

# The Public

Sixth Year.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1903.

Number 291.

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Entered at the Chicago, Ill., Post Office as second-class matter.

For terms and all other particulars of publication, see last page.

It is impossible not to sympathize with the Canadians in their irritation over the decision (p. 445) of the Alaska boundary commission. Their feeling that they have been tricked by British-American diplomacy in the guise of judicial arbitration, finds much in the circumstances to excuse it.

The question at issue concerns the patriotism of Canada deeply. It has concerned Great Britain but little or not at all. Canada has been at fever heat about it; Great Britain has been indifferent. In these circumstances Great Britain, as suzerain over Canada, made an arbitration treaty with the United States under which there was no reasonable probability of any award at all except one adverse to the Canadian claims.

The matter came about in this wise. Canada dealt directly, at first, with the United States, through a joint commission organized for the purpose of agreeing upon a treaty which Great Britain and the United States might adopt. The Canadian commissioners proposed an arbitration tribunal consisting of three distinguished jurists—one to be chosen by Great Britain, another by the United States, and the third by the other two. This eminently fair proposal the United States rejected, proposing instead that the tribunal consist of six jurists, three to be chosen by each side. Such a tribunal could not come to an agreement unless at least one member were to defy his home sentiment and join the "enemy"—a contingency much

more likely to result, in a doubtful case, from diplomatic influences or bargainings than from any judicial considerations. Apparently awakened to the absurdity of insisting upon a tribunal of that kind, the American commissioners finally offered to accept the Canadian proposal of three arbitrators, provided the third, who would really be umpire, should be selected from a South American republic. But the Canadians would not agree to this; they insisted upon a European umpire. Here again the Americans were less fair than the Canadians. For whereas any South American umpire might have been subject to diplomatic pressure from the United States, it would have been easy to choose a competent and absolutely independent jurist from France, Norway and Sweden, Holland or Switzerland. Upon this disagreement the commission broke up, and Great Britain negotiated an arbitration treaty without any preliminary agreement between the United States and Canada. In the light of what preceded this treaty, as noted above, and of what followed it, there is certainly room for reasonable suspicion that the treaty was agreed upon under a diplomatic arrangement for a decision adverse to Canada.

The treaty provided for an arbitration tribunal of six jurists, three to be chosen by each country, and the majority to decide. This was the identical scheme which Canada had rejected as unfair, and properly so. Then came the selection of jurists, which was startlingly significant. Great Britain chose two Canadians and a distinguished English judge, recently attorney general. That was fair, at least upon the face of it; for it supplemented two partisans with a man approximating, apparently, as close to an impartial um-

pire as the treaty permitted. But the United States appointed three partisans. One of these, Senator Turner, who hails from the State of Washington, which is affected by the boundary question more, if possible, than any other State, might better have withdrawn from politics and gone into the business of rag-picking had he decided in favor of Canada. He certainly would thenceforth have been persona non grata in the State of Washington. His colleagues, Lodge and Root, were no better. They would have worked deadly harm to President Roosevelt's prospects of reelection had they decided in favor of Canada, and of course they knew it. It was humanly impossible for any one of these three men to decide otherwise than as American partisans so long as there was even an appearance of justice or of legal right to the American claims. So the arbitration tribunal was composed, under the most favorable view regarding its judicial character, of three American partisans, two Canadian partisans, and an impartial English umpire. The umpire might have made a deadlock had he favored Canada, but he could by no possibility have given the award to Canada without converting one of the American partisans.

Inasmuch as the English judge decided against Canada, is it any wonder that patriotic Canadians think of him now as a fourth American partisan, made so by some secret diplomatic arrangement—an "understanding between gentlemen," as Mr. Chamberlain would put it,—whereby Canada was to lose her case and Great Britain was to gain some advantage of another kind in exchange? Suspicious minds may indicate low motives, but it must not be overlooked that suspicious

circumstances tend to make suspicious minds.

Nevertheless, whether there has been "an understanding between gentlemen" across the Atlantic or not, it is quite within the possibilities that the award against Canada was right in itself. It has been argued that this inference is completely refuted by the provision in the British-Russian treaty (p. 445) that the Prince of Wales' Island should belong wholly to Russia. Such a clause would have been unnecessary, so the argument runs, if it had been intended to run the boundary line 10 leagues into the interior of the mainland at all points; for in that case, no part of the island named could possibly have fallen on the British side of the line. This argument is plausible, but not more so than one of the counter arguments. We refer to the one that contends that the naming in the treaty of the summit of the mountain range as the boundary line, wherever the range summit was not more than 10 leagues from the coast, precludes the possibility of supposing that there was an intention of leaving any bays or other inlets within British jurisdiction. The fact apparently is that the geography of this coast was so poorly known at the time of the treaty as to make such expressions in the treaty as those named almost valueless for purposes of interpretation. The purpose of the treaty makers must be ascertained from other indications. This purpose seems to have been to give the coast territory to Russia, and what would now be called "the hinterland" to Great Britain. And such in substance is the award of the arbitration tribunal.

A Canadian journalist, E. W. Thompson, was quoted last week (p. 456) in support of this view. He had entered upon a minute study of the subject, thoroughly prejudiced in favor of the Canadian contention; but he emerged from that study with the conviction that—

the purpose of the treaty was to give Russia a coast strip which would serve

as an effectual barrier against the Hudson Bay company's fur trade along the coast north of latitude 54 degrees 40 minutes. Such a barrier could not have been erected, except by giving Russia possession of the fjords, inlets or "canals" up to their heads.

To the same effect is the testimony of another distinguished Canadian, Prof. Shortt, who occupies the chair of political economy at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario. Prof. Shortt was reported on the 21st from Kingston as saying:

About three years ago I was asked to write an article on the Alaskan boundary question. I agreed to do so, presuming from what I had read on the subject from the usual Canadian sources, that at least as good a case could be made out for the Canadian contention as for that of the United States. The result of my study was to convince me that the Russian claims, which were transferred to the United States, were so strongly supported by the documents that it was impossible to make out a valid case for the Canadian contention on the more important points at issue.

Another instance of heroism in peace (p. 452) is reported by the newspapers this week. The credit is due to Capt. Fisher and his crew of life-savers at Race-point, near Highland Light, Cape Cod. Capt. Fisher and his crew, seeing a fishing vessel in distress, her crew unable to escape through the surf, launched a surf boat through a tremendous sea that threatened to overturn it. They gained the side of the stranded vessel with difficulty and through danger, and nine of the shipwrecked crew jumped into the surf boat. After a perilous trip the rescued seamen were safely landed. Again Capt. Fisher headed the surf boat for the stranded ship, but two giant waves, the second larger than the first, swamped it, and, hurling the whole life-saving crew into the sea, threw them back helplessly upon the beach. The remainder of the shipwrecked crew were finally rescued by means of a mortar and breeches-buoy apparatus. Heroism of this kind may be too commonplace even for honorable mention. But it is worth while contrasting

it with the heroisms of war. To save a score of human lives at the risk of one's own, may count in the records of the great Judgment Day; but if you want the plaudits of "our best people" and the rewards of valor now and here, you will get them more surely by killing a score—in strict accordance with the laws of war, of course, unless the killees are only tribesmen.

It is reported of the younger Mr. Rockefeller that when some of his Bible-class members recently suggested that certain modern methods of getting great fortunes could not be consistently practiced by Christians, he asked if the manner in which these men disposed of their wealth did not count for something to their advantage. This is the new doctrine of Christian plutocracy. Most of the velvety clergymen are preaching it. Not how you get your wealth, but what you do with it, is the test they are fond of applying. The doctrine is not new. It was practiced long ago by Jonathan Wild, Sixteen-String Jack, and Jack Sheppard. Perhaps the excellent Mr. Rockefeller doesn't know who these worthies were, being unfamiliar with low-bred literature. Let him understand, then, that they were highwaymen, who soothed their consciences for their un-Christian modes of getting wealth from its owners by their Christian habits of bestowing it upon others.

Senator Gorman is trying to carry the Maryland election for the Democratic party of that State by making a political issue of President Roosevelt's luncheon with Booker T. Washington. If this is what the Democratic party stands for, the sooner it is wiped out of existence as a weak imitator of the false Democracy of proslavery days, the better not only for the country, but for the Democratic spirit of the country. American Democrats want no reincarnation of Robert Toombs for their political leader in these days

when the natural rights of the masses of all races are the stake for which plutocrats are playing in our politics. The true Democratic issues are drawn in Ohio, not in Maryland.

When Mr. Herrick, the Republican candidate for governor of Ohio told some guileless Republican farmers that the single tax has been a failure whenever and wherever tried, he displayed a wealth of ignorance on fiscal subjects which eminently qualifies him, under the principles of the merit system, to be the figurehead of the Republican party in Ohio. Not only has this single tax system proved successful in the instances which we have enumerated (pp. 404, 435, 451), but Manitoba may be mentioned as another successful instance. Regarding the experience of Manitoba, we are informed by W. A. Douglass, a well-known accountant of Toronto, that—

About the year 1890 the farmers in that Province called the attention of the Provincial ministry to the fact that for every improvement made by the farmer, who was developing the country, his taxes were increased, and the taxes of the speculator correspondingly diminished. Consequently the late Mr. Norquay, then premier of the Province, introduced a bill into the legislature, worded as follows: "All land in rural municipalities used for farming or gardening purposes, shall be assessed as it would be assessed if it were unimproved."

Accordingly, since the year 1890 there has been no taxation assessment of the improvements of the farms and gardens of that Province. When I was there four years ago, I made inquiry of the farmers and others as to the feeling of the people regarding that method of taxation, after an experience of nearly ten years, and I received only one answer, namely, that it gave universal satisfaction. About a couple of years ago I had the pleasure of an interview with the Hon. Thomas Greenway, the successor of the Hon. Mr. Norquay in the premiership, and I put the question to him: "Should I be safe in making the statement that the abolition of taxes on improvements on the farms of Manitoba is unanimously approved of?" His reply was: "That is quite correct." About two months afterward I put the same question to the Hon. Colin Campbell, the attorney general of Manitoba, and he fully confirmed the testimony of Mr. Greenway. Last Spring I met Mr. Stewart, member of parliament for Lisgar, in Manitoba, and when I asked him if the

innovation was unanimously approved, his reply was: "Yes, by the farmers; but not so with the speculators." The testimony of Mr. Macdonald, of Winnipeg, was the most emphatic of all. This gentleman was formerly Mayor of Winnipeg. His statement was as follows: "If any man were to propose to make a change in the law, the people would not ask him to go out of the door, they would throw him out of the first window."

This testimony in support of the desirability of the single tax is peculiarly valuable, because it comes from a farming region, and the single tax has been described by land speculators as being especially objectionable to farmers.

Important steps in the direction of equitable taxation in New York city are being taken by the commissioners of taxes and assessments. They have recently issued directions to the deputy tax commissioners, who perform the work of assessing real estate, in which they call the attention of the deputies to the amendment to the charter requiring them to state separately what would be the value of each parcel if it were wholly unimproved, and the value of the same parcel with the improvements, if any. The deputies are directed also to assess all property at its market value as the law requires. An examination of the assessments for 1903, as compared with those for 1902, shows a great advance toward equitable valuations. It has been believed by those acquainted with the facts that heretofore vacant land and costly residences have been greatly under-assessed. This is now being demonstrated. The increase in assessed value for the whole city is 42 per cent. On 173 parcels of the most valuable section of Fifth avenue, opposite Central Park, it is more than 100 per cent.—from \$18,000,000 to \$37,000,000. On one unimproved section on Manhattan Island it is 75 per cent.—from \$21,000,000 to \$36,000,000. The increase in an unimproved section of the Bronx is from \$33,000,000 to \$57,000,000, or about 70 per cent. In the borough of Brooklyn the increase is on the average only about 29 per cent.; but for some of the unim-

proved sections it is over 40 per cent., and in one case 50 per cent. The taxes upon tenements and modest dwellings have been almost invariably decreased. This is a result of the single tax idea in actual even if only moderate operation.

In view of the disclosures of Chairman Salen, of the Democratic committee of Ohio, there is little to wonder at about the Republican chairman's refusal to unite with the Democrats in publishing accounts of their respective campaign expenditures. Of the expenditures the Republicans are making, Mr. Salen says:

From the start no limit has been placed upon the amount of money necessary to accomplish a given purpose. Every paper published in a foreign language, whose support could be bought, was given the price demanded. I have seen the contracts between one of these papers and the Cuyahoga and State Republican committees, which called for the payment of \$3,000 to that one sheet. Every Democrat who could be reached by the allurements of money was given what he asked, and just now a separate division of money for various counties is being made for the specific object of "lining up" dishonest Democrats.

Mr. Salen gives a bill of particulars of this county division of funds, stating the amount for each county. For Cuyahoga it is \$100,000; for Franklin, where Columbus is situated, it is \$12,000; for Hamilton, the Cincinnati county, it is \$25,000; and the aggregate runs up to a quarter of a million or more. Not only does Mr. Salen itemize this corruption fund, but he names the persons in the several localities who have its distribution in charge. The campaign manager who, in the face of charges as specific as those of Mr. Salen, refuses to agree to a joint publication of the amount and nature of campaign expenditures, thereby pleads guilty to the charge of corruption. If the Ohio electorate can be debauched, the Hanna combine intend to debauch it at next week's election.

When Mr. Herrick, Republican candidate for governor of Ohio, told the coal miners of New Straitsville that every one of

them could "rise to high rank if he has the muscle, brains and pluck," he did not seem to realize that he was accusing every one of those working men of deficiency in muscle, brains or pluck. Yet that is what his foolish words implied. The fact that these miners have not risen proves their deficiency, if Mr. Herrick's assurances are true. Mr. Herrick is evidently one of the public men who, because they themselves have risen from poverty to wealth (never mind the "boosts" on the way), think that anyone can rise if he only has their "muscle, brains and pluck." It is a highly self-satisfactory state of mind.

#### THE CHICAGO TRACTION QUESTION.

The people of Chicago are now entering upon another distinct stage in the process of solving their traction problem (pp. 195, 225-29-31-41-42-48, 300-60-94, 401-08-18-25-41-52-58). They are about to determine (unless the city council prevents it by a premature extension of franchises), whether or not they will immediately proceed to the establishment of a system of municipal ownership and operation of the Chicago street car system.

The preliminary steps have been taken.

An act of the legislature enabling the city to own and operate traction lines (p. 196) was passed last Spring. It is known as "the Mueller act." But this act can have no effect in Chicago until adopted by the people of the city upon a referendum vote. At present it is not a law in Chicago.

It is, however, to be submitted to a referendum vote at the Chicago city election in April next. Provision for its submission was made by the city council (p. 458) a week ago.

Upon the adoption of this act by the people of Chicago at that election, the city will have the power—

1. To own street railways within the corporate limits of the city.

2. To operate the street railways so owned; provided three-fifths of the voters at a referendum election voting on that question vote in favor of it.

3. To lease the street railways so owned, for not longer than 20 years; no lease to be valid for more than five years (if a referendum is demanded by

ten per cent. of the voters), unless the lease is approved by a majority voting thereon at a referendum election.

4. To borrow money on the credit of the city for the construction or purchase and the operation of its street railways; provided that the constitutional debt-limit of the city be not thereby exceeded, and provided, also, that at a referendum election two-thirds of the voters voting thereon vote therefor.

5. In lieu of thus borrowing money on the credit of the city, to issue "street railway certificates" payable out of the revenues of the street railways so owned; provided that at a referendum election a majority of the voters voting thereon vote therefor.

6. "To acquire, take and hold any and all necessary property, real, personal or mixed, for the purposes specified in this act, either by purchase or condemnation in the manner provided by law for the taking and condemning of private property for public use."

The provision last above noted, which authorizes the "condemnation" of all existing street car property upon proceedings instituted by the city, raises the most important consideration now at stake in the matter. It is because that provision is contained in "the Mueller act" that the traction companies and their friends are straining every nerve to secure a compromise between the city and the companies before the adoption of "the Mueller act" at the April election. To nullify this provision would be one of the effects, if, indeed, it is not one of the chief objects, of the "tentative ordinance" which the traction committee of the city council has just published as a compromise offer to the traction companies.

The anxiety of the traction interests to accomplish that object of nullification will be better understood, perhaps, if the circumstances are explained.

"Condemnation" proceedings are not unfamiliar in their general features. They are the method whereby the public takes private property for public use, paying the owner its value.

In form, these proceedings are simple enough. The right to take the property being a right of sovereign power, only one question remains when that right is asserted by the sovereign authority, which in this country is the State. The question that then remains is the simple one of the value of the property, and this is decided by a

jury empanelled for the purpose.

Since the advent of mechanical power the sovereign right to condemn private property to public use has been extensively exerted in behalf of highway corporations, principally railroads, on the theory that they are agencies of the State serving a public use. Consequently a considerable body of "condemnation" law has grown up, partly legislative and partly judicial, which tends to favor the corporations that require private property for the public uses they serve. For instance, if a jury assess the value of such property at more than the corporation is willing to give, the corporation, upon paying the trifling cost of the proceeding, may not only abandon that proceeding, but may begin a new one; and then another, and another, and so on repeatedly until a verdict satisfactory to itself is secured. Moreover, the verdict, when so accepted, is final as to the person whose property is "condemned." The jury, and not an appellate court, is regarded as the sole judge of the value of the property. Thus in the Supreme Court of the United States the "condemnation" of a right of way across a railroad track in Chicago was sustained, although the jury had fixed the damages at only \$1; and in another case, the Supreme Court of Illinois sustained the "condemnation" of a street car franchise in Chicago, although the jury had fixed the damages at only one cent.

With this body of "condemnation" law confronting them, is it any wonder the traction interests of Chicago are extremely anxious to complete a compromise agreement with the city council before "the Mueller act" becomes law in that city?

When that act is adopted by the people of Chicago next April, the city will acquire the sovereign right to seize for the public uses incident to municipal ownership and operation of street railways, any of the property of the street car corporations. To do this, it need only apply for a jury to appraise the value of the property; and, if it accepts the jury's verdict, to pay that amount as damages for the seizure.

But it need not accept any verdict that seems excessive. All it

need do if a verdict is excessive is to abandon that particular proceeding, upon paying some small costs, and begin a new proceeding; and so on repeatedly until some jury renders a verdict that is not excessive. Furthermore, the valuation fixed by the jury whose verdict the city does elect to abide by will be conclusive.

Consider now the practical application to the street car question of this "condemnation" power under "the Mueller act."

If the city decides to own, acquire and operate its own street car system, or any particular line or part of a line, it can proceed to condemn the street car property of the traction companies — either the whole system or one or more lines or parts of lines, as may seem most expedient. This property consists of no more than these three classes of things:

1. The tangible property, such as tracks, trolleys, cables, power-houses and machinery, cars, etc;
2. The legitimate franchises that are still unexpired; and,
3. The ineffective and valueless 99-year franchise.

In order to condemn all this property to the use of the city, nothing would be necessary, other than "condemnation" formalities, but to empanel a jury to appraise its value. If that jury were improperly influenced and returned an enormously excessive value, the particular proceeding could be abandoned and a new one instituted; and this could be repeated until a jury had fixed the value at a reasonable amount, whereupon the city could accept that verdict as final and proceed with its policy of municipal ownership and operation, or suspend that policy until the highest courts had passed upon the "condemnation" proceedings, as might be thought best.

Let us stop, then, to ask: What kind of verdict ought to be accepted?

In the first place, a fair, even a liberal, valuation, might properly be placed upon the tangible property—that of the first class enumerated above. In the next place, for the legitimate franchises (the second class enumerated above) there might properly be allowed a liberal bonus for the unexpired

terms. In the third place, the unexpired part of the ineffective 99-years franchise (the third class enumerated above) might properly be appraised at one cent or one dollar. Either valuation would be sustained, unless judicial precedents inuring to the benefit of private corporations were overruled when appealed to in behalf of the public.

A verdict so found might be analyzed about as follows, assuming for simplicity of illustration that the proceedings were for the "condemnation" not of one line merely, but of the whole system:

1. For tangible property (the amount estimated in taxation proceedings by the traction companies' lawyer) .....	\$11,000,000
2. For unexpired terms of effective franchises (say) ..	1,000,000
3. For the unexpired term of the ineffective 99-years' franchise (say) .....	1

Total damages for "condemnation" .....\$12,000,001

In this manner a basis for the settlement of the whole traction question, including the 99-year franchise problem in all its ramifications, could be made—fairly, liberally, legally, and immediately.

The representatives of the traction interests know this, and are accordingly anxious to secure an extension of franchises from the city council before "the Mueller act" becomes law in Chicago. They want to use their valueless 99-year franchise as a club to force a compromise extension. They do not want to have that franchise valued and disposed of in "condemnation" proceedings.

In some quarters it is argued that an extension of franchise before "the Mueller act" is voted on will not prevent "condemnation" proceedings, if the extension ordinance reserves to the city the right to adopt municipal ownership.

This view rests upon a retroactive clause in "the Mueller act." According to that clause, when such a reservation is made in a franchise ordinance, it is to be "as valid and effective for all purposes," in case the city afterward adopts "the Mueller act," as if the act had been already adopted.

It is to be observed, however, at the outset, that if this were done, the value of the new franchise would be an additional factor in "condemnation" proceedings, and that an entirely new 20-years' franchise would be of enormous value in that computation.

But consider what else is involved.

If an extension of franchises with that reservation were made, even in good faith, it would needlessly inject into the Chicago traction problem two entirely new questions, upon which troublesome litigation might be based. It would make an opportunity to raise the question (1) of the validity of the retroactive clause itself, and (2) of the sufficiency of the reservation in the extension ordinance. It may be added that no such reservation as would give immediate vitality to the retroactive clause of "the Mueller act" seems to have been inserted in the "tentative ordinance" of the councilmanic committee.

It is urged in the same connection that if the proposed extension ordinance were submitted to a referendum vote at the election next Spring, there might be no objection to its passage by the city council meanwhile. But in that way, also, new questions for litigation would be needlessly thrust into the problem. The point might be raised that there was no legal authority for a binding referendum and that the extension ordinance had consequently acquired legal validity upon its adoption by the council, no matter how the people might thereafter have voted. Entirely apart from the legal aspects of the matter, two street car referendums at the same election—one for the adoption of an enabling act conferring power to establish municipal ownership, and the other for a franchise extension practically nullifying that power for several years—would give the Chicago newspapers, most of which are opposed to municipal ownership as long as it can be staved off, an excellent opportunity to confuse public sentiment and thereby to deceive the people themselves into giving the law to the city and the plum to the traction companies.

Still another objection to extending the Chicago street car

franchises before the people pass upon the question of adopting "the Mueller act," is the objection that such an extension would complicate if it did not wholly nullify the acquired right of the city to wipe out the ineffective 99-years' franchise with a verdict in "condemnation" for nominal damages as to that claim. How easy it would be to insert in such an extension ordinance some clause that could be held to amount to an agreement conceding value to that valueless franchise. If this were done, the jury in "condemnation" proceedings would be bound by the agreement. They would have to value the valueless franchise not at its true value but at its agreed value. Even if the agreement did not seem to be very plain, it could be made a basis for litigation.

Or, the 99-years' claim could be nominally abandoned in the compromise agreement for an extension, but be really perpetuated by changing its form; as, for example, by making an agreement that the city shall take over the property of the companies at some excessive valuation when it establishes municipal ownership.

In so far as the "tentative ordinance" of the councilmanic committee relates to this point, it appears to have been cautiously drawn with the definite purpose of substituting arbitration for "condemnation" in all future action by the city with reference to traction-company property. It would nullify the "condemnation" clause of "the Mueller act."

In any possible view of the matter the proposition to "compromise" with the traction companies by giving them an extension of franchises before the vote on "the Mueller act", is fraught with all manner of danger to the municipal ownership movement; and when the secrecy in which the negotiations are conducted between the councilmanic committee and the traction companies is considered, it is not without a suspicious flavor. The only safety for the city is to keep the whole question out of the domain of contracts, and to bring it within its proper domain of police regulation. The region of contracts is full of "vested rights" pitfalls; the region of police regulation, inclusive of the powers of "condemna-

tion" for public use, is clear and safe.

The chairman of the committee having these negotiations in charge for the city council protests that the committee ought to be trusted though it does hold secret confabs with the traction representatives. His protest was made in explanation of a joint session of the committee and the traction representatives, from which the councilmanic committee excluded authorized representatives of the organized movement for municipal ownership. "Like Caesar's wife," said this alderman, pleading for himself and his associates on the committee, "they should be above suspicion."

He was quite right. They should be. But unfortunately they are not. Wherefore it may be as well to drop the allusion to the Caesarian family episode.

By no means do we imply that these aldermen are suspected of pecuniary corruption. That is not the point. What they are suspected of, entirely apart from any question of corruption, is disguised hostility to municipalizing the street car system. They are suspected to be in favor of municipal ownership but opposed to putting it into practice.

And that suspicion seems to be pretty well supported by the circumstances. These very aldermen were responsible for the clauses in "the Mueller act" which make municipal ownership and operation difficult to get and corporation ownership and operation easy to perpetuate. It was they who fixed up the provision in "the Mueller act" which makes two negative votes count as much as three affirmative votes at a referendum election on questions of municipal operation of municipally-owned lines, and only as vote for vote on questions of leasing the lines. It was they who fixed up the provision that absolutely requires a referendum on the question of operation, but none on the question of leasing unless the lease is for more than five years, and then only in case it is petitioned for by some 40,000 voters. These facts alone are suspicious. But in addition we find the same aldermen hunting with microscopes of a million magnifying power, for difficulties in the way

of putting the provisions of "the Mueller act" into operation, now that they have been driven by public opinion to take that act out of the pigeon hole into which they had buried it, and submit it to popular vote. The chairman of the committee, for instance—he who thinks, properly enough, that he ought to be above suspicion, like Caesar's wife—enumerates three reasons for believing that municipal ownership is impossible at present. We quote his reasons from the Chicago Examiner of the 26th:

First—The fact that 60 per cent. of the lines by the terms of the ordinances controlling them, and over which there is no legal dispute, do not expire for some time to come. The longest franchise has about 14 years to run.

Second—The 99-year act, which controls several of the main arteries to the city, must be got out of the way, either by the determination of the courts or relinquishment by agreement, or on conditions that the traction lines so affected receive a new grant.

Third—The impossibility at this time of raising the money by the city of Chicago necessary to construct, equip and operate a system of street railways. It would require at least \$80,000,000 to carry out municipal traction plans, and such a sum is out of the question.

He might have added that municipal ownership is impossible immediately because it takes time to shift the ownership of so big an institution as the Chicago street car system. Of course municipal ownership is impossible immediately. But the beginning of the necessary proceedings is not impossible immediately. And as to necessary delay, it will be much shorter if steps toward municipal ownership are taken immediately than if they are postponed for five, ten or twenty years by a compromise contract with the traction companies.

None of the objections noted above alludes to the "condemnation" clause of "the Mueller act." Yet that clause sweeps away the first and second objection altogether. Can anyone be criticised for suspecting the good faith of aldermen who raise such objections without at least explaining away the "condemnation" clause, which nullifies them unless it can be explained away?

The only objection of the three that requires any further consideration is the third, namely, that

Chicago could not raise the necessary money to establish municipal ownership. Let us consider it. For that purpose we will suppose a situation.

Suppose the city council refuses to compromise with the traction companies.

Suppose the people adopt "the Mueller bill" at the city election next April.

Suppose the council thereupon enters upon the consideration of a municipal ownership and operation ordinance, such as "the Mueller act" allows.

Suppose one of the traction companies' aldermen objects that "it would require \$80,000,000 to carry out the plans of the proposed ordinance, and that such a sum is out of the question."

Suppose the alderman having the proposed ordinance in charge, replies that he doesn't believe that it would require as much as that, nor that the necessary sum cannot be raised; but that he is willing to proceed cautiously, and therefore he moves to amend the proposed ordinance, so as to make it applicable to only one of the existing lines.

Suppose the traction companies' alderman then objects that the city cannot buy that line for any reasonable sum because its valuable franchise has some years yet to run, while its valueless 99-year franchise is a powerful club which it holds over the city in all negotiations.

Suppose the alderman in charge of the ordinance then calls the attention of the objecting alderman to the power of "condemnation" conferred by "the Mueller act" and availed of by the proposed ordinance.

Suppose then that this silences the objecting alderman and that the ordinance passes the council.

Suppose that the short line in question is thereupon "condemned," the jury valuing its tangible property and the unexpired term of its valuable franchise liberally, and its 99-year franchise at its true value of one cent.

Suppose now that the owners of the "condemned" line go into the courts. They can attack nothing but the sufficiency of the valuation. The right to condemn is absolute, subject only to compensation to be assessed by a jury.

Meanwhile the city may proceed to operate the line, or it may delay operating until the highest court has passed upon such legal questions as are involved.

Is it asked how the city will get the money to pay the compensation which the jury awards? By selling the "street railway" certificates authorized by "the Mueller act." Would there be a market for those certificates? Not much of a market would be needed for one line. But that aside, does any sane person imagine that those certificates would go a-begging after the highest court had sustained the city in a "condemnation" case? They would instantly be recognized as a good investment; and that they would in fact be a good investment is proved by the nine years' experience of Glasgow.

From the moment that this taking over of one line had been effected, the whole street car question would be settled. The owners of the other lines would "fall over each other" to sell out to the city, and would gladly take their pay in "street railway certificates." It is absurd to suppose that certificates to the value of \$100,000,000 could not easily be placed at par, secured as they would be under "the Mueller act," and buttressed by a test case decision. But nothing like \$100,000,000 would be needed.

Let this plan of proceeding be adopted, and within five years Chicago would be setting her sister cities of the United States the same splendid example in efficient and profitable street car service that Glasgow has set to the cities of Great Britain and which 50 of them have followed. Five years at the most. And that is the time the aldermanic committee propose giving the traction companies for putting their lines into condition for good modern service.

Meanwhile might not the companies abandon their service?

If they did, the "condemnation" proceedings would be so much the easier. But they would not. No franchise is necessary to hold them to their job. The experience of Boston and of Washington prove that mere licenses, revocable at any day or any hour, secure far better street car service from private companies than Chicago has been

able to secure with 20-year and even 99-year franchises. Give the traction companies a franchise and they will forthwith stock-job it, as they always have. Fight them for the recovery of the public streets, giving them licenses meantime, and they will have nothing to stock-job. There will be no way for them to get money but by earning it.

When the possibilities for the city under "the Mueller act" are considered, the "tentative ordinance" of the councilmanic committee appears to be such a brazen trifling with public sentiment and the people's interests as to challenge all patience.

It would doubtless be a good ordinance for the purpose of perpetuating corporation ownership and management of the street car system. But as a step toward municipal ownership it is utterly without merit.

It would probably nullify the "condemnation" clause of "the Mueller act." At any rate it would open up delicate legal questions on that point over which long and vexatious litigation would be possible. And as to the 99-year franchise, which is nominally abrogated, the city would have to proceed for 20 years with the caution and agility of a tight rope walker to prevent a complication of circumstances which would enable the traction companies, at the end of this franchise, to coerce the granting of another one by the same kind of threats of litigation that they now make with reference to the 99-year franchise. Even as to theoretical municipal ownership, it is but barely squeezed into this "tentative ordinance." The city could not adopt municipal ownership until 1923. It could not take the first step in that direction—the serving upon the companies of notice of intention—until 1922. And unless it served that notice within the 12 months between 1921 and 1922, the notice would be void and the city would be bound by contract to give another franchise (by compromise) extending until 1943. What a magnificent opportunity for corrupting the council of 1921-22!

For any other purpose than to perpetuate private ownership of traction rights in the streets of

Chicago, that "tentative ordinance" is as misleading in design as it is skillful in construction.

### EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

Cincinnati, Oct. 27.—During this campaign Mayor Johnson has visited 58 counties and addressed 130 meetings, more than twice as many as Mr. McKinley addressed in his famous campaign. Johnson's meeting here last evening, considering the conditions under which it was held, was perhaps the most successful of the entire campaign. Although the weather was unseasonably frigid, the meeting was a warm one from start to finish. Four thousand people crowded into the tent, which had been located in an obscure quarter of the city. There was no red fire, no music or other contrivances for attracting the attention of the people. The audience embraced all shades of citizenship—professional men, business men, mechanics and laboring men of all degrees. It was a well behaved, orderly, intelligent, responsive audience; an audience altogether indicative of an aroused condition of political feeling in this community, and, therefore, prophetic of a large vote in opposition to the autocratic rule of George B. Cox, in Hamilton county.

Mayor Johnson never spoke with more force. His voice was as clear as a bell. It could be heard distinctly, every word clearly enunciated, several rods beyond the folds of the tent. He spoke for an hour and three quarters, the last half hour being devoted to questions, which were fired at him from every part of the meeting. It was evident to an intelligent observer that the questions were prepared by men who had a thorough grasp of the political situation in this State and who knew how to state the point concisely and quickly. But every one was answered like a flash and then elaborated so eloquently as to surprise even the admirers of the speaker.

Mayor Johnson gives no evidence of anxiety as to the result. He declares with confidence and emphasis that he has Mark Hanna defeated. In appearance and manner he is as serene and unconcerned, as full of life and energy, as if he had not done anything more than take exercise sufficient to keep his blood circulating freely; and he looks as happy and jolly and smiling as a boy of 17 who never had a care in the world. Arduous campaigning in all kinds of weather, speaking, frequently from four to five times a day and sometimes as high as seven, appears to have agreed with him, for his eye is bright and his energies seem to be unabated.

After Johnson finished his speech he invited all the visiting demo-

cratic Democrats who have been conducting the street meetings for the past ten days to accompany him to a downtown restaurant, and around one table 20 in all were seated, with Mayor Johnson at the head. Anecdotes and reminiscences, in which "The Prophet of San Francisco" was the central figure, were indulged in until two o'clock in the morning. The meeting then broke up only at the insistence of some considerate friends of Mayor Johnson, who knew that he had to leave the city at 5:50 in the morning.

Could the cohorts of privilege have listened, and have come in touch with the spirit that animated each one of that little group, they would have realized that they are now merely engaged in a skirmish, even if their boasts come true that on the morning of November 4 Tom L. Johnson will find himself defeated by one hundred thousand majority.

At the tent meeting last night the presiding officer, Judge Harmon, who was attorney general in President Cleveland's cabinet, first introduced Prof. Lybarger, of Philadelphia, who recited the well known poem "Ninety and Nine," following it with an eloquent speech in harmony with the sentiment of the poem, which was enthusiastically received by the vast audience. In introducing Mayor Johnson, Judge Harmon made a strong plea for harmony in the ranks of the Democratic party.

Street meetings are held at half a dozen points in the business center of Cincinnati, beginning promptly at 12 o'clock. All are kept up for two hours, and now two of them, at Fountain Square and Fifth and Race streets, are kept going until dark. They are again started at 7:30 and continue until nearly midnight. Congressman Robert Baker, of Brooklyn, N. Y., who has been speaking several times every day for nearly two weeks, says of these meetings:

The success of the street meetings here is beyond question. Where lethargy and indifference prevailed ten days ago, the audiences are now easily secured, and are held by the speakers for hours. From six to ten meetings a day have been held, at two points, being continued every day for from four to five hours. This strain upon our out of town friends has been great, but they feel well repaid by numerous evidences that have come to hand of the effect of their speeches. Quite a number have openly proclaimed their conversion, and it is within the truth to put the actual change of votes to Johnson and the Democratic ticket at not less than three thousand. Several of our friends, judging from the marked change in the temper of our audiences, believe it will be much greater, and that Hamilton County will not give more than 20,000 Republican plurality, despite 10,000 fraudulent votes.

D. S. LUTHER.

Cardinal Newman says that a conservative is a man who is at the top of the tree, and knows it, and means never to come down.

## NEWS

Week ending Thursday, Oct. 29.

The heavy fighting of the Ohio campaign appears to be centering in Cuyahoga county, the home county of Mayor Johnson. At any rate, the Republican newspapers are predicting a Republican majority of 100,000 in the State at large, and reporting that nothing remains for them to do but to recover Cleveland and Cuyahoga from Johnsonism, an event which they also predict confidently. This, they hold, will drive Johnson out of Ohio politics. Johnson expresses his confidence, on the other hand, that the Republicans will not only lose Cuyahoga county by an increased majority against them, but that their majorities in the State at large will be greatly reduced. While virtually conceding Herrick's election as governor, he predicts the defeat of Hanna for the Senate.

From his large meeting at Mt. Vernon, on the 19th (p. 457), Mr. Johnson went on the 20th to Millersburg, in the strong Democratic county of Holmes, where he spoke at a tent meeting attended by 3,500. This is the home of one of the eight Democratic members of the legislature ("black sheep") who voted for the street-franchise "curative" act against which their party was pledged (p. 113), and whose treachery to the people Johnson has exposed and denounced at all his meetings. The Holmes county member, Mr. Collier, was not present to defend himself, although he had been invited and assured a fair hearing and courteous treatment. But later in the same day, at Shreve, in the Democratic county of Wayne, the home of another of the "black sheep"—Uriah F. Wells—the situation was different. Mr. Wells appeared.

The incident at Shreve was so unique in American political campaigning that we reproduce the report of it by the Cleveland Plain Dealer's staff correspondent, Carl T. Robertson:

Mayor Johnson met Wells immediately after the slaying of Collier, having left Holmes county and entered Wayne at Shreve, on the way to Wooster for a

night meeting. A crowd of 1,500 and a band was awaiting at Shreve, the arrival of the "red devil." An impromptu committee of prominent citizens stepped forward to greet and welcome the mayor, and among these was Wells, of Wayne.

"How de do, Brother Johnson," said Wells, of Wayne, extending his hand. "How de do, Brother Wells," was the noncommittal reply of Mayor Johnson, as he limply grasped the proffered fingers of the Shreve statesman. This was the extent of the conversation between the candidate and the "curativist" for the time being.

Johnson was grabbed and surrounded by the local committee and was begged to say nothing bad about Wells during his speech in Shreve. "You see," they explained, "Wells is for the ticket all right, and he's got a lot of friends, and it would be unwise to antagonize him." "It would be cowardly," replied the Mayor. "to denounce these black sheep all over the State and then for reasons of policy to keep quiet when in the home of one of them. I do not believe in that kind of campaigning."

After the Mayor had been introduced he lost no time in getting after Wells. He said a few pleasant things about the size of the crowd, the cordiality of the reception and the pleasure he experienced in being able to be in Shreve and to address its populace, and then it was the turn of Wells of Wayne. "I have been saying some very harsh things," said the speaker, "of the eight Democratic legislators, who, in the last legislature, proved false to their party and their platform, and voted for the so-called curative act or Cincinnati steal. One of these eight Democrats was your fellow townsman, Mr. Wells. Of all the eight Mr. Wells has been the only one who has spoken to me since that time. This afternoon Mr. Wells shook hands with me. I shall try to be fair with Mr. Wells in what I have to say. Your committee has asked me not to make any reference to Mr. Wells in my remarks here. I cannot be cowardly and omit today here in Mr. Wells's presence what I have said in every other county which I have visited. I do not think Mr. Wells would ask me not to say before his face what I have said behind his back."

The Mayor then reviewed the history of the curative legislation, the stand of the Sandusky platform in opposition to the granting or renewal of street railway franchises without a vote of the people and the great pressure which was brought to bear to secure the passage of the curative act.

"Mr. Wells cannot plead ignorance," continued Mr. Johnson. "He knew both sides of the question. Representatives of both sides talked to him. My whole point is that when a man is elected on a platform he is bound to vote in accordance with the declarations of that platform. If he does not intend to stand on the platform he ought not to let the peo-

ple vote for him. This, in short, is my complaint against Mr. Wells. During the campaign I have said some pretty hard things against Mr. Wells and his associates. I am not putting it nearly as strong to-day as I have on other occasions. I have been asked not to. (Laughter.) Now, I am going to give Mr. Wells a chance to reply to what I have said. If he has any objection to make I invite him to come forward and make it. I shall treat him courteously."

Wells, of Wayne, was not slow to accept the invitation to come forward. He promptly arose, but instead of entering into a discussion of his own curative record, Wells asked Mr. Johnson a number of questions of a general nature, in no way related either to Wells or the curative act.

"Did you ever hold an interest in a street railroad with a franchise extending for 999 years?" asked Wells.

"I have owned an interest in two different roads with 999 years' franchise," replied Mr. Johnson. "I never, however, asked for a 999-year franchise, or a 50-year franchise. I merely bought up a number of roads which had been granted these long franchises by foolish people. When I was in the street railroad business I was in it to make money; and, while I never asked for these franchises, I did not hesitate to purchase a road which had already received such valuable grants."

The second question of Wells, of Wayne, was still more remote from the curative act: "When a member of Congress did you make a mistake when you voted against the coupler act?"

"Yes," replied the mayor. "I made a mistake. There is no man who does not make a mistake. When the coupler bill was introduced I thought it was some scheme to benefit the holders of a certain patent, a scheme to grant a special privilege, and I opposed it. It was a mistake, and I recognized it soon after. The bill was a good one."

Wells, of Wayne, had a third question. "You claim that you are working for the interests of the people of Cleveland. How then do you account for the fact that under your administration the expenses of the city have increased \$260,000 a year, and that the tax levy has been raised?"

"The expenses of the city have not increased in proportion to the increase in population," replied the Mayor. "We have had many new improvements made necessary by the city's growth. But the best answer to this charge is that the people of Cleveland, who alone are interested, have in five successive elections vindicated my administration."

Wells, of Wayne, had no more questions, but he had not finished. "Mr. Johnson," he said, "I never said an unkind thing about you in my life. I wouldn't do it, because we belong to the same church, and I have always felt kindly towards you on that account."

"That's right," assented the Mayor,

"we're both Campbellites. If you say you have never said an unkind thing about me I will take your word for it. I must say, however, that your questions which you have just asked me, and which had nothing to do with the matter which we were discussing, appeared to me to have been intended unkindly."

"You said," suddenly exclaimed Wells, "that we were paid to vote for that bill."

"No, I never said that," replied the Mayor. "I never said you were dishonest. I do not know whether you are dishonest or not. I know that the passage of that act was worth from \$25,000,000 to \$40,000,000, and that they were spending a great deal of money. I know that there was not a cent to be spent on the side of the people, the side which you were bound to stand on when you were elected on the Democratic platform."

"I voted for that curative act because I thought it was right," declared Wells, of Wayne. "No man ever approached or offered me a cent."

"Now, Mr. Wells," said the mayor, most blandly, "when you asked me about that coupler bill I admitted that I made a mistake. Will you not now admit that you made a mistake when you voted for that curative act?"

"No, I will not," replied Wells. "I think I voted right."

"You have a right to your opinion," said the Mayor, and therewith dropped Wells, of Wayne, from further consideration. He proceeded to make to the people of Shreve a speech on the issues of the campaign, and in no way referred to Wells again.

But the strangest incident of all came when the Mayor had finished his speech and was about to depart. Wells pressed close up to the automobile and again extended his hand to bid the mayor "good-by." "It's all right, Brother Johnson," he said, and the Mayor is still wondering just what Wells, of Wayne, meant. But the two shook hands and parted as the best of friends would part.

Several other meetings were addressed by Mr. Johnson on that day, the last being at Wooster, in the same county of Wayne, where the audience, meeting in the opera house, numbered 1,000. On the 21st he addressed seven meetings, none of which numbered less than 500 auditors, the last one being at Canton, in the Republican county of Stark, where the audience numbered 5,500. At this and one other of these meetings Mr. Johnson referred to the single tax reform in substantially the same terms. As reported in the speech at North Lawrence (one of the seven), in the county of Stark, he said, on that point:

When they say it is a tax on land they are deliberately telling what they know is untrue. If the single tax will not reduce the taxes of the farmers by one-half I'll quit being a single taxer and will vote for Mark Hanna. It will also reduce the taxes of those who live in rented houses. The single tax proposes to place taxation on land values, and it would fall upon steam railroad rights of way, upon coal mining lands, upon street railroad franchises in our cities, and not upon the mechanic or the farmer. The farmers now pay one-half of the taxes and do not own one-tenth of the land. Single tax, I regret to say, is not in this campaign. My interest in politics is the single tax, and my hope is that some day the Democratic party will take it up as one of its principles.

Mayor Johnson returned to Cleveland on the 22d, after addressing four meetings in the Republican county of Carroll during the day. He had, up to this time, spoken at 130 meetings in 58 counties. The Cleveland meetings at which he spoke on this day were three in number; two of them were large—1,500 and 3,000 respectively. The 23d was devoted to the overwhelmingly Republican county of Geauga in the day time and to Cleveland at night; while on the 24th the afternoon was given to Conneaut and the evening to Ashtabula, both in the overwhelmingly Republican county of Ashtabula. On the 26th, after addressing a meeting of 4,000 at Greenville, in the Republican county of Darke, Mr. Johnson held his first tent meeting in Cincinnati, a report of which will be found in another column under the head of "Editorial Correspondence." From Cincinnati Mr. Johnson went, on the 27th, to Circleville, in the Democratic county of Pickaway, where his last meeting outside of Cleveland and vicinity was held.

Cincinnati had been prepared for Mayor Johnson's coming by a campaign of street meetings (p. 458). At first these meetings were small and were ignored by the local papers. But on the 22d a street sprinkler drove his cart through one of the meetings, under circumstances which forced the newspapers to notice the malicious incident, and from that time on the meetings grew in number and size and some of them were held from noon until into the night every day, with continuous

speaking. The speakers and managers included—

Daniel Kiefer, Charles Stewart, Walter H. Beecher, Prescott Smith, William Scherer, Herbert S. Bigelow and G. S. Turnipseed, of Cincinnati; Congressman Robert Baker, and William E. Hicks, of New York; L. P. Custer, of St. Louis; Thomas Bawden, of Detroit; Lee Francis Lybarger and W. L. Ross, of Philadelphia; George Bigley, of Columbus, O.; William Radcliffe, of Youngstown, O.; William Horan, of Portland, Ore.; William W. Rose, of Kansas City, Mo., and R. T. Snediker, of Kansas City, Kan.

The first meeting of the final tour of Ohio by Senator Hanna and Mr. Herrick (p. 457) was at New Philadelphia, in the Democratic county of Tuscarawas, where Senator Hanna gave his version of the single tax reform, with which Mayor Johnson is identified. He said:

The insidious doctrine championed by Henry George is as venomous as the fangs of a snake. It does not belong to America and never can and never will stand here. It must be crushed out in this State November 3. Free trade and free silver are bad enough, but when you add to it Socialism, Communism and Johnsonism it is more than the people of Ohio can stomach.

On the 21st, at Zanesville, in the Republican county of Muskingum, where William J. Bryan had recently spoken (p. 458), in replying to Mr. Bryan Senator Hanna said:

With all the eloquence at his command and with the winning smile since borrowed by Tom Johnson he came here this Fall. Why? Because he was the only man in the country whom Johnson could induce to help him out. I hope Mr. Johnson is paying his expenses. It would be too bad otherwise. There are the other Democrats, all in hiding because they don't believe in Tom Johnson and his vaporings. Now this man Bryan says that I insist that unless there is a Republican success in this State there will be a panic. He ought to know for he was instrumental in bringing about a fearful crisis. . . . He says I did not dare to come here because the soap factory has closed down. Well, I am sorry for his followers here if they are short of soap. . . . If the soap factory in Zanesville is going to produce a panic over this country it will give these self-claiming patriots the chance to lift aloft their evil sounding laughter. . . . I am accused by Mr. Bryan of working solely in the interests of a ship subsidy bill. I am here and ready to take that up with you now. . . . I happened to take a little excursion out into Nebraska to the very home of Bryan in 1900 and I paid my compli-

ments to that gentleman at three meetings. No hall was large enough to hold the people, so I addressed 20,000 people in the open. And what was the result? He did not carry his precinct, ward, county or State. The Republicans made a clean sweep. No, Bryan is as dead as the issue of free silver, which he now himself in secret admits is dead. He doesn't preach any more unless he is most liberally paid, and he wants his pay in sound money at 100 cents on the dollar.

As the Republicans in Muskingum county are disturbed by factional differences over the legislative candidate, Senator Hanna referred to the matter and said to his audience:

If you do not like your legislative candidate remember you are voting for me.

From New Philadelphia Hanna and Herrick went, on the 22d, to Caldwell, in the Republican county of Noble, then to the miners' town of Byesville, and finally to Cambridge, in the Republican county of Guernsey, holding large meetings at each place. Four meetings were addressed by both candidates on the 23d, largely to workers in the clay potteries and coal mines of the close county of Hocking and the Republican county of Perry. It was at one of these meetings, before an audience of 600 coal miners at New Straitsville, that Mr. Herrick said:

I know that everybody in New Straitsville can rise to high rank if he has the muscle, brains and pluck. He does not need money. I know this because no boy ever started in life poorer than I did.

The day's campaigning ended at Shawnee, in the Republican county of Perry, where the small opera house was crowded.

The validity of the "anti-anarchist" law enacted by Congress last winter (vol. v, p. 743) is about to be tested in the case of John Turner, an English communist anarchist, who landed in New York (p. 458) on the 14th without being observed by the immigration officers. Mr. Turner is chief organizer of the retail clerks' union of Great Britain, and a member of the London Trades Council. He had been announced to speak in New York as follows:

Sunday, November 1, 3 p. m., at the Brooklyn Philosophical association, in the Long Island Business College, South Eighth street; Sunday, Novem-

ber 8, 8 p. m., at the Woman's Henry George club; subject: "The Labor Struggle;" Monday, November 9, 8 p. m., at Bronx Casino; subject: "The Legal Murder of 1887;" Friday, November 13, 8 p. m., at the Manhattan Liberal club, 220 East Fifteenth street; subject: "The Essentials of Anarchism."

One meeting preceding this programme had gathered at Murray Hill Lyceum, New York on the 23d. This meeting is reported to have been peaceable and the speaking entirely within the law. But in the middle of the speaking, secret service detectives of the United States, authorized by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor at Washington, and without other authority, broke up the meeting, and, arresting Mr. Turner, conveyed him to Ellis Island, a Federal government reservation, where, on the 24th, a special board of inquiry, not judicial, decided that Turner was an "anarchist" and therefore subject to deportation under the Federal law. A writ of habeas corpus was immediately procured from a Federal judge, Lacombe, by the law firm of Pentecost & Campbell, and under this proceeding the constitutionality of the law and the arbitrary proceedings under it are to be tested in the courts.

The most conservative newspaper of New York—the Evening Post—refers to the Turner arrest, in its issue of the 24th, as follows:

The first attempt at enforcing the anti-anarchist act passed after the assassination of President McKinley is not only ridiculous, but alarming, to all who hold to American ideals of personal liberty. Last night Secretary Cortelyou's United States marshals broke into a meeting and arrested John Turner as "an avowed anarchist." Unquestionably the government means to deport him—a logical act under an absurd law. Turner has made no incendiary utterance in this country; he has not, in the words of the law, "advocated the overthrow by force or violence" of any organized government. When he preaches the gospel of anarchy among us it would be time to deport him. To proscribe him because he may have written or talked elsewhere against constituted authority may be legal; it certainly is repugnant to American ideals.

#### NEWS NOTES.

—William E. H. Lecky, the historian, died in London on the 23d.

—A new cabinet for Norway, in place of the Otto Blehr cabinet, was formed on

the 22d, by Prof. Hagerup as premier and minister of justice.

—The Canadian Single Taxer, edited by Alan C. Thompson and Arthur W. Roebuck, has issued its first monthly number, the number for October.

—Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, the British ambassador at Madrid, has been selected as British ambassador to the United States, to succeed the late Sir Michael Hicks.

—At a session of the French Chamber of Deputies on the 22d, after an important debate on the general policy of the ministry, the policy was sustained by a vote of 332 to 233.

—Dr. Francis E. Abbott, professor of philosophy in Harvard university in 1877-78, was found dead on the grave of his wife, in the cemetery on Hale street, Beverly, near Boston, on the 22d.

—At the Henry George association, Handel hall, Chicago, the following speakers are announced: October 29, at eight, Miss Jane Addams, on "The Moral Substitute for Wars."

—The Industrial League of Independent Colored Voters began its second annual conference at Cleveland on the 26th. Frank H. Warren, of Detroit, presided, and Harris R. Colby, of the city administration, welcomed them in the name of the city.

—The Supreme Court of Illinois decided on the 28th that the State board of tax equalization cannot be required to assess railroad terminal property in Chicago for local taxation, but has power only to spread out the total value of railroad property over the lines.

—The board of Philippine commissioners issued a proclamation at Manila on the 24th announcing the demonetization of the Mexican dollar on and after January 1, 1904. Until that date the coin will be accepted at all the government offices in the Philippines, at the usual rate, which is equivalent to 50 cents American money.

—Secretary Harry B. Walters, of the Colorado State Federation of Labor, (socialist) is sending out a call to all the State federations in the United States for a national convention, to be held in Denver, beginning January 11, 1904. It is expected that 300 or more delegates will be sent to this gathering. Their purpose will be to organize the unions affiliated with the various state bodies in a system similar to the United States government.

#### PRESS OPINIONS.

##### HULL HOUSE AND FREE SPEECH.

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), Oct. 28.—It almost passes human belief that any person in his right mind should find it in his heart to malevolently assail the founders of Hull House or to criticize the broadly catholic spirit which animates them in the conduct of this world-famous social settlement. It will surprise most Chica-

goans indeed to learn that the work of this institution has been made the object of attack. It will surprise them still more to learn the occasion for this attack. Singularly enough this attack is aimed at what would be considered by most fair-minded persons as essential to any sort of a social settlement movement that pretended to be of any educational value to the community in which it is founded. It is directed against the open forum. It challenges the right of Hull House to recognize the principle of "free speech." . . . Whatever else Hull House stands for it must stand for free discussion. It aims to give every part of our social structure a tongue. It makes no distinctions. It invites vagaries as well as philosophies. The privileges of its open forum are given to all alike. Its policy is not suppressive, but expressive. When it departs from this idea it will not be a social settlement. It will not be Hull House.

#### OHIO POLITICS.

Cleveland Recorder (Dem.), Oct. 26.—There is little wonder that Hanna and Dick do not desire to publish an account of their campaign expenses before election; or at any other time, as far as that goes. The casual observation of any one is convincing that the most gigantic effort is now on foot to debase the State of Ohio which has ever been known.

Dubuque (Ia.) Telegraph-Herald (Dem.), Oct. 24.—The Republicans have interjected the single tax question into the campaign in the hope of frightening voters. The issue has proved a boomerang, for Johnson manifests the utmost willingness to discuss every phase of the George proposition. Mr. Herrick has devoted much of his time to a discussion of the question, and what he says admits of but one of two conclusions: That he is deneely ignorant of the subject, or that he indulges in misrepresentation of it with malice aforethought.

Salem (O.) Daily Herald (Dem.), Oct. 26.—If Senator Hanna entertained a respectable opinion of the intelligence of the Republican voters of Ohio, he never would have publicly declared that his defeat would precipitate an awful panic upon the nation, and cause a suspension of the shops and factories with all the consequent disasters of such suspension. This proves too much for him, and is a confession of the deplorable condition into which monopoly rule has plunged the nation.

#### CHICAGO TRACTION QUESTION.

Chicago Examiner, Oct. 29 (Dem.).—As to the value of this property we have fortunately very competent testimony. In 1901 all the property of the Union Traction company was assessed at \$15,000,000. In August of that year Mr. W. W. Gurley, the general counsel of the Union Traction company, made an argument before the board of review in which he declared absolutely that the entire plant and all the property of the Union Traction company could be duplicated with the very best of modern equipment, modern rails, modern cars, modern motive power, modern buildings, for \$11,000,000, and he offered to produce the company's books and documents to prove his assertion.

The new Paragon Dictionary contains over a billion definitions. Ten thousand editors have been at work eight years inventing words for it.

The Paragon is sold with a hydraulic crane, and is the only complete dictionary which women and children can consult as readily as the strongest men.—Life.

## MISCELLANY

### "TOILING AND TOILING AND TOILING—ENDLESS TOIL."

From the Chicago Chronicle of Oct. 22.

"Lying on his parlor floor at 510 West Twelfth street, covered with a black mantle and surrounded with lighted candles and grief-stricken relatives, after the manner of the Jews, lay last night the body of Isaac Reingold, the tailor-poet of the Chicago ghetto.

"Reingold was only 31 years old and a tailor by trade, but was so gifted with poetic feeling that his patriotic and lyric poems have made him famous all over this country, if not in Europe. Tuesday evening he attended the Star theater and while there wrote a song—which was his last—with the prophetic title, "I Have No More Time." At two o'clock the next morning his wife awoke and found him dying, as his physician says, of dilation of the heart.

"Reingold, whose real name was Isaac Toomim, was born in the province of Zhitomir, Russia, and fled from his native country when he was 15 years old in consequence of the persecutions waged against his race. He came to America the next year, spent one year in Baltimore, another in New York and then came to Chicago, where he lived until his death. He married a Milwaukee woman, who, with five children, survives him.

"His poems were all composed as he sat at his sewing machine, and related to the sufferings of his race in Russia, the joy they experienced in finding an asylum in America, their hardships in the Chicago sweatshop, their longing for home and peace and native land, and their passionate desire for freedom. They are all in the Yiddish language, and the following is the only translation:"

The roaring of the wheels has filled my ears,

The clashing and the clamor shut me in,  
Myself, my soul, in chaos disappears,  
I cannot think or feel amid the din,  
Toiling and toiling and toiling—endless toil.  
For whom? For what? Why should the work be done?

I do not ask or know. I only toil.

I work until the day and night are gone.

The clock above me ticks away the day,  
Its hands are spinning, spinning, like the wheels.

It cannot sleep or for a moment stay,  
It is a thing like me, and does not feel.  
It throbs as though my heart were beating there.

Heart? My heart? I know not what it means.

The clock ticks, and below I strive and stare,

And so we close the hours. We are machines.

Noon calls a truce, an ending to the sound.  
As if a battle had one moment stayed,  
A bloody field! The dead lie all around.  
Their wounds cry out until I grow afraid.  
It comes—the signal. See, the dead men rise.

They fight again. Amid the roar they fight.

Blindly and knowing not for whom or why  
They fight, they fall, they sink into the night.

### HOW THE CANADIANS FEEL ABOUT IT.

From the Toronto News.

Lord Alverstone (to Canada)—Is there anything more I can do for you?

Canada—We would like to go on drawing our breath.

Lord Alverstone (to Messrs. Root, Lodge and Turner)—Any objections to our young friend continuing to use the atmosphere?

Messrs. Root, Lodge and Turner (cheerfully)—None at all—just now.

Lord Alverstone (with judicial air)—My decision is that you are entitled to the temporary use of all air not required for United States purposes.

### A GOOD SHERIFF.

Sheriff Barry entertained four youthful prisoners of the juvenile court yesterday. The four lads were taken up stairs to the sheriff's residence suite, and there they were given their dinner at Sheriff Barry's own board. The reason for the sheriff's hospitality to the prisoners is that he did not care to have children of so tender an age incarcerated, even temporarily, in the county jail.

All four of the lads had been given a hearing in juvenile court. Their ages ranged in years from seven to 12. All had been taken from questionable lives, and Judge Callaghan sent them to the city's farm school at Hudson. Hitherto it has been the rule for boys so committed to be kept in jail until such time as the Hudson authorities saw fit to send for them. Barry objected strongly to this, however, and yesterday, after giving them their dinner, sent them at his own expense to Hudson so as to obviate the necessity of their being kept too long in the county jail.—Cleveland Plain Dealer of Oct. 18.

### MAYOR JOHNSON'S WAY.

SUCCESSES OF ADMINISTRATION.  
John Jones, of Toronto, superintendent of streets and of garbage disposal in the Canadian city, called upon President Springborn, yesterday, after having made an investigation of the street cleaning methods in vogue in Cleveland. Mr. Jones said that the Cleveland

streets are much cleaner than those of Toronto.

The methods in Toronto are very similar to those in Cleveland, both "white-wings" and sweeping machines being employed. Toronto, however, has not yet adopted the flushing machines which have recently been provided in Cleveland.—Cleveland Plain Dealer of Oct. 24.

It is probable that the Cleveland system of accounting, which has been devised and inaugurated by Auditor Madigan, will be prescribed by Auditor Guilbert, as the system to be adopted by all the cities of the State.

E. H. Archer, an expert examiner from Mr. Guilbert's office, has been conducting his examination in Cleveland for several weeks. Yesterday he completed his labors. During his work he made his headquarters in Mr. Madigan's office, and examined not only the city accounts, but the accounts of the board of education as well.

Mr. Archer said yesterday that without doubt the Cleveland system, with one or two minor changes, would be adopted all over the State. He said that Cleveland is the only city at present which keeps a close itemized account.

Before leaving the city Mr. Archer thanked Mr. Madigan for the courtesies which had been extended to him.—Plain Dealer of Oct. 24.

### THE DEER AND THE MAN.

Deer hunting is now on in the Adirondacks and the north woods.

It is great sport.

The method of procedure is as follows:

The hunter, having armed himself with a trusty rifle, takes the midnight train for the hunting grounds. He is met at the way station by a fierce guide and together they track through the untrodden wilderness, until they come to a convenient watching place.

And some time their patience is rewarded. The preoccupied deer walks out into the open. The hunter takes careful aim. There is a puffless puff of smokeless smoke. And the deer drops dead, shot through the heart.

Sometimes, however, the deer is not killed at the first shot.

He staggers on through the woods, leaving a trail of blood behind him—and often an excellent trail it is. This, of course, adds to the enjoyment of the pursuit.

To the hunter the advantages of this kind of sport are evident.

In the first place he is perfectly safe. Then he is indulging himself in "manly" exercise. He is also developing a

reputation as a sport. And lastly, he is killing something.

With science on your side to insure absolute safety, to get out in the early morning and kill something is fine fun.

There are some misguided critics who assert that to make deer hunting a really true and manly sport, the deer ought to have the same chance to kill the man as the man has to kill the deer.

Furthermore, they seem to feel that to lie in wait for a beautiful and innocent animal, and deliberately murder it, is not developing the most humanitarian instincts.

But these critics are old fogies.

To slaughter is always the prerogative of the "dead game sport."—Tom Masson, in *Life*.

#### THE RACE ISSUE AMONG THE INDIANS.

A letter which appeared in the *Baltimore American* of Oct. 12.

A friend writes me from North Dakota that echoes of the Democratic campaign in Maryland have reached the "wards of the nation"—the Indians—in that State. These Indians, in a somewhat vague fashion (as politics is not clearly understood by them), have learned that in the East, where white men are very plentiful, one Negro is esteemed to be superior to four white men, in that it is feared that the one Negro shall ultimately dominate the four white men, by reason of his superior excellence bodily and mental. It will thus be seen that these Indians have gotten hold of the Democratic contention in the present Maryland campaign. These Indians have given a name to this tribe of whites which, being translated, means "The Tribe of - the - Four - White - Men - Afraid - of - One - Negro," and have arranged a totem for this name in their sign language consisting of four white figures done in chalk lying prostrate with a black figure done in pitch holding a rod over the white figures. These Indians regard this matter as one of importance to themselves. No Indian of good sense will admit his inferiority in any way to a Negro. Upon the contrary, he believes that he can beat the African in any game he undertakes, whether in peace or war. The average Indian would regard it as a gross insult even to intimate that the Negro is superior. In this respect he differs entirely from the Maryland Democrat, who holds that he is not quite equal in ability to a quarter of a Negro.

The Indians are talking of holding a

"sun dance" of the tribes of the Northwest to discuss this question. They think they see a great opportunity for themselves in this state of affairs. Their logic is that if four white men, by their votes, acknowledge their fear of being dominated by one Negro the time of the Indian has come. They fully believe that one Indian is at least equal to one Negro, and, generally speaking, greatly his superior. They think they can whip the Negroes, notwithstanding the difficulty they have experienced in taking the scalps of Negro soldiers whom they have met on the field of battle and regard as "black devils."

This is a curiously odd phase of the political situation, and would certainly bring a smile to the lips of the average citizen if it were not so sad to think that in the evil days which have come upon us when we have no political leaders worthy of the name we have to resort to such absurd political humbug as the cry of "Negro domination."

WILLIAM N. HILL, M. D.

Baltimore, October 10, 1903.

#### THOSE WHO SWEAT FOR IT.

From "the *Pride of Telfair*," by Elliott Peake. Harper Bros.

"Here are some very interesting papers—to me," observed Davenport, socially taking them up. "They are the abstract and deed of the Holbrook farm, out in Turtle township. I bought the farm on Tuesday, held it two days, sold it on Thursday and made \$2,000."

Bowman started.

"That's more money than I make in a year," said he.

"It's more than I make in two days," answered Morris, laughing. Perhaps he was not wholly blind to the operations going on behind Bowman's high, white scholarly forehead, and rather enjoyed the situation.

"It's easy money for you, Morris, but somebody sweat for it," the minister could not help saying.

"Yes, I have thought of that," said Davenport. "But with me it's come easy, go easy."

"In that case I don't know that you could do better than let \$50 of it go toward the piano for the Sunday school," suggested Bowman, only half in earnest.

"I'll do it," said Davenport, and wrote Bowman a check for the amount. "But did you ever stop to think just who it was that sweat for that money? Not the man who has just bought the farm, for he will make money on the investment. Not Holbrook, who has just sold the farm, for he bought the land for \$30 an acre and sold it for \$100, and has

lived off it for a quarter of a century besides, and lived well. Not the first white man that owned it, for he got the tract and thousands of acres besides from the Indians for a barrel of cheap whisky. Not the Indians, for they never did anything for it except to hunt over it."

"I should say the people who sweat for that money were the laborers who have worked on the land all these years and improved it."

"No, for they received a due wage for their labor. Now, I'll tell you who it was. Not to go back too far, it was the people who made the State of Illinois, guaranteeing protection to life and property. It was the people who built the cities of this and neighboring States, creating a market for the wheat and corn and stock which came off that farm. It was the railroads which made it possible to carry this wheat and corn and stock to a market. It was the men who made the steel which made the railroads possible. These people, thousands upon thousands in number, sweat for that money, as I see it."

#### UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

Printed from the Original MS.

Dear John: There is no sense, not a bit, in Canada gettin' mad. Trouble with Canada is she did not study her geography lesson when she was small. Why, law me! that northwest boundary has been about as well fixed as anything else for fifty year. But you lead me in one thing, John. You turned out a man who placed his principles above his party. I don't believe you have two of 'em; and I'm mightily afeared I have none at all, leastways, not in my controllin' party. I mind when the Hayes-Tilden presidential election went to my Supreme Court, there was no Lord Alverstone in the bunch. They divided on party lines, six to seven, I disremember, like carters in a tavern. They all had principles, my justices had, but they was rudimentary, and not conflictin' with party ties, and I've never had no great conceit of my Supreme Court since. Same way with my politicians. At the end of the Spanish war they took all that Spain had in the Philippines; and then took all that she didn't have.

Now suppose a similar case. Suppose gold was found in Canada West, and I should suddenly discover that my line did not run through the middle of the chain of great lakes, but through the middle of Hudson Bay. You'd say, "Rats!" and we'd appoint a joint commission to sit on it. I would appoint on my side the head-lights of my Republican

party. Let's see; I'd appoint Mark Hanna, Postmaster Payne and Theodore. You would look my crowd over, and you'd say:

"You are two men short, Sam; you have left off Taffy the Welshman, and Ali Baba, captain of the forty thieves."

I'd say: "Confound you! Are you a reflectin' on my committee?"

You'd say: "Reflect nothin'; but there ain't a-goin' to be any core!"

"What do you mean?" I'd say.

"Why, Sam," you'd say, "ain't that the same gang of benevolent assimilators that stole the Filipino Republic? Take 'em severally—would Uncle Mark Hanna do the George Washington, and say: 'I can tell a lie, but not such a whopper as that; the boundary line is and always was the middle thread of the lakes.' No, Uncle Mark might say: 'The line runs through Hudson's bay, I carried the chain for Hudson when I was a boy; and we'll let well enough alone.' Postmaster Payne would just laugh; and Theodore—there are things Theodore will not take, and that's flags. No, Sam, Canada West is yours if you say so, but I won't play with no loaded commission and pretend I don't know it."

And right you'd be, John. They are bright boys, and I suppose I ought to be proud of 'em; but sometimes they make the old man a little ashamed. I yum! I'd rather you had 'em.

I dropped the question into my poetry machine last week, whether a President should accept gifts; but the blamed thing missed the pint, it seems to me,—and turned out two stanzas that ain't mates:

NAY, NAY, NAY!

I cannot take your flag, little girl, little girl;

I cannot take your flag, charming daughter.

I cannot take your flag, though a mighty pretty rag;

I am President, indeed I hadn't oughter.

"SUCCESS."

The strenuous life he follered

With might and main;

Strained at a flag, and swallered—

A railway train.

UNCLE SAM.

#### THE SOCIAL PRICE.

The following article from the pen of Ethelbert Stewart, published in a recent issue of *The Outlook*, illustrates so lucidly certain conditions in our Social System that it should be carefully studied by every reader of *The Public*; and the author goes so forcibly and straight to the point that the article is given in full, as extracts would fail to do him justice.

G. W. FLINT.

If the price paid by the individual consumer of a commodity was the full and only price attaching to it, society

could strike a balance-sheet each night like a bank. Unfortunately, too much of our production and commerce adds to the output an intangible social expense not carried to the price lists nor paid by the consumer. Years, and sometimes generations, may pass before this running account against the Social Whole is presented for payment in a tangible form. Even then it comes through a collection agency so remote from the source of the original expense that society is likely to forget all about it, grudgingly pay the bill it does not believe it owes, and charge it up to incidentals.

Most of our taxes go to pay the social price of commodities individually consumed long since by those who may or may not now be taxpayers. This was palpable when, under the poor laws of England, the wages of laborers were deliberately reduced by manufacturers and farmers alike, so that general taxation might be compelled to pay in poor rates a part of the cost of production of all commodities. Social price is very apparent when congress pays the sugar producers two cents a pound bounty out of the federal treasury, leaving the individual consumer to pay a first installment and take the goods. It is just as real, though not so apparent, when child labor and old age limits to employment throw upon society droves of morally and physically mal-developed adults, and still greater droves of practically blacklisted persons charged with the new crime of having gray hairs.

"Squeeze the lemon and throw away the skin," was said to be the motto of the railroad wreckers of the Erie school. When the famous engine 999 of the Empire State express was made a switch engine after six years of record-breaking service, the general surprise called out an interview with an American railroad manager. He said that while English and German roads coddled and repaired their engines, keeping them in service sometimes for forty years, and as "switchers" for twenty more, the American plan is to "hammer the road life out of an engine in five or six years, use it as a switcher for five or ten more, and then scrap-iron the whole engine at once. We believe it pays better."

At a recent milk dairymen's convention the policy of milking cows to death in the shortest possible time was discussed from a purely business point of view. It was claimed that by means of milk-producing foods the quantity could be trebled. To the objection that such milk-forcing shortened the life of

the cow, it was replied: "It does not pay to look to long life for a milker. If the life energies of a cow represent 100 units of milk, and these can be marketed in five years under high pressure feeding, why should the cow be kept ten years? If the milking possibilities of a cow can be gotten out of her in three years, it does not pay to keep her five."

With lemon peels and engines society need not concern itself, nor will we sentimentalize over the application of humane ideas to milch cows, but when the economic doctrine embodied in these three illustrations is applied to men, society has much to do with human engines sent to an early scrap pile. The "age limit to employment" is now practically universal, and ranges from 25 to 35 years. Most concerns prefer to employ youths of 20 years when taking on new help. "Old men cannot stand the pace," says the employer, but neglects to add that a pace in any industry which a man of 40 is too old to stand is one that puts a large element of social price in the product. Where the "premium plan" of increasing the pace has been adopted, it too frequently, though happily not always, happens that workmen who do not earn premiums are discharged. In reducing the number of employes, those who do not earn premiums or bonuses are always the first to go. A convention of bankers, ministers and university presidents is called for Chicago to discuss the opposition to piece work in the Machinists' International union. Piece work is the lemon-squeezer of most approved pattern. It is believed to be the quickest way to "hammer the life out of" a human engine and scrap-iron it all at once. It is the foundation of sweat-shopism.

Taking the ages of gangs of men employed at street cleaning and park labor in various cities recently, it was found that only three per cent were young enough or physically strong enough to obtain employment in private establishments. Most of these men would have to be supported out of the public funds directly if they were not employed by the public on public work. If half their wages represents charity disguised, it is in reality the social price of commodities produced by them years ago "at a pace old men cannot stand." After all, is it charity to the old men that we are giving in our street departments and old people's homes, or is it subsidies to the "cheap commodities and high profits" mania with which we are fool-

ing ourselves? The shoplifting which as "bargain hunting" "lifts" only the social price, proudly paying the "marked down" one, is, unconsciously perhaps, second cousin to the shoplifting which takes all. Public or private contracts let to the "lowest bidder" merely postpone to a future day to be paid as social price the difference between the lowest and the fairest bidder. Especially is it disastrous when articles of export are endowed with a large element of social price.

The glass bottle manufacturers appeared before the Illinois legislature in opposition to a child labor bill with the statement that "glass bottles can not be manufactured and sold on the market without child labor." Possibly the social price of glass bottles exceeds the net price to consumers. Silk from silk mills "utilizing the labor" of the children in the anthracite fields, and sold by child clerks in department stores where "cash girls" run for change and bundles, may accumulate a social price on the way that might render boycotts moral. Reform schools, houses of rescue, penitentiaries, are some of the large ways in which we pay the social price; night schools, social settlements, fresh air funds, indicate some of the smaller ways. As intimated above, the circumlocution of the collection agency frequently obscures the origin of the debt. Half of our drunkenness, most of our social vice, much of the insanity, and all the general letting down of social status in mining and manufacturing centers, will be charged to social price when the tangles in our bookkeeping are straightened out. The Federal pension-roll convinces even political economists that we are still paying for the war of a generation ago; but their blindness to pension rolls, growing out of their pet economic fetish of competitive industry and commerce, is hopeless. If profit and price could be net and actual in each transaction, society could afford to wait until these Killenny cats were gone and the last echo of their expiring yells had died away. But what profit cannot unload upon price, or price snatch away from profit, is by both dumped upon society and forms the social price. Before the days of political economy the Hanseatic league was obliged to include the cost of its navy in the selling price of its goods.

Old age workmen's pensions, a plan to which every commercial country must come in some form, are, in any form, a subsidy to non-self-supporting industries and the commerce

growing out of such. In countries where old age pension laws have been boldly and openly passed as such, they serve to show in bold relief the element of social price attaching to our system. But we in America will probably keep on doing things by indirection, put our old men on street-cleaning gangs, and growl at the cost of public work. It serves to disguise the real cause of the trouble, and, as a Chinaman would say, it "saves our face."

"Papa, what is Charity?"

"Charity, my son, is giving away what you don't want."

"What is Scientific Charity?"

"Scientific Charity is giving away what you don't want to some one who does not want it."

"What is Organized Charity?"

"Organized Charity, my son, is giving away something that you don't want to some Society which will give it away to some one who does not want it."

"Then, what is Love, papa?"

"Love? Oh, Love is only giving something that you want to some one who wants it—but that will pauperize the poor."—Bolton Hall, in Life.

It is growing more peaceful in Wall street. You hear only the noise of the wringer up in Mr. Morgan's laundry squeezing water out of stocks, and the sounds made by a noted philanthropist in skinning a few flints for dinner down in the basement.—Brooklyn Eagle.

## BOOKS

### THE MONARCH BILLIONAIRE.

What promises at the opening to be a good satirical story, "The Monarch Billionaire" (New York: J. S. Ogilvie, 57 Rose St.), is soon spoiled by the futile attempt of its author, Morrison I. Swift, to turn it into a series of essays in support of socialism.

It is not the purpose of the essays, the inculcation of socialism, that is destructive, but the fact that they are essays. They are as distinct from the story into which they are mortised by crude joinerwork, as if they were in another book.

Until the essays appear the story holds the reader because it presents just such an exaggeration of persons and conditions as to make them roughly and impressively typify the present social and industrial state. Mr. Swift's plutocratic trust-promoter has no counterpart in real life, yet he and his career are typical of all plutocratic trust-promotion. There is just enough exaggeration in the right places to make him stand out as a suggestive caricature. So with the blooded aristocrat, the college men, the working people. Not only are these characters without counterparts in real life, but they do not appear to be imbued with human life at all. Yet they do seem to live. They are not unlike Peter Newell's pictures of men, women

and dogs, which, whether intended for caricatures or not, always make you think of wooden images mechanically vitalized.

This is not an objection to Mr. Swift's story, considered as a caricature of types or a satire upon conditions. On the contrary his work is all the better for it. The trouble seems to be that he has tried to weave into one performance a novel, a satire and a series of essays. The essays are good in themselves, the point of view once conceded; the story makes an excellent setting for the caricatures and the satire; the satire sounds a true note; and the caricatures excellently serve the purpose of bringing out into interesting relief your self-made men, your patrician society, and your scholastic cults. But the satire dies away, the caricatures lose their vitality and the story ceases to interest, this side of the 100th page.

## PERIODICALS.

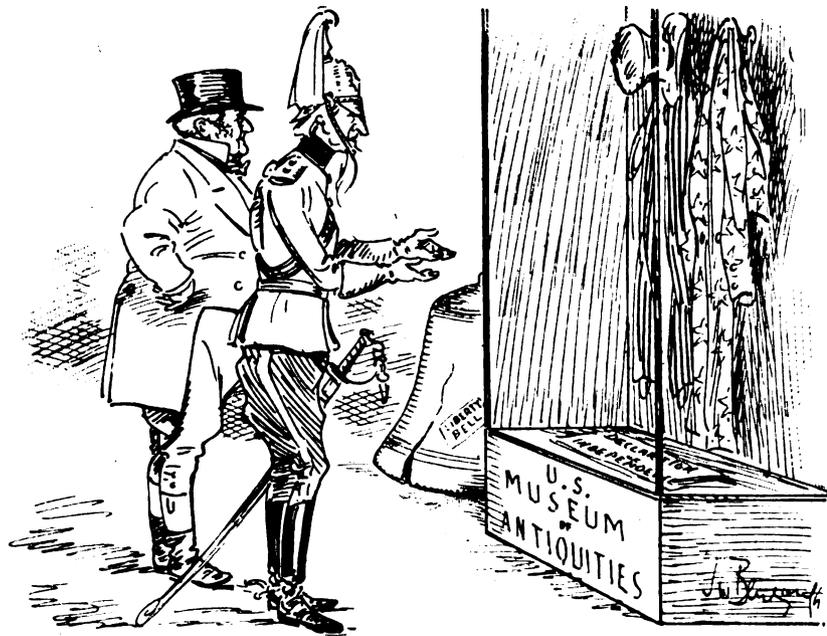
An interesting historical and personal account of the Electoral Commission, which gave the presidential election of 1876 to Hayes instead of Tilden is told in Pearson's for November, by David S. Barry, who was a page in the Senate at the time.

In the International Journal of Ethics for October, appears a valuable paper by John A. Ryan, of St. Paul Seminary, St. Paul, Minn., on the question of the communistic teachings of the Church Fathers. The writer concludes that the Fathers were not communists, but that their declarations which apparently condemn private property are in reality condemnations of its abuses and exaggerations. The reasonable inference from this paper, though the writer is at some pains to slur it over, is that the Fathers distinguished between what may be property rightfully and what not, and that their distinction was about the same as the one Henry George makes.

Mr. Eugene G. Hay writes, in the October number of the Review of Reviews, in favor of reciprocity with Canada. "The freedom of trade," writes Mr. Hay, "between the States and the vast territory over which our commerce extends without restriction or hindrance, has been the most potent factor in our prosperity; to increase that territory by adding contiguous States, peopled by the same class of people maintaining the same civilization, with similar political institutions, would, therefore, increase that prosperity." Mr. Hay's objection to extending free trade to peoples not of the "same civilization" is based on his belief that the tariff upholds the American wage standard. J. H. D.

A writer in the October number of Hammer and Pen, the organ of the Church Association in the Interest of Labor, says that "to-day the employment of children of tender years, at hard, continuous and wearisome labor in factories, stores, and in the streets as vendors of or carriers of newspapers, shoe-laces, ice, and the like, goes on, and must continue to go on till the public conscience, which at present is barely pricked, is thoroughly awakened to the magnitude of the evil and the fearful consequences to the community which are its natural result." This is not enough, as the good people who are looking after laws against child-labor and the enforcement of such laws as we have, are beginning to find out. The only way to prevent a widespread evil of this kind, is to seek radically for the cause, and begin reform there. Mere prohibition, by law, will not succeed. If all the saviors of society who are now so earnestly engaged in preventing child-labor would as earnestly ask themselves, why, why it should be that in this land so full of blessings of nature little children are set to toil, they would start their mission on a surer road to success. J. H. D.

The Springfield Republican quotes from the Johannesburg Times, a paper which used to abuse Kruger, the following passage, which discloses an increasing lack of appreciation for the benevolent effects of imperialism in that part of the world: "We have changed our tyrant," says the Times, "from Kruger to the English



“EXPANSION.”

Uncle Sam—Those, John, are the clothes Jefferson made for me. He was a good Tailor and I had comfort in 'em. What I'm wearin' now is the outfit McKinley and Roosevelt made for me, and they're reg'lar misery to me.

monopolist, and our grievances are trebled. Freedom of speech has gone like everything else." Which is simply saying that imperialism has not changed in modern times from the imperialism of Medes, Persians, Romans and all the rest that history tells of. The only difference is that modern imperialism is made still more offensive by hypocrisy. J. H. D.

Harper's Weekly of October 24, speaking of Secretary Shaw's speeches in the present Ohio campaign, expresses the opinion that "he is hard put to it for campaign ammunition, and that he is uneasy about the outcome of the contest. We infer," continues the writer, "that his apprehensions are shared by Senator Hanna; otherwise the latter would scarcely betray the bitterness which now for the first time he exhibits in speeches on the stump." Whether or not Mr. Hanna feels uneasy about the outcome no outsider can know; but all of us know that he cannot answer Johnson's facts and arguments in behalf of home-rule and fairer taxation—and this is enough to make him irritable. J. H. D.

The Nebraska Independent of October 15 has a very interesting communication on the Tax Laws of Manitoba. The writer says: "She assesses farm and garden land at its unimproved, or prairie value, and frees from taxation all the improvements which the settler makes. Houses, buildings, fences, orchards, grain, flour, clothing, furniture, books, etc., pay no taxes whatever. . . . In this way is production encouraged and land speculation made unprofitable. There is thus no inducement for any but actual settlers to acquire title, and no incentive for a settler to take more than he can use." This readily explains, as the writer holds, why more than a hundred thousand settlers from our central west have migrated into this State within the past four years, preferring inhospitable climate to inhospitable tax laws. J. H. D.

Readers of Henrik Ibsen will find in the Book-Lover for November a biographical sketch of this author and also an appreciative criticism. His life tells the same story which belongs to so many of the great sons of men—struggle, poverty, failure—or rather, apparent failure, for they never fail: it is we who fail to know them soon enough. There is a deep pathos in the appeal which Ibsen made to the King

for financial help. "I cannot live," he wrote, "on the many expressions of thanks which I have received." At this time he had published some of his best work, but it had brought him little money. The returns from his best paying production, on which he had labored a whole year, were about a hundred dollars. J. H. D.

A correspondent quoted in Good House-keeping for November says: "Do you know there is more 'call' for checking, by every channel of influence, as magazines and newspapers, the gait at which women are going in the matter of spending money, pleasure-seeking and other forms of self-indulgence, to the neglect of home, than any other subject demands or admits?" The editor adds that "the demoralization is not confined to a class; it spreads and is threatening the democratic simplicity and honesty of our home life as a nation." Do the editor and his correspondent think that the evil is to be cured by rosewater exhortations to the "Simple Life"? If what the editor implies on the preceding page of the same issue were true, that we have "demonstrated beyond all cavil" certain conditions with "minimum injustice to man and money," the evil spoken of would not exist; for the lust of spending and of nervous self-indulgence is now, as it was as far back as Roman days, the fruit of a crop of millionaires who have got their wealth by privilege, and not by minimum injustice, and have set a feverish standard of life, which all who can do so attempt foolishly to imitate. J. H. D.

BOOKS REVIEWED IN THE PUBLIC

Can all be purchased through the Purdy Publishing Company  
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DEBATE

Mr. John Z. White will debate with Mr. A. M. Simons, the question "SINGLE TAX VERSUS SOCIALISM" at the Maplewood Opera House, 1310 North Rockwell Street, on Sunday afternoon, November 1st, at 2:30 p. m.  
 Take Elston or Milwaukee Ave. cars.

The Public

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Published weekly by THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, 1641 Unity Building, Chicago, Ill. Post office address, THE PUBLIC, Box 687, Chicago, Ill.

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