit of fair play must take their place. No other attitude of mind is tolerable in circumstances like these. Solicitude for the public peace, to be maintained by local self-restraint and fair-minded adjustment and not imposed by external power and reckless slaughter—the peace of good citizenship, not the peace that reigned in Warsaw—this is the primary consideration. Whoever has conspired against peace of that kind, or obstructs its restoration, be he employer or hired man, rich or poor, black or white, striker or strike-breaker, resident or non-resident, timid preacher or subservient newspaper, complacent merchant or subsidized lawyer, is a public enemy. Then let the undisputed facts speak for themselves.

—

In the course of the development of labor organization which has spread and strengthened in this country since the Civil War, slowly and with some fluctuations but steadily on the whole, the question of "open shop" or "closed shop" has come to be a burning issue. This is now the nub of the controversy between labor unions and employers' unions. The latter have recently got to be a highly important factor. The labor struggle, no longer between unorganized employers and organized labor with its federated unions, is become a strife between laborers organized and federated and employers organized and federated. These hostile systems of economic organization are each an empire within the Republic, and whether one or the other wins, or the two confederate, the Republic will suffer.

—

The weapon of organized labor is the strike. Nominally, this is a peaceable refusal to work; actually, of course, it is industrial war. In that war the weapon of organized employers is the floating mass of the unemployed or partly employed, who, living on the ragged edge of things economic, are almost always available to supply the needs of employers well enough and long enough to defeat a strike. To make striking successful, therefore, these workmen must either be got into unions or be otherwise prevented from competing against unionists. The former method is preferred by labor leaders. Consequently the "closed shop" contract has become a prime object of trades unionism. Under this

Digitized by Google

contract, the employer who can be induced by argument, or coerced by strikes or threats of strikes, into signing it, is obligated to employ only union men. It has been urged that labor leaders use their powers under such contracts to deprive men of work by keeping them out of unions. But it is only fair to say that the few instances of such conduct are instances of personal graft, from which no large organization is wholly free. The general tendency and the evident interest of unionism is to enroll every workman; for its aim is to monopolize the loyalty and thereby to regulate the employment of all hired labor. On the other hand, yet for identical reasons, employers' organizations think it to their interest to oppose the "closed shop." Consequently they insist upon the "open shop." The nominal meaning of this is that employers will not discriminate between union and non-union men in their hirings; its obvious effect would be to arm the employers' union with a ready supply of unorganized labor, and to disarm organized labor of its only defensive weapon.

—

With the merits of this controversy we have nothing at present to do. We have given the facts and indicated their bearings for another purpose. They are necessary for an understanding of the origin and probable scope of the present dangerous conflict in Chicago between labor unions and employers' unions; for this conflict originated in the breach of a "closed shop" contract by an employers' union. Somewhat more than a year ago, as the result of a labor arbitration between the garment workers of Chicago and their employers, the wholesale tailors, that "closed shop" agreement was made. It provided on the part of the employers for the employment of members of the garment makers' union exclusively, for a definite period, the union agreeing to supply workers for the same period. Long before its expiration the employers' union began to violate its terms by locking out union workers and employing non-union workers, pursuant to a formal decision of their national federation, to adopt an "open shop" policy. Against this breach of contract by their employers, the garment workers' union struck. That was in November last. They sought the sympathetic aid of the teamsters' union, but this aid was denied for months and until their strike had been evidently lost, when it was suddenly resolved upon and the teamsters struck in sympathy (pp. 17, 23). But they confined their strike to one house in the congested district; and as this did not serve the garment workers, but did tend to produce disorder, the garment workers asked the teamsters to call off their sympathetic strike, which was done (p. 59). For a reason by no means clear except inferentially, the employers then locked out some of the teamsters, and a new strike, for the teamsters now as well as by them, was declared. This is the strike in progress at present and in connection with which rioting and the use of troops are imminent.

—

It has been rumored, and the rumor has plausibility, although the fact might not be proved, that the inexplicable strike which the teamsters made in sympathy with the garment workers, was not made in good faith, but had been brought about by collusion between grafters in the teamsters' union and grafters in the employer's union. What the motive of the employers may have been it is not easy to say. Their animosity toward the teamsters' union and that of the team owners (which worked together very exasperatingly to mercantile interests) might sufficiently explain their readiness to facilitate a plan for crushing those cooperating organizations. But the manipulators of this crushing programme are quite freely accused of ulterior designs. They are suspected of intending to involve Mayor Dunne in such embarrassments, political and official, as to balk his municipal ownership policy. They are thought even to have intended entangling President Roosevelt in the alternative of angering organized labor by calling out Federal troops or of giving the railroad interests a leverage against him for refusing to call troops out. Whatever may have been their motive, if they really did maliciously bring on the teamsters' strike in behalf of the garment workers, some significant facts are certain, and to these we call attention.

—

The employers' union had prepared elaborately for the strike, although it seemed to come like a bolt out of a clear sky. It refused to consider any adjustment while the strike lasted. It provoked the second strike in cold blood when the first had been abandoned. And it refuses to consider any terms of settlement whatever, even to secure the public peace, declaring that its purpose is to destroy the teamsters' union. All the indications are that this purpose is no afterthought, but was the purpose before any strike began. To throw the matter into the Federal courts, this employers' union has organized a local teaming company under the laws of West Virginia. This gives these Chicago men the legal right to go into the Federal courts in Illinois as citizens of West Virginia. However the law may regard that proceeding, fair men must regard it as a subterfuge for the fraudulent purpose of giving an appearance of national character to local questions, and thereby making color of legal authority for calling upon the Federal army. This device was supplemented by an ex parte injunction of the Federal court,—an injunction so broad as to make it dangerous for a striker to speak to a non-striker lest he might be charged upon affidavit with asking him to quit work against his express desire. Then came overture after overture for reasonable arbitration, which the employers

Digitized by Google

rejected. Here again they resorted to a subterfuge. They said they would arbitrate the contract which employers had with the teamsters and which the teamsters had broken, but would not arbitrate the contract which employers had with the garment workers and which the employers had broken. The latter they waived aside as a "closed question." Yet it was that employers' breach of contract which afforded the excuse if not the occasion for the teamsters' breach; and any fair-minded man would expect to bring both questions into the arbitration if he arbitrated at all—the provocation as well as the act it provoked. But the employers did not intend to arbitrate at all. They contended, when refusing to arbitrate, that the only issue was the free use of the streets and the right to sell goods freely. If that was the only issue, there is no doubt that such arbitrators as Judge Tuley, whom they rejected, or any other arbitrators who could possibly have been appointed, would have decided in their favor. No arbitrators would have reported against their free use of the streets and their freedom to sell goods. The very fact that the employers refused to arbitrate suggests to any candid mind that they did not really believe that the free use of the streets and freedom to sell their goods was the only issue. They must have been conscious of other issues, and fearful that arbitration would expose them. Since then they have shown that they had that consciousness. In a letter of the 3d to J. M. Taft, of the Taft Teaming company, they specify five other issues: (1) Inviolability of teamsters' contracts; (2) intolerablity of sympathetic strikes; (3) assertion that they do not discriminate against organized teamsters; (4) assertion that they are not resisting labor unions; and (5) that members of the teamsters' union are guilty of violence, intimidation and coercion. If these issues do exist, they are arbitrable; and if the employers believed themselves in the right as to these issues, they would not hesitate to accept the overtures for arbitration — especially if, as they themselves make clear, bloody battling in the public streets is the alternative. The unavoidable inference from all the circumstances is that the employers want no settlement. They want a street fight — as bloody as possible. Some of them have said as much in interviews, and the fact became clear enough when they appeared before the Mayor's commission last Sunday. Forced there by direct questions to explain their platitudes about the "sacred right to work," they acknowledged that their set purpose was to destroy the teamsters' union, and that therefore they would make no settlement and enter upon no arbitration.

—

The organization which takes that ground confesses itself in the wrong; and if the public peace is endangered thereby, it puts itself morally in a criminal attitude. Every life lost in consequence of refusal to make peace on terms which fair-minded arbitrators would propose, is chargeable to this recklessly domineering organization. While asserting its own right to organize for the purpose of influencing the wages of labor downward, it insists, even at the risk of disturbances to the public peace, upon destroying organizations of workingmen seeking to influence wages upward. All the heavier is its responsibility when, as the fact is, this defiant organization is itself provoking the very breaches of the public peace the possibility of which it refuses by arbitration to avoid. It has brought Negroes by wholesale from the South to arouse race antagonisms which Chicago may be long in recovering from. It has provided these strange men of another race with firearms, and has recklessly sought disturbances by sending them out as teamsters among street crowds in sympathy with the teamsters' strike. It has brought farmers' boys to Chicago from distant places to destroy the teamsters' union by temporarily taking organized teamsters' places, knowing full well that most of these imported white men, as well as the imported Negroes, will soon become vagrants on the hands of the city authorities, in a city already crowded with workmen. It has hired professional "strike-breakers," a species of thug which private detective agencies herd and supply to order for employers' unions, importing them from distant cities and thrusting them into the public streets, armed with rifles, with the purpose, so slightly veiled as to be unconcealed, of having them provoke or create breaches of the peace sufficient to afford a pretext for policing the city with Federal troops. These acts are not consistent with good citizenship. They are criminal in morals, even if they may be shrewdly made to evade the criminality of the law. It would not be considerate perhaps to blame too severely for such acts the irritated merchants, who have doubtless had much to irritate them, as anyone acquainted with the annoyances of trade unionism will readily appreciate; but they cannot escape serious blame for acts so manifestly designed to provoke crime without incurring its penalties.

—

The sad thing about all this menacing turmoil is the blindness or indifference to its real nature, of those who engage in it or encourage it or weakly deplore it. The employer thinks it a violent outbreak of the lower classes, which can be put down by superior violence. He ignores the obtrusive fact that there may be an exciting cause of increasing intensity. In that case the superiority of violence will almost certainly shift, in the not distant future, and make of him and his hapless victims to their own selfish pride. Let him remember the arrogance that preceded the French Revolution. On the other side of the picture, the idealistic labor unionist, acting in re-

Digitized by Google

sponse to an economic pressure which he feels but does not understand, thinks to relieve it by coercively organizing the working classes into a body that shall treat an injury to one as the concern of all. He ignores the fact that the pressure he feels may be one of increasing intensity, and that in such case organization may not be able to keep pace with it without a degree of coercion which means riot, troops, slaughter and the gallows. Labor unionists of the business type view the matter in still another way. They expect to lift their own class of labor above the level of lower labor classes—Ten-penny Jameses above Nine-penny Jims — by safe and sane business methods. They overlook the fact that a lower class of labor is all the time a competitive menace to the class above, and that no isolated unionism can long withstand it. Another type is the ideal non-unionist. He is a sturdy believer in the right of free contract between employer and employe—almost as much so as is the employer who finds him a convenient catapult for battering down the walls of unionism. Then there is the "business" non-unionist, who makes a precarious living by hiring out as a "strike breaker." Like any other tramp, he is one of the phenomena produced by the general cause of the whole vexed labor problem. Mere flotsam and jetsam, his blindness or indifference to the nature of labor troubles is probably not very significant. As for people who deplore these troubles, but neither think with vigor nor speak out like men, lest they may check an income, or anger a parishioner, or lose a client, or get disliked in a club, or be marked as a crank, or otherwise suffer some petty annoyance—as for them, can they not realize what will happen if there is an intensifying cause for labor troubles? The time must soon come when that cause will bring on irretrievable disaster, in which even they, their own dainty selfish selves, may be engulfed along with the rest of us.

That there is a general exciting cause for these labor troubles we all instinctively feel. And we all really know what it is. We know that it is inadequate opportunities for employment on the lower levels of labor, relatively to the supply of such labor. This is the cause, and it is an intensifying cause. It cannot be dealt with by Federal injunctions or Federal troops, by labor unions, or employers' unions, by weak wishing or strong cursing. Let the cause continue to intensify, and we shall be overrun with hordes of laborless men. They will be of the type of the strike breaker, and their brutality will not always be vented on strikers. But if this cause were removed, if conditions were sought and established in which jobs were hunting for men instead of men hunting for jobs, we should have neither employers' unions nor laborers' unions. Every man would be his own union, and general prosperity and industrial peace would follow. How to effect this change, from a superabundance of workers to a superabundance of opportunities for work, is the crux of the labor problem. How can it be done? There are but two ways. We must either kill off surplus workers, or we must release cornered opportunities for work. Which shall it be?

Prof. Frederick Starr, the distinguished anthropologist, has a wise word for the proud Saxon who thinks himself superior to all other races, partly because he is successful at grand pillage and partly because his skin is bleached. Says Prof. Starr: "We think we are the chosen of God, but it is my belief that the real worth of the different races is one and the same. We are the most meddlesome race that ever existed. We meddle at home, we meddle abroad, we meddle everywhere; and it is the almighty dollar that is the reason for our meddling. That is the watchword of the Anglo-Saxons. Even our missionary work is simply meddling."

Mr. Rockefeller's lawyer, who undertook to show Washington Gladden how ignorant or how wicked he was in accusing Mr. Rockefeller of perjury, has not been so quick to reply to Mr. Gladden's answer as his assumed familiarity with the subject gave reason to expect. Indeed he does not seem to have replied at all, and up to date Mr. Gladden appears to have very much the better of the controversy.

Apropos of the organization in West Virginia of a company of Chicago merchants for doing business in Chicago, with the purpose of enabling them to go into the Federal courts with their litigations, which they could not have done but for their incorporation out of their own State, why is it not in order to ask whether the State of Illinois intends to allow such trifling with its sovereignty, or the Federal courts such frauds upon their jurisdictional authority.

RACIAL EQUILIBRATION.

The political dominance of the trusts and the rise of colonialism in this country are coincident with the furious democratic ferment in Russia—a retrograde eddy in the most advanced country at the moment when the least progressive western nation is precipitated into a step forward. The world is smaller than it used to be, and each part of it is in closer touch with every other. No important country can long remain far ahead nor much behind the others without the spirit of the age eating into it wholesale; soon, like the ocean, they will all approximate a common level. Modern science in abolishing isolation has made a unit of the race question in our Southern States, in Asia, and in Africa, as to-day each locality quickly feels anything of importance that occurs elsewhere.

The Anglo-Saxon has been a leading offender against the law of democratic equality between races, and quick to demand special deference to white men as such. Yet a stronger law of nature now has been the undoing of his racial pretensions. As leader of the world's commerce, and to

Digitized by Google

safeguard his own interest, he contracted the Anglo-Japanese alliance—an act of far-reaching effect in promoting democracy between races. The Jap has successfully pitted himself in modern war against the European and instantly his demand for equal standing as a man and brother begins to penetrate the ears of the masses in the Western world. Abstract democratic ideals may influence the best minds, but prudence and immediate self-interest act more quickly with the average man. The Englishman cannot now turn against his brown ally as the American did in the Philippines; happily the Jap is in a position to protect himself and to take his stand among the Powers of the world. His social recognition on that basis is certain in Europe and America, and already marriages begin to occur between leading diplomatic families of England and Japan.

But if the Jap is "as good as a white man" the primacy of the latter is destroyed, and every other race will be prompt to present its claims for consideration and to enforce them so far as its abilities and circumstances may permit. The present war will infuse fresh ambition and courage into the yellow man and the black man everywhere. The millions of China and of India will be stirred to their depths as their native leaders realize the significance of the forty years that the world allowed Japan unmolested to master modern methods of life. For all backward peoples the moral of her success is obvious and irresistible: Go thou and do likewise—or, at least, if you would become men, make the attempt and do the best that you can.

This of course is the doctrine of democracy applied at last to the uttermost parts of the earth—the right to self-development that naturally inheres in every man and in every people. Its antithesis is autocracy, benevolent assimilation, the forcible conferring of benefits upon subject peoples while the victims pay the freight.

The world's most shining example of that sort of thing is the present European over-lordship of the bulk of Asia and Africa, which is a menace and a threat to democracy everywhere. Successful autocracy in the East gives that cult prestige and material resources to use in Europe and America; and despotism along race lines naturally bulwarks class autocracy in all countries because the same principle underlies both. Democracy cannot be secure in any part of the world until the white man's governments in Asia and Africa are extirpated root and branch. Let us hope that the first to go will be the half-hearted American imitation in the Philippines based on European models.

European dominance in the East will be impaled presently upon the growing radical democracy in Western countries and a quickened racial self-confidence among the Eastern masses. What will follow? Many Eastern peoples have not yet acquired sufficient popular enlightenment for successful republics; but it is obvious that our forefathers overestimated the value of republican forms, when we compare the despotism of many Spanish-American republics with the freedom of Canada. Each country will preserve continuity with its own past, so that political organizations will vary in type. But they are merely vehicles to express the spirit of the times. They facilitate or they hamper growth, but only to a comparatively limited extent. No form will be democratic in practice long after that spirit has departed from the people; on the other hand, the most strongly intrenched autocracy, racial or otherwise, can make no serious resistance when democracy is aroused with its overwhelming numbers.

Undoubtedly Republican forms are the highest type yet successfully practiced on a large scale; yet the real point of departure between democracy and autocracy is not in the letter of the law but in its spirit. It consists in the attitude towards the government of public opinion among its subjects.

If the people really believe in despotism they have the power under democracy to organize despotism; as they grow in intelligence and become capable of better things, they will recognize the defects of their government and revise it, forcibly or otherwise. This is sound, healthy growth of the social and political body—growth from within predominating, although stimulated, of course, by action and reaction on environment.

But however liberal the letter of the law, its spirit is the acme of autocracy if it is imposed on an alien people from beyond the seas; and it stultifies the manhood of its subjects much more than a less advanced form of government supported by local public opinion. National home rule must be upheld by every true democrat as involving the minimum of friction in practical operation and the maximum of healthful growth for the country and the people. Quicker apparent results when achieved by the autocracy are not as enduring, being at the expense of the fiber of the national character of the subject people. Advanced races can best assist backward ones by voluntary cooperation and not by forcible subjugation.

So much for the well-being of the natives under Asiatic and African home rule. As for foreigners, the modern concert of Powers, by sheer weight of moral and material prestige, can uphold all proper rights of its own subjects who reside in or have relations with backward countries. And if a warship should at rare intervals be necessary to emphasize a point of difference between a native and a foreigner, its use would not necessarily prejudice the sovereignty of the minor government. Modern diplomatic differences and even wars between first-class Powers are not carried to the point of complete conquest and subjugation of the defeated country; and they need not be in the case of weaker governments unless the difficulty be used merely as a convenient excuse for international land-grabbing and people-grabbing.

HERBERT FOSTER.

"Has anybody engaged the berth above me?" asked the passenger in the sleeping car. "No, sir," said the conductor. "Then will you please tell the porter to fold it up, so I can have a little more air?" "Certainly not, sir." "Why not?" "Because, sir, that would be giving you more air than you have paid for, and you can see for yourself that we can't do business on that principle."—Chicago Tribune.

Digitized by Google

NEWS NARRATIVE

Week ending Thursday, May 4.

The Teamsters' Strike in Chicago.

Since our last report, the Chicago teamsters' strike (pp. 40, 59) has been given a turn which lifts the controversy out of the category of an industrial dispute concerning only the parties to it, and into the sphere of criminal interference with the public peace and the general order. Its character in this respect threatens, moreover, to affect the country at large as well as the city of Chicago.

—

As heretofore narrated, the teamsters struck originally in sympathy with the striking garment workers (p. 23); but that strike was declared off at the request of the garment workers themselves on the 24th (p. 59) and a new strike was begun by the teamsters on their own behalf on the 25th (p. 60). The immediate cause of the latter strike was a lockout, by the employers' union, of teamsters who had participated in the abandoned strike. By the 27th all the big department stores on State street were involved in the second strike and it has been extending ever since.

—

Meanwhile the employers' union had incorporated an Employers' Teaming Company, to compete with the Team Owners' Association (a body of teaming contractors), which had stood by the strikers' union and still does stand by it. The Employers' Teaming Company was incorporated in West Virginia, in order to give it legal standing, as a foreign corporation, in the Federal courts at Chicago, in which its individual members, in consequence of their Illinois citizenship, would have no standing as complainants against other citizens of Illinois. On the 28th this advantage of nonresident incorporation was availed of in the commencement of a chancery suit in the Federal court against the strikers by the Employers' Teaming Company; and on the same day, without notice to the defendants, Judge Kohlsaat issued an injunction of the usual kind, the continuance of which is to come up for hearing on the 10th. He has since issued similar injunctions for several express companies which are incorporated outside of Illinois. About the time of the granting of this injunction, and on the same day, the following proclamation was made by C. P. Shea, the national president of the teamsters' organization:

To All Union Teamsters: Permit no violence of the peace under any circumstances. Competent drivers cannot be procured to handle the teams in Chicago and violence will not help us in this strike. Be loyal to your union and obey its instructions.

—

Rumors were abroad on the 28th that the Federal injunction in favor of the Employers' Teaming Company would be followed by the ordering out of Federal troops. The use of such troops was in fact at that time contemplated by Secretary Taft, to the extent of putting the transfer of government money at Chicago under the guard of a detachment from Fort Sheridan. When this purpose transpired Mr. Shea sent the following dispatch to Mr. Taft:

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters will furnish union drivers, with or without compensation, for all wagons doing government business. They will obey any orders issued by any teaming contractor for the United States government.

—

As yet no troops have been called out for any purpose, although members of the employers' organization have frequently been quoted by newspapers friendly to them as stating that it will be necessary. On the 28th, Mayor Dunne responded to these statements by saying:

Chief of Police O'Neill tells me he has not reached the limit of his resources in providing protection for life and property in the teamsters' strike according to my instructions, and there is no necessity for bringing militia or Federal troops to the city to quell disorder.

The Mayor held to the same opinion on the 3d.

—

A disclaimer of responsibility for violence, and an assurance of the willingness of the teamsters to submit their claims to peaceable arbitration, was sent to Gov. Deneen on the 30th by Mr. Shea, as president of the organization and leader of the strike. It is as follows, in full:

The difficulty now existing between the merchants of Chicago and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters can be speedily adjusted providing the merchants will reinstate our men. Any supposed grievance which they may have against our organization can be inquired into by any fair minded commission or board of arbitration, provided such a settlement is agreed to by the merchants. The members of the teamsters' organization are conducting themselves as law abiding citizens of Chicago, and all officers are using their best endeavors to have the peace preserved. All shooting affrays and incidents that lead to riots upon the streets of Chicago are invariably started by the strike breakers or guards in the employ of the Employers' association, who are directing the struggle against the teamsters' union in the interest of the merchants. It is the intention of the Employers' association to deprive the teamsters of Chicago of the right of organization, and this struggle was brought on by the employers to deny them this right. I wish to call your attention to the fact that at the beginning of the present difficulty the offer was made by the representatives of the teamsters' organization that the entire matter be referred to your State board of arbitration for a thorough investigation, and pending their findings and decision in the matter that our men would immediately be ordered back to work. It has come to our knowledge that the Employers' association, through their attorney, Levy Mayer, are threatening that the militia and United States troops are going to be ordered out for the purpose of intimidating and coercing our members to return to work under military protection. We respectfully protest against the ordering out of the troops, under the existing conditions, as the members of the teamsters' organization are not creating any disturbance and are law abiding citizens of Chicago. We respectfully request that before any such action is taken you investigate the conditions as they exist, and upon whom rests the responsibility for the disorder now existing in Chicago.

—

In view of the expressed willingness of the strikers to arbitrate, and of the growing danger to the public peace of conflicts in the streets between strikers and strike-breakers, a citizens' committee requested Mayor Dunne on the 29th to appoint a commission to try to maintain peace by bringing the parties to an agreement. The Mayor acceded to this request and appointed Bishop Charles P. Anderson, Jane Addams, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Dr. Cornelia De Bey and Rabbi Emil G.

Digitized by Google

Hirsch. The commission met on the 30th. Representatives of the strikers who appeared before it at its request gave assurances of their readiness to end the strike upon any fair terms, and to suspend it pending an arbitration of the questions in dispute. But the representatives of the employers' side, who also appeared at the request of the commission, refused to make any concessions. Levy Mayer, a lawyer, was their spokesman. He declared, as reported, that the employers were in the fight to the end, and read an address of the employers to the public, which, after explaining the employers' view of the merits of the controversy, proceeded:

The employers are entitled to and are receiving, and believe they will continue to receive, protection of their rights by the Mayor of Chicago, and by the police force at his command. If necessary, the employers will invoke the additional protection of the county, State and Federal governments to maintain their rights, so as to end the prevailing reign of terror, the utterly unjust and unreasonable sympathetic strike, the closed shop, the boycott, and the coercion of men to violate their contracts, break the laws, and undermine the whole basis of American liberty. The question, and the only question, which now confronts the people of this city is this: Shall they be protected in the exercise of their inviolable right to the free and lawful use of the streets of this city without obstruction, dictation, or physical interference by anyone, without being required to first procure an order or pass from a union official; and, further, shall the right of employers to sell and deliver goods to whomsoever they may desire, in the regular course of business, be prescribed or proscribed by the mandate of an irresponsible teamsters' council, or its officials? Many other associations, firms, and individual business men, both large and small, as well as clergymen, doctors, lawyers, and others, have heartily indorsed this determination to stand up for the people's fundamental rights. We think that everyone who appreciates citizenship or loves his home, or who desires the freedom of the use of the streets of this city, untrammeled and unfettered, will not only approve, but keenly cooperate with the Employers' association and support the position which it has been forced to take.

When asked by the commission for an exact statement of what the employers require of the teamsters' union in order to remove the controversy from the streets, Mr. Mayer explained that they would not deal with teamsters at all except as individuals, and being pressed for an explanation of this, he admitted that it meant that the purpose of the employers' organization in this controversy is not to stop short of destroying the teamsters' organization. The Mayor's commission made the following report:

The members of the Commission, acting upon the request of his honor, the Mayor, regret to inform the public that, after having heard representatives of both parties to the controversy in the Mayor's office Sunday afternoon from 2 to 7:30 p. m., no plan has been found acceptable to bring about an adjustment of the difficulties. The representatives of the employers refuse to accept any commission or means of arbitration which was suggested, while the laboring men declare their readiness to acquiesce in the plan of submitting the controversy to persons commanding the respect and confidence of the community.

The commission therefore dissolved, Miss Addams explaining its dissolution by saying: "We tried in vain to arrange some plan whereby this fight might be taken off the streets and settled in an orderly and equitable manner. Nothing could be accomplished, and so our commission has been dissolved."

—

Immediately after the events of the 30th, larger numbers of strike breakers from different parts of the country began to pour into Chicago under employment by the employers' association. Many of them were Negroes from Southern cities. At the head of these men the employers' have placed Frank Curry, a well known leader of strike breakers. Some of the men are armed with rifles by the employers' association, under the advice of Levy Mayer, their lawyer, and this fact has given rise to a dispute as to the legality of allowing firearms to be carried openly and menacingly in the public streets at such a time. It is claimed on the one hand that the right to bear arms cannot be infringed, and on the other that the laws of the State properly prohibit such displays of arms as a menace to the public peace and safety, and that if strikers instead of strike-breakers were so armed they would be arrested. Thus far the authorities have forbidden and tried to prevent the carrying of concealed weapons, but they have not interfered with the carrying of unconcealed weapons by strike breakers. They have not been called upon to consider the question of armed strikers, as none of the strikers have as yet been armed. Some of the strike breakers have been appointed special policemen and deputy sheriffs; and as similar appointments are denied to strikers, complaints are made of official discrimination against the labor union and in favor of the employers' union. The strikers emphasized their repeatedly declared efforts to preserve the peace by issuing on the 1st the following address, signed by Mr. Shea as national president of the teamsters' organization, and by Charles Dold as president of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

To the Trades Unionists of Chicago: The teamsters' organization has the situation well in hand and we earnestly request that no sympathetic strike be called or any member leave his employment until such time as they are asked to do so by the committee having the matter in charge. We also urge upon all members of organized labor to preserve the peace and commit no act that can be interpreted by the courts as a violation of the law or of either injunction issued.

When Mayor Dunne learned of the appearance on the streets of armed strike breakers, and ascertained that the employers claimed the legal right to arm, he issued an official proclamation urging the people to avoid these armed men and ordering searches for concealed weapons. There was much disorder on the 3d, especially at congested points; but nothing indicating organized resistance to the law. The Record-Herald, which is supporting the employers' side, reports a total of 35 injuries, none as yet fatal, which may be classified as follows:

Policemen injured by parties unreported, 8; persons whose relation to the strike is unreported, injured by parties unreported, 5; persons on employers' side injured by parties unreported, 1; non-unionists injured by parties unreported, 6; striker cutting traces and beaten by private detective, 1; Negroes mistaken for strike breakers, 4; private detective beaten by strikers, 1; white man mistaken for strike breaker, 1; Negro non-unionist injured by mob, 1; bystander, 1; persons whose relation to

Digitized by Google

strike is unreported, beaten by Negro strike breakers, 1; Negro unionist beaten by parties unreported, 1; persons whose relation to strike is unreported, injured by private detectives, 4.

At a secret conference of the Employers' association held late at night on the 3d, it was unanimously voted, as reported by the Record-Herald of the 4th, that "military forces are indispensable for the protection of life and property."

Military Slaughter in Warsaw.

Several persons were killed by Russian troops in Warsaw, capital of Russian-Poland, on the 1st, in connection with a labor demonstration in the public streets. Several thousand workingmen, carrying a red flag, were parading, peaceably as it is reported, when their passage was blocked by a squadron of cavalry and battalions of infantry. The workingmen were ordered to turn back and disperse. In the resulting confusion, a stone thrown from the crowd hit an infantry soldier, and the next instant the troops fired into the crowd and the cavalry charged them. Later in the day a labor gathering was ordered by troops to disperse, and refusing was fired upon. About 60 men and women are reported as killed in the two encounters and 200 as wounded, but the number is really unknown. Angered by this slaughter, the workingmen on the following day called a general strike throughout Poland and Lithuania, and it is reported that every factory in Warsaw was immediately closed. A popular demonstration for the 5th, the 114th anniversary of the proclamation of Polish independence, has been called by the Socialists, the Nationalists and labor organizations, and further slaughter is expected.

Protection in Great Britain.

A somewhat different phase of the labor question was presented in the British House of Commons on the 2d in a debate over a Ministerial bill for the exclusion of "undesirable" aliens. Sir Charles Dilke opposed the bill with a hostile amendment, and was supported by Charles P. Trevelyan. The opposition to the bill proceeded along the lines of England's traditional policy of offering a haven to the oppressed of every land. Mr. Balfour, the prime minister, defended it as a moderate measure for the prevention of excessive immigration; and Mr. Chamberlain defended it especially as an entering wedge for his protective policy (p. 39). He argued urgently that its purpose was to protect British workingmen from the competition of immigrants, and said he hoped to see the same idea advanced to the point of a bill preventing the goods of these people, as well as the people themselves, from coming into competition with British workingmen. The Dilke amendment was lost by 211 to 59.

British Land Value Taxation.

This debate had been preceded on the 14th of April by one on the subject of taxation with reference to a measure that had three times been before parliament and was now there for the fourth—the measure for the taxation of land irrespective of its improvements and on the basis of its selling value (vol. vii, pp. 12, 28, 618). As described by C. P. Trevelyan, who moved the second reading, the bill in question was the same in every important respect as the previous ones. Its main object was to make an assessment of the land values of towns and urban districts, and to place upon the local tax sheet a second column, which would consist of an assessment of 3 per cent on the selling value of the land. The bill had been urged with practical unanimity, Mr. Trevelyan explained, by the local authorities of the United Kingdom, no fewer than 166 municipalities, 152 urban district councils, and 128 poor-law authorities having passed resolutions in its favor. He did not argue that land reformers were inclined to regard the bill as all that was needed, but rather as the basis on which it was hoped that a thorough reform of the system of local taxation could stand. In describing the evil of the present system he attributed it to the fact that local taxes fall with excessive weight upon houses, improvements and enterprise,—nine-tenths of the local assessment being often made up of the value of buildings. This seemed, he said, "to bring us face to face with the real reason for overcrowding in our cities." The bill proposes to do two things: first, to provide for an assessment of the land values of taxable premises, separately from the improvement values; and secondly, to tax the land, not, as at present, according to its actual annual income, but on its selling value. A hostile amendment, "that a satisfactory reform of the present system of local taxation must be arrived at, not by piecemeal and partial treatment, but by such legislation as will secure fair and equitable results to all classes of the community," offered in the landed interests, was defeated on division by 202 to 112, a majority of 90, and the second reading stage was ordered without division; but a motion to refer the bill to the standing committee on law, being opposed, stood over.

The parliamentary vote on land value taxation had been preceded only by two days by a conference of representatives of local taxing authorities of Great Britain, which met at Westminster Palace Hotel, London, on the 12th of April, for consideration of the same subject. Ex-Bailie Ferguson, J. P., of Glasgow, presided, and among those present were Mr. J. H. Whitley, M. P., and Mr. Trevelyan, M. P. It was resolved unanimously that the members of the conference pledge themselves, on behalf of their respective constituencies, to use every means in their power to secure the passing of the parliamentary bill for taxing land values.

Municipal Questions in the United States.

On the American side of the Atlantic, municipal questions relate less to taxation than to the ownership and regulation of public utilities. The municipality most disturbed by this subject at the moment is Philadelphia. This city originally owned and operated its own gas plant. By dubious methods its authorities were induced in 1897 to lease the plant to the United Gas Improvement company for 30 years, with the privilege of altering the lease at ten year periods. The rent was to be a certain percentage of the earnings, and has increased from $200,000 for the first year, to $650,000 for the seventh, which ended December 31, 1904. On the pre-

Digitized by Google

tense now that the city is bankrupt, it has been proposed (p. 59) to extend this lease for a long and fixed term in consideration of the payment of a lump sum, calculated on the basis of present earnings. At a City Council meeting on the 27th the sum was placed at $25,000,000 and the term at 50 years from January 1, 1908. Violent popular opposition arose as soon as the nature of the proposed agreement was understood. It was calculated that at the present rate of rental the city would receive fully four times as much as the lump sum offered. A citizens' committee of seventy was organized to head off the plan, and one of its methods is to make a competitive bid in behalf of the people, the amount to be raised by public subscription. "No Gas Steal" buttons are appearing upon the streets, with a hangman's noose in the center and "We Mean It" as the legend. At a mass meeting called for the 3d a vigorous popular protest was made against the alleged steal. It is now believed that the new lease will not be given and that the present lease may be revoked for fraud and corruption in its inception. The nature of this corruption was revealed at the mass meeting. Robert Dornan, one of the best known manufacturers in the city, had sworn to an affidavit, there made public, to the effect that he and Thomas D. Stinson were members of a syndicate formed to bid against the United Gas Improvement Company in 1897; that the syndicate put in a better bid than the Improvement company; that Mr. Dornan, the president of the Improvement company, then sent for a member of the syndicate and the result was that its offer was withdrawn; and that in consideration of this courtesy each member of the syndicate received $10,000 and got the privilege of subscribing to a large block of bonds much below their real value. Another sensation of the day was the break from his political machine by Mayor Weaver, who declared himself against the new gas lease.

—

In Cleveland the public utility at present uppermost in the public mind is the street car service. Mayor Johnson has proposed a basis of settlement regarding it, the details of which we gave last week (p. 57), and which the franchise company has had under advisement. On the 1st, at a public meeting in the Mayor's office, the president of the company intimated that his company was indisposed to accept the proposition. We quote the important part of the Plain Dealer's report of this meeting:

"The whole object of this meeting is to suggest questions so that they may be discussed," said the Mayor in opening. "One may think of something that might not occur to another. All are invited to make suggestions. There are three principal questions to be worked out and discussed bearing on the question as to how much the street railway company should be paid. First, the physical value must be determined; second, the value of unexpired franchises; and third, how much in addition to the cost of reproduction and the value of the unexpired franchises should the city be willing to pay?" The Mayor then called upon Mr. Andrews, president of the company, for a statement.

"I will say in introduction, Mr. Mayor," said Mr. Andrews, "that at a meeting of our board of directors this morning the question was talked over in detail. The meeting was purely informal, though, and no action was taken. We will wait until a final proposition is made before we act." . . . We want to go on operating it. I do not believe there is a member of the board of directors willing to dispose of it."

The rest of the discussion related to values, and Mayor Johnson concluded by saying:

"I don't believe the people are going to present you, Mr. Andrews, with a franchise that is worth $26,000,000 more than you have got now. I don't believe the street railroad company is going to get a renewal from this community. I am willing to make a liberal, fair settlement, and will go a long way in the matter of value of privileges, good will, etc., but I shall only advocate a final settlement even along this line upon knowing that the people are perfectly satisfied. I should want an expression of opinion from them and I think it could quickly and easily be secured."

—

While the Chicago traction question remains in abeyance, the gas and electric lighting questions affecting that city (p. 59) have been much in evidence before the legislature. On the 28th the municipal corporations committee of the lower house reported out a bill authorizing all localities to regulate the price of gas and electric light, provided the rates are just and reasonable, and this bill was passed by the House on the 2d by 111 to 16. Also on the 28th the charter committee of the same house reported out a bill giving Chicago the right to sell to private customers surplus electricity generated at its municipal lighting plant. With amendments limiting such sales to electricity not needed to light streets, which is regarded as making the measure useless, this bill was passed in the House on the 3d by 95 to 21.

NEWS NOTES

—King Edward of England began on the 29th a visit of ceremony to France.

—Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, of Virginia, died at Washington on the 28th, at the age of 68.

—Thomas Gahan, a Chicago Democrat of local prominence and national reputation, died on the 30th at the age of 58.

—A civil service bill for the State of Illinois was passed by the Senate on the 2d, having been previously passed by the House.

—On the 2d the Illinois Senate passed a House bill on divorce, which forbids remarriage by either party within a year.

—John Baird, the father of Mrs. William J. Bryan, died on the 3d, at Mr. Bryan's home near Lincoln, Neb., at the age of 82.

—The bill for a charter convention for Chicago, partly elective and partly appointive, passed the lower house of the Illinois legislature on the 28th by a vote of 100 to 0.

—The grand jury at Chicago on the 29th indicted Charles Dold, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, C. P. Shea, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and other prominent labor leaders, for conspiring to boycott.

—A legislative measure which became a law in Wisconsin upon receiving the Governor's signature on the 2d, makes it a crime to give, or for an agent or servant to receive, any gratuity to influence him with reference to his employer's business. The law relates to what is called "business graft" (vol. vii, p. 114).

—The Elsberg bill of the New York legislature, designed to divest the Board of Aldermen of New York City of all control over local franchises and vesting the sole power in the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, which now has that power subject to the approval of the Aldermen, was vetoed by Mayor McClellan, of New York, on the 28th.

Digitized by Google

—It was reported from New York on the 30th that Eugene V. Debs is expected to be made president of a new body of trades unions to be formed in opposition to the American Federation of Labor, of which Samuel Gompers is president. Preparations are being made to launch the new movement in Chicago on June 27 under the name of the Industrial Union.

—The Czar of Russia celebrated Easter by issuing a ukase remitting the peasants' arrearages of taxes and back payments on account of lands given to them at the time of their emancipation, amounting to about $37,500,000; granting pardon to certain classes of prisoners, including those arrested for participation in the disturbances of Jan. 22 (vol. vii. pp. 674, 677), ordering that all Christian sects may exist without penalty; providing that converts from the orthodox faith and other Christian creeds shall not be punished; making lawful, changes of faith for which hundreds of thousands of families have been expropriated and exiled to Siberia; and decreeing that Mohammedan and other non Christian subjects of the Czar, except the Jews, shall have equal rights and shall no longer be styled pagans. Nothing is conceded to the Jews.

PRESS OPINIONS

THE CHICAGO STRIKE.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Apr. 29.—It is an irrepressible conflict. It has to be decided. We are glad it is to be decided now. The question whether the streets of Chicago are to be owned and operated by the people of Chicago or by the teamsters' union must be determined some day. Now is a good time to determine it.

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), Apr. 29.—This is an American, not a Russian, community. The will of the people may be expressed in law by the ballot. We have no place in our scheme of government for the bomb. Up to this time no law has been placed on the statute books authorizing President C. P. Shea, of the Teamsters' union, to announce that John Smith may drive one of Marshall Field's teams through the streets of Chicago, and that Thomas Brown is forbidden the same right.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), May 2.—There is no reason why an absoutely non-partisan arbitration board should not settle the present disturbing strike. There is every reason why such a board should be charged with the duty of settling the strike at once. It is the height of folly to refuse a rational meeting-ground for conflicting interests. . . . Whoever really desires peace, whether sympathizing with the employers or the strikers, should have no hesitation in committing the interests of both factions to such a board. . . . There cannot be any sacrifice by either of the combatants in thus accepting high-class non-partisan mediators in bringing about an honorable peace. The acceptance of such mediation, it seems to us, will do more to inspire public confidence and sympathy than any resentment or reprisals can do. And this applies alike to the employers and the strikers. They both insist they have the right on their side. Let a non-partisan board mediate and settle.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), May 2.—The labor people have gone as far as they can go in seeking an amicable adjustment of their differences with the employers. They have offered to submit their case to arbitration and have cooperated with Mayor Dunne fully and frankly in his endeavor to avoid further conflict. But the employers have stubbornly refused every advance. They have taken the bits in their teeth and there is every evidence of a set purpose to goad the labor people to such desperation that some act will lend excuse for the calling of armed troops into the controversy. The original suspicion that this strike was precipitated by the employers for the secret purpose of embarrassing Mayor Dunne in his fight for municipal ownership is strengthened by every circumstance which has developed since the trouble began. . . . The strike is evidently working to the satisfaction of the traction thieves who are sparring for wind against the results of the recent election. It has afforded them a breathing spell which they might not otherwise have gained. Mayor Dunne for the moment finds his hands tied. He cannot force the fighting against the traction monopoly because his last resource of energy is required in dealing with the industrial upheaval which threatens the peace and order of the community. He is bound to protect life and property. And while the employers are compelling him to devote his whole time to this function the traction grafters are busy with their plans to avoid the mandate of the people at the polls and to devise means for averting the dangers which threaten their crooked and outlawed interests. Meanwhile an effort is making to draw Mr. Roosevelt into the contest. An appeal is to be made to him to take a hand in the settlement of the difficulties between the teamsters and their employers. . . . The situation is instructive. It illustrates the tendency of the times. It shows how quickly the monopolist class runs to the centralized power whenever its hold is menaced. It suggests the real purpose of the growing military resources of the government. And labor may well stop to take account of its share in the establishments which are maintained at its cost.

ROCKEFELLER'S MONEY.

(London) New Age (Rad.), Apr. 20.—One of the clerical objectors urged that "the effect of accepting the gift from Rockefeller would be to strengthen his moral status in the community." Of course it would be, and that is precisely why Rockefeller gives the money. These financial robbers—the most astute and least scrupulous of mankind—know quite well the value of their gifts in strengthening their moral status. More than that, they calculate the business value of the support to be got by this means. Rhodes played the same game in South Africa, and it may be doubted whether he ever laid out money to better advantage than the sums he bestowed upon the churches.

MISCELLANY

THE MAN AT THE MARGIN.

AN ECONOMIC BALLAD.

Dedicated to Oliver R. Trowbridge, Esq.

For The Public.

The lord, who owned the wide estate,
  Had five great fields to till,
And to five Brothers, small and great,
  John, Tom, Richard, Sam and Bill,
  It was his lordship's generous will
To lease—at the proper rate.

John's yearly yield was—call it *ten;*
  Tom's *seven;* Dick's *five;* Sam's *four;*
While Bill, who held a margin fen,
  A portion lying on the shore,
  Could get a scanty *two* no more,
Tho' working might and main.

The gracious lord, obedient to
  The fixed Ricardian rule,
Said: "William, I will trouble you
  For *one* as rent; now please keep cool,
  If you confine yourself to gruel
With *one* you can pull through.

"You're at the margin, don't you see;
  The poorest land you've got,
A bare subsistence there will be
  At that—er—rather barren spot;
  I feel, of course, for your sad lot,
But rent's not caused by me."

The Brothers, John, Tom, Dick and Sam,
  Looked on and merely smiled;
The selfish varlets felt no qualm
  To see poor Bill with anger wild,
  Raging and crying like a child,
Refusing to grow calm.

They grinned and seemed inclined to scoff,
  But a change they underwent,
And instantly the smile came off
  As the landlord said: "Ahem—your rent,
  Dear sirs, will be the same per cent.,"
And he gave a gentle cough.

"I mean," said he, "each of you will
  Give me his entire yield,
Keeping the self-same share as Bill
  Who works the poorish margin field."
  Then over all those Brothers keeled
And in a swoon lay still.

But when they woke, those men of guile,
  They found 'twas even so;
They saw the landlord's frozen smile,
  'Twas, "Pay the rent I ask or go!"
  And when they'd rallied from the blow,
They thought for quite awhile.

And they saw the truth; since time began
  Ours is our Brother's case,
His keepers we; the only plan,
  That Right may reign in every place,
  Is to get Justice for the race,
And raise the Margin Man!

J. W. BENGOUGH.

Toronto, Ont.

EFFECTS OF GUARDED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN SWITZERLAND.

An extract from an article by E. T. Shelly, M. D., on "The Optional Referendum," published in the Atchison Daily Globe of March 21.

It is said that in Switzerland, Guarded Representative Government has made it quite unprofitable for special interests to invest funds in the nomination and election of legislators, or to employ lobbyists, because of the ease with which the work of the lawmakers may be annulled by the people, if the people so desire.

The fact that the people have this power, acts, therefore, as a powerful deterrent to lawmakers to pass any laws of a questionable or corrupting character; and the effect on the character of the lawmakers themselves has been no less salutary than upon their lawmaking.

As soon as it became practically impossible to fasten vicious legislation upon the people of Switzerland, it is

Digitized by Google

said that a very much better class of men became willing to serve as legislators. Violent party prejudice passed away, and government by the politicians came to an end. In fact, as soon as the people themselves could say what laws should or should not pass, it made comparatively little difference what political party was in the ascendency; and professional politicians, who can thrive only on "graft," had so little power for evil that they went out of business.

And this condition of affairs continues to this day. Indeed, it is maintained by those who ought to know, that Swiss lawmakers are uninstructed legislative experts who practically hold the relation to the Swiss people of an executive committee, with legislative powers, subject to revision by the people. If the work of these experts is satisfactory, no potential opposition to their lawmaking is offered; but when, in any instance, it is unsatisfactory, their work is at once annulled at the polls.

A peculiar effect which this system of lawmaking is said to have had in Switzerland is that "rotation in office" has practically disappeared. Public office is no longer looked upon as a private snap, to be passed around among "the boys." The government is conducted on business principles. Honesty, efficiency and economy are demanded of all public officials, and when an office holder proves himself worthy, he is retained in office as long as he will serve. It is said that no involuntary retirement from the Federal Council (the executive department of the Swiss government) has taken place since 1874.

THE CANNIBAL AND THE MISSIONARY.

THE DAWN OF TRUTH IN THE SOUTH SEA. IN MANY ACTS.

For The Public.

ACT I.

The Missionary: I absolve thee, but spend thy remaining years in ever-humble repentance that thy God may forgive thee.

Cannibal: Repentance for what?

M.: For slaying that man yesterday, out of whose body you made a feast.

C.: What, that? Man? Well, hardly. He was of the Hinchokoe tribe, and no more a man than I an angel. They have neither the appearance nor habits of men. They live in the ground, eat nothing but nuts, roots, herbs, and such things, and they don't even hunt. Of all the sports none can equal the hunting of these Hinchokoes. They whoop and yell and make a great fuss, like they were afraid. And when they are hit and fall, they mumble as though in prayer. Only a few days ago I was after this very one, but I missed him. Yesterday I got him after the most strenuous and exciting chase I have yet had.

M.: You have been guilty of the crime of crimes.

C.: His skin is orange color, his nose flat, his eyes large and cornered, he is peak-headed and round-backed.

M.: All men are equal in the eyes of their Maker, Our Lord.

C.: He has hair all up and down his back, like any other animal.

M.: The color of his hide or the shape of his body is immaterial. We are all the children of our Father in heaven.

C.: All his children?

M.: Yes, all. His love excludes none.

C.: Regardless of shape, size and color?

M.: Yes, every living thing is a creature of our Lord, and to kill is to sin against Him.

C.: Then you are no better off than I am.

M.: Why so, Sam?

C.: Didn't you kill a bird yesterday, and make a meal of it?

M.: Yes, I did; but birds and such things were meant for the food of man.

C.: Are not birds the creatures of God?

M.: Yes, but not in the same respect as man. God gave man the power to rule the earth and all that is on it. And he evidently intended the lower animals for the food of man.

C.: Then also the Hinchokoes.

M.: No. Though you think otherwise, the Hinchokoes are nevertheless a type of man. And God commanded man, saying: Thou shalt not kill. Every man is endowed with a spark of life from God himself; and to destroy life, however humble, is a violation of law, a sin against God.

C.: If the Hinchokoes are endowed with a spark of life from God, why not the birds and other animals? Or is there any other source of life, less sacred?

M.: No, God is the creator of all things.

C.: Also the birds and beasts that we eat?

M.: — Yes.

C.: Their spirit of life, then, is from God, as well as man's?

M.: — It must be so.

C.: And to kill is to sin. Then have we not been sinning a long time?

M. (After a thoughtful silence): You are right. We have both in our ignorance and thoughtlessness sinned against our God. But our Heavenly Father is merciful and will forgive us even this, if we in the future pay that utmost reverence to every manifestation of life that we have lacked in the past. Let us go and sin no more.

The most sacred thing on earth is life, wherever and however found, and to make it happy, true and free shall henceforth be our aim.

Though I have gone wrong, I am happier than at any previous time in my life, for I have found a truth. It is as if the very birds hail me as a brother.

ANTON S. ROSING.

FROM EARTH TO HEAVEN.

Extract from a sermon by Herbert S. Bigelow, delivered in Cincinnati, Ohio, March 12, 1905.

"Washburn A" boasts of being the largest flour mill in the world. It is one of the monster mills for which Minneapolis is famous. Here the Father of Waters is made to grind the grist of the nations. To follow the wheat on its journey down floor after floor, through machine after machine, until, with hardly the touch of a human hand, it yields its golden treasure; to see the Mississippi harnessed to those mighty engines, feeding at man's command, the mouths of millions—this is a sight that the Psalmist should have seen who wrote: "Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honor."

One does not think of the miller as a hero, or his occupation as dangerous. It is hard to believe that flour dust is as explosive as nitro-glycerine. On the walls of Washburn A, however, the visitor may read the following inscription: "This mill was erected 1879, on the site of Washburn Mill A, which was totally destroyed on the 22d day of May, 1878, by fire and a terrific explosion occasioned by the rapid combustion of flour dust; not one stone was left upon another, and every person engaged in the mill instantly lost his life. The following are the names of the faithful and well-tried employes who fell victims of that awful calamity." After the names of the martyrs of the mill, these words are added:

> Labor, wide as the earth,
> Has its summit in Heaven.

Men freeze in lumber camps, that we may have shelter; they are buried in mines that we may have fuel; on the railroads alone, nearly 75,000 are killed or injured each year, and all that we have has been purchased by the blood of the martyrs. The cooperative commonwealth is not far distant. But for the elements of monopoly that still inhere in our industrial life, we would be a vast, half-conscious brotherhood, in which each man is serving another, in serving himself. But if these ele-

Digitized by Google

ments of monopoly were destroyed, it is inconceivable that life would be held so cheaply as now, or that so many would fall in the industrial battle. With the last vestige of monopoly gone, and God's storehouse open to all alike, the light of brotherhood would break upon the earth and we could say without any cant:

Labor, wide as the earth,
Has its summit in Heaven.

But the more we appreciate the service and sacrifice of labor, the more intolerable becomes the thought that any should enjoy the legal privilege of living without labor.

One entrance to the Powers' department store, in Minneapolis, is built upon leased land. The owner of the land receives a ground rent of one thousand dollars per month. The land is only about seventy feet square. The tenant has put up the improvement and pays the taxes, so that the lord of the land has an annual income, for doing nothing, of twelve thousand dollars. The customers do not see him. Yet they pay toll to him. They pay it in the price of what they buy. At the door of every store there is one of these invisible toll collectors. The tribute they exact is tremendous, not only in its aggregate amount, but also in its vicious, indirect influence.

Must some men die to give us bread, and others eat and give nothing in return? How would it do to make these lords of the land support the government out of their unearned incomes? If they have not made these land values, if the city has made them, why then, should they have them? Why should not the city take them? Why tax industry and leave the land owners in possession of something the city has produced? Why not take this step towards the goal of the emancipation of labor —labor, wide as the earth with its summit in heaven?

UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL M. S.

Dear John: Theodore has killed a cinnamon bear. I don't know how the boys toted the bear out there, and if I did I wouldn't tell; but Theodore got him. I know you will be interested, as you have kept your hunting interests alive beyond boyhood; but I've about quit butcherin', myself, except fer meat. I used to be a great hunter, too; but then I needed the provisions.

A man likes the excitement of the hunt well enough, but after he is really grown up he begins to doubt the justice of geting a modern gun and shooting some unarmed animal, just because he can. He feels a little mean and "streaked" afterwards; and, if he is really a dead game sport, quits hunting and looks up something a little less one-sided—something where he'll meet one of his size.

And it ain't hard to find. There's plenty of game in America right now for a sportsman with knightly instincts—one of the old St. George kind. You mind, John, how George went out and slew the dragon that was eating the common people, and you made him a saint for it, hey? He wasn't chasin' around after no cinnamon bear, George wasn't. The dragon was eatin' the girls, and George went for him. There was danger, and George went right at him—didn't take no vacation, but sailed in lickety split, no hunters a-beatin' the bushes, and no niggers in the lead. Man! I'd like to see St. George tackle my Coal Trust, or Beef Trust, or Oil. It wouldn't take him no two years to get into a fight, I bet you.

Fact of the case is, John, I don't know what in the dickens to do. The trusts and combines have put up prices so people can't live on their wages, and they are strikin' for more. The trusts can't give any more and keep up their dividends. In fact, the trusts, every one of 'em, allow their employes enough —about enough—to live on, if it wasn't that some other trust comes in and takes it all away. The trusts are like the chief cashier who steals one thousand dollars from the bank, and the under cashier finds it out and steals one hundred thousand, and the chief cashier dare not tell, and must stand for the whole graft. What are they goin' to do? I dunno. It's up to them. The present plan is to make the boys take the same wages or starve—or same wages and starve a little. I guess they'll make it go too fer awhile; but the end must come sometime, because there's a limit to starvin'.

One mighty queer thing has come out of it. I've got another revolution on my hands! My courts have overridden Magna Charta. They have set aside trial by jury. It's in all the State and Federal constitutions—Magna Charta is; and trial by jury, you remember, is a corner stone of the charter of John. "Nullus liber homo capiatur, vel imprisonetur." Do you mind the old lingo—I most forget, but it means, "No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or disseized or outlawed or banished or in any ways destroyed, nor will we pass upon him unless by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land." That's the ticket King John had to sign for his courts, and ever since no bill would stick in chancery before a judge alone unless it said without lyin' that there was "no remedy at law (by jury) only in chancery." If a jury could try the case, the bill must be dismissed. That's the law for me and you, John. There's no blinkin' it. Now look at it! I have judges takin' criminal jurisdiction by means of a bill in chancery; I have judges plowin' domestic corn by chancery writ, and Lord knows what is a comin'—never was such a revolution heard of since the commons yanked John to taw at Runnymede in the seventeenth year of his reign, and made him swear also that all these things "shall be observed bona fide and without evil subtilty." They were dead tired, the commons were, of being pulled up before a judge and sent to prison without a jury trial, and they stopped it.

But the trouble about a revolution is that you don't know how far it's goin' to revolve. Judges ain't the only folks that can disregard the law. A whole lot of people may take a hand in it, and the sooner we creep back under the protection of the big Charter, the safer we'll all be. That's my judgment. What do ye think?

But who's a goin' to bring my judges to a sense of sin? Who's a goin' to make them sign Magna Charta? Congress won't do it. In fact, my Federal judges deny the right of Congress to limit their jurisdiction. They are great big fellows, and hold under the Constitution direct. Then what's a goin' to happen? You can't imagine that Magna Charta and jury trial is goin' to be set aside permanent in America. Who has the first move? What'll end it? Will some Cromwell send a file of soldiers to the Supreme Court and turn the inmates out? Will my barons now running a strike in Chicago, and throwin' coal and milk bottles, send fer 'em to a new Runnymede and refresh their learning? I dunno. Something is bound to happen soon or late, and people with property and lives to lose may well be uneasy when the law is violated in high places.

UNCLE SAM.

CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP AS RELATED TO THE BALLOT BOX.

A brief address delivered by Wiley Wright Mills at the Christian Endeavor rally at the Englewood Christian Church, in Chicago, March 2, 1905.

The subject assigned implies that a Christian has civic duties, which is true. Attending prayer meeting does

Digitized by Google

not relieve a voter from the duty of attending the primary, and joining the Christian Endeavor Society does not excuse him from joining the Ward Club. Neither is a disfranchised majority of the church and Christian Endeavor Society excused from the exercise of a positive and just influence upon the trend of legislation and the policies of the government. The fact that the natural right to vote is wrongfully withheld, in no way affects the sacred obligation which it confers of learning and teaching the necessity for the persistent application of ethical principles to public business and practical affairs. All are to prove all things and hold fast that which is good. If, with Pilate, we attempt to wash our hands of the innocent blood of the victims of injustice, we shall receive the just scorn of posterity.

The scourge of Christendom is poverty, and poverty is caused by laws and institutions maintained by official corruption in the interest of monopoly and privilege. Even so conservative a man as Wayne McVeagh a decade since declared to the students of the University of Pennsylvania that in this country we had more to fear from the black flag of corruption than from the red flag of anarchy. These are hard sayings, but they are worthy of all acceptation; they are not "as harsh as truth." The truth is that while corruption is prevalent from United States senators and judges to county constables and alley inspectors, the majority of the people seem to think it is universal, that every man has his price. This belief seems intolerable, but what is still worse and far worse, is the indifference of a plundered public, the fact that they take it as a matter of course, and, as a rule, do not regard it seriously—that "My people love to have it so." Wisconsin, Missouri and the new "bleeding Kansas" have shown us that if we do not love to have it so, we need not continue to have it so, and they point a way to the better day that is dawning.

But in the language, yet not in the spirit of the corruptionists, "What are you going to do about it?" In the first place we must have faith to believe that righteousness shall prevail, that corruption shall be done away. And then we must have the courage to do, at whatever cost, the work that is necessary to eradicate corruption and establish freedom—faith to believe and courage to act.

The worst form of practical atheism is the prevalent cynical doubt as to the very existence of absolute Right and of its ultimate triumph in the affairs of men.

> Right is right, since God is God,
> And right the day must win;
> To doubt would be disloyalty,
> To falter would be sin.

If our young people had faith in the complete triumph of righteousness, would they clutch at the skirts of power and prostitute their talents to the base service of predatory wealth as they now do? Yet, as Tom Johnson well says, this is one of the worst results of plutocracy or the reign of graft. With Lincoln, "Let us have faith that right makes right, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it." This faith and courage will make the work easy, or rather, less difficult (for the struggle to overthrow corruption in government will not be an easy or pleasant one). "For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places." The struggle for freedom and justice is time-long and world-wide. Right now it is acute in Russia, in Colorado, in Kansas, and in Chicago. In the great struggle that is now on for the restoration of our streets to our people, the stake is so immense that all the powers of darkness will be enlisted and the very elect deceived. Wealth, social standing, political place and power and newspaper prominence await the young men who will give hearty support to the traction interests; poverty, neglect, villification, or ridicule will be the portion of those who refuse to perform their base and corrupting service. Yet the people will triumph because they are aroused, they are vigilant, they are right. Moreover, in spite of all the dust and darkness, and mystification of a mendacious press, the issue is clearly drawn and the leading candidates are truly representative of the opposing interests.

Then we must work to establish in our system of government the initiative, the referendum and proportional representation in order that the popular will may be expressed and respected. A corruptionist scheme is now on foot to amend the public policy law of this State, so that it will be practically impossible to have even an advisory vote. Each signer must give his ward and precinct, and each page of the petition must be sworn to by some one who signed it. As no one could sign it but once, no one person could procure hundreds and thousands of names, as at present. We must meet this bold defiance of all that is fair by greater effort to have the initiative and referendum as a matter of right, and binding upon officials, a proposition, by the way, for which the people of this State gave a large majority at the election in November. Our safety lies in greater freedom, not in restriction. To quote De Tocqueville, "The cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy." Some have fondly supposed that if the right of suffrage were restricted to men who are educated and possessed property, we should have good government—government by the best citizens. Unfortunately for this easy expectation, Rhode Island has always had a property qualification for the suffrage, and has a relatively small foreign element in its staid population; yet we know, as Lincoln Steffens has shown in McClure's for February, that Rhode Island is the most corrupt State in the Union, and that it is there that popular government has most completely failed, and that because it is least representative. Until we have the means of making our servants carry out our wishes, of taking away from them the temptation to betray their constituents and violate their official oaths, and until we allow representation to minorities, we shall not have truly representative government. At the election last November the people of this State voted overwhelmingly in favor of direct primaries, and the candidates for governor and members of the legislature were pledged to it, yet now enough of our old servants betray us to leave us still largely at the mercy of the machine politicians. Our servants become our masters, and we are helpless. In Oregon, the Legislature during its first session after the adoption of the initiative and referendum, about four years ago, defied the people of that State in much the same way, but with a different result. During the first session there was no corporation lobby at Salem, but the people were defied by the failure of the legislature to pass the direct primary and (liquor) local option bills. Immediately after adjournment of the Legislature, petitions for these two measures were circulated and the necessary eight per cent of the voters' signatures soon obtained, with the result that within a few months both measures were adopted by a popular vote and were enacted into law.

But we must go still deeper. All rational curative treatment looks to the removal of the cause of the disease. The initiative, the referendum and proportional representation are only means by which we may check the ravages of corruption and remove monopoly, which

Digitized by Google

is the cause of the disease of which corruption is only one symptom. "Private monopoly is indefensible." It depends entirely upon human laws and institutions. God made man upright, but he has sought out many inventions, and of all those many inventions the one most fraught with evil is the monopoly of God's gifts to his children. To destroy this monopoly and remove all the evils which flow from it, it is only necessary to repeal the laws that grant special privileges and that shift the burdens of government from land to labor. We must abolish all forms of indirect taxation and raise all revenues by a direct tax. This will mean not only a more just and economical administration of government, but what is of vastly greater importance, it will take away the chief means by which the crafty plunder the industrious. We call ourselves free, and pay tribute to scores of trusts controlled by the impudent and arrogant men to whom "God in his wisdom has entrusted the property interests of the country." While boasting of our freedom, we are paying 14 cents for 4-cent oil; $6 a ton or more for $2 coal; and a dollar for 50-cent gas. To pay tribute to all these monopolies we are hustling ourselves into early graves. We do still go to the polls, sometimes, but we have no time to think, and we vote for the men who are foisted upon us by machine politicians and permit our thinking to be done by a mercenary press.

Brethren, these things ought not so to be, and they cannot long endure. "The nation and the people that forget God shall perish, yea, they shall be utterly wasted." Even now the day of our deliverance is at hand, but it must be a deliverance by ourselves. The complete triumph of Justice is as certain as the morrow, and much nearer than any of us realize, but it is not coming without a fierce struggle. It will require faith, it will require courage, it will require conviction, it will require persistence, and it will require the character that is the product of all these. In the words of Altgeld, one of the greatest souls Illinois ever nourished for the human race, "Let me remind you that compromisers, traders and neutral men never correct abuses; never found or save free institutions; never fight for human rights. They always become the instruments of the enemy. Wherever they are in control the party [and the church] is unworthy the respect of mankind. Only men of courage and conviction can save this land. Only the men who stand erect ever get recognition."

HIS STATESMANSHIP.

When Daniel Webster Franklin Green
went to the legislature
He vowed that all the walls of fame should
bear his nomenclature,
That down the vista of the years, far as the
future reaches,
Should pour the torrent of the cheers roused
by his burning speeches,
That from the limbs of shackled ones his
hand should take the fetters
And that his fame should be inscribed in
never-fading letters.
A pleasingly majestic mien
Had Daniel Webster Franklin Green.

He drafted bills—to benefit us all was his
intention—
A bill to crush the wicked trusts is one
that we may mention;
Another one to regulate the railway rates
he fathered;
A dozen others he got up—however, he was
bothered
Because his work was not received with
public acclamation,
Because with all of this he did not get a
reputation.
"Too much to higher thought I lean,"
Mused Daniel Webster Franklin Green.

Whereat and whereupon he sat him down
and drafted measures
Providing that the plutocrats should parcel
out their treasures,
Providing that all bachelors should pay for
being single,
Providing that society with hoi polloi
should mingle,
Providing that the price of eggs should be
a dime a dozen,
Providing that a man could wed his uncle's
second cousin—
"I guess your Uncle Dan is keen,"
Smiled Daniel Webster Franklin Green.

He saw this was the proper course, and
while he thought upon it
He drew a bill prohibiting the high priced
Easter bonner.
In geometric ratio his fame grew all the
greater
And people whispered as he passed: "The
wondrous legislator!"
He grew in girth, he rose in worth, beyond
all our conjecture
And now the hall is packed each time they
bill him for a lecture,
And in each leading magazine
Shines Daniel Webster Franklin Green.

—W. D. Nesbit, in Chicago Tribune.

Mack—Do you think Emeline had a good time?

Kate—I guess so. Mother and I took to our beds after she left, and she writes that she took to her bed as soon as she got home.—Cincinnati Tribune.

Bishop Taylor, of the Methodist church, and a stanch believer in hell-fire-and-brimstone, was once asked if he thought Emerson would go to heaven.

The good old man was puzzled, and thought for a long time.

"He doesn't seem to have the saving faith," he said, at length, "but I can't imagine what the devil would do with Emerson."—The Pilgrim.

BOOKS

TWO STRONG NOVELS.

When one takes up nowadays a novel which the critics have called strong, there is no telling what the special theme will be; but it is pretty certain that the book will contain scenes or discussions unsuitable for Sunday-school libraries, or for reading aloud in family circles. Modern novels, especially those of the genus strong, unless they belong to the weakish romantic revival, are apt to deal with some acute situation of some of the many moral or social problems that are vexing men's souls. If they are to deal with these problems—and why should they not?—we must expect them to deal truly and frankly, and truth and frankness lead oftentimes away from conventional propriety.

Let no one, therefore, be surprised or shocked. The novelist of to-day knows that he is the author to tell the truth to the great modern public, and he will not stop short. The spirit of the age has made his work the characteristic literature of the day, and we must take the consequences. What though many of the writers of novels are false purveyors, bent only on turning dishonest pennies, shall this prevent true artists from plying their trade? The artists do not think so. They are going their way, and are leaving it to the public and critics to see the difference between the false and the true, between the method of the artist and the method of the shyster.

It cannot be said too often that there is all the difference in the world between the methods of dealing with delicate situations involving social and moral problems. The writer who is writing merely to commend his wares to a false or uneducated sentiment, palters to human propensity for prurient excitement. The artist will deal with the same situation in a way so large and impersonal that the broad principle is kept in the foreground, veiling the crude offensiveness of the individual application.

The trial scene in Tolstoy's Resurrection is an instance in point. How different is his whole treatment of the painful theme from that which a lesser writer might have employed. The one makes it a great moral tonic, the other might have made it a disgusting exhibition of low passions. We ought to have always in mind, very clearly, this difference. It is the same in the art of literature as in the art of painting and sculpture. It is the difference between the work of a master and the displays of a bill-poster.

Digitized by Google

The two novels within the purview of this review are, The Master Word, by Mrs. L. H. Hammond, and The Secret Woman, by Eden Phillpotts, both published by the Macmillan company, New York. Each can truly be called a strong novel, and each deals with its problems with the strength of an artist. Each has scenes that try men's souls, and each has one particular scene dealing with illicit passion. Each is tragic, the Secret Woman terribly so, and yet in each, certainly in the Master Word, which is love, there is a touch of victory. Each is painful in its main lines, and each has at least one character that gives a lighter strain—good-natured Joseph Westaway in the Secret Woman, and the delightful old Mammy in the Master Word.

After these parallels, likeness ceases. The scene of one book is Devonshire, and the characters are the humble farmer-folks of this part of England. The scene of the other is South, and the characters represent the South's heterogeneous social grades, white and black. The Secret Woman shows how all the deep problems of humanity can be presented, disputed and wrought out in the microcosm of a country neighborhood. The Master Word deals primarily with an acute phase of the race problem, a phase which needed such strong handling as it has here received. One qualification, however, may be made: It is doubtful whether there are many instances of the type of Viry. Yet this does not affect the problem, which goes deeper than the question of such resultants as the particular evolution of a character like that of this girl.

To speak particularly of the themes of two such books is hardly possible in a brief notice. The tragic potency of seeming chance, the far-reaching results of blind passion, the righteous anger of outraged pledges, the lingering indignation against hopeless conditions, the transcendent and transforming power of love—such are some of the themes that the reader will see presented. Abundant food for thought will be found, but it cannot be promised that either book will be enjoyed.

J. H. DILLARD.

POLITICS OF NEW ZEALAND.

Sins of omission cannot often be charged to Prof. Frank Parsons when he writes a book. He almost always covers the ground. Yet we fail to find in his "Politics in New Zealand" (Philadelphia: C. F. Taylor) any reference to one of the most important even if not one of the most spectacular reforms of that country. We refer to the law for local option in taxation, which has been in force a decade or more, and under which the single tax idea has been tried locally in some 60 municipalities with most gratifying results.

It may be, however, that Prof. Parsons and his publisher regard local legislation as not properly within the scope of a book on the politics of a country as a whole. At any rate, with that single exception, if it properly is an exception, Prof. Parsons has given in this book a mass of well-arranged information regarding New Zealand as a political pioneer. It cannot fail to be welcomed by students of political tendencies in the United States. Some of the innovations New Zealand has made are not desirable and will doubtless be abandoned in due course; but many of them, though far from perfect as yet, are essentially good and destined to be perfected in time. All are fairly presented in Prof. Parsons's book, a publication which we can cordially recommend as furnishing in small compass yet with great detail the very kind of information which is necessary to appreciate the progressive politics of New Zealand, and to understand the reforms it has adopted, so many of which are now knocking insistently at the doors of our own politics.

The Torrens land-title system, public ownership of public utilities, postal savings banks, government insurance, direct nominations, destroying land monopoly by taxation, labor laws, the referendum, and numerous other reforms, as they are found in operation in New Zealand, are explained in the book, and a history of the political controversies in which they have figured is given.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—The Children of Good Fortune. An Essay in Morals. By C. Hanford Henderson. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company. Price, $1.30 net. To be reviewed.

PERIODICALS

A paper on "Labor Conditions in Australia," by Victor S. Clark, occupies 240 pages of the Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor for January. Dr. Clark's investigations were made on the spot.

Tom Watson's Magazine for April is a very readable number, marred, however, by the conspicuous faults of the previous numbers—over-italicizing of editorials, and peevish nagging at Bryan. Both are significant of a chronic irritability, and Mr. Watson is really too big a man to foster in his mind anything so debilitating. Among the contributions are some good verses by Joseph Dana Miller, a story or two, and a paper on conservatism by Dr. Girdner.

The leading editorial of the New York Independent for April 20 is entitled the Tendencies of the Democratic Party. "It is plain enough," says the editor, "that the party is divided. It is also plain that the radical part of it is a large, growing and aggressive majority. Predictions as to what will be the policies of parties in 1908 cannot be made at this early day, but if there were to be a Presidential campaign next Fall the Democratic candidate would be a man of the radical type, probably in sympathy with Mr. Bryan as to government ownership of public utilities."—J. H. D.

The leading article in the Nineteenth Century for both March and April is by John Morley. The subject is Democracy and Reaction, the articles being in the nature of a review of Mr. Hobhouse's recent book with the same title. John Morley is a writer whom one must read not once but three times, and these articles are well worth reading thrice. He deals with the subject historically, and though he comes to no cut-and-dried conclusion as to the next steps, the background he gives to our present stage of progress deserves the attention of all students.—J. H. D.

Ethical Addresses (1305 Arch Street, Phila.) takes the place of the Ethical Record as the representative publication of the Ethical Culture Societies. As the title implies, it reproduces addresses on ethical subjects. It is issued monthly. The September issue of last year contains an account by Percival Chubb of the origin and growth of the Ethical movement, along with an address by William James on "Is Life Worth Living?" Felix Adler, the founder of the movement, makes an admirable reply in the October number, to evolutionists who think of evolution as a process of generation from lower to higher, instead of a descent of the higher into the lower and thence upward. His subject is "A Modern Scientist's Answer to the Questions: Whence? Whither?" Wm. M. Salter's "Ethics in the Schools" and "The Bible in the Schools," in the November number, are especially timely; and, as with all that Mr. Salter writes, they are strong in presentation and gentle in spirit.

In a sermon on "Blessings Held in Trust," published in The Helper, of March 22, a Swedenborgian periodical, the Rev. William L. Worcester, pastor of the First New Jerusalem Society of Philadelphia, urges, as one method of missionary work for the doctrines of his church, something which all churches would do well to adopt: "We should not have two sets of principles, two standards, one for religion and the other for the world's affairs, but should make the eternal and heavenly principles of truth and right as the Lord re-

To Introduce It to New Readers

THE PUBLIC

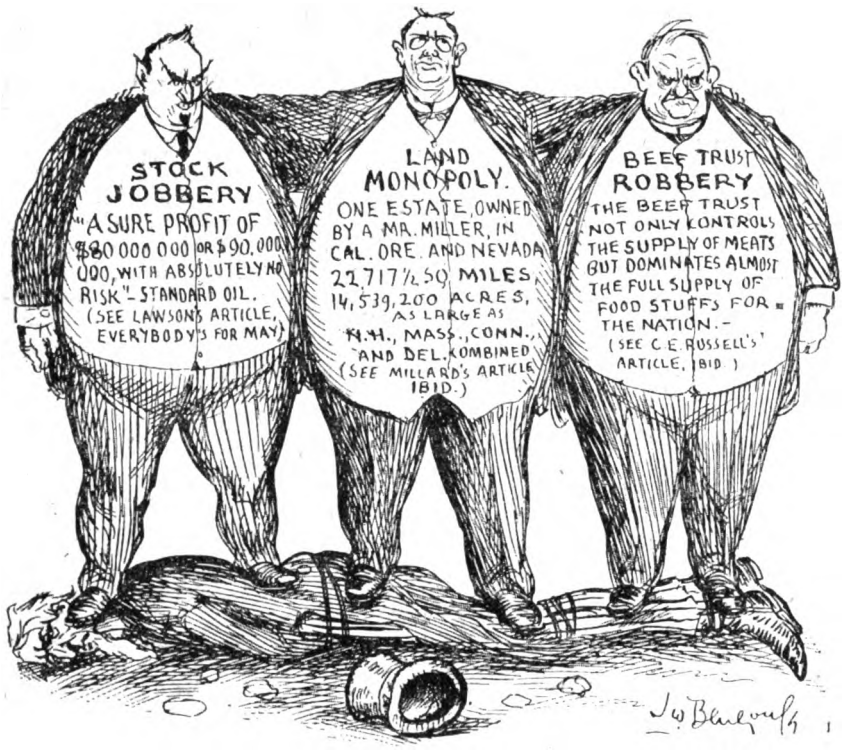
Will be sent to any address not now on the subscription list, for TWO MONTHS, for

Twenty-Five Cents

FIVE SUCH SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR ONE DOLLAR.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.
First National Bank Building, CHICAGO

Digitized by Google



WAKE UP, UNCLE SAM!

"A Government of the People, by the People, for the People shall not perish from the earth."

veals them, the governing principles in natural affairs as well. By them we must govern our own conduct in politics and business and social life. By them we must form our opinions of natural affairs, and as we have occasion to express our opinions, we must not fear to stand for what is divinely right. As we can, we must join in all forward movements for the betterment of human life, and must bring to bear the light of our religious faith upon these problems. The man who does this may be laughed at, as unpractical, by some; but by others he will be recognized as seeing with an inner light from a true and central point of view, and as having the clearness, the directness and simplicity of view which the world's leaders and reformers need."

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.

"A BOOK THAT WILL LIVE."

Ethics of Democracy

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

LOUIS F. POST

Second Edition, with Portrait of the Author

The Ethics of Democracy is a book that will live. It is bound to have a commanding influence upon the economic thought of this and future times, and should be in the hands of every American willing to be convinced that there can be such a thing as an honest political system.—*The Buffalo Courier.*

Mark Twain's Opinion

VILLA DI QUARTO, FIRENZE, Jan. 7, '04.

Dear Mr. Post:—

I thank you very much for the book, which I prize for its lucidity, its sanity and its moderation, and because I believe its gospel.

Very truly yours,
S. L. CLEMENS.

Handsomely bound in rich blue silk cloth, printed on high grade hand-laid paper, gilt top, deckle edges, 398 pages, 12mo. Price $2.00 net; by mail $2.12.

Descriptive circular on application.

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

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.

DO YOU WANT TO KNOW ABOUT THE NORTHWEST?

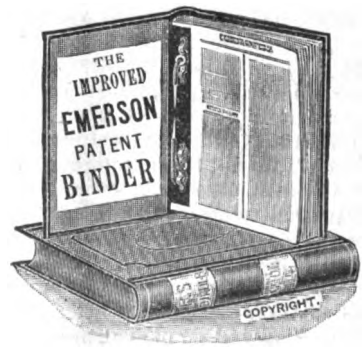
That remarkable land of fertility, scenic beauty and marvelously fine healthy climate; also of desert spots and localized shortcomings. As yet it is a place of new homes and cheap lands. I know every mile of it intimately, particularly Idaho, Washington, Oregon, Montana and North Dakota, for I have lived in it, studied it, been through it, or been in touch with it for almost a quarter of a century.

I HAVE NO LANDS FOR SALE

Nor am I interested in or connected with any land projects, railway company or colonization schemes. But if you wish unbiased information concerning business, lands, climate, any town, neighborhood or section of the Northwest I can furnish it. An ample, impartial, personal letter of information or advice upon any locality or industry for two dollars. Ask your questions—all that you want to—and enclose the fee.

Robert S. Doubleday, St. Louis, Mo.

BINDERS FOR THE PUBLIC



THE PUBLIC is stamped on the side in gold

This binder not merely holds the various numbers of THE PUBLIC together, but is a complete cover that binds them into a book. Each copy can be added as it comes. We supply these binders at **75c** each; postpaid, 85c. In seven years we have not had a complaint. THE PUBLIC, Box 687, Chicago, Ill.

Digitized by Google

LIFE WITHIN LIFE

JUST PUBLISHED BY THE NEW-CHURCH EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

By CHARLES H. MANN

Giving a popular exposition of Swedenborg's Doctrine of Degrees; a doctrine which establishes a rational balance between what is spiritual and what is natural in the life of man; thus developing a **Rational Christianity**, and giving man a **Spiritual Science.**

PRESS COMMENTS:

It outlines a religious philosophy which is surprising for its rationality.—*The Public.*

It is the clearest and most popularly interesting presentation of the doctrine of degrees that we have ever seen.—*New Christianity.*

With our high expectations [of what would come from Mr. Mann] we have not been disappointed.—*New-Church Messenger.*

For persons wishing to gain an insight into Swedenborg's philosophy, this little volume of 115 legible pages is probably the best of aids.—*The Public.*

It should be read by millions of people who are unconsciously waiting for it.—*New Christianity.*

PRICES: Cloth, 75 cts.; Paper. 50 cts. Sent postpaid on receipt of price.

The New-Church Educational Association, 1403 New York Ave., Washington, D. C.
Miss A. B. Morgan, Agent, 22 Hillyer Street, Orange, N. J.
Chas. H. Mann, Box 156, Elkhart, Indiana.

Hours: 10 a. m. to 4 p. m. Tel. Harrison 1627.

CHARLES L. LOGAN, D. O.

OSTEOPATHIC PHYSICIAN

Office: 45 Auditorium Bldg.

HOTEL NEWBERRY—EVENINGS. **CHICAGO**

"OUR MONETARY MUDDLE"

A SCIENTIFIC, SENSIBLE SOLUTION OF THE MONEY QUESTION.

25 Cents Postpaid.

E. B. MAURER, 375 Fulton Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

EDWARD POLAK

4030 Third Avenue, NEW YORK CITY

Real Estate Auctioneer and Broker

Investments carefully made in New York real estate for out of town clients.

BEST OF REFERENCES

ATTORNEYS.

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.

56 Liberty Street, New York.

BECOME AN ASSOCIATE

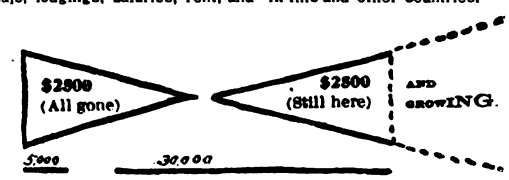
In the most interesting social experiment of modern times

The Straight Edge Industrial Settlement

No. 1 Abingdon Square, New York City.

For six years in the heart of New York City there has been developing a unique enterprise having for its purpose to organize into useful industries the waste labor of men and women who have been shoved aside in the business scramble. Among the branches of service organized upon a co-operative basis—all workers sharing responsibility, uncertainty, losses, and earnings—are a bakery, pure food laboratory, restaurant, printery, and a play-work school for children. The results of the experiment, even during its hard pioneer period, have been most gratifying, as shown by this startling comparison.

$2,500 spent for meals, lodgings, salaries, rent, and other expenses of organized or unorganized "charity" will support 5,000 men and women in idleness for one day.



$2,500 spent to equip the Straight Edge Industries has afforded 150 persons a chance to work and earn their living, 6 months each on an average, equivalent to a day's work for 30,000.

The workers have responsibility, uncertainty, losses, and earnings. Some come merely to be tided over for a week or two; others stay months and years. They have averaged a little over six months each. A few catch the idea of loving their neighbors without being paid a salary for it, and expect to spend their lives helping others get a chance to live, shoving along to make room for another whose need is greater than theirs, facing the truth about social and industrial conditions, without accepting privileges for themselves or their families that they are not earnestly striving to secure for all others on equal terms.

The enterprise has attracted world-wide interest, and numbers among its associates and friends such progressive men and women as Ernest H. Crosby, Samuel M. Jones, R. Heber Newton, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Robert Hunter, N. O. Nelson, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Robert C. Ogden, and hundreds of others, and has received extended notice in The Outlook, Literary Digest, Public, Pathfinder, and scores of other prominent newspapers and magazines in this and other countries.

Associates pay $1 a year toward the expense of printing, correspondence, and general agitation, and receive a monthly news letter, a dozen dainty booklets on subjects related to the purpose of the enterprise, and a cordial invitation to ask questions and make suggestions about the work.

Send the dollar to-day to Wilbur F. Copeland, Organizer, 1 Abingdon Square, New York

THE HONORABLE CHARLES ROCKINGHAM DUCKETTS

A keen satire by Avery Quercus showing why it is easier for a camel to squeeze through the eye of a cambric needle than for a rich man to do any great good with his money **10c**

STRAIGHT EDGE PRESS, 1 Abingdon Square, New York

One of the 12 dainty booklets that Associates receive.

SEED CORN

IOWA GROWN and tested 99 per cent.

Iowa Gold Mine, per bushel $1.25, 3 bushels at $1.20; sacks free. **Iowa Silver Mine,** per bushel $1.40, 3 bushels $1.30; or by mail 1 pound 20c., 3 pounds 50c.

Our 25 Offer 300 kinds of Flower Seed, 10 full sized packages of Garden Seed, and a 15-cent seed check good for 15 cents worth of any kind of seed in our catalogue. All packages at 1, 2 and 3 per package. Cut out this ad. and write to-day. **Address to 777, X, F. C. GRAVES SEED CO., Des Moines, Ia.**

ASK FOR WILCUT

"The Knife That Holds Its Edge."

Every housewife needs a dependable bread or kitchen knife. Wilcut knives are "tempered to save temper," by a process handed down from John Wilkinson, Master Forger, of England. Hand forged by experts. Guaranteed to stay sharp longer than any other make. At live hardward dealers, or send us 50c. for 7 inch blade or $1.00 for 10 inch. Catalog 11 of butchers', cooks', hotel and kitchen knives mailed free.

Wilkinson Shear & Cutlery Company, Reading, Pa.

Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to advertisers.

Digitized by Google

A word to those who value THE PUBLIC and wish to see its influence grow.

From a time shortly after its publication began, THE PUBLIC has been constantly receiving letters from its readers, approving its form and content and commending its moral spirit and editorial strength as an economic and political review. It has not been possible to acknowledge individually more than a few of these letters, but every one of them has been much valued by the Editor and publishers.

A large number of such letters, more numerous recently than before, have urged that the time is ripe for a great extension of THE PUBLIC'S circulation, and that this would be of much service to the American public by promoting the principle of equal rights and pointing the way to the only possible means of relief from great and burdensome abuses. Some of these letters have urged that a convenient method be adopted by which the writers and others of like mind might work to secure new subscribers. To meet these requests we have established the simple method of selling subscription cards, which we offer at a discount.

On this plan we offer cards, each good for a subscription to THE PUBLIC (a white card for a yearly subscription, a blue card for a half-yearly one), in lots of five, at the rate of $6.00 a lot for yearly subscriptions and $3.00 a lot for half-yearly ones. This makes the rate for subscriptions in these groups $1.20 a year, or 60 cents for six months.

Anyone ordering these cards may sell them at $2.00 each for yearly subscriptions, or $1.00 each for half-yearly, thereby earning a commission of $4.00 a lot on the former, or $2.00 a lot on the latter; or, the cards may be sold at the cost price, if the purchaser wishes, for the purpose of aiding to disseminate THE PUBLIC'S teachings.

A special group of three yearly and two half-yearly subscription cards will be sent for $4.80.

These cards may be paid for when ordered, or they may be ordered and the remittance sent pro rata upon each sale.

For convenience in sending orders, a coupon is printed below. If you believe THE PUBLIC is doing a work that merits encouragement, fill out the coupon at once and mail it to

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY,
FIRST NATIONAL BANK BLDG.....CHICAGO, ILL.

THE PUBLIC, Louis F. Post, Editor

APPLICATION FOR SUBSCRIPTION CARDS

No.	Yearly	Half-Yearly
5		
10		
15		
20		
25		
50		
75		
100		

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY:

I wish to assist in increasing the circulation of THE PUBLIC, and ask you to send me a supply of Subscription Cards as indicated on the margin. I agree to use every effort to sell the Cards as soon as posible, and will remit for them as sold, at the rate of $1.20 for each yearly subscription, and 60 cents for each half-yearly one.

NAME .....

STREET AND NO..... (or Box)

P. O..... STATE.....

Indicate the number of cards and class wanted by marking X opposite the number in the appropriate column.

Mail to The Public Publishing Company, First National Bank Building, Chicago, Ill.

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.

Digitized by Google