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When the late Henry D. Lloyd induced the Chicago Federation of Labor to call upon its delegates and other citizens to attend the meetings of the city council (p. 394) for the purpose of watching the behavior of that body in connection with pending negotiations for extending the franchises of the street car corporations, most of the local newspapers—those under the influence of franchise grabbers—denounced the proposal as an attempt to coerce councilmen by intimidation.

There was no such design, nor did the outcome lend any color to the suspicions of the newspapers. On the contrary the response to this call which Mr. Lloyd had inspired was of a character that would have gratified him had he been alive, and that should gratify every good citizen. In the gallery of the council chamber on the 28th there gathered a large crowd of the kind of citizens who are not easily fooled and whose rights cannot be lightly trifled with. The crowd was orderly and quiet throughout the entire proceedings. It was there to watch, not to disturb. If every council meeting were under the surveillance of such a body of spectators it would be a good thing for city government; and it is sincerely to be hoped that Chicago citizens of the same type will make it their special business to be in the council room gallery every Monday night henceforth, at least until the traction question is settled, and to observe the impressive and

effective decorum which characterized the crowd that gathered there last Monday night.

So far from being coercive of any councilman, this manifestation of good citizenship is necessary for the encouragement of councilmen who mean well but are in fear of the secret methods of coercion which rich and respectable "grafters" and their subservient newspapers are resorting to in behalf of traction interests. Confronted as such councilmen are by this secret but powerful coercion, they can hardly be blamed for neglecting their pledges to the people, if the people exhibit no disposition to encourage them. While the presence in the council room gallery of a large body of sane citizens opposed to franchise "grafting" cannot intimidate a single "boodler" who supports the corporations for pay, nor a single Hamiltonian who supports them because he does not trust the people, it can encourage councilmen who shrink from the dangerous task of defying the coercion of the corporations. The people of Chicago should leave no honest and really democratic councilman to fight their battles in the council chamber alone. They should bring to the support of every pledged but timid member all the encouragement which their presence in the gallery is capable of giving.

That it is no light matter for councilmen to defy the Chicago corporations is observed by Lincoln Steffens in his able and for the most part admirable article on Chicago in the October McClure's. In telling of the partial renovation of the council accomplished by the Municipal Voters' League, Mr. Steffens explains how the "business men" of Chicago

like it. "They don't like it at all," he says, and then tells why:

I spent one whole forenoon calling on the presidents of banks, great business men, and financiers interested in public utility companies. With all the evidence I had in other places that these men are the chief source of corruption, I was unprepared for the sensation of that day. Those financial leaders of Chicago were "mad." All but one of them became so enraged as they talked that they could not behave decently. They rose up, purple in the face, and cursed reform. They said it had hurt business; it had hurt the town. "Anarchy," they called it; "socialism." They named corporations that had left the city; they named others that had planned to come there and had gone elsewhere. They offered me facts and figures to prove that the city was damaged. "But isn't the reform council honest?" I asked. "Honest! Yes, but—oh, h—!" "And do you realize that all you say means that you regret the passing of boodle and would prefer to have back the old corrupt council?" That brought a curse or a shrewd smile or a cynical laugh, but that they regretted the passing of the boodle regime is the fact, bitter, astonishing,—but natural enough.

That being the attitude of the "presidents of banks, great business men, and financiers interested in public utility companies," encouraged as they are in subtle ways by the most respectable newspapers of the city, how long before "the old corrupt council" will come back again—and without waiting for a new election, either—if the masses of the people themselves do not openly encourage councilmen to stand firm to their pledges?

Indeed, it is not necessary that vulgar "boodling" should be resumed in order to place the city, as completely as vulgar boodling itself could do it, at the mercy of the "presidents of banks, great business men, and financiers interested in public utility companies." Many of the reform councilmen, personally honest men (as personal honesty goes) are Hamiltonians in political principle and

"financiers" in class association. As Hamiltonians they are on principle opposed to allowing the city to perform any functions that can be farmed out; and as "financiers" they are hungry for investments, strenuous for the sanctity of investments, and fearful of anything which may "hurt the town" and thereby contract investments. In their latter character they personify in a small way the sentiment of John Randolph of Roanoke, when he said that there is nothing more timid than a million dollars except two million.

Besides those dangerous elements in the Chicago council—the elements of vulgar "boodle" and of respectable financiering "graft,"—which could not probably be influenced by the attendance of honest and indignant citizens in large numbers at the council meetings during the present critical period of the traction question, there is the element of mental indolence unstirred by any perception of civic ideals. To what extent this affects the aldermanic members of the council, only the result can reveal. Even that may not reveal it, for there are times when the "boodler" and the lazy alderman are on the same side and no one can tell which one gets the bribe and which is honest but lazy. Although there is no light on this point as to the aldermen, Mr. Steffens has thrown out a ray or two as to the Mayor. In the same article in McClure's he says of Mayor Harrison:

He is an honest man personally, but indolent; a shrewd politician, and a character with reserve power, but he has no initial energy. Without ideals he does only what is demanded of him. He does not seem to know wrong is wrong, till he is taught; nor to care, till criticism arouses his political sense of popular requirement. That sense is keen, but think of it: Every time Chicago wants to go ahead a foot it has first to push its mayor up inch by inch.

Whether this is a correct description of Mayor Harrison's character or not, it doubtless describes the character of more than one alderman. Such officials need to be aroused from their indolence and inspired with civic ideals to a de-

gree sufficient at least to assure their active opposition to the traction plans which certain robust Hamiltonian leaders and "business men" both within and without the Chicago city council are now cooking up with the traction companies and Judge Grosscup's receivers (p. 248). These are the men that can be encouraged, by a regular and orderly attendance of good citizens at the council meetings, to redeem their pre-election pledges.

What are those pledges? They are pledges to do precisely the reverse of what the traction ring is arranging to do. The ring is arranging to defer municipal ownership of the Chicago street car systems by secret negotiations for franchise extensions; the council (all the aldermen of both political parties and the Mayor) are pledged to secure municipal ownership at the earliest practicable moment—immediately if possible. That this reform is possible immediately, we shall show farther on. For the present we stop to prove the pledges and to justify the suspicion that there are plans on foot to repudiate them.

At the municipal election in Chicago in April, 1902, the people voted on the question of municipal ownership of the street car systems. The vote was taken under a "public policy" law, which is peculiar to Illinois. It provides for a referendum, not mandatory but advisory. On this question the vote stood (vol. v, p. 11) 142,826 in the affirmative and only 27,998 in the negative. At the next municipal election both parties were consequently well disposed toward the municipal ownership idea, although the Republican convention of March 7, 1903, disclosed marked indications of corporation influence. Yet it did declare (vol. v, p. 775) for what its representatives are now trying to dodge, namely:

Immediate enabling legislation giving to Chicago the power and authority to own and operate street railways and other public utilities.

The platform of the Democratic convention, held March 16, 1903, (vol. v, p. 791) appeared to be free from corporation influence. It declared:

We insist that it is more important that the traction question be settled right than that it be settled speedily.

It also demanded—

the passage by the legislature of a municipal ownership enabling act, this to be an absolute prerequisite to any consideration of the traction question.

Also—

The reference of all proposed extension ordinances to a vote of the people for their sanction and indorsement.

Also—

provision for municipal ownership at the earliest possible date.

Moreover Mayor Harrison issued a public statement (p. 6) upon his reelection in which he said:

I am willing to take up the settlement of the traction question at any time. It must be understood in advance, however, that no ordinance is to be passed until the legislature has given Chicago the right to own and operate street car lines.

It is obvious that the intention of these pledges was to assure the people of Chicago that there should be no extension of franchises—not even a consideration of the question of extensions—until an enabling act empowering the city to provide for municipal ownership had become law in Chicago.

But no such act is law in Chicago yet; and unless appearances are deceptive the city council intends to extend the street car franchises before any such act can become law in Chicago. The apparent purpose is to extend the franchises pursuant to the old laws, which have no provision for municipal ownership. This is the fraud that seems about to be practiced upon the people in the interest of "presidents of banks, great business men, and financiers interested in public utility companies."

True enough, the legislature has enacted a municipal ownership enabling act. It is known as the Mueller act. Both candidates for mayor insisted upon its enactment, and large committees went

to Springfield to urge it. It was finally passed as the result of a riot (pp. 59, 97) in the lower House of the legislature. But this act contains the following clause:

This act shall not be in force in any city until the question of its adoption in such city shall first have been submitted to the electors of such city, and approved by a majority of those voting thereon.

Consequently the Mueller act is not law in Chicago; for no popular vote has yet been taken. Nor can that be done until the city council orders the submission of the act to popular vote. The question of municipal ownership in Chicago is therefore in precisely the same condition as if the Mueller law had never been enacted by the legislature. Until the city council orders this law to be submitted to the people of Chicago all the party and personal pledges remain unredeemed; and if the council should extend the corporation franchises before the people of Chicago vote upon the adoption of the Mueller act, those pledges will have been plainly repudiated.

That repudiation is designed may be fairly inferred from several facts. A petition to submit the Mueller law to popular vote was presented to the city council several months ago. The council referred it to the committee which is negotiating with the corporations for an extension of franchises, and that committee has pigeon-holed it. It was ordered to report back in two weeks; over three months have elapsed, but it has done nothing. Why that delay?

Consider the next fact: While disregarding its instructions as to the Mueller act, this committee has practically completed negotiations with the traction corporations for an extension of franchises—so, at least, one of its members is reported as saying. But the proposed extension ordinance is withheld from inspection. The whole subject is enveloped in secrecy by the very committee which has pigeon-holed the petition for giving legal vitality in

Chicago to the Mueller act. The reasonable suspicion consequently arises, that the council is being used by what Lincoln Steffens calls "the presidents of banks, great business men, and financiers of public utility companies,"—used by them to extend corporation franchises before the Mueller act becomes operative, thereby evading its provisions and violating the spirit if not the very letter of all pre-election pledges.

But "of what avail would the Mueller act be if it were made a law in Chicago before franchises are extended?" "The franchises would have to be extended anyhow, for municipal ownership would be impossible for years, even if the Mueller act were adopted forthwith." Such is the substance of the explanations that official triflers are advancing for their purposed perfidy. These explanations rest upon the notion that litigation over the 99-year franchise (p. 195) would stave off municipal ownership—the extraordinary proceedings before Judge Grosscup being referred to as an instance of the obstacles to early municipal ownership. The fact is, however, that all those obstacles would melt away at once if the Mueller act were adopted. Not only is this the fact, but there are reasonable grounds for suspecting that the multifarious representatives of and apologists for the traction interests, both within and without the city council, know it to be the fact.

Our reasons for saying that all obstacles to immediate municipal ownership in Chicago would melt away if the Mueller act were adopted, refer both to legal and to financial obstacles—to the only objections that are urged. As to financial obstacles, the Mueller act makes sufficient provision for overcoming them. It would allow the city to issue "street railway certificates," amply secured, to the full cost of the property, with ten per cent. added for working capital. As to legal obstacles, the power to condemn, which the

Mueller act would give, disposes of them all—the 99-year franchise included. If the Mueller act were in force in Chicago to-day, condemnation proceedings against the traction companies could begin to-morrow; and under a procedure which the monopoly corporations themselves have built up, the whole street railroad system could be lawfully acquired and put in operation under municipal ownership, probably before another year had run its course. This is the opinion of Charles L. Bonney, a leading Chicago expert in traction law; and his opinion is confirmed by other prominent Chicago lawyers. All that is needed as the first of three steps is the submission by the city council of the Mueller act to the people. The second step would be its adoption. Condemnation proceedings would be the third.

Mayor Harrison is reported as saying that it makes no difference whether the Mueller act is adopted before an extension of old franchises or not. The reason he gives is that the powers under the Mueller act can be availed of in behalf of municipal ownership by the retroactive clause of the act, which reads:

If the city council in any city shall incorporate in any grant to a private company of the right to construct or operate street railways, a provision reserving to such city the right to take over such street railways at or before the expiration of the grant, in case the people of such city shall later adopt this act as herein provided, such provision shall be as valid and effective for all purposes, in case such city shall later adopt this act as herein provided as if the said provision were made a part of such grant after the adoption by the city.

If Mayor Harrison is correctly reported, he would appear to be endeavoring to justify Mr. Steffens's picturesque estimate of him. True enough, the city might take over the street car systems even if the Mueller act were not adopted until after franchises had been extended, provided a reservation to that effect were made in the extension ordinance. But not so if no reservation were made. Not so in any manner other than as

provided in the contract of reservation. Not so upon any better terms than those of the reservation, however onerous. On the other hand, if the Mueller act were adopted before the granting of franchise extensions, the property of the companies could be condemned by regular condemnation proceedings, its value being determined not by secret contract with a councilmanic committee but by fair assessment by a jury. Does not Mayor Harrison realize that there is suspicious method in this mad hurry scurry to rush through franchise extensions before submitting the Mueller act to the people? A later interview indicates that he does. In this he is reported as saying:

The law provides that it may be voted on for adoption at any general or special election. That means that if there is a general or special election, on that day the law may also be voted on. There is no general or special election until next Spring. I think it likely the bill must be submitted at the Spring election before a franchise extension ordinance can be passed, judging from present indications.

Gov. Cummins, of Iowa, has given the Republican party a new "Iowa Idea." Driven by the national bosses of his party to abandon his attack upon the sacred tariff as a "shelter for monopoly," he now comes to the defense of the tariff with this extraordinary doctrine:

The chief purpose of government is to prevent natural consequences and to restrain the operation of natural law. Free commerce is no more sacred than freebooting or free killing.

One noticeable thing about this idea of government is its conformity with the idea of the anarchists. They also hold that "the chief purpose of government is to prevent natural consequences and to restrain the operation of natural law." They differ from Gov. Cummins only in the application of their common doctrine. Because they regard that as the chief purpose of government, they object to government; they believe in natural law. But Gov. Cummins, for the same reason, approves of govern-

ment; he does not believe in natural law. If Gov. Cummins isn't making fun of protection, any well-balanced man must prefer the anarchist idea of government to his. For if the chief purpose of government really is to restrain the operation of natural law, so much the worse for government and not so much the better for tariffs.

Mrs. Stuyvesant Fish, one of the aristocracy of our world-power republic, is a thoroughly likable woman, she is so delightfully candid. Most of her set pretend; she does not. She is an aristocrat and knows it; her country is developing classes, and she knows that; and believing it all to be a good thing, she frankly says so. Would that the rest of her class would declare themselves as candidly as did Mrs. Fish the other day when she said to a Chicago Tribune correspondent at St. Louis:

I do not believe in equality; it would never do. We are coming more and more to have an aristocracy and a common people. I do not believe in being too democratic. Europe is older than we, and she cannot get along without the different classes.

A REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE AND THE SINGLE TAX.

Mr. Myron T. Herrick, the Republican candidate for governor of Ohio, has raised the single tax question in his campaign in that State, doing so upon no better basis than the fact that his adversary is a well-known believer in single tax principles.

In fact, the single tax question is not at issue in Ohio. If Mr. Johnson instead of Mr. Herrick were elected governor, the single tax policy could not be adopted. The single tax policy cannot be adopted in Ohio without a single tax amendment to the State constitution, and that cannot be accomplished without a direct vote by the people.

But, issue or no issue, Mr. Herrick raises the question. He makes no argument in support of his assertions. To do that would fall beneath the dignity of a candidate whose object seems to be not to discuss public questions but to appeal to what he supposes to

be public prejudices. Since Mr. Herrick has gone thus far, however, it is proper to meet his assertions, leaving him to defend them or to hold his peace as may seem the more discreet to himself.

As Mr. Herrick read his speech from a manuscript, which has been published in full, we are able to reproduce his very words. He read this manuscript at the opening meeting of the Republican campaign on the 19th of September, at Chillicothe, and we take his words from the verbatim reproduction of that manuscript in the Cleveland Plain Dealer of September 20, as follows:

The only issue between the parties this year, having reference to taxation, is whether taxes raised for the maintenance of the State and its counties and municipalities, shall be raised in accord with methods long approved, not only in the State of Ohio, but in the other States of the Union, and whether we shall make such improvements by legislation, as experience has taught us can be safely made for the benefit of all citizens of the State, or whether we shall discard all recognized proper methods of taxation and adopt the methods based upon the speculative theories of Henry George and his followers. It is fair to discuss single tax, because the leader of the present Ohio Democracy has declared for it, and is supported on the stump by recognized exponents of that doctrine. I cannot resist calling public attention, in brief, to the fact that such a tax is objectionable to all classes, because it abolishes all plans of established revenue service; it prevents the assessment of desirable excise; it cannot be equitably assessed; it threatens free institutions; it cuts off the possibility of taxing trusts and corporations; it is unjust and not universal; it puts the whole burden of revenue on the few, and not equally; it makes the farmer and the home-owner overpay, and the dangerous forms of wealth escape; it would not remove a single hardship, it would not relieve the poor, would not reach the so-called monopolistic class, and, above all, has been a disastrous failure in the only instances of experience. Contemplating what we have, we can ill afford to sanction, even by the inference of indorsement, Ohio's commendation of such a peril.

Let us arrange Mr. Herrick's points of objection to the single tax in such manner as to make each stand out in full relief. He denounces this method of taxation as objectionable to all classes, because—

1. It abolishes all plans of established revenue service;

2. It prevents the assessment of desirable excise;
3. It cannot be equitably assessed;
4. It threatens free institutions;
5. It cuts off the possibility of taxing trusts and corporations;
6. It is unjust and not universal;
7. It puts the whole burden of revenue on the few, and not equally;
8. It makes the farmer and the home owner overpay;
9. It would allow the dangerous forms of wealth to escape;
10. It would not remove a single hardship;
11. It would not relieve the poor;
12. It would not reach the so-called monopolistic class;
13. Above all, it has been a disastrous failure in the only instance of experience.

It is impossible here to consider these thirteen objections except in brief. But we shall reply to each with somewhat more fullness than Mr. Herrick has devoted to their presentation.

The single tax "abolishes all plans of established revenue service." This is Mr. Herrick's first objection.

To understand him we must know, what he has neglected to state, precisely what the single tax plan proposes. It is a plan to abolish all taxes on industry, and to derive public revenues from taxes levied on land owners in proportion to the salable value of their land exclusive of the value of improvements.

To progress to this end single taxers urge the abolition of personal property taxes. But that would leave land and improvements still to be taxed according to the "plans of established revenue service."

But single taxers go farther. They would also abolish all taxes on landed improvements. Nevertheless, that would leave land to be taxed according to the "plans of established revenue service."

Further yet, single taxers would abolish all indirect taxes—those that people pay in higher prices for the goods they buy. But all this would still leave the land to be taxed according to the "plans of established revenue service."

If, therefore, the single tax would abolish all plans of established revenue service, as Mr. Herrick asserts, it remains for him to explain how it would do so.

Mr. Herrick's second objection is that the single tax "prevents the assessment of desirable excise."

By "desirable excise," Mr. Herrick probably intended to include liquor licenses, although he mentioned only the Ohio excise on railroad incomes. Whether the single tax would do away with excises of either kind would depend altogether upon whether the excise was levied for revenue or for regulation. With respect to liquor taxes, if the liquor traffic is a good thing the single tax would indeed free it from taxation; but the single tax would not free this traffic from prohibition or police regulation whether directly or by excise. A tax on dogs, for illustration, if intended to lessen the number of objectionable dogs in a community, would not necessarily be inconsistent with single tax principles; but a tax on houses for the purpose of obstructing desirable house building would be.

As to the Ohio excise on railroads, it really falls, in the long run, upon railroad patrons and not upon railroads themselves. For railroad charges are matters of legal regulation, and if railroads can pay an excise on their gross receipts it is because the law allows them to charge their patrons excessively.

However, no "desirable excise" would be prevented by the single tax.

For his third objection Mr. Herrick asserts that the single tax "cannot be equitably assessed."

If this means anything it means that land cannot be equitably appraised for taxation.

Why not?

It is equitably appraised in partition and in condemnation proceedings; why can it not be for taxation? It is equitably appraised for buying, selling and leasing; why can it not be for taxation?

Land is simpler of appraisal than any other kind of property; why can it not, then, be more equitably appraised? To appraise

any particular improvement—a house, for instance—experts in the particular line, perhaps in several lines, must be called in. To appraise the contents of a house equitably, numerous kinds of experts must be called in. But any intelligent man in any community can fairly appraise any land in that community, its improvements not being taken into account. In cities, where the single tax would be vastly greater, acre for acre, than anywhere else (outside of exceptionally rich mining regions), appraisements of land for the single tax could be made far more easily and more fairly than appraisements of improvements and personal property, the taxation of which Mr. Herrick advocates.

Why, then, does Mr. Herrick object that the single tax cannot be equitably assessed?

Mr. Herrick's fourth objection to the single tax is that "it threatens free institutions."

On this point a bill of particulars is needed, for the objection challenges all the possibilities of surmise. If Mr. Herrick knows what he means he should state it.

Trusts and corporations next excite Mr. Herrick's solicitude, lest they escape the sharp eye of tax inquisitors. He dreads the single tax because, for a fifth reason, "it cuts off the possibility of taxing trusts and corporations."

Why does he think the single tax would do that? If trusts and corporations own land—city lots, railroad terminals, railroad rights of way, mining rights, or other landed privileges—they would be taxed, by the single tax, in proportion to the salable value of such land. If it had but little value as land, they would not be taxed much; if it had no value as land, they would not be taxed at all; but if it had large value as land, it would have to pay a high tax.

Surely Mr. Herrick knows that the most valuable land holdings in the country belong to the trusts and corporations? Why, then, does he say that the single tax would cut off the possibility of taxing trusts and corporations?

The single tax "is unjust and not universal." That is Mr. Herrick's double-headed sixth point.

But why is the single tax unjust? Is it unjust to tax men in proportion to what the community earns for them instead of taxing them in proportion to what they earn for themselves? If not, then the single tax idea is not unjust.

Every cent of income that any man, any trust, any corporation derives from mere legal power to own land—flows from the public. It is not earned by the owner. The owner could go to bed, or go to Europe, or go to jail, and still draw this part of his income. He does not work for it. It comes to him without any work of his own. More than that, it would increase as the community improved. Here is proof positive that this part of his income flows from the community. No income which depends upon the work of its beneficiary can increase unless he works. But land values do increase, regardless of whether the beneficiary works or not, provided the community improves. Land values, therefore, are the just fund for public revenues. To take private earnings for public revenues, so long as there are land values to tax, is the unjust thing to do.

Then why does Mr. Herrick denounce the single tax as unjust?

Is it because it is not universal? What does he mean by "universal," anyhow? Are we to understand that the single tax is not universal because it does not tax everyone? But it does tax every one who derives financial benefits from the community; and it taxes each in proportion to his financial benefits thus derived. That is the only universality in taxation that is possible, consistently with justice.

If this view is erroneous, Mr. Herrick has yet to explain where the error lies. If it is not erroneous, why does he object to the single tax that it is neither just nor universal?

Seventh in the order of Mr. Herrick's objections is his assertion that the single tax "puts the whole burden of revenue on the few, and not equally."

But the few alluded to here are those who own the very valuable land of the country. And they own it in unequal values.

They did not make the land, nor buy it from any one who did make it. It is a gift of nature—not to a few, but to all. Neither have they given it any of its value—not as land; and such value as they may have added to it by improvements would be exempt under the single tax.

Is it true that people who own these great and valuable privileges—the earth which nature provides, and the value of choice parts of it which the community confers—is it true that these privileges are owned by the few? Mr. Herrick implies that they are, for he says that the burden of the single tax upon those privileges would be borne by the few.

Assuming that he is right—assuming, that is, that the bounties of nature and the values which the community gives to sites upon the earth—assuming, as Mr. Herrick implies, that this common wealth is owned by the few, why should not those few bear the whole burden of revenue? They are the few who have what in justice belongs to all. And why should they not bear it unequally? Their holdings of this common property are of unequal value, ranging from \$15,000,000-an-acre building land in Wall street, down to \$3-an-acre farming land in country places.

Mr. Herrick's eighth objection is that the single tax "makes the farmer and the home owner over-pay."

Is he quite sure? Has he not copied this objection out of a book, without scrutinizing it? Let Mr. Herrick reflect.

What farmer or home owner of the industrial as distinguished from the leisure class, but would be glad to pay the full annual ground value of the little share of earth he monopolizes, if he could thereby secure exemption from taxation on his improvements, on his personal property, and on his purchases at the store? It is a question in simple arithmetic. Any farmer or home-owner can figure out the answer for himself.

We mistrust Mr. Herrick, when he speaks here of farmers and home owners, of having in mind not the farmer who farms farms and the small home owner, but the "farmer who farms farmers" and the home owner who owns

other people's homes—the homes of those who build and build but enter not in.

As his ninth objection, Mr. Herrick urges that the single tax "allows the dangerous forms of wealth to escape" taxation.

No specification being made, we are in doubt as to what Mr. Herrick regards as "the dangerous forms of wealth." We are unable, however, to conceive of any form so dangerous as land monopoly; and this form is precisely what could not escape the single tax.

The single tax "would not remove a single hardship," is the compact argument with which Mr. Herrick elucidates his tenth point.

Let us see.

All manner of real estate improvement would be wholly exempt from taxation. Hence real estate would be improved more than now. The monopolized vacant lot would become the improved lot and the closed down mine an open mine. And as all other industrial operation would be likewise exempt from taxation, all industrial operation would be stimulated. That would act in one way to enhance demand for laborers, thereby increasing wages; in the other way, it would augment the supply and lessen the cost of goods, thereby lessening prices.

This tendency would be accelerated by decline in the price of land. Since all land would be heavily taxed, in proportion to its value, whether used or not, vacant land would seek purchasers on a falling market. Thus still more land would come into use, and the demand for workmen would be still further enhanced while the supply of goods would be still further augmented and their cost lessened, with an intensification of the effect of higher wages and lower prices.

These results alone would remove many a hardship. Why, then, does Mr. Herrick assert that not a single hardship would be removed by the single tax?

Akin to the last objection is the eleventh, namely, that the single tax "would not relieve the poor."

Possibly not. But it would remove the principal obstructions

to their relieving themselves, which, after all, is the thing to be desired.

Mr. Herrick's twelfth objection to the single tax is that it "would not reach the so-called monopolistic class."

That depends upon what Mr. Herrick means by "so-called." But we need not concern ourselves about any "so-called monopolistic class" if we can reach the real monopolistic class.

What class is that?

Can any class be more fundamentally monopolistic than the class that owns all the most valuable sites for industrial activity which the earth affords? We should suppose not. And that class would be reached by the single tax.

We now come to the thirteenth and final objection which Mr. Herrick interposes to the single tax, and the one he places "above all" the others. The single tax, he says, "has been a disastrous failure in the only instances of experience."

It would be interesting to know to what "instances of experience" Mr. Herrick alludes. But he was reticent in his speech and we must glance over the entire field.

Down in Alabama, on Mobile Bay, there is a settlement called Fairhope. Its promoters declare that it is as faithful an experiment in the single tax as the existing laws of Alabama and the United States permit. Whether they are right makes no difference so far as the present point is concerned. The important thing is that if Fairhope is not a single tax experiment it does not come within Mr. Herrick's "instances of experience," and if it is a single tax experiment it is one that has not been "a disastrous failure" but is a very notable success.

Over the seas, in Australasia, there are some fiscal experiments that may be called single tax experiments in a very limited way. We refer to the communities, especially in New Zealand, that have adopted the single tax method of raising their own local revenues. All these experiments are successful. The people of the respective communities refuse to abolish them, and neighboring

communities are adopting them.

Beyond this we know of no single tax experiments, nor of anything that can with any approach to fairness be called a single tax experiment, with the possible exception of the German land system in China which is regarded as successful thus far.

Mr. Herrick would perform a public service by descending from elusive general assertions to tangible particulars and specifying—

(1) What "instance of experience" in the application of the single tax anywhere in the world, at any time in history, has been "a disastrous failure."

(2) Why he regards it as a single tax instance.

(3) Why, in his opinion, it has failed.

These explanations ought to be easy to furnish if Mr. Herrick's very general assertion has any basis in his own mind.

Mr. Herrick has apparently thrown together a collection of college boy objections to the single tax. This appearance, however, may be deceptive. Possibly he really understands the single tax and in his speech was laying down thirteen propositions against it which he is prepared to maintain. If that is the truth of the matter, he owes it to his reputation for personal intelligence and fair dealing to defend his position. As his statement stands it is erroneous in many of its assertions of fact and fallacious in most of its conclusions.

HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD.

Among the names that have come to be familiar in the English speaking world in connection with the industrial questions of recent years, is that of Henry Demarest Lloyd, who died suddenly of pneumonia on the 28th at Chicago. His fame was most general, perhaps, as the author of "Wealth Against Commonwealth," an exposure of the development of the Standard Oil trust, which, published many years ago, is still the standard work on that subject.

But Mr. Lloyd was not a man of one book nor of one act of public service. Among his other contributions to industrial literature

are two books on labor conditions in Australasia (vol. iii, p. 629)—"Newest England" and "A Country Without Strikes." They are pioneer books about the pioneer experiments in economics of a pioneer country; and with due regard for Mr. Lloyd's economic point of view, no one can seriously criticize them. Even his adversaries in economic and industrial controversy must appreciate their value and acknowledge the ability and fidelity of their author.

Mr. Lloyd distinguished himself in another way last Winter as the professional associate of Clarence S. Darrow in the legal work for the anthracite coal miners before the arbitration commission. With sometimes more distinction and sometimes less, he has frequently responded as writer and lawyer and speaker to the calls of labor organizations. Although a man of large means, his sympathies and service were at the command of the disinherited workers. It was not as a dole-out of charity, not as a sympathizer with individual suffering merely, that he approached the working classes; it was as a man who realized that men like himself are victims of industrial conditions which neither he nor they could control but against which it was the duty of both to fight.

It was in this spirit that Mr. Lloyd entered upon the struggle for municipal ownership of the Chicago street car systems, as the adviser and the leader in that connection of the Chicago Federation of Labor. This was the impulse that spurred him on in the work that cost his life at the very moment when his leadership seemed most to be needed.

The trend of Mr. Lloyd's economic philosophy was socialistic. That was the direction in which his democratic impulses carried him, although he was not especially identified with organizations or movements distinctively allied with or representing socialism. But in whatever light socialism may be regarded, no one could know Mr. Lloyd with any degree of intimacy without realizing that the goal he sought, whether or not the direction he took seemed to others mistaken, was a democratic state of society. He was one of those rare men who

follow their convictions rather than their interests. His integrity commanded respect while his enthusiasm inspired affection.

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, Oct. 1.

The Chicago traction question (p. 394) was the occasion of a mass meeting on the 27th in Handel Hall, at which the principal speakers were Mayor Jones, of Toledo, and Negley G. Cochran, editor of the Toledo News-Bee. William Prentiss presided. Among the local speakers was Charles L. Bonney, one of the legal experts in traction matters in Chicago. Mr. Bonney explained to the audience that if the Mueller act (p. 102) were accepted by the people of Chicago, so as to become law there, the city would have full legal power to enter at once upon the municipal ownership and operation of the street car system by condemning the existing systems to public use. In this connection he cited decisions of the Supreme Courts of the State and of the United States to show that if the jury in condemnation proceedings were to assess the value of the 99-years franchise (p. 195) at one dollar or one cent, such valuation would be conclusive.

On the following night, September 28th, representatives from the Handel Hall meeting and from the Federation of Labor, the Turnverein, and the Delegate Municipal Ownership convention were in attendance at the meeting of the city council with an immense popular petition favoring the postponement of all extensions of street car franchises until after the adoption of the Mueller act, and demanding the submission of that act to popular vote. The council-room gallery was crowded with a large and quiet audience drawn out by the call (p. 394) of the Federation of Labor.

No action was taken, however, either by the city council or the civic organizations in attendance upon it. The leader of the movement had been Henry D. Lloyd, and Mr. Lloyd was to have brought the petition to the attention of

the council. His death in the morning of the 28th necessitated delay. The probability is that Mr. Prentiss will be requested to act in Mr. Lloyd's place to promote the movement, and that some action will be taken in the matter at the council meeting of the 5th.

Henry Demarest Lloyd, whose death is mentioned above, was born at Belleville, N. J., near Newark, May 1, 1847. He acquired his education in New York city, where he was admitted to the bar in 1869. In the early '70's he was secretary of the American Free Trade League, a position which he resigned upon coming to Chicago in 1872. For several years thereafter Mr. Lloyd served on the staff of the Chicago Tribune in the positions successively of night city editor, financial editor and editorial writer. Subsequently he wrote "Wealth Against Commonwealth," intending it as a mine of facts relative to American monopolies, the truth of which could be absolutely relied upon because drawn from incontestable sources. His later books were "Newest England" and "A Country Without Strikes," both having to do with Australasia, where the author personally gathered his materials. Other books of his are "Labor Copartnership" and "A Strike of Millionaires Against Miners." As one of the attorneys for the striking anthracite miners Mr. Lloyd assisted Clarence S. Darrow before the arbitration commission (vol. v, p. 807) last Winter. An enthusiastic believer in municipal ownership, who feared that the Chicago movement in that direction would be diverted if the Mueller act of Illinois were not submitted to popular vote in Chicago, Mr. Lloyd left his summer residence in the East several weeks ago to devote his time and energies to the work of organizing an agitation in Chicago for the adoption of that act. It was while engaged in this work that he invited the illness of which he died. He addressed the Chicago Federation of Labor on the 20th, inducing that body to adopt the resolutions outlined in these columns at page 394, an effort that developed a cold into pneumonia, with which his frail physique could not cope. He died on the 28th. A memorial

meeting is in contemplation. Mr. Lloyd left in manuscript a discussion of the Chicago traction problem, to the preparation of which he had devoted several months with a view to publishing it as a book.

An amazing instance of contempt by the military for civil authority is reported from Colorado in connection with a miners' strike in Teller county. This strike began about the middle of last August. It was called by the Western Federation of Miners in support of the 8-hour day. The Mine Owners Association met the strike by applying to Gov. Peabody for troops, alleging that a large percentage of the men would work if protection were assured. The necessity for troops was denied by the sheriff of the county, who advised the Governor that the only violence reported had been an assault upon one non-union carpenter and a justice by unknown men. But Gov. Peabody acted upon the report of a committee he had sent to investigate. This committee reported as follows:

Having visited Cripple Creek and Victor, and after careful inquiry among representative citizens and property owners, including mayors of Cripple Creek and Victor, we are of the opinion that lives of citizens of the district are in imminent danger, and property and personal rights in jeopardy. Prompt action is imperatively demanded by the above people to protect the lives and property of the citizens. We find that a reign of terror exists in the district which should be relieved at once. We do not believe the civil authorities are able to cope with the situation.

Accordingly on the 4th the Governor ordered out the State troops, but not until the Mine Owners' Association had agreed to pay them.

Immediately upon arriving at the place of alleged disturbance the troops began acting as if martial law were in force and the habeas corpus suspended. They arrested several strikers without warrant, imprisoned them in a military guard house, refused to deliver them to the sheriff, and declined to give any reason for the arrests. Writs of habeas corpus were consequently applied for in behalf of the prisoners, who had by this time been in custody two weeks; and on the 24th the troops

produced the prisoners before Judge Leeds at Cripple Creek. They first invested the court house, however, with 300 armed men, two Gatling guns, and sharpshooters stationed on the roof of every building that commanded this seat of civil justice. In support of the arrests the legal advisers of Gen. Chase argued that although martial law had not been formally declared, it was impliedly in force in consequence of the Governor's command directing the troops to maintain order. The jurisdiction of Judge Leeds in the habeas corpus proceedings was therefore contested. But Judge Leeds decided that martial law was not in force, that the civil courts still had jurisdiction, that the right to the writ of habeas corpus had not been suspended, that the prisoners were unlawfully imprisoned, and that they were entitled to their liberty.

Instead of releasing the prisoners under this decision Gen. Chase ordered them and their military custodians in loud military phrase and in the presence of the court, to fall in and march. The prisoners were then marched out of the court house by the soldiers and back to the military prison, under menacing guns ready to be fired if the court or its officers should attempt to enforce its decree. Judge Leeds had taken notice of the contempt shown by the military for his court by saying, in his opinion in the case:

I cannot close without referring to the military display connected with the hearing of this case. It was offensive to the court, and, in its opinion, unwarranted and unnecessary. Nevertheless, I tolerated it because it was by the National Guard, and if I had insisted upon its withdrawal a conflict would surely have arisen with the entire National Guard of the State upon one side and a mere posse comitatus on the other. The hearing of the case would have been necessarily indefinitely delayed, a great wrong to the prisoner in the denial of the justice to which he was entitled. I trust that there never again will be such an unseemly and unnecessary intrusion of armed soldiers in the halls and about the entrance of American courts of justice. They are intrusions that can only tend to bring this court into contempt and make doubtful the possession of that liberty that is the keynote of American government.

Owing doubtless to the lack of

force at his command, Judge Leeds made no effort to compel obedience to his decision. The moment appears to have been critical, as one of the news dispatches describes it. This dispatch reads:

As the troops started from the room there was a moment of intense anxiety. Every nerve was drawn to the utmost tension as the situation dawned upon the people. A declaration from the court would have led to an outbreak that would have been productive of the bloodiest consequences, but the word failed to come, and the military passed out of the doors and returned to Goldfield, where they have headquarters.

The Governor, however, now took up the matter in person, and on the 25th issued the following military order:

Brigadier General John Chase, commanding First Brigade National Guard Colorado, is hereby directed to comply immediately with the decree of Judge Leeds, district judge, sitting for the Fourth judicial district, Colorado county, and release thereunder the prisoners as commanded.

The prisoners were then liberated.

But these proceedings did not cover the cases of outside workmen, imported by the Mine Owners' Association to take the place of strikers, and who refused. Among these were four Germans imported from Duluth. Upon arriving at Cripple Creek and learning that they had been imported to take strikers' places, they refused to go to work; whereupon the troops arbitrarily arrested them and placed them in the military prison. It was reported by the Associated Press from Denver, on the 25th, that these men had appealed for relief to the German consul.

Still assuming, apparently, that their power is absolute, the troops suppressed a newspaper on the 29th at Victor—the Victor Record—and summarily arrested the editor and manager, the circulator, the foreman and two compositors. This paper is the official organ of the local miners' union, and publishes the official statements of the strike committee. We reproduce the news report of the event from the Chicago Tribune of the 30th:

For a number of days editorials and statements have appeared in the Record

which incensed the military officers, and it was decided to close up the paper and thus do away with this encouragement for the strikers. It is expected by the military that the action will stop the publication of the daily statements issued by the miners in the district. For weeks Editor Kyner has been under surveillance and it was thought at one time that his arrest would be made last week. Because of the late hour at which the arrests were made there were but few people on the streets, and those who saw the newspaper men marching up the street under heavy guard were awed by the martial showing. It is expected some of the prisoners will be released before morning. At midnight they were examined in Gen. Bell's private office. As soon as the working force had been placed under arrest another force of men was secured to print the Record for the morning's issue. A squad of soldiers were sent down from the camps to arrest these men. The doors of the Record office were locked and bolted, and the officer in charge decided not to break in. Gen. Chase says if any defamatory matter appears in the paper he will take action against those who work in the office to-night.

The news dispatches of the Chicago Record-Herald of the 30th tell the story in these terms:

Just before midnight the military under command of Gen. Chase surrounded the office of the Victor Record and demanded the surrender of all the employes who were at work. The same tactics were employed as though actual war was in progress. An orderly entered the office and ordered all hands to line up between files of soldiers preparatory to marching to the famous bull pen that has defied the laws of habeas corpus. . . . And then the word of command was given and the troops marched down the streets. The only excuse for the summary arrest was the fact that for several days articles have been appearing criticising the conduct of the military in making arrests without authority of law or warrants of any kind.

The latest dispatches report that the Record of the 30th was published in spite of the interference of the military, the work having been done under the direction of Mrs. Emma T. Langdon, the wife of one of the arrested compositors. An information charging criminal libel was filed against the military prisoners on the 30th. It was filed in the District Court at Victor at the request of a judge advocate of the military force, who prepared it, and is based on the affidavit of a private soldier of the First regiment of the Colorado National Guard. Informations against military of-

ficers for unwarranted and lawless arrests have also been filed.

After ten days' delay the Republican speaking campaign in Ohio (p. 392) was resumed on the 29th, when two meetings were held at Berlin Heights, near Sandusky. The speakers were Senator Hanna and the Republican candidates for governor and lieutenant governor. As reported by the Chicago Tribune (Republican) of the 30th, Senator Hanna said:

Tom L. Johnson, by appealing to prejudices, by holding up the pictures of those who are unfortunate, and by holding out false hopes to the ambitious, is endeavoring to bring together all elements which are at discord with our principles and with them to serve the purpose of an ambitious and selfish man.

"After cautioning the people that a Democratic victory in Ohio this year or a lessening of the Republican majority would be taken as a token of alarm by business men throughout the country and a forerunner of less prosperous conditions," says the same report, "the Senator took up Johnson and his platform again, saying:"

It is impossible that the American people can be made to approve the teachings of Henry George, or that a Democrat on principle can believe that centralization of power, or fraternalism, belongs to true democracy. The present platform of the Democrats arraigns class against class, the rich against the poor. Under our system of government every man has an equal opportunity with every other man. We invite those to our shores who come filled with this belief, willing to work for their own advancement, but we do not extend the hand of fellowship or invite from foreign shores those who would come to destroy the foundations of our government and teach that every man has the opportunity to get something for nothing. That I call socialism, and closely allied to it is anarchy. If for no other reason, Ohio should turn its back on that teaching because our beloved President was the victim of the damnable heresy.

The Democratic meeting at Logan on the 22d (p. 393) was followed on the 23d by one at Chillicothe, in the Republican county of Ross. The tent was overcrowded, but by removing the sides 6,000 people got within range of the speakers' voices. The speakers were Mayor Johnson and Mr. Clarke. On the 24th Mayor

Johnson spoke to 3,000 in his tent at Waverly, in the Republican county of Pike, in the afternoon; and in the evening to 1,500 (all that could be crowded in) in the opera house at Portsmouth, in the Republican county of Scioto. While Mayor Johnson was at Portsmouth, Mr. Clarke spoke at Ironton, in the Republican county of Lawrence, to the largest audience that has faced a Democratic speaker in that county for years. Leaving Portsmouth in the morning of the 25th on his automobile, Mayor Johnson spoke at Otway, a hamlet in Scioto county, where he addressed an audience of 50; then at Peebles, a village in the Republican county of Adams, where his audience was 600; and then at West Union, the county seat of Adams county, where he spoke to 1,000 from the court house steps. He had been scheduled for Georgetown (Brown county) and then for Bethel, in the Democratic county of Clermont, where his tent was to be—93 miles from his point of departure; but accidents to his automobile compelled him to abandon the Georgetown meeting and delayed him at Bethel till nearly eleven o'clock at night. Yet he found a large audience of villagers and farmers awaiting him at Bethel, to whom he spoke, though briefly. At Middletown, in the Democratic county of Butler, on the 26th, Mayor Johnson addressed a street audience of 1,000; at Trenton, a small village in the same county, he spoke to 50; and at Hamilton, the county seat, his audience in the evening numbered 4,500. He was rejoined here by Mr. Clarke and both spoke.

Mr. Clarke's challenge of Senator Hanna to debate has been declined. Senator Hanna refused to consider it, as originally made, because not made with formality. Thereupon the Democratic chairman, Mr. Salen, formally tendered the challenge to Mr. Dick, the Republican chairman. Mr. Dick's reply was published on the 28th. It is very long and in tone jocular. Mr. Dick says:

I feel it would be unfair to Senator Hanna to ask him to meet Mr. Clarke in a joint discussion until he is advised more fully as to Mr. Clarke's position on the subjects above alluded to, until he learns what particular brand of

Democracy Mr. Clarke claims is his, until he knows whether he is expected to debate with Mr. Clarke the corporation lawyer, or Mr. Clarke the candidate for United States senator.

The phrase "the subjects above alluded to," is a reference to a series of questions in the letter, which may be fairly summarized as follows:

How does Mr. Clarke stand on the tariff? How does he stand on the coinage question? Where does he stand on the war amendments to the Federal constitution? Where does he stand on the Philippine question? Does he side with the Democratic "reorganizers"?

As a prelude to these questions Mr. Dick writes:

There ought to be some such quality as mutuality in a joint discussion. I fear you have overlooked that phase of the case. Let me particularize. Mr. Hanna's party has but one set of principles, while Mr. Clarke's party has a vast assortment of principles, sounding the entire gamut from doctrine to dogma—Democratic, Populistic, Agrarian and Socialistic.

Replying to this declaration Mr. Salen writes to Mr. Dick:

Again, on behalf of Hon. John H. Clarke, I ask you to arrange for a joint discussion between him and Senator Hanna on the political issues of the campaign.

Mr. Salen's indication of what the chief issue is, he states as follows in his letter:

The paramount issue of the senatorial campaign is the public record of Senator M. A. Hanna and his unfitness by reason thereof to be returned to the United States Senate. If you are not aware that Hon. John H. Clarke has attacked his public record and joined issue with the present Senator upon his record, first, in fathering the ship subsidy bill which seeks to take from the people's treasury \$10,000,000 annually and put it into the treasury of the steamship companies; second, in forcing through the legislature the reactionary municipal code, which denies home rule to the cities of the State; and third, in using his official position to secure for himself and associates franchise privileges to the injury of the people—you can get this information by inquiring of Senator Hanna himself.

The root of all evil and the prime cause of all error in human relations is the ignorant and stupid failure to understand the sacrament of human service, and the mistaken notion that such a thing as "money" has any rightful existence apart from the love and service which it represents.—The Straight Edge.

NEWS NOTES.

—The Farmers' Congress was in session on the 24th at Niagara Falls.

—The Inter-State League of Independent Colored Voters is to meet at Columbus, Ohio, on the 26th and 27th of October.

—The Socialist party of Massachusetts met in State convention at Boston on the 28th and nominated John C. Chase for governor.

—Sir Michael Herbert, the British ambassador to the United States, died of quick consumption at Davos-Platz, Switzerland, on the 30th.

—The one hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Chicago, is being celebrated during the current week. The celebration began on the 26th.

—The Socialist Labor party of Massachusetts met in State convention at Boston on the 28th and nominated Thomas F. Brennan for governor.

—The grand jury at Wilmington, Del., decided on the 29th to refuse to indict any of the mob which burned a Negro prisoner at the stake (p. 386) last Summer.

—Returns from the school district elections of Kansas indicate that the women have elected a majority of the members of the country school boards in the 2,000 districts of that State.

—Franklin K. Lane was nominated on the 23d by the Democratic convention of San Francisco for mayor. He was the Democratic candidate for governor of California last year (vol. v, pp. 483; 724).

—At the Republican convention of Colorado, which met at Denver on the 30th, the administration of President Roosevelt was highly commended, but he was not indorsed for the presidential nomination of 1904.

—Representatives of the large Employers' associations of the United States met in secret session at Chicago on the 29th and under the leadership of D. M. Parry organized a national body for the purpose of coping with organized labor.

—The two citizens of Porto Rico who were sentenced to six months' imprisonment at San Juan for speaking with disrespect of the American flag (p. 369), have been released by the District Court, a majority of the judges of which are native Porto Ricans.

—What the news dispatches describe as "another furious decline in the stock market" (p. 313), occurred in Wall street on the 28th. The leading stocks in the decline were the common and the preferred stocks of the Steel trust. This decline followed a "slump" on the 25th.

—At the Henry George Association, Handel hall, Chicago, the following speakers are announced: October 1, at 8, Wallace Rice, on "The Labor Move-

ment in Recent Fiction;" October 4, at 3:30, John Z. White, on the Single Tax; October 8, at 8, Western Starr, on "Government by Injunction."

—The latest Negro lynching was at Lynchburg, Tenn., on the 25th. A mob attacked the jail, overcame the sheriff, George H. Davidson, and seized and shot a Negro prisoner. But the sheriff and his guard succeeded in capturing three of the mob, one of whom made a confession implicating others. The coroner's jury rendered a verdict on the 29th charging 27 men with murder for having participated in the lynching, and 14 of them have been arrested.

PRESS OPINIONS.

A MACEDONIAN CRY.

Chicago Record-Herald (ind. Rep.), Sept. 29.—If the Macedonians only had an American judge handy they might get out an injunction against Turkey.

TOM L. JOHNSON.

(Philadelphia) City and State (ind.), Sept. 17.—"Tom" Johnson has become one of the best abused men of the day. There are newspapers that extract much evident gratification from the practice which runs principally toward denouncing Mr. Johnson as a demagogue, Bryanite, populist and selfish intrigant for personal advancement. Judging the man from his public record—and this is all that City and State has to estimate him by—he has been exceptionally blunt, straight-forward, and honest in his political methods, and his aims have not, apparently, been unworthy. It would be more convincing, where such abuse is dealt out, if the grounds for it were specified.

FREE TRADE.

(West Chicago) Northern Illinois Democrat.—Republican protection, which is indirect taxation, lessens labor's powers to produce by taking a part of the product. Free trade is like free air, free sunshine, freedom. It increases labor's powers to produce by preventing the taking of a part of that production by indirect taxation, and at the same time destroys the power of the trusts to tax the people by abolishing all forms of special privileges through a direct tax on monopoly.

SWEAT-SHOP LAUGHTER.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Sept. 19.—What does such laughter under such circumstances mean? It means that life contains an analogy to the skull that grins. It means that certain of our fellow creatures, leading maimed, inadequate lives, adapt themselves, like animals, to environment. Let that environment continue long enough and they will be subdued by it. Sweatshop girls, laughing in the midst of squalor, tell a tale not only of the irrepressible buoyancy of the human spirit but of the facile, and sometimes fatal, way in which the human spirit adapts itself to circumstances, tolerates their continuance, accepts them as natural, and finally grins through them, seeing nothing beyond.

MONEY SCARCITY.

New York Times (pluto-Dem.), Sept. 14.—On the surface appearances are so much against the banks that Mr. Bryan, for instance, in case he should interest himself in the question, would be able to make a statement to an audience which the most skillful expounder among the bankers would find it exceedingly hard to controvert. An advocate of free silver coinage or government paper money would boldly declare that the banks refile their notes

in order to keep up the money rate; that their professed desire for larger liberty of issue is insincere, their real purpose being to make money scarce and dear. Such a statement would seem preposterous if made to well-informed men, but put in a popular fashion and supported by the facts by which Secretary Shaw justifies his "blacklist" it would be difficult to refute it in a way to carry general conviction.

THE HANNA-CLARKE DEBATE.

Cleveland Plain Dealer (ind.), Sept. 29.—The most significant feature of Chairman Dick's letter of declination is its entirely ignoring everything relating to Ohio affairs. He knows very well that the issue on Mr. Hanna in Ohio is not so much that he is United States Senator, as that it is alleged he has used the political influence that position gives him to shape, not only the politics, but the legislation and municipal affairs of the State to his interests. There is not a line or word in Chairman Dick's letter that touches, directly or indirectly, on Ohio matters, except possibly by inference in the last sentence, which is a most unfortunate one for what it suggests. Chairman Dick says it would be unfair to Senator Hanna to ask him to meet Mr. Clarke in joint debate "until he knows whether he is expected to debate with Mr. Clark the corporation lawyer, or Mr. Clarke the candidate for United States senator." The opening that fling gives Candidate Clarke to attack Candidate Hanna in his most vulnerable part must be clear to everyone. It was the most unfortunate sentence in a singularly injudicious political document.

MISCELLANY

AUSTRALIA.

When will some new Australian poet rise?
To all the height and glory of his theme?
Nor on the sombre side for ever dream—
Our bare baked plains, our pitiless blue
skies,
'Neath which the haggard bushman strains
his eyes
To find some waterhole or hidden stream
To save himself and flocks in want extreme!
This is not all Australia! Let us prize
Our grand inheritance! Had sunny
Greece
More light, more glow, more freedom, or
more mirth?
Ours are wide vistas bathed in purest
air—
Youth's outdoor pleasures, age's indoor
peace—
Where could we find a fairer home on earth
Which we ourselves are free to make more
fair?
—Catherine Helen Spence.

NO RACE DISCRIMINATION.

The Boston Herald calls attention to the freedom of opportunity in which the Negroes of Cambridge, Mass., rejoice. The city bacteriologist is Dr. William C. Lane, a colored physician. Mr. William Henry Lewis, the Harvard football coach, is now assistant district attorney of the United States, after three terms in the city council and one in the legislature. Miss Maria L. Baldwin, the head of the Agassiz school since 1889, has six white teachers and several hundred white children

under her. Horace J. Gray, a real estate broker, has been commander of post 30, G. A. R., a white post, with hardly another Negro in it. Clement G. Morgan, orator of his class at Harvard, has served five terms in the city council and board of aldermen, and was barely defeated for a seat in the legislature. Rev. J. H. Duckery is the colored member of the board of trustees of the public library. As far back as 1870, a colored man, Patrick Henry Raymond, became chief of the Cambridge fire department, in which there was, at that time, no other man of color. A colored policeman has served for 19 years without ever receiving a reprimand or punishment, and, in all, seven colored men have had seats in the city council. To this must be added that the spirit of good citizenship is more keen in Cambridge than in most American cities.—N. Y. Nation.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN ENGLISH POLITICS.

An editorial in the London New Age for August 20.

That women are in justice entitled to the parliamentary franchise is implied in every argument by which that has ever been claimed as a right. Once for all, it is implicit in the principle, "no taxation without representation," by which some Liberals, even, justified the Jameson raid and the forcing of a war on the Transvaal. Yet nothing is commoner than to find even zealous Radicals professing indifference, if not hostility, to woman suffrage. When they give any better reason than the platitudes of the bar-room, as to the risk of domestic strife when women meddle in politics, they are apt to point to the "danger" set up by the supposed conservatism of the majority of women. And there can be no question that it is this fear that has turned many Liberals from the women's cause. Thirty years ago it was almost solely from Liberals that it had any support. To-day it has fully as many friends on the other side. Tories of the stamp of Beaconsfield and Churchill saw the possible gain to their cause from the conservatism of upper class women, and the work of the Primrose league bore out their forecast. Hence, apparently, the Liberal change of front.

It cannot be too emphatically said that this change stands for demoralization on both sides. Conservatives lean to woman suffrage solely on the score of the party gain they expect from it. Liberals oppose it solely or mainly from fear of the same thing, though they frame bad arguments of another kind in their own justification. Per-

haps the very worst of these was that put forward by Mr. Gladstone when he professed that he was anxious to save women from the "pollution" of political life—the life he himself lived for over half a century. All the while he was perfectly ready to employ them in the very species of political work which involves for them most risk of demoralization—that of canvassing, in which they are often tempted to use unfair and even illegal methods. Such inconsistency disposes of itself; the course so defended is visibly indefensible.

To show exactly how this species of deflection will affect the Liberal party in the future is no necessary part of the argument. An obvious danger however, is that if the promotion of woman suffrage is left to Conservatives the most earnest women will be led to join the Conservative cause, regarding Liberalism as synonymous with political injustice; while a Conservative measure will in turn be certain to limit the principle as far as possible to the damage of democracy. But for any thoughtful man it should suffice to reflect that less flagrant inconsistencies than this have obviously recoiled on Liberalism, and that the wider the bearing of a moral anomaly, the greater the certainty of the harm. The rationale of the case may be put in a sentence. Serious politics aims, if at nothing comprehensive, at the betterment of all social life, and thus faces the greatest problem that mankind has to attempt. That the greatest of all practical problems can be solved by bringing to bear on it the remedial and constructive activity of only half of the race, even in its most civilized sections, is as inconceivable a doctrine as could well be framed in politics.

The inference of common sense, on the contrary, is that the cooperation of man and woman is as necessary in the state as in the home, and when Liberals have the courage and consistency to give the vote to women as women—to wives, that is to say, as well as to spinsters and widows—they will find that even at the polls they will have their reward.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON ON TOM L. JOHNSON.

A letter to the Boston Herald.

The Boston Herald of Friday last has an editorial on Tom L. Johnson which is eminently fair and just. Its tone is in creditable contrast with that of certain independent papers which

profess a belief in democratic ideals while making haste to belittle and misjudge the truest democrat in American politics since Thomas Jefferson.

The bitter antagonism of Hanna and McLean, men of the same type in opposite camps, is a credential that should naturally draw to Mayor Johnson the sympathy and confidence of sincere reformers. The instinct of spoliemen is rarely at fault, much more to be trusted than that of editors who take for granted the verity of slanders emanating from hostile partisans and subsidized news channels.

I hold no brief for Tom L. Johnson, but I do hold for him a profound regard and admiration from long association and personal acquaintance. I venture to assert that the current accusations of disreputable methods used to compass Zimmerman's defeat will be found baseless. The victor carries the peculiar reputation of always fighting in the open. Who else in political campaigns offers such advantage to his opponent?

A double contest is waging against the mayor of Cleveland. The rich and corrupt elements of his own party have combined with the powerful Republican machine to crush him and his cause. Even were the combatants on the same plane a chivalrous and sportsmanlike regard for the weaker side would insure considerate judgment. But where the rare quality of unselfish and earnest purpose abides with the beleaguered, it behooves gentlemen to be sure of their ground when joining forces with such discredited assailants.

As a witness of Johnson's victory over Earhart, the recreant Democratic legislator who sought renomination after voting with the monopolists to defeat the reform measures of the past session, I expressed to the mayor my surprise at his temerity in challenging the prominent leaders of his own party. "When I can reach the ear of the people," he replied, "I have small fear of the result. As a rule men do not vote for evil measures knowingly. They err through ignorance, and not design. When the issues are made clear to them they act accordingly. Were this not the case a democracy would be impossible. I never stop to ask what are the probabilities of success when the duty seems clear. Had Earhart been nominated, I should not have been discouraged. It would only have necessitated our going down later and defeating him at the polls. It is far better to have an honest Republican elected than a false Democrat."

Johnson's tactics, however mysterious

to ordinary politicians, are supremely simple. It is an object lesson to other candidates. He welcomes to his meetings all opponents, gladly sharing his time and forum with the ablest of them. In vain has been his attempt to get Mark Hanna to meet him in debate. No bird was ever more wary of the net spread in his sight by the fowler. It would be an instructive combat. And this ideal but discarded method of political education has demonstrated in Ohio that a free and open platform overmatches money and machinery.

I do not question that, in his implacable purpose to drive privilege to the wall, Johnson avails himself of a legitimate political weapon and condition, but that he uses unworthy means it will take stronger testimony to establish than that furnished by discomfited politicians or disappointed Democratic newspapers, whose voices now usurp public attention. Wait until the atmosphere clears and the accused rejoins. Especially let truth-seekers turn their lenses searchingly upon the impending campaign wherein great principles of self-government will find an exposition worthy of the best republican traditions.

THE MAN WITH THE FOOTBALL HEAD.

For The Public.

The man was certainly respectable. There were no indications in his well brushed suit of ready-to-wear apparel of criminal tendencies, and his hat—but on second thought I would not be certain about his hat. His nervous and erratic movements as he sat on the park bench in the shade distracted my attention, so that any positive statement as to the hat cannot be made. There is a strong probability that he had no hat, but that is not essential to the understanding of later occurrences and may be referred to the police department as being more in their line.

He might have been a full back, or a half back, or some other important part of the anatomy of a football club, and the condition of his hair would justify such an inference, if any were necessary.

He sat half on the park seat and half off, and made desperate assaults at intervals upon a newspaper, which he held in one hand; and as I approached him I saw he was deeply absorbed in doing a lot of mathematical things with some long rows of figures he had set down on a large block of paper that rested on his knees.

I have enormous respect for long rows of figures—there is so much that

can be done with them when you know how—and extreme veneration for the people who claim to know how to manipulate them; and at once a feeling of great respect for the man with the football head came into my mind, and a desire to scrape a speaking acquaintance overcame my fear of his nervous gesticulations and peculiar mutterings.

I scraped, and he made no objections. He was so much higher in the mental planes, or mountains, than I that he could add and subtract and multiply eleven thousand millions of dollars easier than I could one.

It may not be out of place here to mention that he had not a dollar in his pocket, and no idea where he would be able to raise enough elastic currency to buy his next meal, but that did not lessen his enjoyment in manipulating millions or prevent him from borrowing 50 cents from me just as I had concluded the process of scraping his acquaintance. But the psychological knowledge I gained was worth 50 cents.

A psychological panic that busts your savings bank and takes your last dollar won't hurt half as hard as a real old-fashioned panic without any psychological attachment.

"Look here," said my football headed friend, pointing to the newspaper, "our farms produce four thousand million dollars. Shaw says so and statistics back him up in it. There's prosperity, and you can't get rid of it. If we want to, we can make it eight thousand millions easily, but what I want to know is, where is my share of this prosperity; where is my particular haystack? Have you any part of it hidden around your clothes? We imported one thousand million dollars last year. Did you see anything of my share of this particular branch of prosperity?"

"Perhaps your share is purely psychological," I ventured to suggest.

"Six million operatives in these factories and workshops," continued he, "annually sign pay rolls aggregating \$3,000,000,000. What I want to find out is whereabouts in that \$3,000,000,000 is that seven-dollar-a-week job that got away from me last month. It is there, for the figures prove it. I need it."

"I don't know anything about it," I observed. "If it was a three dollar, or a four dollar job, or even a five dollar; but a seven dollar one—why didn't you lock it up?"

"Ha, Ha!" he ejaculated, "I never thought of that; and besides, there was no lock belonging to the job. Amid so

much prosperity I never dreamed the job could get away from me. But I think I see where in the dim and distant future I shall recover it. When the annual productive capacity of the American people reaches the \$11,000,000,000 point, and when the bankers are legally authorized to issue some emergency currency circulating notes to move the crops and keep the wind from coming out of the stock jobbers' shares, then about that time something will bust, and among the fragments I will find that seven-dollar job. It's clear. Nobody can help seeing it. But what puzzles me is how to tide over matters until the elastic currency circulating notes begin to circulate, and the psychological atmosphere warrants that my draft upon prosperity shall be honored. My dear sir, have you a fifty-cent piece about you—not necessarily elastic, but somewhat current—that you could invest in the sure thing I have outlined to you?"

I did not immediately yield to his assaults, but when he came at me with the balance of trade of unknown millions, and the necessity of our getting more markets where we could sell everything and buy nothing, and the psychological microbe, I fell.

It is unnecessary to say more.

JACKSON BIGGLES.

DENVER'S CHARTER MUDDLE.

Denver, like Chicago, is cursed with a set of particularly odious public utility corporations. In the Colorado capital the water plant, as well as the transportation and lighting plants, is still in private hands, with very unsatisfactory results. The existing state of affairs in Denver, as in Chicago, has tended to develop a strong radical sentiment. The result was that the progressive element controlled the body that framed the charter that met defeat at the polls last Tuesday, after a sensational campaign, in which fraud and intimidation no doubt played a large part, as charged by the friends of the proposed charter. The similarity in some respects between the situations in the two cities may make Denver's experience instructive for Chicago, where the subject of charter reform is pressing for solution.

Denver, as Chicago is attempting to do, began the work of charter reform by amending the constitution of the state. The constitutional amendment adopted last fall consolidated at once the city of Denver and the county of Arapahoe, and made the existing Denver city officials the officers of the combined city and county. The

amendment also authorizes the people of Denver to frame their own charter without reference to the state legislature. Under this authority 21 tax-paying electors were chosen to frame a charter. This is the instrument that failed of indorsement at the polls last Tuesday. Within 30 days another election must be held for the selection of another charter convention of 21 to frame a new city constitution for submission to the voters. This process must be kept up until a document is finally evolved that will meet with popular approval, and until then the existing set of officials, who do not appear to be a very good lot, will continue to hold office. Obviously it is to the interest of the present office-holding regime to postpone the adoption of the charter as long as possible, and this element was an important factor in securing the defeat of the charter submitted last Tuesday.

The convention of 21 that framed the defeated charter appear to have been good and honorable citizens (two of them were women). They had many good general ideas, and their draft of a charter contained many excellent features. But the members of the body taken collectively were obviously amateurs in the science of government. Judging from their product they lacked practical political sense, for they piled up needless obstacles to their own success. For example: The proposed charter contained a provision raising the saloon license fee from \$600 to \$1,000 a year. Just think of the tremendous opposition to the charter project which that one provision (which had no proper place in the charter at all, but was a subject for legislation under the charter) must have called into play. Then, too, the hostility displayed toward the public utility corporations was carried to excess. These interests, therefore, fought the charter, and did so openly. In view of all the circumstances it is not surprising to be told by a friend of the charter that its defeat was brought about by "the special interests antagonized, which are principally three—the public utility corporations, the liberal element (saloon and gambling interests), and the office-holding class, which is perpetuated in office until a new charter is adopted." The first mistake was the provision in the constitutional amendment perpetuating in office until the adoption of a charter the Denver officials, thus ranging on the side of delay all the powerful office-holding element. The next error was that of the charter conven-

tion in unnecessarily inviting the united opposition of the entire saloon element. A progressive charter, especially one designed to give a city more power over its public service corporations, must arouse enough opposition anyway, without inviting such as is unnecessary.

The charter, as framed by the convention, provided for a plan of government in which the mayor should be all powerful. This was one of the criticisms made against it. The council was to consist of ten members elected at large, and the presiding officer, also to be chosen by the electors at large, like the president of the board of Cook county commissioners. There was no provision for ward representation, which was another point of criticism. A saving provision of the greatest excellence, and one that would have tended in practical operation to offset shortcomings of the charter, was that relating to the nomination of candidates. The party ticket on the Australian ballot was forbidden. Instead, it was stipulated that all names of candidates for city offices should go on the ballot in alphabetical order, under the designation of the office to be filled. The proposed charter authorized the city to acquire, own and operate any or all the so-called public utilities, but it stipulated that debts created for the purpose of such acquisition should be a charge on the service only, and not a claim against the credit of the city. The use of both the initiative and referendum was provided for in detail. A feature novel to Americans was that of the recall. By this plan, on petition of 30 per cent. of the electors any public official complained of must come before the people again for approval or rejection. Other candidates could be placed in nomination against him at such election, and unless the incumbent should receive a plurality of the votes cast, he would have to surrender his office. The civil service provisions were adequate.

The subject of franchises was dealt with at length. This division contained many excellent features, but they were jumbled together in an ill digested mass. Evidently the procedure followed was to take everything that could be found in the nature of restrictions and throw them in together, without much regard to whether or not they made up a harmonious whole. In this connection the referendum idea was clearly overdone. No franchise could be granted without a referendum, the cost of which (to be determined by the treasurer) must be paid in advance by the applicant for the franchise. This expense and inconvenience would serve as an absolute bar

to the granting of franchises of lesser consequence. The proper plan would be one that would give to the people an opportunity to demand the submission of such franchise ordinances as might arouse their interest. With all the radicalism of the proposed Denver charter, it was in one respect strikingly reactionary, though for this provision the constitutional amendment as well as the charter convention was at fault. The referendum on franchise question was to be confined to "tax paying" electors.

If bonds were to be issued against the credit of the city for municipal ownership purposes, I can see a possible justification for limiting the vote on the proposition to those who might be directly called upon to make good the loss in case of failure. But on a mere franchise question or a proposition to acquire without borrowing on the city's credit, I fail to see any justification for such a limitation. The workingman who pays car fare daily (though he may not be a direct taxpayer) is entitled to a voice in the settlement of franchise matters, as well as the property owner, who may not be a user of the service furnished, but whose holdings are likely to be benefited or injured by this or that franchise policy. No doubt this restriction on the suffrage had much to do with making the proposed charter unpopular with the nontaxpaying voters.—George C. Sikes, in Chicago Record-Herald, of Sept. 28.

In an English town a conservative member of the board of poor law guardians objected violently to the election of a lady to the board, on the ground that women could not understand accounts. The newly-elected woman soon after called attention to a bill which was presented to the guardians for payment, charging about \$25 for a soup tureen for the paupers. Investigation proved that for years the board had been systematically overcharged for all the household supplies. The old gentleman who had objected to a woman exclaimed, testily, "How can you expect me to understand these little domestic matters?" The lady answered, quietly, "I do not expect you to understand them; but, since you do not, is it not well that there should be somebody on the board who does?"—Woman's Journal.

An innovation has been introduced in the discipline of the state prison in Charlestown, Mass. The Boston, Mass., correspondent for the New York World tells the story in this way: "As a relaxation from cell life and as a reward of good conduct, baseball games are being tried with satisfactory results by

Warden Bridges at the state prison in Charlestown. The game gives the prisoners a beneficial change from the routine of prison discipline, diversion and fresh air. The innovation has been followed by an improvement in the discipline. The warden says the prisoners act as if permission to play ball or to see a game is the greatest boon that can be conferred upon them next to a pardon or the expiration of a sentence. The inmates have two nines, called the Resolutes and the Hustlers, and they play every fair-weather Saturday. There is room enough for 200 spectators, all prisoners, in the yard."
—The Commoner.

A FOUR-FOOTED VOCALIST.

For The Public.

That elocution practice!

It almost drove me wild;
And such a foolish reason—
A little teasing child.

Wee Rob, my naughty nephew,
Would listen to it all,
And mimic in a manner
That made me feel quite small,

The motions and the gestures,
The swayings and the bounds,
The consonants explosive,
The open vowel sounds.

And then he'd tell Miss Pussy,
In his provoking way,
Just how I said the letters
P, T, C, S and K.

One day came Uncle Charlie,
With Bosworth by his side,
A big Newfoundland beauty,
Our uncle's pet and pride.

Toward kitty Bosworth sauntered,
With dignity and grace;
She spit and hissed like fury,
Right in his friendly face.

Astonished and affronted,
No word did Bosworth say;
Scorn on his noble features,
He turned and walked away.

And kitty swelled her body
With all her feline might;
Her back looked like a camel's—
She was a funny sight.

"You spiffire!" shouted Uncle,
"You bristling bunch of rage!
If you were mine I'd whip you,
Or put you in a cage."

"My kitty is no spiffire,"
(Rob's eyes with mischief glowed.)
"She says the 'splosive letters
As fast as she can 'splode."

"O, now I see," laughed Uncle;
"Please pardon me, my dear;
'Twas pussy's vocal lesson
I happened in to hear.

"You've done it well, Miss Mally"—
He stroked her ruffled back—
"Altho' your tones are faulty
You've learned the right attack.

"And you deserve some credit,
My brave, big-hearted Boss,
Though quite untrained in drawing,
You made a Maltese cross."

MARY McNABB JOHNSTON.

Mrs. Hudson H. Kellogg, who has been appointed superintendent of Green Bay park by Commissioner Blocki, is the only woman park superintendent in Chicago. Green Bay park is a small, triangular strip of ground at Rush, Cass, and Chestnut streets, and until Mrs. Kellogg beautified it it was a garbage dump. With the aid of Commissioner Blocki, Alderman Palmer and others, she has made it one of the prettiest little parks in the city. Mrs. Kellogg serves the city without pay, and spends much of her time working among the flower beds, aided only by Fritz, a city employee detailed as her working force. Mrs. Kellogg was formerly of Rockville, Conn., where she was quite enthusiastic in beautifying Talcott park in that city. Her Chicago charge has already been provided with an iron fence, many shade trees and ornamental flower beds.—*Woman's Journal*.

Turn which way he would, the trillionaire met with rebuffs.

All the universities were burning money in their heating plants and courteously, yet firmly, declined his proffered gifts. The poor would go two blocks out of their way rather than meet him. Farmers were ugly about the numbers of fresh air funds and threatening to shoot.

The trillionaire became desperate.

"I'll pay my taxes," said he.

Of course, he was shunned by those of his own class, henceforth. But, on the other hand, the happiness that flows from free will offering was his.—*Puck*.

Military training is a grand good thing for boys.

It braces up their shoulders.

To be sure, it has a tendency to make them bloodthirsty; but blood is more wholesome than beer, and just about as cheap.—*Life*.

The old Hebrew prophet, Ezekiel, once had a vision of a lot of "wheels." Not being an expert in the interpretation of prophecy, The Straight Edge doesn't feel called upon to ram down your throat the exact meaning of the hubs, spokes, feloes and tires of Ezekiel's wheels, but one thing he said was this: "The spirit of the man was in the wheels." The trouble with the wheels of industry and commerce is that the spirit of the man, the conscious expression of human brotherhood, isn't in them. The Straight Edge wants yachts and automobiles and locomotives and all kinds of machinery of production and distri-

bution, in whose "wheels" the "spirit of the man" finds happy expression.—The Straight Edge (1 Seventh Ave., New York.)

BOOKS

A CHRISTIAN RENASCENCE.

"An Essay on the Theory and Practice of the Christian Religion," by P. R. Henson (published by the author, Anoka, Minn., who offers a copy free and postpaid to anybody who asks for it), attributes the decline of the influence of the Christian church to its loss of power to provide an ethical impulse. The church, writes the author, no longer curbs the spontaneous carnal impulses of men by creating within them counter impulses. And this weakness will continue so long as its ministers depend upon fear of God for influence, for God is no longer feared. What is feared is disappointment of material desires.

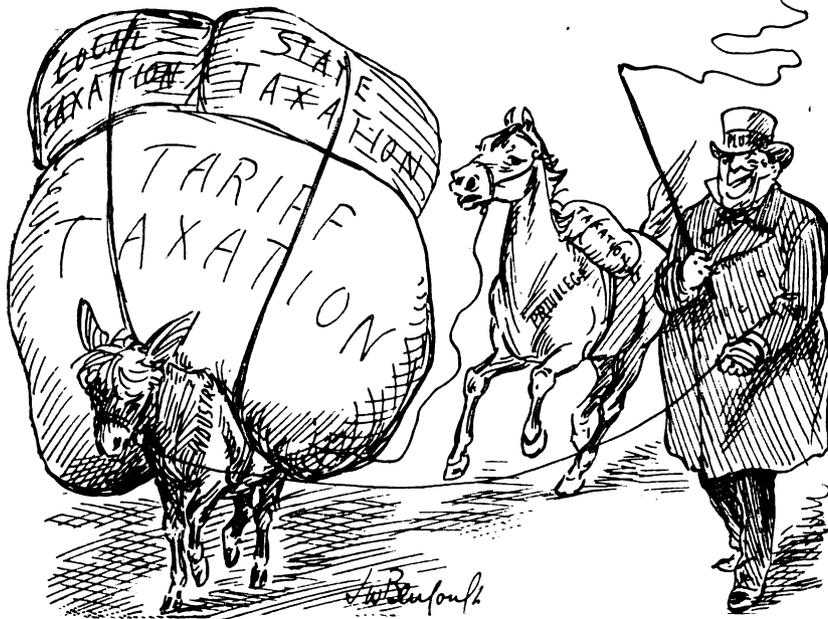
While that fear prevails it is useless to expect men to be as Christ was. They must be shown by clerical example that the Christian life is in harmony with the Greatest Force, so that their desire for the protection and patronage of that Force may become the efficient counter impulse to their carnal desires. Consequently, Christianity needs but that its pastors follow Christ "in the way of the cross," after the manner of the Bishop in Hugo's "Les Miserables." Men will thus be influenced to adopt God's will "even though they are blind."

The thread of philosophy that runs through Mr. Henson's book is spun from that inverted and decaying theory of the moral universe, that might makes right. The author regards no right as valid unless it has the permission of might. Even God seems to be thought of by him as Infinite Might rather than Infinite Right; and he would bring men into line with the divine purpose by appealing not to righteous motives, but to fear of defeat and pain. Christians of that type might not be pleasant customers to meet in a lonesome place and on a dark night, if you had something which they wanted and had the power to get. They might relapse into a state of greater faith in their own force than in God's.

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Incidentally Mr. Henson deals with political economy. Here his conception of social industry is like that of the socialists; namely, that no individual laborer makes anything either for himself or anyone else, but that labor as a whole, as an organism, is the producer of everything. The fallacy of this concept, which has often been pointed out, is traceable to a superficial consideration of the function and phenomena of trade. While it is true that no individual laborer makes any object complete for consumption, it is also true that each individual laborer makes a contribution which is distinguishable in trade, and being sufficiently repeated will exchange for completed objects. Thus a brick layer may lay so many bricks in many houses as to be able to exchange this work for the work of all other laborers in the making of one house. Through this exchange he is as fairly, and in the economic sense as truly, the maker of that house as if he had made it all himself. It is the same when he exchanges brick-laying for food, clothing, etc. If there are difficulties in effecting such exchanges, it is not because the individual laborer is dependent upon society as a whole for tools, material, etc. It is because society as a whole obstructs trade.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—Tolstoy and His Message. By Ernest Howard Crosby, author of "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable," "The Earth for All," "Captain Jinks, Hero," etc. New York: Funk and Wagnall's Company. Price, 50 cents net. To be reviewed.

PERIODICALS.

The American Federationist for October continues the articles on "Filipinos as Workmen," by the special commissioner to the Philippines of the American Federa-

tion of Labor. George McA. Miller writes on "Education and Emancipation," and a stenographic report of Samuel Gompers's Labor Day address is given in which Mr. Gompers discussed the Parry movement against unionism.

The Pittsburg Gazette, owned and controlled by the Oliviers, among the wealthiest of Pittsburg multi-millionaires, is publishing in the Sunday issue, "The History of the Carnegie Steel Company," by James Howard Bridge, who for many years held a confidential position close to Mr. Carnegie. This is very interesting reading for those simple people who believe fortunes are acquired by honesty, economy and industry. The first chapter appeared in the Gazette of September 20; the second installment in the 27th of September. The entire book is to appear in installments in Sunday editions.

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