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The Public

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

Eighth Year | **CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MAY 27, 1905** | **Number 373**

LOUIS F. POST
EDITOR

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The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

Volume VIII Number 373

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MAY 27, 1905

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:
Responsibility for the Chicago strike....113
Getting something for nothing....114
Official toadyism....114
President Roosevelt and passes....114
Louisa Southworth....114
"Favorable" Export Balances....115

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:
New York (L. F. P.)....117

NEWS NARRATIVE:
The Chicago Teamsters' Strike....118
The Chicago Traction Question....119
The Philadelphia Gas Question....119
The Cleveland Traction Question....120
Republican Convention for Ohio....121
Democratic Convention for Pennsylvania....121
Cuban Presidential Election....121
The Tariff Issue in Great Britain....121
The Presbyterian General Assembly....121
News Notes....122
Press Opinions....122

MISCELLANEOUS:
An Ode to the Hypocrite (verse)....123
Abandon the Philippines....123
Truth Crushed to Earth....123
Uncle Sam's Letters to John Bull....124
Labor's Solace....124
The Cannibal and the Missionary....125
Municipal Advances....126
Conscription (verse)....126

BOOKS:
Mr. Hunter's Book on Poverty (Dillard)....126
President Eliot's Significant Story....127
Pamphlets....127
Periodicals....127

CARTOON—The Plutocratic Game....128

For terms and other particulars of publication see cartoon page

EDITORIAL

After the happenings of this week in connection with the Chicago strike, there ought to be no longer any doubt in unbiased minds of the animus back of the whole wretched performance.

—

This strike was without justification in its inception. It had only the thinnest kind of an excuse. Had the teamsters struck early last Winter, when the garment workers needed their help (p. 23), their justification would have been complete. For then they would have been striking in support of a contract which the employers were breaking. But they would not and did not strike at that time. They waited until their strike could not serve the garment workers, whose just strike had worn itself out. Yet sympathy for the garment workers, whose contract rights they had so long ignored, was the excuse they gave when they did strike.

—

And when they did strike, they aimed their strike at one establishment in the heart of the business district, where the reckless violence of any fool or criminal might easily precipitate a riot—an establishment which had withal comparatively little to do with creating the garment workers' grievance. They refused to bring their strike to bear against establishments in less crowded places, but confined their attention to the one place where rioting might result, and where, if it did, it would be conspicuous.

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Now, there must have been a motive for all this. What kind of motive could it have been? and whence could it have sprung? Clearly it was not an honest trade union motive. The facts out of which an honest trade union motive could have sprung existed four months before the strike, but not at the time of the strike. But if it was a dishonest trade union motive, it must have originated either in the ambitions of leaders or in the instigation of outsiders. The first hypothesis is unthinkable. There was nothing in the circumstances to warrant any trade union leader in supposing that he could serve ambitious cravings by bringing on such a strike at such a time. The only reasonable inference is that the strike was instigated by outsiders.

—

And this inference is confirmed by all the circumstances. Not only must the strike have been instigated by outsiders, but at every moment when peace has been possible the unseen hand of some outsider seems to have touched the springs of human passion which the strike had engendered, and set it going again. When the garment workers demanded that the strike be called off because it was not being prosecuted in good faith in their behalf (p. 59), and it was called off accordingly, the employers adopted, either in blind passion or with vicious purpose, a policy which started it again the next morning. When arbitration offers which reasonable employers ought to have welcomed were made, these employers rejected them in a manner calculated to intensify the wrath of any self-respecting adversary. And now, when the strikers abjectly surrender, and the employers accept their surrender, and the possibilities of warfare on our public streets are about disappearing, the express companies, acting under orders from New York, take a stand in evasive violation of the blacklisting statutes of this State, which prevents the surrender. This fact alone is significant of the animus back of the strike. There are interests in New York which expected to be served by causing the strike, and the beneficiearies of those interests have no notion of being balked by allowing the strike to end before their purpose is served.

—

And what is that purpose? The circumstances indicate that it is to overwhelm Mayor Dunne and to thwart the traction policy on which he was elected, by throwing the city into a condition of chaos and bringing distrust, misunderstandings, conflicts, hatreds, and general confusion into the ranks of his supporters. The method included the bringing of troops into the city, and it is troops that these cold-blooded conspirators are determined to have—Federal troops at that. Their newspapers called for Federal troops, called for them in "scare" head lines, before any violence had been committed. They have called for them throughout the strike, although the actual

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violence has done less damage to life and property than a Fourth of July celebration. They are calling for them again, now that the strike is extending, although no violence has occurred, and nothing unusual is observable in the streets except policemen on wagons riding beside the drivers. Not only have they shouted for troops in season and out of season from the beginning, but they have tried to make occasion for troops. When they imported Negro strike breakers from the South they did so because they hoped and expected that the strikers would be excited to violence by the sight of Negroes in their places. A race war is what they sought, and a race war is what they have almost given us. Their object has been to involve the city in State and Federal complications, and thereby to demoralize public sentiment regarding Mayor Dunne and his traction policy, to such an extent as to baffle him in giving that policy effect.

—

Of their purpose the incidents of the week afford reasonable grounds for inference. To accomplish that purpose the strike must be kept going. Hence the necessity of preventing a settlement—even a surrender by the strikers. Hence the blacklist by the express companies, just as the strike was about to collapse, which had the natural effect not only of reviving it but of extending its scope and intensifying its bitterness. Hence, also, the renewed demand for troops, although there has been as yet no renewal of violence. By this indefensible act of the express companies, the chaotic possibilities are preserved and possibly quickened; and as those express companies are governed from New York, where the traction interests not only of Chicago but of all the cities of the country also center, the place of the unseen hand which has played with human nature in bringing on this strike and keeping it going is no longer a mystery.

In speaking before the bank cashiers' association of Massachusetts, Controller Ridgely dealt first, according to the Springfield Republican, with speculation, which he characterized as the curse of the day. He asserted that whereas the evil was formerly confined to a few large cities, it now extends to almost every country town, to tempt and corrupt, carrying ruin, sorrow and disgrace. Mr. Ridgely's point that a speculator is not a good bank officer is evident enough. The Republican speaks of the address as a "sermon," and it is well that a layman should preach on this subject, which preachers seem to avoid. How many regular church goers can say that they ever heard from a pulpit a sermon directed against the practice of speculation? Yet it is based, in the last analysis, on the will to get something for nothing. Isn't this recognized by the church as an evil?

The most ridiculous as well as most recent instance of official toadyism is reported this week from Washington. The superintendent of public schools in the capital city of the Republic, Alexander T. Stuart by name, has prohibited the circulation among the school children, of the May number of "Our Dumb Animals." This periodical is a humane publication. Its offense consisted in urging school children not to imitate President Roosevelt in killing animals. The allusion was to the President's recent hunting trip. We quote Mr. Stuart's defense:

> The articles in question in my opinion insult the President of the United States, and I regarded it as my duty to call the attention of President Gordon of the board of education to them. He agreed with me that their circulation should be prohibited. I believe I was right. The articles criticised the President and are not such as should be placed in the hands of youthful children to prejudice their youthful minds against the Chief Executive.

If that criticism of Mr. Roosevelt's delight in killing is in Mr. Stuart's opinion so grave an offense against executive majesty, what would be his opinion of a publication on manners which should advise school children not to imitate Mr. Roosevelt in his use of such elegant expressions as "bully"?

President Roosevelt has at last seen light on the railroad pass question. Time was when he accepted favors of the railroads without question or shrinking, and pretty valuable favors, too. But he directed the railroad companies to send him their bill for his recent Colorado hunting trip. They did so, and Mr. Roosevelt has paid the bill. This is an example that might properly be commended even to school children. Approval of the virtues of executive majesty would do them much more good than hiding from them criticisms of the vices of executive majesty.

The news dispatches from Cleveland tell of the death there on the 18th of Louisa Southworth, whom they describe as prominent in the woman suffrage movement. Mrs. Southworth, who had passed her 74th year at the time of her death, was an untiring advocate of woman suffrage on Democratic grounds. She was through and through a woman of democratic principle, which made her active not alone in the woman suffrage movement, but also in other movements having the democratic impulse. Chief among these was the single tax movement, to which she was as strongly attached as to the movement for woman suffrage. It was her intense democracy, too, that inspired her to become one of the founders of The Public. She was the first large contributor to its supporting fund, and always remained a friend to its policy. In describing her as a democrat we make no allusions to the traditions of the Democratic party. By the standard of the proslavery leaders of that party, she was no Democrat; her democracy measured up to the standards of Jefferson and Lincoln. Yet she was a devoted adherent of the newer Democratic party, and a profound admirer of

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such Democratic leaders as Tom L. Johnson and William J. Bryan.

"FAVORABLE" EXPORT BALANCES.

Many years ago a conservative old gentleman of New York mentioned the Journal of Commerce as his favorite newspaper. "News paper! news paper!" exclaimed a friend, a young man of the new school of journalism; "what news do you look for in the Journal of Commerce?" The old gentleman replied: "I am interested in insurance, and I take the Journal of Commerce to get the news of fires." The young man thought he had his friend in a corner. "But in the Journal of Commerce," he argued, "you don't get news of a fire until it is three or four days old." "Possibly," was the old gentleman's retort, "but when I do get it I know it is true."

This reputation of the staid old Journal of Commerce appears to be no more true of its news service than of its editorial opinions, for, slow as it has been at discovering the debilitating effect upon a country of a continuous "favorable" balance of trade, a constant excess of exports over imports, it has discovered the truth at last and is demonstrating it with irrefragable logic.

As the same subject is familiar to readers of The Public (vol. i, No. 42, p. 5; vol. ii, No. 94, p. 5; vol. iv, pp. 51, 165;) they will be interested, no doubt, in noting the leading points which the Journal of Commerce makes.

The main point for which it contends is that—

> in the mere traffic in commodities, the simple exchange of the products of one country for those of another, there is no advantage in an excess of exports over imports, but rather the contrary, inasmuch as exportation consists in sending objects of actual wealth out of the country, and importation in bringing them in, and there is gain in acquiring wealth rather than parting with it, for a nation as well as an individual.

In elaboration of this point the following brief clear and sound statement appeared in the leading editorial of the issue of the paper in question of March 23:

> It is to be remembered that wealth consists of the products of a country's resources and industry for the use and enjoyment of its people, including the equivalent products obtained in exchange for any part of them, and that money and credit are not in themselves objects of acquisition and accumulation, but only means of effecting the exchange of articles of actual wealth.

After straightening out some of the mental confusions into which those who think of perpetual balances as "favorable" are apt to fall, the Journal of Commerce proceeds to describe the trade-balance condition of a country which has passed the borrowing stage and paid its trade debts. Such a country, it explains—

> necessarily becomes a country that imports more than it exports, because it must take its pay, its interest, its dividends, its profits in what other countries produce. Is this a disadvantage? Is the excess of imports an "unfavorable balance?" This is the condition Great Britain has long been in through the high development of her resources and industries at home and the application of accumulated capital and surplus energy abroad. One of our critics says she is "sapping her capital and growing relatively poorer to the extent of her $1,000,000,000 yearly adverse balance." That is an admirable illustration of what we mean by the confusion of mind that comes from the old, exploded fallacy that the benefit of foreign trade consists in selling more than you buy and getting money for the excess. That depends. Normally benefit is rather in buying more than you sell, in the sense of being so situated as to get larger value than you part with in the objects of wealth. That $1,000,000,000 a year comes to Great Britain in imports to pay for her shipping, her banking, her insurance, her fetching and carrying and doing in other countries with her capital and enterprise, and in returns upon loans and investments abroad. Is this a disadvantage? Is it a sign of poverty or of having capital "sapped" and growing relatively poorer? It does not seem so to us.

The Journal of Commerce admits that "the relative advantage of being a debtor or a creditor nation may depend upon circumstances." That is true in a sense and temporarily; by which we mean that a debtor country, like a debtor man, is benefited by an excess of exports which goes to the extinguishment of its debt, and so long as the debt remains unpaid. But it is not benefited any more than a man would be, by continuing to export more than it imports after it has fairly paid for its borrowings, except as the excess may be investments. Such is evidently the thought in the mind of the editor of the Journal of Commerce, for he concludes in these words:

> What we contend for is that in the mere matter of trade, of the exchange of the products of one country for those of another, there is advantage and may be profit for both; there is gain in wealth from volume of trade and not in mere excess of exports.

On this subject we are favored by Mr. Michael Flurscheim, a German protectionist of large business experience, with a serious defense of the "favorable" balance of trade theory. It is in the form of a criticism of a speech by the Rev. Robert C. Bryant, recently reproduced in these columns (vol. viii, p. 686). Mr. Flurscheim says of the speaker that—

> he has entirely mixed two absolutely different modes of doing business: Barter, and trade through the intervention of money. In barter, the goods obtained (the imports) are really an access of wealth; while the goods given in exchange (the exports) are wealth spent. It is totally different, however, where, as is usually the case in our time, the transaction is made on a money basis, even if no actual money intervenes. In this case, selling (exportation) does not imply the parting with more wealth than is obtained in return through buying (importing), where the money amount of the sales exceeds that of the purchase. It may, and generally does, mean, that less wealth has been paid out than was obtained in return. When glass beads to the amount of $1,000 are sold to a firm at Timbuctu, and ivory to the amount of $800 is taken in payment, it may mean that a certain quantity of ivory which represents more wealth than the glass beads in the bead exporting country, was imported into the same; while it also may mean that a certain amount of beads representing more wealth than the exported ivory, to the ivory exporting country, found its way there. Let us now suppose that, seduced by this profitable business, which besides leaves a cash balance in his favor, at Timbuctu, the bead exporter buys on credit more ivory than he can sell beads, running into debt for the amount in Timbuctu. More wealth still has been imported than was exported, and it is even probable that the ivory importer may not suffer by the operation, as he can easily obtain money enough to pay his debt abroad; but it is quite sure in such a case that the financial balance of his country has been disturbed to the amount to which his debt abroad exceeded his exports of beads. In which way this financial deficit is adjusted, whether through the export of silver or gold, or, as is the rule, through the shiftings of international indebtedness, is immaterial; the fact remains that the two nations are now exactly in the case of an individual whose expenditure is

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greater than his income. There are many such individuals who get into calamity in the same way in which the indebtedness of the ivory importing country arose, i. e., by buying more wealth than they can manage to sell. It is well known that most of our commercial bankruptcies arise in this very manner. A merchant buys more goods than he can temporarily dispose of, because the goods are exceptionally cheap. His wealth possessions have thus decidedly increased; but the banker who presents the note signed by him has no use for these cheap goods and throws him into bankruptcy, because through the inability to raise cash just at this juncture the bill cannot be met. Nations get into the same predicament. New Zealand, for instance, owes England at present £100,000,000. During the 60 years while this debt accumulated the country made good use of the goods and services bought for the money, so that her wealth, which may be assumed as nil at the beginning of the period, is now estimated at £200,000,000, including her land values, which form one-half of the amount. Would this prevent her from becoming a bankrupt if in consequence of a general financial crisis her creditors insisted on cash payment? Would her wealth realize an amount sufficient to pay for her debt? Those who have watched financial crises, who have seen how at such times assets often do not realize more than a fraction of their book value, know how extremely doubtful solvency would be under such conditions, just as doubtful as that of our merchant with his great accession of wealth in the shape of cheap goods which have to be sold far below cost to meet his bills?

Accordingly Mr. Flurscheim concludes that—

the intervention of money, consisting of a scarce commodity, whose value at certain times exceeds that of all other commodities, is responsible for the error—

the error that it is an economic fallacy that a nation prospers when her exports exceed her imports and that a man is not in good circumstances if his expenditures are greater than his income.

It will be observed that Mr. Flurscheim agrees that in barter it is excess of imports or income of goods, and not excess of exports, or outgo of goods, that implies prosperity either for a nation or an individual. But he urges that when money intervenes as a medium of trade an excess of exports in terms of money may not, and usually does not, imply an excess of exports in goods.

If this is a true interpretation of Mr. Flurscheim's argument, his argument begs the question. Those who set up the "favorable balance" theory assume and assert that excessive exports in terms of money means excessive exports in the form of goods. To deny that, is to deprive their theory of all practical importance.

We are not familiar with the trade phenomena relative to glass bead countries and Timbuctu, but we had never supposed that glass-bead exporters were accustomed to carrying to Timbuctu beads costing $1,000 at home and exchanging them for ivory worth only $800 in Timbuctu. We had rather supposed that something like $50 worth of beads, more or less, in the values of the home country, were priced at $800 in Timbuctu, if traded there for $800 worth of ivory. However this may be, the trading of glass beads for ivory in Timbuctu does not appeal to us as a good example of civilized commerce.

Common examples of trade between England and the United States seem preferable; and we submit that it would be unthinkable that Americans should continuously export to England American goods worth $1,000 in New York and exchange them for English goods worth $800 in Liverpool. Nor are we able to believe that Americans would be seduced by the possibilities of trading on those terms, to buy English goods on credit. It is impossible to suppose that, in regular course of trade, English goods worth $800 in Liverpool could be brought to New York and sold for enough to pay for the landing in Liverpool of American goods worth $1,000 in New York, and leave a very seductive profit.

As to Mr. Flurscheim's calamity illustrations, we do not regard commerce as depending upon calamity as a steady regulator. Calamities do disturb the regularity of commerce at times; but they do not determine the regularity of its movements nor the general character of its phenomena.

Despite all disturbing influences, and whether money or terms of money intervene or not, trade is essentially the barter of goods for goods, and in the long run an excessive outgo of goods must impoverish, and an excessive income of goods enrich the trader, be that trader an individual or the people of a nation considered as a unit.

It is unnecessary, however, to make this discussion academic. The practical question is the effect on the people of the United States, considered as a unit, of the steady excess of exports over imports which is indicated by the statistics of this country.

From 1834 to June 30, 1904, the excess of American exports (or outgo), over American imports (or income), measured in terms of money, is reported (vol. vii, p. 248) at the enormous sum of $6,292,221,900. Since that time there has been added (vol. vii, p. 810) $340,170,222, making a grand total of excessive imports since 1834 of $6,632,392,122.

It cannot be said that these have been paid for in gold and silver, for the above figures include gold and silver.

Neither can it be shown, as has been attempted, that we have invested abroad and that this sum is due us. We are largely a debtor country still, though we have abundantly returned our borrowings. We have not been a borrowing country since 1873.

Some of the large excess of exports we have noted above has been spent abroad by American tourists, some has been sent abroad as gifts, some is compensation to foreign transporters for freight. But after every proper allowance has been made, an enormous export balance remains, and we are adding to it constantly by shipments of gold, silver and merchandise, exceeding in value in the world's markets the gold, silver and merchandise we receive in return.

To our mind this means that the people of the United States are sending out of the country more wealth than they are getting in, and implies that foreigners are somehow levying tribute upon us.

But to the "favorable balance" theorists it means profitable exchange and that the longer it continues the richer we shall consequently be. It is by this absurdly inverted image of economic adjustments that protectionists estimate our national prosperity.

Speaking of the relation of idleness to adiposity, it is only fair to say that people who do nothing but take up room have a tendency to overdo it.—Puck.

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EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

NEW YORK.

New York, May 23.—Municipal ownership sentiment appears to be in a state of general agitation here, but the circumstances make any concrete expression of it apparently impossible. A community more helplessly at the mercy of public plunderers of the respectable sort it would be hard to find. In politics, the drift at present appears to be toward the reelection of Mayor McClellan; and this drift is distinctly not in the direction of municipal ownership.

The impulse of the drift toward McClellan comes from a curious set of circumstances. By giving the city "good government," McClellan has actually made Tammany Hall respectable. The stench of Tammany, thanks to him, is no longer a stench in the nostrils. The corruption which now prevails in New York has the fragrance of the violet and the color of the rose; and the unco-good, who loathe the dirty dollar but love the tainted million, are turning from good government clubs to Tammany Hall as the Prodigal Son turned from the husks of a strange land to his father's fatted calf.

This impulse has been accelerated by two gentle slaps in the face which the Republicans in the legislature gave the financial interests of New York. The particular grievances of those interests are the mortgage tax law and the stock-transfer tax law. The former imposes a small tax on mortgages in such manner as to make it "stay put" on the mortgagee. This is a deadly offense. Taxes on financial interests, no matter how large, which can be shifted, are never objectionable in financial quarters, and often they are really welcome. But a tax that cannot be shifted—that is a different matter. The stock transfer tax is in a similar category. It is an infinitesimal tax, like the tax on mortgages; and like that tax it falls on the financial interests and stays there. Small as these taxes are, they have made the financial interests (unable to appreciate a bit of demagogy at their own expense) wild with rage at the Republican party. A common expression among Wall street men is that they would vote for a yellow dog for Mayor this fall in preference to the best Republican.

But they will not have to vote for a yellow dog. Tammany announces that McClellan is to be the Democratic candidate, and McClellan is a young man of attainments, ability, honesty, respectability and good family, who, while keeping faith with the franchise corporations, has given the city good government.

It might be supposed that the very reasons which drive the rich New Yorker away from the Republican party and over to Tammany would draw poor New Yorkers away from Tammany and into the Republican party. But that will not be the effect. The legislature which has so offended rich New Yorkers, was so manifestly demagogic that the Republican party which controlled it appeals favorably to nobody with a civic conscience. Moreover, the Republican legislature that enacted those two tax laws was so shamelessly corrupt, so indifferent to public rights, and so solicitous (for a consideration) for the privileges of public service corporations that no one would repose any confidence in the Republican party if it should declare without reservation even for municipal ownership. It loses all whom its tax laws drive away and gains nobody in return.

Tammany Hall is consequently placed in what, for it, is an enviable position. With platform platitudes it can bid freely for the poor man's vote, while with private understandings it bargains liberally for the rich man's campaign contribution.

That has always been the Tammany ideal of political tactics. It bids fair, at the approaching election to be an ideal realized. The common expectation is that the Republican party in New York will have fewer votes relatively, and a smaller campaign fund absolutely, than ever before.

It is quite improbable that the Republicans will be able this year to make a combination with the Citizens' Union, the nonpartisan organization with which it has heretofore been able to unite upon bi-partisan nominations against Tammany Hall.

One very strong reason for this is the fact that the conditions which have heretofore obliged the Citizens' Union to concede the head of the ticket to the Republicans are now reversed. McClellan having proved to be a "good man in office," the Citizens' Union can insist upon him as the head of the fusion ticket; and a good many men in that organization are for one reason or another inclined to do so. They have felt the anomaly of nominating a Republican invariably for mayor of a Democratic city. But if the Republicans were to concede this point, for a fusion with the Citizens' Union, they would find themselves in a fusion also with Tammany Hall, whose candidate McClellan is certain to be; and that, from their point of view, would be unthinkable.

The probability is, therefore, that the Republicans will be unable to make their usual fusion; and, being thrown back upon the resources of their own party, at a time and under circumstances when and in a place where their party is inordinately weak, it is not unlikely that they will become completely demoralized. This probability is made all the more likely by the fact that ex-Gov. Odell, who is the Republican boss of the State, is at loggerheads with the Platt faction, which, though moribund, may be galvanized by J. Pierpont Morgan if the exigencies of his war with Harriman make it desirable, and by the further fact that ex-Lieutenant Governor Timothy L. Woodruff, who controls the party in the Borough of Brooklyn, is none too friendly toward Odell.

What the Citizens' Union will decide to do is as yet quite problematical. It is as badly demoralized as are the Republicans. The Citizens' Union was organized in the '90's for the purpose of giving effect to the nonpartisan purpose of the new constitution of the State. That document had provided for the holding of State and municipal elections on alternate years, with the intention of freeing municipal elections from the disturbing influences of State and national politics. To make this provision effective the Citizens' Union of New York, composed of citizens regardless of their partisan affiliations, was organized. Its first campaign was in 1897, when it nominated Low, a Republican, for first mayor of Greater New York and was defeated by Tammany Hall. In 1901 (the previous term having been for four years) it made a fusion with the Republicans, with Low as a candidate for mayor, and the ticket won. In 1903, with Low again at the head of the ticket, it again fused with the Republicans, but was defeated by Tammany with McClellan as the mayoralty candidate.

At the time of its organization, the Citizens' Union stood for the "good government" idea, which McClellan has borrowed from it for the use of Tammany. It has also stood all along for the idea of municipal ownership and operation of public service utilities, and it has actually secured the establishment of a municipal ferry from the Battery to Staten Island, which will be in full municipal operation early in the Fall. But while it has stood for the principle of municipal ownership and operation that feature of the organization was never much emphasized. Most of the emphasis was placed upon the "good government" features. Consequently, some of the bitterest adversaries of municipal ownership and operation were large contributors to the funds of the Union. If they paid any attention at all to the municipal ownership planks in their platform, it was only to regard these complacently as a necessary sop to the radical element in their ranks, whose votes were worth getting provided their radicalism was treated as something to be patronizingly considered but never put in practice.

But as municipal ownership sentiment began to crystallize, municipal ownership issues to take shape, and

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believers in municipal ownership to take sides, the Citizens' Union gave more emphasis, properly and honestly, to its municipal ownership principles. At this, most of its financial backers indignantly withheld their contributions. They accused the Union of abandoning the good government principles in which they believed, and of running off after the socialistic and revolutionary principles of municipal ownership in which they did not believe. It has consequently come about that the Citizens' Union, as it has gained strength for the kind of good citizenship that objects to being plundered in a large way by monopoly corporations as well as in a small way by corrupt politicians, has lost strength financially.

Naturally enough, this has been followed by considerable confusion in the counsels of the organization, which will yet have to be fought out. Outspoken demands for a candid municipal ownership and operation policy are made by some of the leading members, and supported by many more. The only step that has been officially taken, however, has been to call a conference of civic organizations. This was done at a meeting on the 22d. The public were astounded the next morning to observe that the traditional enemy of the Citizens' Union, Tammany Hall, had been included in the call. It was done, however, only against vigorous protests. It means, of course, that the members of the Union who favor an endorsement of McClellan, were in the ascendant at the meeting.

If all depended upon the Citizens' Union it is not probable that the question of municipal ownership and operation would enter into the approaching municipal campaign. But the forces in that organization which favor municipal ownership and operation, are supplemented by the activities of the Municipal Ownership League. These are tending toward an independent campaign, against Tammany Hall and all its allies, for municipal ownership and operation of public service utilities.

The chief difficulty confronting this movement, and all other efforts to the same end, is the elusiveness of anything like a concrete issue. Public sentiment is alive—nowhere more so. But politics always abhors the academic, and the moment you put your finger on a practical issue it seems to fade away.

The new subway question ought to furnish a practical issue of the first order. Everybody realizes that the city was mercilessly robbed by its "best citizens," in connection with the existing subway. There is abundant indignation, therefore at the brazen efforts of the same "best citizens," backed by Tammany Hall, to hand out franchises for a vast system of new subways which the people need and demand. If a referendum were possible, the vote for municipal ownership and operation of this new system would doubtless be overwhelming. Here, then, would seem to be an issue for the Fall campaign—a ticket and a platform pledged to public operation of the new subways.

But no. The capitalists have so tied up the power of the city, that the question of public or private operation of the new subways could not be affected by the municipal election. A Rapid Transit board, self-perpetuating, highly respectable, thoroughly plutocratic, and bent on handing out franchise plunder, can legally determine this question to-morrow. They could determine it in the middle of the campaign; they could determine it against municipal operation after the election had put into office a full quota of officials in favor of municipal operation. The people are simply helpless—bound hand and foot by vicious legislation through which they are to be bound in the future by vested interests.

Whether or not a campaign for municipal ownership and operation, under these circumstances, would be of value for its moral effect, there is no escaping the fact that the circumstances furnish plausible excuses for opposing such a campaign and for apologetically opposing municipal ownership candidates, should such a campaign be made.

Another practical issue seems at first blush to be available. This is the question of gas franchises. All the gas franchises which have not already expired, will expire by 1907. What better practical issue could be desired for a municipal ownership campaign? Why not make the election turn, then, upon the taking over by the city of the gas service? The Municipal Ownership League asks itself that question and may try to make this the issue. But the response is: How can the city take over the gas service without authority from the legislature which it does not possess, and which the Republican legislature will not give to it? This response is obviously evasive. Because the city has not the legal power now, that is no reason for going to sleep over its rights. If a municipal ownership campaign could be effectively made this Fall, on the issue of municipal ownership and operation of the gas service, the legislature might not be so slow in giving to the city the necessary authority. What is needed is an emphatic expression of the public opinion which unquestionably exists in New York in favor of municipal operation. The coon doesn't always have to be shot before he comes down.

L. F. P.

Ministers are often leaders in reform; churches never. Why?—The Crown, of Newark, N. J.

NEWS NARRATIVE

Week ending Thursday, May 25.

The Chicago Teamsters' Strike.

A settlement of the Chicago strike (p. 101), satisfactorily to the employers' union, the team owners' union, and the teamsters' union, has been prevented by the seven express companies that center in Chicago, and the danger to public order which so large a strike involves is now more threatening than ever.

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Further conferences between the team owners' union and the teamsters' union (p. 101) resulted on the 18th in an offer by the latter to arbitrate their mutual obligations and to agree meanwhile to the delivery of goods by union teamsters to all strike-bound establishments that would consent to an arbitration with the strikers. Arrangements for arbitration between the teamsters and the team owners were accordingly made. But the importance of these adjustments was overshadowed on the 19th by negotiations between the teamsters' union and the employers' union relative to a complete settlement of the strike.

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The pacific negotiations brought forth a proposition from the employers' union submitting the following terms for settlement:

(1) All strikers will be taken back as fast as vacancies occur without discrimination, except as to those guilty of violations of the law.

(2) The express companies will adhere to their decision not to re-employ any of thestrikers.

(3) The Employers' Teacing Company will continue doing business along the lines laid down when it was organized, viz., of employing only non-union teamsters.

(4) A calling off of the strike will be followed by policemen and deputy sheriffs being relieved from further strike duty.

(5) No nonunion teamster will be discharged to make room for a striker.

(6) The State street department stores will re-employ as many of their old employes as there are vacancies.

(7) Strikers who are re-employed will be permitted to wear their union buttons.

These terms were reported on the 21st as acceptable in their general features to the strikers' committee, the only objection being to the

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clause regarding the express companies.

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Upon reference to the joint council of the teamsters' organizations the terms of the employers' union were rejected because of the express companies' clause. The leader of the strike, C. P. Shea, explained the matter as follows:

The Employers' association offered a proposition which might have received favorable consideration from the strikers and their committee providing it carried with it no proviso that would act as a detriment to any part of our organization. Their proposition, however, carried with it that the strike against the railway express companies be declared off without those companies agreeing to the proposition made by the employers or to any other proposition, they having made the statement that they had held a meeting and decided that no strikers would ever again be re-employed as workmen for the railway express companies—in fact, established a blacklist against all their former employes. . . . Under these conditions it is incumbent upon the members of the teamsters' organization to continue to strike until such time as the express companies will agree to the same conditions as those offered by the Employers' association.

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In behalf of the express companies, it is denied that they are guilty of blacklisting. This is a crime under a statute of Illinois, which reads as follows:

If any two or more persons conspire or agree together, or the officers or executive committee of any society or organization or corporation shall issue or utter any circular or edict, as the action of or instruction to its members, or any other persons, societies, organizations, or corporations, for the purpose of establishing a so-called boycott or blacklist . . . they shall be deemed guilty of a conspiracy; and every such offender, whether as individuals or as the officers of any society or organization, and every person convicted of conspiracy at common law, shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary not exceeding five years, or fined not exceeding $2,000, or both.

The express companies state that they are acting independently and not by confederation. Their agents at Chicago say:

Our action does not amount to a "blacklist." We will never re-employ our employes who went on strike. We will not employ any men who cannot show "clear records" or who ever proved "disloyal." The non-engagement of competitors' employes has been prohibited by "business courtesy," and no "blacklisting agreement" ever has existed. All applicants will be thoroughly investigated and compelled to furnish a personal history and bond. There is no possibility that this position will ever be changed.

When a proposal was made, however, on the 22d to the representatives of the express companies, that they reemploy striking drivers, or those of them they need, by changing the men from one company to another, so that no company would take back the men who had violated contracts with it, the proposal was rejected, the representative of the companies replying that all applications "would have to be considered on their merits."

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Upon the breaking off of negotiations for a settlement of the strike, consequent upon the alleged blacklist of the express companies, the Lumbermen's Association (an employers' union of the lumber trade), which employs some 2,400 teamsters, issued an order on the 21st directing the employes of its constituent firms and corporations to make deliveries to all business houses, regardless of whether they are involved in the strike or not. This order was met on the same day by a resolution of the teamsters' union to strike against the lumbermen if any teamster is discharged for refusing to obey the order of the Lumbermen's Association. The result, up to the 24th, was an addition to the strikers of about 800 lumber teamsters.

The Chicago Traction Question.

In response to the invitation of the local transportation committee of the City Council (p. 102), the representatives of the various traction interests of Chicago appeared before that committee on the 18th. They were not yet ready, however, to name a price at which they would sell. The general counsel of the Chicago City Company, Col. Bliss, stated that—

the companies will agree to keep in touch with the chairman of the committee and inform him fully as to what progress they are making. If it seems to him or the committee that the companies are in any way dilatory in the matter, then he can summon his committee and call us before him any day he wants. We will agree that the formality of sending us invitations can be dispensed with and a simple notice in the news columns of the newspapers of Chicago will be enough.

Upon this assurance the committee adjourned to meet at the call of the chairman. Every street car line in Chicago was represented at the meeting.

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Immediately after the arrival of James Dalrymple, the manager of the municipal traction system of Glasgow, whom Mayor Dunne has invited to Chicago to advise regarding the municipalization of the Chicago traction system (p. 23), a banquet will be given him at the Auditorium. The date for the banquet is the 31st. Col. James Hamilton Lewis is to preside as toastmaster.

The Philadelphia Gas Question.

When the gas question over which Philadelphia is excited (p. 102) came before the Council on the 18th, in the lower branch, strong opposition was made and threatening crowds packed the lobbies. They loudly denounced the lease to the United Gas Improvement Company, as a steal. But this lease was ordered by a vote of 74 to 9. The ordinance went immediately to the upper branch, where it was adopted in a few minutes by 37 to 4. This result was secured through the influence of the Republican organization, led by Israel W. Durham, who is described by the reports as the leader of the Philadelphia ring. As it passed, the ordinance provides for a lease to the United Gas Improvement Company for 75 years. The company is to furnish gas from the date of the lease until January 1, 1911, at $1 a thousand cubic feet, the same as the present price; from 1911 to 1921, at 95 cents; from 1921 to 1936 at 90 cents; from 1936 to 1956 at 85 cents; and thereafter, until the expiration of the lease, in 1980, at 80 cents.

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The ordinance having gone to Mayor Weaver for his signature or veto, he announced himself as "forever done" with the ring that passed it, and declared that he would hereafter use his authority in the interest of the people. It was at that time understood that on the 1st of June he would veto the ordinance; but that his veto

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would be overridden was certain, as several of his vetoes recently have been. However, he might even then refuse to execute the lease; but in that case it was understood that the Councils would pass an ordinance empowering the director of public works to execute it. Mayor Weaver foresaw this possibility and called for that official's resignation. The resignation was promptly given, but it contained a proviso that it was to take effect upon the qualification of his successor. Construing this clause to mean that the resigning official intended to remain in office in spite of his resignation, since his successor could not qualify until his appointment had been confirmed by a two-thirds vote of the upper branch of the Councils, Mayor Weaver refused to accept this resignation. He gave the director two hours in which to resign without reservation, and at the end of that time, having had no response, he removed him from office. Mayor Weaver took the same course with the director of public safety. Both these men are powerful leaders in the Republican organization. Their removal is believed to indicate the Mayor's plan for defeating the gas lease ordinance. It is within his power, as he and his supporters claim, to remove everyone of the 20,000 city employes whose support makes the Republican ring possible. But the supporters of the gas lease have met Mayor Weaver with an injunction. It was issued on the 24th, by Judge Ralston of the Court of Common Pleas, exparte, and the 29th fixed for a hearing on a motion to make it permanent. The injunction was issued in favor of David J. Smyth, the removed director of public safety, and Peter E. Costello, the removed director of public works; and it restrains Sheldon Potter and A. Lincoln Acker, their successors respectively, from assuming the offices, and the Mayor from aiding or abetting them. The ground for the injunction is a contention that the new appointees cannot serve until their appointments have been confirmed by the upper branch of the Councils. Mayor Weaver has engaged Elihu Root as his counsel, and has applied to the Supreme Court of the State for a writ of supersedeas.

A citizenns' committee issued the following address immediately after the passage of the gas lease ordinance:

To the citizens of Philadelphia: You received to-day the most insolent affront from your councilmen ever given to the people of any great American city. Despite reason and respect for the rights of the people the City Councils voted to confer upon a corporation the unhampered control of your gas works. Your committee, appointed by town meeting, now calls upon you,

1. To awaken to your injuries, which are:

a. Insult to your declared opinion and the expressed wish of your mayor asking for delay.

b. Theft of your property.

c. Enslavement for three generations to a gas monopoly.

2. To rise in your might and by personal, unceasing effort make impossible the consummation of the greatest steal ever attempted.

a. By assemblage in every ward, by personal demand and pressure upon your local councilmen.

b. By full and immediate use of the cards and literature distributed by the committee, as well as other forms of written protest.

c. By preparing for a great rally that will block the final attempt to complete the conspiracy when the ordinance is again considered, after the mayor has vetoed it.

A mass meeting is to be held at the Academy of Music on the 26th, at which ex-Postmaster General Charles Emory Smith is to be the principal speaker. At ward mass meetings squads of men are being picked to attend the meeting of Councils and demand of their councilmen that they vote to sustain the Mayor's veto.

The Cleveland Traction Question.

Mayor Johnson supplemented on the 17th his proposition of the 15th to the Cleveland Traction Company (p. 102) with a statement that he would favor a dividend of 5 per cent on the basis of $85 a share as the rental to be paid by a municipal holding company to the present company under the leasing plan of traction settlement heretofore suggested by him. In naming these figures he said: "I am not making this price with the expectation of going higher. It is absolutely and definitely the best I will ever make. If the company is not willing to accept it we might as well close negotiations at once." On the 19th the traction company rejected Mayor Johnson's proposal and advised him that they would make one of their own. They did this at the Council meeting on the 22d. Their proposal in substance was that—

the company is unwilling to lease its property to such a company as the Mayor suggests. It is willing to restrict for 25 years its right to pay dividends to 5 per cent. a year and to divide with the city any surplus net income over 5 per cent. It is willing to accept a renewal of franchises for 25 years which shall (1) subject it to no special burdens other than those proposed in the Wertman ordinance; (2) fix a cash fare of 5 cents and a ticket fare of six tickets for 25 cents, with free transfers, the company to agree (3) that half the net income of lines operated in Cleveland for such period of five years over and above 5 per cent on the present capital stock of the company and upon such new capital as may be invested, be paid the city in cash, or, at its option, be applied to a reduction of fare for the next succeeding five year period. Or, the company is willing to accept a twenty-five year grant, without special burdens except those provided in the Wertman ordinance, at a 5 cent cash fare, ticket fare of six tickets for a quarter, with free transfers, and for one hour of densest traffic, morning and evening, eight tickets for a quarter, with free transfers, the latter rate in force on all days but Sundays and legal holidays.

When this proposal came before the Council, Mayor Johnson took the floor and said of it:

This is the second proposition that the street railway company has ever made the city, so far as I know, submitting itself to terms and conditions under which it would accept a settlement of the pending differences. The first proposition provided six tickets for a quarter with limited transfers. This proposition goes a little further. It proposes that no restrictions except those provided for in the Wertman ordinance, which you all know were none, be imposed. The Wertman measure attempted to relieve the railway company of as many burdens as possible in the hope that a proposition for lower fare would be received. They were all offered in the hope of getting fare concessions. Now the company has brought forward this proposition. They offer you eight tickets for a quarter during an hour of densest travel in the morning and the evening. I have had some experience with such an arrangement. In Detroit we gave eight tickets for a quarter during an hour and a half of densest travel mornings and evenings. The experiment was a complete failure. Very few people buy such tickets, and they are not workingmen at that. It

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is one of the greatest nuisances in Detroit. It is not scientific. It is not practicable, and is offered only as a bait. Six tickets for a quarter, with a transfer, is really what the company offers the people of Cleveland. Eight tickets for a quarter would not anywhere nearly meet the burdens that the company will be relieved of under such a measure as they ask. Oh, but you say they offer you something else: they are going to divide profits with you. They will limit their dividends to 5 per cent. They will give you half of the profits over that sum. You heard—some of you—the admission of the company that the question of profit was a mere matter of bookkeeping. I don't think that if such a proposition as this was accepted the net returns would be very big. Expenses that are now charged to certain sources would then become operating expenses and your profits would not be very great. Don't you also notice they say, not present capital, but any increase in capital stock? And I say to you as an expert that an increase is merely turning on the hose. I say to you that this proposition deserves no consideration whatever. It is not a proposition to consider or to fool anybody about. You should reject it without referring to committees. That is what I would do. I don't think that the people or the Council are going to settle this matter by giving to the company the profits of the future. The city is entitled to something better. That plan demands at your hands, my friends, the consideration of the waste basket.

A motion to reject the proposal and a motion to refer it to a committee were both laid upon the table by the Council.

Republican Convention for Ohio.

Ohio is the pioneer in Republican politics of the Fall campaign, that party's convention for that State having met at Columbus on the 24th. The friends of Gov. Herrick and Senator Dick are reported as in control, and Secretary of War Taft was seated as temporary chairman. After his speech and the naming of committees, the convention adjourned for the day.

Democratic Convention for Pennsylvania.

The Democrats of Pennsylvania met at Harrisburg on the 24th, and nominated a candidate for State treasurer and a candidate for Superior Court judge.

Cuban Presidential Election.

The second presidential election of the Republic of Cuba (vol. iv, p. 163; vol v, p. 104) is to be held next December, and on the 23d the National Liberal party, in convention at Havana, adopted its platform and nominated its candidates. The platform, besides advocating a modification of the Platt amendment (vol. iv, pp. 122, 153) whenever opportunity offers, demands—

> decentralization of the government's control of local affairs by the development of provincial and municipal autonomy; sanitation; discontinuance of the department of justice; that judicial functionaries be responsible only to judicial tribunals; immediate payment of the balance due revolutionary veterans; road and harbor improvements; prudent reformation of the tariff in harmony with the commercial treaties; direct taxation as the principal basis of the government's income; adoption of a national coinage founded on the gold standard; arbitration of differences between employers and workingmen; encouragement of immigration.

The party's candidate for President is Gen. Jose Miguel Gomez, who was nominated by a vote of 103 to 6. Gomez is 50 years old, and a native of Santa Clara Province, of which he is governor. The candidate for Vice President is Senator Alfreda Zayos.

The plank in the platform which calls for modification of the Platt amendment is thus interpreted editorially by the Chicago Record-Herald of the 22d:

> It appears that the Cubans have no intention of asking for the virtual repeal of the Platt amendment, which has hardly given them cause for complaint. What they would like to obtain is a modification of the article declaring that "all of the acts of the United States in Cuba during its military occupation thereof are ratified and validated, and all lawful right acquired thereunder shall be maintained and protected." Disclaiming any repudiationist designs, some of the Cuban leaders think that the Island government ought to be permitted to annul concessions and contracts that have operated to the disadvantage of the country. Thus the game of jai alai, authorized by Gen. Wood, is said to be a "social cancer" and a demoralizing form of gambling. The proprietors of the establishment claim a vested property right under the Platt amendment. Dissatisfaction, too, exists with the contracts for the sewers and other sanitation work. The necessity of guarding against the spread of yellow fever is recognized, but the Cuban Liberals hold that the Platt amendment should not be so construed as to compel the Island to award particular contracts to particular persons.

The Tarriff Issue in Great Britain.

In connection with the movement in the direction of protection in Great Britain (p. 72), great disorder occurred in the Commons on the 22d. The Premier, Mr. Balfour, had publicly pledged his party in a speech at Edinburgh to refrain from dealing with the subject of tariff preferences for the colonies, without first "going to the country"—that is, dissolving Parliament and giving the people an opportunity to elect new members upon that issue. Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, the Liberal leader, accused him on the floor on the 22d of violating that pledge. The grounds of the accusation were furnished by the Premier in a speech immediately preceding the accusation. In that speech he said, in reply to questions, that he—

> did not consider himself pledged to inaction in regard to colonial preference except so far as Parliamentary action was concerned. But although the Ministry did not intend to deal with the fiscal question in the present Parliament, the matter of colonial preference might be submitted to a colonial conference in 1906, even though the country had not previously had an opportunity of expressing an opinion on the subject. The decision of the conference, however, would not be binding either on the mother country or on the colonies without legislative action.

A debate on the Bannerman accusation followed. The uproar was caused by the putting forward of Secretary Lyttleton, the secretary of state for the colonies, to speak for the Premier. The Liberals shouted Lyttleton down, insisting upon hearing "Balfour himself in defense of his own honor." On the following day, the 23d, Mr. Bannerman moved a vote of censure of the Premier and there was another uproar. To restore quiet, the discussion of this motion was postponed for a later day.

The Presbyterian General Assembly.

Turning from British political to American religious subjects, the meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church at Winona Lake, Ind., is to be noted. The Rev. Dr. James D.

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Moffat, president of Washington and Jefferson College, was elected moderator on the 18th, and on the 22d the union of the Northern branch with the Cumberland branch of the church (vol. vii, p. 135) was effected. Of the Presbyteries that had voted, 114 favored and 36 opposed the union. Two took no action, one gave conditional assent and five made no report. A committee was authorized to work out the details and instructed to report to the General Assembly next year.

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On the question of distinct Negro presbyteries, it was announced in the General Assembly on the 22d that 188 presbyteries had voted for the proposition and only 45 against it. All the Negro commissioners to the General Assembly oppose Negro presbyteries. So does the Freedman's board of the church, together with the New York and other presbyteries. Negro commissioners declare they will refuse to form separate presbyteries unless absolutely frozen out of their present relations to the church.

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The Negro branch of the Cumberland Presbyterian church made an overture to the General Assembly on the 22d for union. The overture came in a telegram from the Colored Cumberland Presbyterian General Assembly in session at Huntsville, Ala., in this language: "The Cumberland Presbyterian General Assembly, colored, has appointed a committee of seven to confer with a like committee appointed by your Assembly to look to union." The telegram was referred to the committee on bills and overtures; and on the 23d it was placed in the hands of a committee on church union which is to report upon the subject next year.

NEWS NOTES

—On the 21st a law went into effect in California which makes it a crime to listen to conversations over telephones.

—President Roosevelt issued an order on the 23d forbidding the employment of convict labor on government works.

—The first annual meeting of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis convened at Washington on the 18th.

—A distinguished single taxer of Kansas City, Mo., Armin L. O. Schueler, died there on the 6th. Mr. Schueler was president of the Land Title Guarantee Co. of Kansas City.

—Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, distinguished as an abolitionist, a temperance reformer and a woman suffragist, and who was also a popular lecturer, died at Melrose, Mass., on the 23d, at the age of 83.

—The fifth annual convention of the Woman's National Single Tax league is to meet in Philadelphia on the 15th, 16th and 17th of June. Persons intending to be present are invited to address Mrs. E. B. Montgomery, No. 2253 Carmac street, Philadelphia.

—W. L. Crossman, a Boston printer who is best known in that city as an advocate of the teachings of Henry George, has been elected one of the four delegates from Boston to the International Typographical Union convention, to be held at Toronto in August.

—As reported by the Secretary of State for India, in the British House of Commons on the 22d, the number of people dying of plague in India from January 1 to April 1, 1905, was 471,744. During the month of April to the 29th, the additional deaths were 215,961.

—At the opening of the Venezuelan Congress on the 23d, President Castro decreed amnesty to all Venezuelans who for political reasons have been exiled. They are permitted to return to the country. This amnesty also extends to political prisoners in Venezuela below the grade of colonel.

—Albion W. Tourgee, consul general at Bordeaux, France, died on the 21st. Tourgee served as a private in the Federal army through the Civil War, was a judge of the Superior Court in North Carolina in the late '60's, and became famous as the author of "A Fool's Errand," and "Bricks Without Straw."

—A whipping law for wife-beaters went into operation in Oregon on the 18th. This new law provides that a man on conviction may be given not more than 20 lashes, in addition to the punishment of fine or imprisonment. The whipping is to be administered within the walls of the county or city jail and by the sheriff of the county or by a regularly appointed policeman.

—At the National Arts club, New York, on the 22d, the Reform club gave a dinner for the discussion of the municipal ownership question. Dr. Lyman Abbott spoke conservatively in sympathy with the idea. Judge Herrick, recent Democratic candidate for Governor, spoke conservatively against it; Louis F. Post, representing Mayor Dunne, described the situation in Chicago, and F. W. Hinrichs urged prompt and vigorous action in favor of the idea in the politics of the city of New York.

PRESS OPINIONS

THE CHICAGO STRIKE.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), May 24.—"We will not take any of the strikers back now. This will be our position four years from now." This was the answer given by the express companies yesterday. The peace of Chicago does not concern them. They will do nothing to bring it about. If they can put their old scale of wages in force, continue to overcharge the people of Chicago and dodge taxes, they care not what happens to this city. The odium of keeping up this fight is on the express companies. Remember that. Had they gone as far as other employers, who are citizens of Chicago, business would be in its normal state. In taking the position they hold to, the express companies have violated the law. They have conspired against the peace of Chicago. But before this they broke a statute of Illinois. Their officers admitted yesterday that they would not hire men let go by another company. In this former agreement and in their present understanding with one another they have broken the law against blacklisting. The grand jury is hot-foot after labor leaders for conspiracy, and the machinery of the State's Attorney's office is already in motion. The express companies have also conspired, and the admission of their officers to Examiner reporters proves the case out of their own throats. Will the grand jury take up this conspiracy also? Will Mr. Healy put this phase of law-breaking before the grand jurors?

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), May 23.—It is not wise, in the pending strike, to risk the whole industrial life of this community in order to insure that drastic penalties shall fall upon the union side. This strike ought never to have been started, but it does not follow that its spread should be regarded with satisfaction or indifference, only so that a lesson be taught to some of those more immediately concerned. Especially is this so if that lesson is likely to miss those really responsible. The persons who have brought on the struggle should be held accountable. The background of abuses out of which it so mysteriously grew should also be opened up. If it shall take on the color of a struggle for unionism, however, all other considerations fade, and undeserving leaders win unanimous support of union men of champions not of a discredited strike, but of the cause of organized labor. . . . In the face of the plan adopted exclusively by the express companies, to refuse to reemploy one of their striking employes, a plan which they have peculiar facilities for carrying out, it is not strange that the Federation of Labor, at its meeting on Sunday, should have raised the cry of unionism and shown simply a fighting spirit. . . . The community's interests demand that the strike should stop instead of spreading. At the present critical juncture the third party to the case asks the two immediate parties not to make the soldiery necessary.

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THE PHILADELPHIA GAS LEASE.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), May 20.—There is but one defense of the people of Pennsylvania against all this. The power is still with them to write upon the statute books a law restoring to the people themselves the final authority in the enactment of legislation. Even in Philadelphia so scandalous a job as the gas grab must have failed under the Oregon law which provides for a referendum on such questions. Indeed, the grab would never have been attempted had Boss Durham known that it might be forced to a popular vote. It was because he knew the people were helpless that he conceived the amazing scheme for robbery and jammed it through in defiance of all decency and in calm disregard of the bitter feeling which has raged so impotently among the people. What

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Philadelphia has not done for herself and what she perhaps has not now the power to do, it is possible for the people of the State at large to accomplish. With the referendum system established there will be means for the rest of the State to protect itself against the dangerous influences of boss-ridden Philadelphia. And here is Democratic opportunity. Here is a chance for the party to rise to a great emergency.

New York World (Ind.), May 20.—The highly respectable financiers who control the United Gas Improvement company would probably not be capable of going into the streets of Philadelphia and picking the pockets of pedestrians. . . . But they have debauched public servants. By corrupt means they have obtained the consent of the Councils to a lease which will enable them to take millions and millions of dollars from the pockets of the people of Philadelphia. . . . All that can be said in mitigation of their high crimes against society is that they are not alone. The directors of scores of other public corporations throughout the country are engaged in the same business of infamy and treason. These gentlemen are all great sticklers for the rights of property; yet they are doing more to bring on a war against property rights than all the disciples of anarchy and socialism that the country will ever import. They are doing more to raise up a generation that will appeal to force against corruption and cunning than all the incendiary orators between the Atlantic and the Pacific. . . . If the men who control these corporations are determined to drive the country to socialism, with a prelude, perhaps, of riot and anarchy, they are proceeding in the most expeditious manner. The American people are patient and long-suffering, but if the issue must be met as to whether the public service corporations are to own the government or the government the corporations, there can be no doubt as to the result. The public will not remain forever the passive victim of its incorporated anarchists and traitors.

MISCELLANY

AN ODE TO THE HYPOCRITE.

BY A COMMON SINNER.

For The Public.

O thou eternal, un-divine and ever present one!
I bring thee now the tardy homage of my laggard soul;
For thou dost lift full oft the vexing, all unwelcome load
That else upon my hapless head might in strict justice roll.
I'm but a common sinner—poor, and oft-times very weak.
My feet they slip betimes, and I am well-nigh over gone
Wide of virtue's path in many a by forbidden way,
Where those are found who bear thine image (and, perchance, mine own).

'Tis then the troubled thought comes to my weary soul anon
To ask why I am not more steadfast in the narrow way.
At thee, O, poor old plodding, patient Hypocritic One,
I point with knowing look, and then, "his fault," I faintly say.
Sometime the parson stands before me, looking kindly sad.
He asks why all these years without the fold I ever stand.
Then quick a nimble finger do I raise and deftly point,
The hypocrite among the lambs in his fair fold to brand.

What keeps me from the kingdom wherein men most faithful strive?
It is the Hypocrite, I ween, whose shoulders broad must bear
The sins and foibles of a race full bent on selfishness.
On him I cast my every load, nor hold one carking care.
I know I'm not a perfect man, e'en as they rate them here;
But yet more holy and more just than this poor stumbling one.
And so I sit while others strive and falter—and some fall;
Holier I than he, forsooth, because I've ne'er begun.

So now I come, thou ever present, all invisible,
Great faltering spirit, in the struggling, onward rushing train,
To do thee honor for the load that thou hast ever borne
Of sin and selfishness. E'en now from feverish heart and brain,
O thou sublime and terrible specter, pretense and sham—
To whom I point in day of my extreme necessity—
I come to do thee honor, meet in this my grateful psalm,
For in my hour of trial thou giv'st felicity.

For where, O friend, when thou art gone, will then my reason be
For thus unheeding still the call of duty or of love?
I pray for thee, O bugbear full of gloomy retrospect,
That life still long and full may yet be lent thee from above—
That in thy monstrous shadow I may hide me yet again;
For if thou di'st O Hypocrite, then whither shall I turn
To answer those who urge upon me duties over grave?
When thou art gone, thou spectre friend, the world thy worth shall learn.
When thou art called to thy reward, this world must lonely be.
I know not that there shall be left but one man, standing lone
Upon the shore of time; his face set toward the unknown sea,
And there myself shall wait the call that bids me, too, come home.

WILLIAM JAMES LEACH.

Duplap, Ill.

ABANDON THE PHILIPPINES.

RECOMMENDATION OF ADMIRAL MELVILLE.

Rear Admiral George W. Melville made a very striking address on 'The Important Elements in Naval Conflicts," before the Academy of Political and Social Science in Philadelphia, April 8, in the course of which he said:

"During the past eight years there have been three inheritances that we have acquired, each of which is likely to prove a Pandora's box of evils and disappointments to this nation. So long as the responsibility of administering these three inheritances remains with us, so long there will be a progressive increase in military and naval expenditures, and so long will it be necessary for us to weigh well the important elements of naval conflicts.

"The first inheritance that was thrust upon us by some evil genie was the Philippine Archipelago. These islands have been a tax upon the resources of every nation that ever possessed them.

"The second inheritance that was either assumed by us or was bequeathed to us by political necessity, was the obligation to build the Panama canal.

"The third inheritance from which we will never receive an income or substantial benefit is our attempt practically to assume the receivership of republics whose treasuries are empty as a result of national business conducted by intolerable administrative methods.

"It will subserve our financial, naval, commercial and national interests to recognize the fact that there should be no hesitancy to give up distant foreign possessions which we could not hold in time of war against any possible enemy."

Admiral Mellville recommended:

"The preparation of plans for the immediate abandonment, at the slightest possible financial loss, of every distant possession that is likely to require a fleet to defend it. If it should be understood that in time of war we propose to abandon, at least temporarily, certain territorial possessions, neither the morale nor the credit of the nation would then be impaired by the seizure of such territory by an enemy."
—Philadelphia Public Ledger, of April 9.

TRUTH CRUSHED TO EARTH.

Several years ago I was engaged in crushing truth to earth for a Chicago newspaper. That is to say, I was a special writer, employed in jotting down history unhampered by facts.

When the annual schuetzenfest attracted thousands of German sharpshooters from all over the country it seemed fitting that I should record some few of the most important things that did not happen at Scheutzen park. So one day I wrote a thrilling tale of how the wife of one of the sharpshooters was carrying her small babe in her arms when a peddler came along with a large cluster of balloons; how the babe entangled its tiny fingers in the many threads; how the peddler unwittingly let go, and how the balloons snatched the little thing from its mother's arms and bore it far

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up into the air out over the lake. Having worked up the readers' sympathy for the distracted mother to a satisfactory point, I proceeded to illustrate the peculiar advantage of rifle practice by telling how the father, with his unerring aim, picked off one balloon after another until the weight of the baby just overbalanced the buoyancy of the remaining ones, and the little chap floated gently down into the arms of a man in a boat.

Some ten years later I was the proprietor of a newspaper 1,000 miles distant from Chicago. My correspondent in that city was a lively young chap, with such a nose for news that my paper often contained information of happenings in Chicago which were utterly overlooked by the press associations, news bureaus and other special correspondents.

One morning at breakfast I was running my eye over my paper, when I came upon a report of the annual scheutzenfest at Chicago, and there, in the midst of it, was my yarn, word for word.

That day I called up my Chicago office by wire.

"Was that story about the baby and the balloons a true one?" I asked.

"Yes," said the correspondent; "I witnessed the incident myself."

"I wish to congratulate you on the excellent manner in which you handled it. It was charmingly written," I said. "Glad you think so," he answered, "but I thought it was pretty bum. I could have done it a whole lot better if I hadn't been so rushed."

I tell this story now merely to illustrate the wisdom of the proverbial remark that truth crushed to earth will rise again.—Brooklyn Eagle.

UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

Printed from the Original MS.

Dear John: Don't you always feel a little warmer towards rich folks than poor? I believe I do. It has always seemed to me that little peccadillos by the oil trust, or coal trust, don't count—boys will be boys, you know,—but that labor ought to be decent and honest and law-abiding. It surprises me yet to see labor a playin' the trust game just like good citizens—a shovin' up the rates, too, like a railroad or a meat trust. Maybe the old man was wrong.

I don't favor trusts yet, John, but I've caught on to this—it's the great distinction to be kep' in mind: Capital goes into combines for more dollars; labor, generally, for the wives and children at home. Both are doing unlawful things; both are dead wrong; but how is labor a goin' to help it, held up on all hands from milk to coffins by the present system of stolen monopolies and special privileges? Capital can'quit combinin' and exist on three per cent.; but labor can't quit and exist—anyway till capital begins it. That's the way it looks to me; and so I have these riots on my hands.

Now what am I a goin' to do? I might clear the streets with artillery. I might stamp out the riots. I might use troops, but America ain't Europe, John, at least I've always, up to now, thought so—and I don't think much of troops. The children are a fightin' but, darn it, John, they are all mine! I can't kill 'em to make 'em behave. How kin I? And it's my fault a lettin' things get into this shape.

It's irksome, I know, and it does make trust capital so blamed mad to see labor—just common labor—a doin' unlawful acts. It feels like fightin' (by proxy) and sheddin' the last drop of imported or soldier blood on the altars of orderly behaviour for common folks; but troops—well, I dunno. There's lots of people a shoutin' for troops that are in no good shape for troops themselves. They'd be the first to see trouble if a civil war should come; and that's what troops may mean where the majority are agin the troops. Of course the shouters mean for the other fellows to get shot, but that notion is catchin'. The proper use for troops, in the spring, is to muster them into the cornfield, before the weeds get too much start; and, John, I've learnt one thing: Troops are the last thing to call for in a civil war. I'd like to yell so all could hear: "Keep it civil, all you with lives or property or hearts—keep a civil war civil!"

Oh, yes, I know the way of managin' mobs of citizens with Cossacks; but it don't work so well with me as in Russia. I mind how they tried the Cossack business in the railway riots in Pittsburg years ago. There was rioting. Labor was excited, the home troops not reliable, and the wise ones imported foreign troops, militia from Harrisburg or somewhere, who would "shoot to kill." Well, they came, lickety split. Got there one morning—trainloads of them. Two regiments unloaded, shiny muskets and bay'nets and white leather straps, ready to make all manner of widows and orphans; and they fired into the mob. It's unlucky for troops to fire into a mob in America because the mob is America; but the most unlucky thing in Pittsburg was that they killed some of 'em. Did you ever stir a hornets' nest? Then you were in Pittsburg that morning.

There was a foolish old French king who said: "The State, I am the State." 'Twasn't so. He was only the vermiform appendix; but the kings did not know it till later. Well, those railway magnates thought that with the State troops behind them they were the State. But what were two thousand men with guns, against fifty thousand mechanics who could make guns, or anything else—trained of eye and hand and the balancing of forces and mad clear through? The killing of comrades was all that was needed. An eye-witness told it to me. They had wanted to shoot before. The mob rushed for guns. They opened fire on the troops from the hills. You know Pittsburg; there are hills all around. Relatives of the slain stood out in the open and picked off the militia with magazine rifles. It grew warm. The militia took refuge in a round-house, and sought protection from bullets in the depression for the locomotives. They were besieged there all day and all night, and the next morning were allowed to escape, and got away and home, the worst scared troops since Bull Run. The moral in strikes is, John: Don't be a fool! Don't shoot! Don't hire any violence, nor do it. There may be a little property destroyed, but the police and the sheriff can look after it best. The troops to the cornfield; the workman to his bench!

UNCLE SAM.

LABOR'S SOLACE.

A portion of a sermon delivered at the Vine St. Congregational church in Cincinnati, May 21, 1905, by Herbert S. Bigelow.

Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.

There is no merited rest without useful labor.

The ploughman goes to the field when the dew is heavy on the grass. All the day long he follows the furrow. The furrow is narrow and the field is wide. Up one side and down the other. One round completed and another begun. The tearing of the sod, the grating of stones, the breathing of the horses, the straining of the harness, the caws of passing crows, the rumble of distant thunder—these are all the sounds he hears as the shadows lengthen and the sun goes down behind the woods.

The man looks at his work and de-

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cides he will make one more round. But, no, he hears the ringing of a bell. The horses know what it means and stop. Then comes the walk up the long lane to the barn, the evening songs of birds, the lowing cattle, the generous meal, the family group on the porch or under the trees, talking of homely matters and not unconscious of the stars.

Then sleep—the sleep of a mind at peace and a tired body. The owl may screech, or the lightning may flash, or the windows rattle with the thunder, but the ploughman hears nothing of it all. In the great commonwealth of labor he has done his part and Nature has said: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest."

Labor is a sacrament. To make labor free, labor for all and for all free labor, that all may know the joy of work and none may wear the yoke of drudgery—this is humanity's noblest prayer.

If none were idle, if none had the power to live by the sweat of another, what health there might be, what flowering of the spirit of man, what beauty of life might grace the multitude!

When wealth is unearned and labor despised and desire vitiated and want a constant dread, humanity, weary and heavy-laden, will find no rest. To mankind the voice of Justice speaks and says: "Your heart is hungry and your soul is without peace. In a hundred ways your life trangresses my law. Come to me. Do justice on the earth. Then your heart-hunger will be satisfied and your soul will find rest."

The yoke of the world is hard. On the stock exchange, on the board of trade, in the lobbies of senate chambers are frantic hands reaching for the glittering gold. To these driven slaves the voice comes: "Take my yoke upon you and learn of me. It is not gold you need, but love."

Even now in Eastern seas, those hostile fleets may have come together and the brains of Buddhists and of Christians may be scattered on opposing decks. Because kings have grudges, or princes itch for guilty glory, or some one covets the lands of another, the wretched peasants are sent to kill each other and mothers weep in Japan and hearts break in Russia without knowing why.

There is another and easier way of life. There are those who do not lust for riches or power. Their lives are filled with the dignity of honest labor. Their friendship is golden. In their silent example is virtue and strength. They do their work. They speak the truth. They pity the sorrowing. They are the friends of peace. They dream of justice and good-will. Their yoke is easy and their burden is light.

THE CANNIBAL AND THE MISSIONARY.

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

For The Public.

ACT II.

The Misisonary: What are you doing, Sam?

The Cannibal: Watching that over there.

M.: What, one of the Hinchokoes again? But what ails him?

S.: Dying, I think.

M.: Sam! Have you—

C.: No, I did not. I never raised a hand against him. I was sitting here when he came up, and all of a sudden a rock fell down from up the cliff side and hit him in the back. I was amused, though, to see the way that rock landed him;—just as pretty as a whistle,—couldn't have done it any better myself. I am awaiting results now, and hoping.

M.: May the Lord have mercy on your soul for such talk. Hurry after some water, Sam. Perhaps we can bring him to, yet.

C.: What's the use? Why not let him die? We didn't kill him. And then we can have the first square meal since you landed here. He would only be a cripple if he did live.

M.: Sam! No more talk about square meals off living beings. Crippled, or not, is of no consequence. The man is endowed with life from God, and if we can revive him and thus prolong his life on earth, we may redeem ourselves with our Lord.

C.: But can't we eat anything that we have not killed ourselves?

M.: No. By eating a being dead from other causes than your own hands you have made yourself a murderer in your heart, and have killed him times without number, with your passion for things to eat.

C.: Does God sit in judgment over our thoughts also.

M.: Aye, verily. It is not your deeds that condemn you, but your thoughts and your motives.

C.: Is it not enough, then, not to kill?

M.: No. "Live and let live," was the law in the olden time. Now the command is, Live and help to live. By so doing will God's will be done. The supreme law of the universe is, Love, love for all created things.

C.: What is love?

M.: Love is the eager abandonment of self in the service of the beloved.

C.: Abandonment of self in the service! And who the beloved?

M.: The entire universe, embracing all created things.

C.: That is great.

M.: It is glorious.

C.: And that includes, of course, your own white people. Are they ever in trouble?

M.: Yes, everlastingly. There is strife without end.

C.: Why don't you help them?

M.: There was a time while I was still a lad that I resolved to enlist in the service of my brethren at home. But when I had prepared myself and the time came for me to enter the field, almost insurmountable difficulties arose. There were so many things I would have to give up, and the work hard and without a future. I then entered the missionary field and do not regret the change. Better here, a thousand times, than in the poor quarters of our large cities.

C. (to himself): Eager abandonment of self in the service of the beloved—It must be that you don't love the white people as well as you do us?

M.: Oh, yes. But I don't know why one should not keep out of trouble and hard work, if possible. And, besides, I am doing some good here.

C.: We were getting along fairly well before you came. Got our three squares a day right along without a hitch.

M.: I have partly succeeded in making one conversion here.

C.: Do you serve the beloved when you avoid them and their troubles?

M.:—No.

C.: Then should we not, to live up to your own glorious teachings, go right out amongst the greatest trouble and abandon our own selves in the service?

M.:—So it would seem.

C.: By so doing will God's will be done.

M. (after a thoughtful silence): Sam, child of God in spite of your errors, listen! I came to teach, yet have I been taught life's first lessons by an intellectual infant. Verily, when my contract is up I shall return to the land of unceasing trouble and consecrate my life to the cause of humanity in distress. Next after life itself the most sacred thing on earth is that true spirit of love that embraces all things, and to preserve it wherever found and to kindle wherever absent shall henceforth be my aim. I have reached the very gates of heaven to-day and heard

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the angels sing. Look, Sam, our man is coming to.

C.: Our redemption!

ANTON S. ROSING.

MUNICIPAL ADVANCES.

Portions of the annual review of the Secretary of the National Municipal League, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, presented at the annual meeting of the League, held in New York, Apr. 25, 1905.

In Cleveland Mayor Johnson has consistently sustained the merit system in the water, police and fire departments, although in the first named there is no legal provision on the subject. He has publicly expressed himself in favor of the extension of the merit system to all city departments as rapidly as he can rally public sentiment to the support of that policy. He does not seem to be willing to risk a defeat of his various other measures of improvement through the immediate and wholesale inauguration of the merit system in the face of the present very weak public sentiment on the subject. He has displayed great courage, however, in his handling of various public questions, and especially in the matter of inaugurating the investigation of a general charge of bribery and corruption which he himself preferred against about one-half of the members of the Council. The situation so far as Council is concerned is somewhat anomalous. It is judge and jury in the case against its members, and has filed a petition in court to enjoin the city solicitor from demanding the production of the books of the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company, whose relations with the councilmen are being investigated.

The election of a Democratic auditor in Cleveland at the same time the city went overwhelmingly Republican, to which reference has already been made in another connection, is simply another manifestation of the growing independent sentiment of Cleveland which two years ago manifested itself in the reelection of Mayor Johnson and of a sufficient number of councilmen to insure the approval of his appointees, notwithstanding the effort of the State Legislature to tie his hands. The significance and courage of Mayor Johnson's investigation of the alleged bribery of councilmen is all the more praiseworthy, because many of the members involved are of the same political faith as himself.

The death of Samuel M. Jones, of Toledo, removes a most remarkable personality. He was a striking force for independent thought and activity along municipal lines. His continuous reelection as mayor of Toledo on a non-partisan independent ticket constituted at once one of the most convincing evidences of his strength with the people and of the independence of the voters of Toledo, an independence which has been manifested in a striking manner since his death, which occurred late last summer.

Chicago has become a municipal laboratory, wherein are being worked some of the most important and far-reaching municipal problems. For ten successive years the Municipal Voters' League has continued its efforts to secure councilmanic reform. Frequent references to its victories have been made in these reviews. As a result of them there is now a substantial majority of honest and efficient aldermen, and the board has just been reorganized on non-partisan lines, just as it has been every year for the last four years. Thoughtful and unbiased observers of the situation have been expecting a reaction against the Municipal Voters' League. Experience in such work tends to show that the voters of a community grow tired of receiving advice year after year from the same body of men. No matter how well founded or how disinterested that advice may be, the public grows restive if offered too frequently or too continuously. . . .

The great significance of the mayoralty election of April 6 last lies in the fact that it hinged solely on municipal issues, and Judge Dunne was elected, not because he was a Democrat, but because he represented in his personality and campaign the wishes of a large majority of the voters of Chicago. For it is an important and significant fact to be borne in mind in considering this particular election, that the percentage of actual votes cast was larger than ever before. I have already commented on the significance of the independence shown by the voters. More important and far-reaching than that is the fact that his election represented a triumph for the principles for which the National Municipal League has always stood, that municipal elections should turn upon municipal issues and should be determined from the standpoint of municipal needs and conditions.

There are numerous side issues which are involved which would well repay study and consideration were the time at our disposal. For instance, Mr. Harlan, the defeated Republican candidate, was greatly handicapped through his whole campaign and especially on the day of election because his past independent course had alienated so many of his party leaders, whereas Judge Dunne on the other hand had been the model of party regularity. The outcome would seem to indicate that while it is imperative that the individual elector should be as free as possible from party affiliations and claims when it comes to the exercise of his municipal suffrage, yet the leaders must have at their back the disciplined army of the regular party voters if they are to be successful in their fight. In other words, the leaders must manifest their independence in other ways than by bolting party nominees. Judge Dunne had on more than one occasion shown his independence, in fact he owed his nomination to the fact that he represented a radical view of party policy in local affairs, but at the same time he had always maintained his party regularity.

CONSCRIPTION.

All the ways are loud with weeping:
  Upward to the sky,
Goes the wail of wives and mothers,
  For the doomed to die.
All the ways are loud with marching:
  Through the land of slaves,
Goes the tramp of sons and husbands,
  Downward to their graves.

Mother, mother, who is moaning,
  Moaning through the night?
'Tis the children who are calling,
  Trembling with affright.
Mother, mother, where is father?
  Now we heard him groan;
And, in dreams, we saw him lying,
  Wounded, and alone.

Children, children, cease your calling:
  Let me weep and pray,
Till the long and weary darkness
  Brings the cruel day.
Children, you have lost your father:
  He was forced afar,
Doomed to die in bloody battle,
  By the coward Czar.

—Bertrand Shadwell, in Chicago Evening Post.

No one can injure a man who refuses to be hurt. You may kill him, but you cannot touch the man in him.—The Whim.

BOOKS

MR. HUNTER'S BOOK ON POVERTY.

In the New York Independent of March 30 there was a contribution by Professor John Bascom under the title, Social Forecast. It was a brief article covering only three pages, but it is fuller of food for thought than many books. Professor Bascom is an old man, nearly eighty. For many years he has been watching the trend of things, and here he makes a forecast. The whole article

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ought to be republished throughout the country. We can give only the close. Thinking of the many divisions in the ranks of those who are opposed to the reign of plutocracy, this wise, honest, noble-hearted prophet closes his review of our social conditions with these words: "Our forecast is that one of those sudden changes, which are sure to arise in times of wide pressure, will combine these forces of resistance, and with them sweep the field for another deal in human rights and one more approach toward the Kingdom of Heaven."

If any such sudden revulsion comes, as is here implied, no man can say that it was without warning. Book after book has been written within the past twenty years to show where we are and whither we are tending. One of these is the recent work on Poverty, by Robert Hunter (Macmillan Co., New York).

Mr. Hunter's book, like many of the books that have been written on social conditions, is of no great value in a constructive way. Its value lies in the facts it tells. The author has lived with his facts and knows whereof he speaks. It is hard to see how anyone can read these facts without becoming convinced, nay without having his whole soul quickened to the thought, that such conditions must be changed. Whether the change shall be gradual and peaceful, or whether it shall be sudden, who can tell? But come it must: and the dividing line must soon fall conclusively between those who are to wish and work for the coming of better things, and those who are satisfied to sit at ease with things as they are.

Mr. Hunter gives so many heart-rending facts that quoting only a few seems hardly worth while. It is the cumulation that shows the pathetic defects of our boasted civilization. This is what the average citizen, who reads his morning paper and dives into his personal business, thinks little of. He may be a lawyer paying an office-boy three dollars a week, sixty cents of which go for carfare. He may be a merchant with half-a-dozen litle cash boys. He does not take in what it means that there are over 1,700,000 children wage-earners in these prosperous United States under fifteen years of age, and that the large majority of these work long hours under the most unfavorable conditions. "We should never forget," says the author, "one sight of a hundred of these little ones if they were marched out of the mills, mines, and factories before our eyes, or if we saw them together toiling for ten or twelve hours a day for a pittance of wage." It is because most of us do not see such cumulative evidences face to face that this book is of value in opening our eyes to the awful facts:

The author calls attention to the pitiful conditions of child labor in the cotton factories of the South, but adds that there are abundant examples of child slavery of the worst kind in almost every section of the Union. "In the mining district of Pennsylvania," he says "children labor under conditions which are, if possible, even more injurious to them than the child labor of the cotton-mills is to the children of the South." His whole fifth chapter on the child ought to be read by every citizen in America who feels proud of our present advancement in civilization and humanity.

Some of the most startling statements naturally come from New York city, as, for example, that "in the year 1903, 60,463 families in the borough of Manhattan were evicted from their homes.' Or this, that "one in every ten persons who die in New York is buried at public expense in Potter's Field'—in spite of the fact which Mr. Hunter states, that "every one familiar with the poor knows how desperately they struggle to give a decent burial to their dead."

When we read such statements the question naturally comes, Is all this poverty—which is unquestionably on the increase—is it necessary? Mr. Hunter gives as his conclusion that it is not. "It is due," he claims, "in no small degree to certain social evils which must be remedied and certain social wrongs which must be put right." In this book he is not clear as to what these social evils and wrongs are, but it is much that such a practical worker, as he has been, should boldly say this. Many such workers have not advanced beyond the stage of the soup-house and wood-yard.

One incidental sentence of his is perhaps the most pregnant in the whole book. He is speaking of Poor Laws, and not of causes and remedies, but does he not hint a great truth? "In the early days of this country," he says, "when the pauper was himself largely responsible for his own misery or degradation, because then, if ever, equal opportunities existed for all men, the same system prevailed which exists to-day, when but few men can be held entirely responsible for their own misery." He here recognizes a great change between the early days and now in respect to opportunities, a change so great that it shifts, he confesses, the main burden of responsibility for poverty from the individual to the community, and yet nowhere in his book does he develop this most important theme.

However, he has done a great service, and we need not enter into controversy because he has not covered the whole ground. Much less do we feel disposed to criticize certain evidences of hasty writing. It is enough that his style is clear and earnest, and all the stronger for being free from a spirit of exaggeration. May his words, with all their weighty import, reach far and wide.

J. H. DILLARD.

PRESIDENT ELIOT'S SIGNIFICANT STORY.

As the first volume of a series of "True American Types" the American Unitarian Association (Boston) offers Charles W. Eliot's Century Magazine story of John Gilley, Maine Farmer and Fisherman. It is a true story of an interesting type and simply told. President Eliot has not omitted a very impressive moral in the life of his New England hero. During all the hard-working years of this usefully industrious and thrifty man's life he was unable to make himself and his family secure against want. But when his farm site came into demand for summering purposes, it increased in value fifty fold, thereby yielding to the owner without useful labor a degree of comfort and security against poverty which all his long years of industry and thrift had failed to give him. Of course, President Eliot does not label this significant economic contrast as a moral: his story is too good a work of art for that, and indeed it is a gem; but that he was blind to it is not probable and only barely possible.

L. F. P.

PAMPHLETS

The McMillan company is one whose books show most excellent proof-reading, and good taste in type and style. The house has recently issued a helpful pamphlet entitled: "Notes for the Guidance of Authors," which may be commended to writers. There is nothing of novelty in it, but it contains certain elementary rules which will doubtless be helpful to many. Some convention is necessary in writing, as in other things, and this pamphlet gives the correct thing for 25 cents.—J. H. D.

PERIODICALS

A writer in Watson's Magazine for May contributes a brief Character Study of Byron and Burns. She says: "The work of both men was revolutionizing in its effects. Burns found his countrymen in bondage to the fear of wraiths, hobgoblins and kindred spirits, and he was a mighty power in their deliverance. Taine estimates that he was as great a force in Scotland as the revolution in France." It is strange, while the writer is thinking of revolutionary effects, that she should have limited these effects in Burns to ridding people from the fear of hobgoblins. Like most writers, she ignores what, next to the poet's many loves, was his most absorbing passion, namely, hatred of social injustice and of the inequalities it produced.—J. H. D.

The Nation, apropos of the opening of Spring sports in colleges, gives forth a characteristic editorial, which begins its satire with the title: "Handing on the Torch." Speaking of the former days of darkness the editor says: "Fathers had not begun to understand that athletics were the chief thing, and studies

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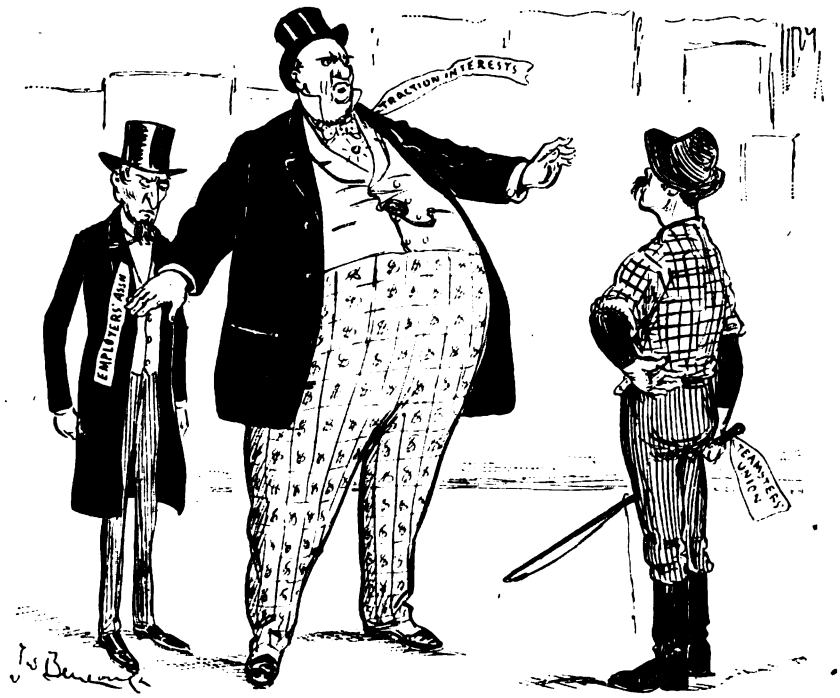

THE PLUTOCRATIC GAME.

"What! Arbitrate? Settle the strike? Not much! We got it up to discredit Dunne and his administration, and you don't suppose we want to fail in our object? On with the fight! A little rioting, with a certain amount of murder and destruction of property's the very thing we want!"

a mere elegant diversion; professors were often steeped in the same ignorance; and even undergraduates, in order to humor the powers that be, pretended to be busy with their books. But, thank Heaven! we no longer compel ingenuous youth to sear their consciences with hypocrisy. We have discovered the true function of the college in modern civilization, and we avow our convictions frankly." It is fair to the editor to say that it is not a manly type of athletics which he is satirizing.—J. H. D.

First Things First is the attractive title to an article in the April number of the Westminster Review. The author argues with great force that the Free Traders are only partly right in standing pat, and that the Protectionists are all wrong in their remedy. "So, then," he says, "a plague on both your houses, and all your useless discussions—leave off, and let us turn to some living problem. This land question, for instance. We find that if English land were properly portioned and gardened we could grow food enough in quantity and variety to make three-fourths of our foreign imports unnecessary—the remainder would not be worth quarreling about. That is a question to discuss, and worth discussing. There's your Fiscal question superseded, if not solved. Why do we stay trifling with trivialities?"—J. H. D.

Half the people who use the word Socialism have but a vague idea of the word or what they mean by it. To a majority of those who use it, the word is merely an expression of protest against things as they are. This is evidently the case with the author of the article in the New York Independent entitled, Why I returned to the Ministry. But the article is worth reading as giving the author's point of view, that one may be able, at the present stage of the game, to serve a cause better indirectly than directly. In the same number of the Independent the leading editorial sounds a note somewhat out of harmony with the liberal stand of this periodical. It is entitled Mob Rule in Chicago, and is a partisan statement in spite of its truths. As a wise reader cleverly said of it, "You can not easily answer a single sentence, yet you feel that the whole is wrong."—J. H. D.

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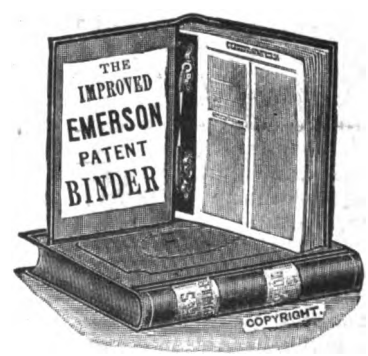

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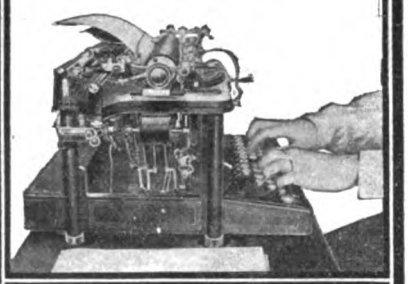

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