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A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

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LOUIS F. POST
EDITOR

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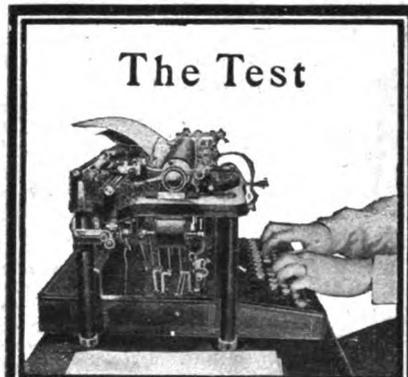
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The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

Volume VIII

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EDITORIAL

Whatever may have been the cause or the excuse for the present disturbed labor condition in Chicago (pp. 65, 70), or whoever may have been at fault, there is no excuse at all for its continuance, and the fault for that lies at the door of the employers' union. It lies at their door because the alleged grievances of both sides could have been referred to fair arbitration at any time these many days, and would have been so referred but for the stubborn if not malicious refusal of the employers' organization to consider any proposition whatever

which might tend to an adjustment peaceably.

The plea of the employers that they ask only legal rights to the use of the streets without risk of assaults, and that therefore they will not arbitrate those rights, is all pretense. This is not all they ask, and it is not all that is involved. So far as it is at all involved, it is involved as an actual or possible consequence of alleged unfairness of the employers in dealing with their employes. The question for arbitration is this alleged unfairness. Consent by the employers to arbitrate that question would end the strike instantly; and with the strike ended the possibilities of lawlessness would be removed. Refusal to engage in such an arbitration not only raises a suspicion that the employers have provoked the strike by being unfair, but that they wish to perpetuate it.

Why anyone should wish to perpetuate so inflammable a condition in a great city is not obvious. But that some one does wish it in this case is evident. In the light of all the circumstances there is no reasonable escape from the conclusion that somebody is trying to plunge the city into chaos. The search for that somebody must begin, like any other criminal inquiry, with locating the motive. The motive is not to be found among the strikers. It is to be found among the employers or back of them. Millions upon millions of tainted dollars are at stake, which may be saved to their sordid claimants if human passions can be so deftly played upon as to make riot, troops, slaughter and public panic seem to be the natural result of electing to an important office any genuine adversary of plutocracy; for thereby a revulsion at the polls may be produced.

Let him who doubts, consider

the circumstances. Why does the plutocratic New York Times (May 5) describe the situation as "reaping the penalty of putting a socialistic municipal ownership crank in the mayor's chair"? Why did the cry for Federal troops go up from plutocratic throats and through the plutocratic press before a brick had been thrown or a shot fired? Why has every act of violence been magnified and every effort for peace been minimized? Why did local employers make their way to the Federal courts as a vestibule to the Federal army by running off to another State to incorporate? Why did they import strange Negroes as strike breakers—many of them in flagrant defiance of the Illinois law against fraudulent importation of laborers into the State—if not for the purpose of exciting race animosities and thereby provoking public disorder? This could benefit nobody but satanic plutocrats playing at a game, with human passions for pawns and millions for the stake. Why did they arm these irresponsible Negroes, contrary to law, with concealed weapons and before there had been any violence? A reckless use of those weapons constituted, by the way, the first breach of the peace in the whole strike. Why did they compel the police to march through crowded thoroughfares guarding caravans of empty wagons, bound from nowhere to nowhere, but driven by imported Negroes and carrying armed detectives picked up from the purlieus of other cities, if not for the purpose of inciting angry men to overt acts? The question of the Negro's equal right to work is foreign to the point. The point is the question not of Negroes coming for work, but of Negroes imported by white men with the criminal purpose of inflaming prejudiced minds to the point of violence. Why have the employers refused every overture to take this labor controversy off the streets, where it endangers the public peace, and into a court

room, where it can be fairly and peaceably settled? Why have they started the cry that Mayor Dunne is culpable for alleged inefficiency of policemen, against whom they have failed to bring charges on which he can possibly act? These are but samples of many significant questions that might be asked, the answers to which may be inferred from the comments of the plutocratic papers of the East. "Chicago to-day stands as an object lesson of socialism in action," says one of these, the Cincinnati Times-Star, in the same spirit that animates the comment of all. By "socialism" it means the recent election of Dunne (p. 53) as the representative of municipal ownership of municipal property; and "socialism in action" means the disorder in the streets, which has been provoked and is kept alive by the sinister influences that Dunne defeated at the polls and for which these papers stand. In reality, this is not socialism in action; it is plutocracy in action. The sooner the well-meaning citizen awakes to a realization of that, the better will it be for orderly and honest government.

The hope of finding in Chicago more than a handful of citizens of prominence who rise above partisan interests, class sympathies and class graft, is a slender strand. In the neighborhood settlements and among their supporters there are some. Among the preachers there are a few. But on the whole, Chicago is a class-ridden city. The public right, except as a euphemism for class interests, is regarded as something mystical. The syllogistic formula for the logic of the public spirit that prevails in Chicago with reference to any event or proposal whatever would be something like this:

The city—it is my class; what has happened or what you propose is good for my class; therefore, it is good for the city. Conversely, if bad for my class it is bad for the city.

And so the woof of the argument threads its way through conversation, preachment and editorial.

Whatever the issue, whether graft-getting or graft-giving, violence or peace, law or defiance of law, selfish greed or pride or selfish hate or fear are ever uppermost. Even the question of making the gutters run with human blood, has not turned upon considerations of the public good; it has turned upon expectations with reference to class interest, except when still lower considerations have entered in. This is really not the general fact; but it is the fact as to so-called "leading citizens."

In this whole inflammable controversy now kept on the public streets by the employers' union, only one prominent man (men of neighborhood settlement prominence and men of official responsibility excepted), has had the will and the courage to defy his social class, and his political party, and the wolfish business interests that howl all about him. He alone among non-officials of local prominence proclaims good citizenship regardless of personal, political and business association. Our allusion is to William Kent. Although Mr. Kent is a Republican, and was one of the most vigorous opponents of Mayor Dunne in the recent municipal campaign, he has written the Mayor an open letter in which, upon tendering his sympathy, his thanks, and his assistance, he says:

With a keen realization of the necessity of preserving the dignity of the town, you have gone further than any other mayor we have had in strengthening the police force, and your position in regard to disarming strikers and strike breakers alike must meet with the approval of every man not biased by the side he has taken in the controversy.

It was in response to a suggestion of Mr. Kent that Mayor Dunne appointed his investigating commission which is now in session. That the Mayor is himself a citizen before he is a partisan, and that he intends to serve the people instead of a class or a party, is sufficiently well indicated in this connection by the men he has appointed on that commission. In Graham Taylor, a distinguished neigh-

borhood settlement sociologist, in Mr. Webster, a large manufacturer, and in Mr. Boyden, a lawyer, he has named three competent men who opposed his election as mayor. Yet the employers' organization, again responding to the subtle influences which have all along inspired it, refuses to facilitate the good citizenship work of this commission.

One of the incidents of the Chicago strike is not only significant of the character of some of the financial influences that are playing the game of arousing public passion for private profit, but it raises again the question of the right of bankers to divert funds for which they are trustees. We allude to an arbitrary contribution by banks of \$50,000 to the strike fund of the employers' union. To have made this contribution to the strike fund of the strikers' union would, we suspect, have come perilously near to the diversion in which Banker Bigelow was recently caught. That the principle is the same no matter which strike fund gets the plunder, appears to be the sensible opinion of one of the bankers of Chicago who was approached but refused to contribute. John V. Clarke, president of the Hibernian Bank, replying to the solicitations of the secretary of the Chicago Clearing House, pointedly said:

This bank, while deeply regretting the conditions as now existing in our city, will not in any way change its position . . . Our position is that as a banking corporation it is not within the sphere of its officials to appropriate the funds of its stockholders for any such purpose; and, again, it is our opinion that the Employers' Association was not organized wholly for the purpose of law and order as contained in your circulars; and, further, we object to the form of the resolution as implying it was the opinion of all the associated banks that this contribution should be made, while in fact it was the opinion of the majority only. This bank reserves the right, should occasion demand it, of placing itself before the public as voting against this resolution of contribution.

If that position isn't sound, we should like to know why. If it is

sound, we should like to know the least offensive term or terms that would explicitly characterize the act of the bankers who did divert the funds of their stockholders to the uses of the employers' union.

There is some satisfaction in being able to acknowledge some good in the tendencies of the Chicago business classes, even if it must be considered that it also is inspired by class interest rather than public interest. At any rate business class sensitiveness here has become sufficiently acute to produce a cry of pain under the pressure of tariff protection. Protection has steadily worked out some of its natural results, and has done it so thoroughly that "the commercial interests of Chicago," at luncheon assembled, acknowledge that "we are face to face with a hostile and retaliating attitude on the part of some of the great commercial nations of the world, and that this attitude especially threatens and endangers the prosperity and welfare of the agricultural interests of our country." The obvious remedy for that condition is free trade. If we didn't provoke other nations they wouldn't retaliate. But free trade has a bitter taste to men who have swallowed protection so long and accustomed themselves to call it sweet. World-wide "reciprocity" is therefore the word. Well, world-wide reciprocity or world-wide freetrade—what's the difference? There's nothing in a name, except to persons who think with their feet.

In advocating Federal licenses as a remedy for trusts, William J. Bryan draws a distinction with reference to Federal incorporation. The distinction is a true one, and completely meets the objection to centralization. We quote him:

The license adds a Federal remedy to existing State remedies without depriving the State of any remedy it now has. Federal incorporation would interfere with State regulation or control, and for that reason is desired by the trusts.

This is correct. National corpo-

rations would end in the total destruction of local government. By absorbing the business of the country, they would make practically all business interests superior to local legislation and local adjudication. The States would be powerless to control a corporate creature of the Federal government. But if no State corporation were allowed to do business outside the State of its creation without a Federal license, as Mr. Bryan proposes, and not then if the invaded State objected, the license would amount to no more than permission to cross State lines, which is really the only authority the Federal government ought to have over domestic commerce. Whether or not the Federal licenses would destroy trusts, is another question. The first consideration is whether they would destroy home rule. Mr. Bryan shows in seven lines that Federal licenses would not destroy home rule, and that Federal incorporation would.

An English tourist of the name of Henry Simpson is reported to have become very indignant when, after landing in this country and going upon a visit to friends in Canada, he was compelled to pay the United States a head tax of \$2 for permission to come again under the shadow of our starry flag of freedom. Mr. Simpson is quoted as exclaiming: "I tell you, sir, a nation putting such iniquitous laws into practice ought to belong to the class of a sixth-rate country of the civilized peoples!" Mr. Simpson spoke with moderation. The truth is that a nation with such laws does not belong, so far as those laws concern her, in any class at all of civilized peoples. It is other things and not this barbarous head money law, that puts us in a civilized class.

"CORPORATION LAWYERS."

New conditions breed new epithets. When new epithets come into use, they excite protests, and in these protests there is usually a degree of justice. An instance in point is the opprobrium which

has recently attached in the United States to the term "corporation lawyer."

To speak opprobriously of "the corporation lawyer" is to make many honorable members of the legal profession feel that the epithet is unjustly used. They may very well protest that at a time when corporations have so largely displaced partnerships in business, every lawyer of much practice is more or less a corporation lawyer necessarily. This protest would be good if the epithet alluded merely to legitimate professional service for corporations.

But as an opprobrious term, "corporation lawyer" implies something more than that the lawyer to whom it attaches is a corporation practitioner. It implies, whether justly or not in the given case, that he is a certain kind of scamp; and this, not because he devotes himself to corporation practice, but because he lends his talents to inventing and promoting the success of corporateascalities.

The distinction may be illustrated by reference to the term "criminal lawyer," which has long been an opprobrious epithet.

There is really nothing essentially dishonorable in the practice of the criminal law, not even as an exclusive specialty. On the contrary, there is no higher moral level in the legal profession than that which able and conscientious lawyers have aspired to and sometimes reached in the defense of innocent persons charged with crime. And though the accused be guilty, his right to the safeguards of the law, and the rights of innocence to have those safeguards maintained, even for the protection of guilt, lest the innocent suffer by their abrogation,—the preservation of these rights makes legitimate practice in the criminal courts a more honorable pursuit essentially than the engineering of litigation over dollars and times.

It would, therefore, be unjust to denounce criminal practitioners opprobriously as "criminal lawyers," if specialty practice in the criminal courts really consisted in protecting the innocent and maintaining the integrity of the criminal law. Unfortunately, how-

ever, the specialist in criminal law has seldom been governed by motives so high. Instead of devoting himself conscientiously as an officer of the court to the maintenance of the law for the protection of his clients' rights, he has usually fallen into the habit of devoting himself to the perversion of the law in the interest of his clients' wishes. In other words, he has been pretty apt to become a legal lackey for criminals.

Largely for this reason, sensitive lawyers have shunned the criminal law as a specialty, and have inclined to avoid participation even occasionally in criminal cases. They shrink from being stigmatized as "criminal lawyers."

It is for similar reasons that "corporation lawyer" has become an opprobrious epithet. Opprobrious it certainly is, or there would be no protests from lawyers. No body protests against epithets that are complimentary; but lawyers with a corporation practice do object to being called "corporation lawyers." It is certain, however, that the public mind, though it may not consciously analyze as we are here trying to do, does not intend to stigmatize lawyers for legitimately protecting corporations in their rights under the law. What it does intend to stigmatize is their perversion of the law in the interest of corporate aggression.

Precisely, therefore, as "criminal lawyer" means a legal lackey for vulgar criminals, "corporation lawyer" means a legal lackey for crime-breeding corporations.

The lawyer of this type is not a genuine professional man. The true professional man in the legal profession holds himself a trustee, not only of his clients' rights but of the public interest as well. He realizes that it is for that purpose that he is a sworn public official, and as a professional man he is faithful to his oath of office whether his clients like it or not. From this high professional estate the "corporation lawyer" has fallen. He has become a mere "business man" with a legal education. Within the limits of business ethics, he is ethical, but no farther; somewhat as the "criminal lawyer" is ethical within the

scope of "criminal ethics." To lawyers of this class, "corporation lawyer" in its most opprobrious sense is a justly applied epithet.

They are the lawyers who advise corporations how to evade the law with safety, how to violate it with impunity, and how to enforce against others the very laws they evade or violate themselves.

They are the lawyers who "cover" corporations in the distribution of bribes, who pull the wires of legislation to secure corporate privileges, and who by touching elbows with weak or venal judges get for corporations valuable favors from the bench.

They never stop with asking what the law is; they govern themselves by what the corporations they serve want it to be.

With them, law is not a method of protecting rights and preserving order, to be at all times executed with a due regard for its purpose; it is a vindictive god to be placated by liberal blood sacrifice when great corporations demand it, and an obsolete fetish to be tumbled from its pedestal if it stands in the pathway of their aggressions.

Lawyers of this type—and most specialists in corporation practice either are of this type or hope to be,—are worse than criminals, no matter how suave their manner, how generous their gifts, or how pretentious their assertions of civic virtue.

It is they and such as they that are in the public mind when the "corporation lawyer" is denounced.

And, indeed, no denunciation could possibly be too severe. The "corporation lawyer," considered as a corporation lackey with a legal education, and distinguished from the conscientious professional man whose clientage includes corporations, which would be turned out of his office if they demanded of him any but legitimate professional service—the "corporation lawyer" so distinguished, is dangerous and despicable in the ratio of his natural ability, his legal acquirements, and his success at his satanic trade.

At the bar, he has degraded the legal profession; in legislatures, whether as member or lobbyist, he has corrupted the sources of the law; sitting on the bench, he

has perverted the principles of jurisprudence. Of all the types produced by a period of gross materialism, now happily passing away, the "corporation lawyer" is at once the worst and the meanest.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

Fruitvale, Cal., May 2.—The great topic of the day in labor circles on the Pacific coast, and notably in San Francisco, is the Japanese "invasion of the labor market." Thanks to the extent and completeness of labor organization at this time, and the consequent facilities for bringing labor sentiment to bear upon public opinion and conduct by regular and usual means, we have not the noisy sand-lot meetings nor the spectacular exhibitions of mob violence which characterized the anti-Chinese agitation of the Kearney period. But the same intense feeling and zealous activity are reproduced in the renewed struggle against unrestricted Asiatic immigration which now has for its object the exclusion of the Japanese.

The labor unions of San Francisco, led by the Building Trades Council, inaugurated the movement some six months ago, and pushed it so effectively as to procure the passage of resolutions by the American Federation of Labor convention, held here in November, declaring the influx of Japanese to be "much more threatening in its possibilities than the menace of Chinese labor now greatly allayed by the passage and enforcement of the Chinese exclusion act," and asking of Congress an enlargement of the provisions of that act so as to "permanently exclude from the United States and its insular territory all classes of Japanese and Coreans other than those exempted by the present terms of that act."

Besides the active assistance of labor leaders and journals throughout the Coast region, the movement has had much support from the press generally, and was placed well to the front among public topics, by the San Francisco Daily Chronicle, an influential Republican journal, which began the latter part of February to make a specialty of exposing the extent and dangers of the Japanese invasion at length and in detail in both its editorial and correspondence columns. Immediately following this stand on the part of the Chronicle, joint resolutions were unanimously passed by the legislatures of California and Nevada setting forth the facts of the situation and calling upon the Pacific coast Congressional delegation to use their influence towards action without delay,

by treaty or otherwise, with a view to diminish the further immigration of Japanese laborers to the United States.

"Organized Labor," the official organ of the San Francisco Building Trades Council, has been recently engaged in an effort looking to the formation among the union membership of an independent Anti-Japanese League. A convention for the purpose has been called to meet in San Francisco May 7, and the committee of arrangements now announce with pleasure that owing to the great interest taken and the large number of credentials already received from the various unions, they have been obliged to change the appointed place of meeting to a larger hall and otherwise extend their preparations for the accommodation of the assembly.

In view of this, Anti-Japanese League convention, "Oriental Labor" sends out with its issue of April 29 a four-page supplement of reprinted articles on the Japanese question in all its phases, selected from those which have appeared in the Chronicle since its definite espousal of the cause of Japanese exclusion. Barring of course the prejudicial mental attitude and the narrowness of view which must necessarily characterize those who advocate the restriction of acts not in themselves harmful, while ignoring the fundamental maladjustments which make such restrictions appear to be necessary, these articles are very interesting reading and full of food for serious thought. They contain estimates placing the number of Japanese now in California at 35,000 and in the United States at large at 60,000. Four great Japanese emigration companies besides smaller ones are stated to be actively pushing at home the expatriation of coolies mainly to the United States via Pacific coast ports. The arrivals at San Francisco during 1904 numbered 7,800 Japanese, over half of whom were from Hawaii, where the U. S. census of 1900 shows a Japanese population of 61,000. Generally speaking, the proportion of women among these immigrants is something above one-tenth. The hoped-for close of the Russo-Japanese war and the disbandment of armies is expected to swell the influx to an appalling extent unless such threatened calamity be averted by prompt governmental measures.

On their arrival here the Japanese laborers are introduced and handled in gangs by contractors who attend to all the formalities of their employment, wages and payment. The fields of labor earliest invaded were domestic service in the cities and in the country market gardening and fruit picking and handling. One correspondent states that in the famous

Vacaville fruit district "the Japanese are in a position of practical control" and "the white ranch owners and shippers are beginning to realize that in dallying with Asiatic labor they have Orientalized their valley, driven out the better class of white labor and left themselves at the mercy of the Japanese with his coolie system, his degraded scale of living and his utter unscrupulousness of dealing." The correspondent's description continues:

The Japanese organization differs from anything else to be seen in this country, being based upon the existence of what are practically slave laborers, who leave their destinies entirely in the hands of the Japanese overseer. If the Japanese who are working in the fields and vineyards of California were independent and ambitious individuals, striving for their own advancement, the Japanese question would not exist in the form in which it now presents itself. But the fact is that the Japanese laborer, considered individually, is a mere coolie. The rate of wages is of no moment to him. He is not hired by the white ranch owner. He is merely the means whereby the Jap boss fulfills his contract to supply so many days' labor at such a figure. His name, even, is unknown to the rancher. In Vacaville one may go to any store in the Oriental quarter and buy labor as he would buy sausages. The Jap boss delivers the goods f. o. b. the wagon bound for the ranch. He receipts for the check, and all that is expected of the laboring man is to do as little work thereafter as possible.

If the ranch owner objects, the coolies are called off, and he sees his fruit going to decay. If he offends the Oriental powers that be, he finds himself the victim of a boycott, and the next time he approaches an employment agent he will be told with a grin that "boys all busy to-day," or that his Japship has no time to talk. Eventually, if he succeeds in contracting for a certain number of laborers, but half of them will be forthcoming.

"They do not come out plainly and declare a boycott," said a Vacaville merchant, whose former connection with the fruit-growing industry gives him authority to speak, "for that is not their way of doing things. With a Jap, everything is underhand. They will simply cripple the man they do not like until they bring him to terms. What they want to do is to get the ranch into their own hands. This is the most alarming feature of the situation. More than half of the ranches in this valley are to-day rented by Orientals. Five years ago such a thing was not heard of.

"The most remarkable thing about it is the amount of work which a Jap boss can get out of his men. Take the same fellows who have been loafing around the ranch for months, and let the boss get control, and you will see them working even on moonlight nights. By making trouble on the one hand and offering a good rental on the other hand, the Japanese are tempting rancher after rancher to sign over his interests into their hands."

But these rural triumphs have, it appears, only whetted the Japanese appetite for industrial conquest. Another correspondent offers "a definite instance of a city trade which has been passed under the harrow and of which the fate is an illustration of the various processes of Japanese combination."

The trade in question is that of boot and shoe repairing, and it may be something of a revelation to many to know that in San Francisco alone there are nearly 200 establishments owned and operated by Japanese. This, of course, means that a precisely corresponding number of American skilled workmen have been dispossessed, that wages have been lowered throughout the whole industry, and that an American organization has been disorganized and discouraged. These are serious matters, and they become still more serious when we realize that the Japanese boot and shoe repairers practically constitute one single trade unit, and that their calamitous activities are directed and governed by one brain, and in one interest.

It seems that there is, in Japan a certain capitalist named Nishomura who had amassed a fortune in the boot and shoe trade, and whose factories were numerous throughout the whole country. Practically controlling the trade in Japan, he sought for further fields to conquer, and naturally decided that the conditions in America were precisely adapted to alien trade invasion. His emissaries arrived forthwith in California, and the Japanese boot and shoe repairing industry, as we now find it in San Francisco and elsewhere throughout the State, is practically the property of the Japanese capitalist, controlled by him in every detail, and governed with that paternal solicitude under which the Asiatic thrives and grows fat, but which the self-respecting white man could not tolerate for ten minutes.

The method of Nishomura and others of his type—and they are increasing and multiplying in the land—is simplicity itself. The new man who wishes to do business in San Francisco applies, in the first place, to the representatives of the Japanese capitalist and indicates the location in which he would like to settle.

If this location would involve competition with some other Japanese tradesman, the application will be refused. There must be absolutely no competition except with white men. If it seems, however, that no competition with his countrymen will ensue, the application is granted, a fee of \$25 is exacted, as well as 50 cents per week for sick benefits, and the new shop is opened.

The Japanese capitalist has, however, by no means finished with him. In addition to his regular contributions to the union he must purchase all his trade supplies from his commercial godfather. At first these supplies were bought in the ordinary manner from the local dealers, but that Japanese money should be allowed to enter American pockets was in every way contrary to the guiding commercial spirit of that interesting nation, and a Japanese establishment for the supply of trade material was accordingly opened, so that no money whatever might leave Japanese channels after it had once entered them. The country, the laws, the customers and the competitors were all American. The profits alone must be Japanese.

The next step is to furnish the shop-owner with a Japanese apprentice, in order that the process may not languish for the lack of human raw material. As soon as the apprentice is taught the rudiments of his trade he is started on his own account with his own shop and his own apprentice, and so the game is played in ever-widening circles, and to the ever-increasing profit of the capitalist and precisely commensurate loss to the American.

The Japanese repairer will always work for a little less than the white workman, who has his own union and his own standard of prices. The result is that the white man in his desperation, and perhaps with thoughts of his wife

and family, is finally tempted, and indeed compelled to depart from union prices and union rules, and his organization is at once threatened with dissolution. The 200 Japanese repairing shops flourishing in San Francisco to-day are alike witnesses to the success of the marauders, as well as to the patience of the white man, under a provocation which long ago reached a point where patience ceases to be a virtue.

Taken together this supplement would seem to show that the clever and adaptable Japanese has made good use of his opportunities for the study of American aims and methods not only in education and in military science but also in our industrial and commercial activities. We should not withhold our tribute of admiration for the little brown man's aptitude as a captain of industry, great as must be our disapproval of the imitations wherewith he sincerely flatters us.

The watcher on the tower, weary these many years with seeing the useful classes look to restrictions for the industrial independence and ease which are the gift of Liberty alone, still eagerly scans the horizon to see what matters of political and industrial moment lie within view, and as to each in turn he asks himself what and how great are its possibilities for turning the current of common thought in the direction which it must inevitably take at last. And seeing how organized labor, and through it the general public, is now aroused and excited locally over the Japanese "invasion," the question recurs whether it may be perhaps from this that the necessary pressure is to come to open the eyes and ears of workmen to the facts of their case and compel them at last to use fearlessly in their own behalf their own reasoning powers. Our industrial atmosphere rings now with the question: Through what strange inversion does it come about that those who would produce wealth for us cheaply must be treated as public enemies? But the question still falls on closed ears.

E. P. ROUNSEVELL.

BUFFALO.

Buffalo, N. Y., May 2.—John Z. White, the national lecturer of the Henry George Association, delivered eleven addresses to schools, business men's organizations, churches, church clubs and municipal bodies in this city. The secretary of the Municipal League, organized some months ago to improve the city government, said to me that the League would like to have Mr. White spend a month before our municipal election delivering speeches to arouse the voters to their duties as citizens. In nearly all his addresses Mr. White warned Buffalo people against the danger of electing merely "good" men to city office. In order to be effective, he said, officials must stand

for something definite and be pledged to carry it out. He instanced the experience of Chicago, where the vulgar boodlers or "gray wolves" had been driven out of office by the assistance of the Voters' League; but the abler and presumably more honest aldermen elected in their places attempted to extend the street railway franchises, the very issue on which the "gray wolves" had been defeated.

The Municipal League here, whose objects are in the main similar to those of the Chicago league, is preparing to act upon the advice of Mr. White. It will not merely strive to put more competent candidates in the field, but see to it that they are pledged to support a municipal programme that means protection from corporation monopoly.

Prof. Arthur Detmers, principal of the LaFayette High School, one of Buffalo's important educational institutions, was delighted with Mr. White's lecture to his pupils. "If Mr. White comes to Buffalo again," said he, "or any speaker like him, be sure and let us have him. He made a great hit at our school." Mr. White spoke on "Civic Righteousness" at the Universalist Church on a Sunday morning, and after the regular service more than half the congregation assembled and asked questions on the single tax. It was a new and inspiring spectacle to see church people so much interested in social regeneration as to form themselves into a civic Sunday school class for their own edification. Much of the credit is due to Rev. Levi M. Powers, the minister, who for six years has constantly kept these ideals before the people as an essential part of Christianity.

Another important meeting addressed by Mr. White was one of the Federation of Catholic Societies, an organization of men of all ages whose special purpose is education in economic and governmental problems. His speech was an eloquent plea for justice in our political institutions. Three priests of neighboring parishes, Congressman William H. Ryan and other prominent members were present and cordially congratulated the speaker at the close.

JAMES MALCOLM.

NEWS NARRATIVE

Week ending Thursday, May 11.

The Teamsters' Strike in Chicago.

From present indications, the labor disturbances in Chicago (p. 70) are quieting down. In fact there has been no evidence at all of actual riot upon any thing like a large scale, except the outcries of alarmists and the "scare-

heads" of newspapers. Although there has been an inflamed state of the public mind, which might at any time have produced an explosion, and while there have been disorderly and lawless acts on both sides, but few mob demonstrations have occurred, and these have been apparently unpremeditated and certainly without extensive damage either to property or person. The whole police force has, indeed, been on strike duty; but this is because the disturbances are not localized, as they would be with most strikes. The whole vast area of the city has to be guarded, because teams may encounter trouble at any point on any one of the great network of streets, from the "loop" to the city limits. In the very heart of the city, however, crowds of women, children and men move about as usual, without fear; and seldom is there any indication of danger except as an occasional wagon, manned with a driver, a uniformed policeman or two, and a private detective or two armed with revolvers and rifles, weaves its way through the throng.

To continue our classification of the newspaper reports of casualties (p. 71), we find that since the 3d they have been as follows:

Policemen injured by parties unreported, 4; policemen injured by strikers or sympathizers, 5; persons whose relation to the strike is unreported, injured by parties unreported, 15; persons on employers' side injured by parties unreported, 4; persons on employers' side injured by strikers or sympathizers, 16; persons on employers' side injured by persons on same side, 5; non-unionists injured by parties unreported, 5; white men mistaken for strike breaker, 4; Negro non-unionists injured by mob, 8; persons whose relation to strike is unreported, injured by Negro strike breakers, 3; persons whose relation to the strike is unreported, killed by Negro unionist, 1; persons whose relation to strike is unreported, injured by private detectives, 1; unionists injured by parties unreported, 2; unionist killed by special deputy sheriff, 1; special deputy sheriff injured in street fight, 1; injured by accident, 4; striker injured by strike breakers, 3; struck in crowd by a policeman, 1; schoolboy shot by private detective, 1.

Of the casualties summarized above from the newspaper lists of "strike victims" for the week,

only two of which were reported fatal [altogether six fatalities have been charged by the papers to the strike], several prove upon examination of the same newspapers to have been put into the list for make-weights. This is indicated by the following quotations referring to casualties counted by the newspapers in the list of "strike victims" classified above:

From the Chicago Record-Herald of May 5: "Claret, Mrs. W., 139 Twenty-eighth place; back grazed by bullet fired by Negro strike-breaker; suffering from nervous shock. Grossman, William, kicked by horse attached to chemical engine that was extinguishing a blazing automobile truck in Washash avenue. Rosensmith, —, strike-breaker; bruised about the face in a fight with other non-union teamsters at 20 Lake street."

From the Chicago Record-Herald of May 6:—"Vogt, William, 60 years old, 1115 Maud avenue, union teamster for Wheeler & Wilson Sewing Machine Company; beaten into insensibility while eating lunch in alley near Washash avenue and Washington street."

From the Chicago Record-Herald of May 7:—"Browne, Frank, Negro employe of Peabody Coal Company; struck over head with shovel by George Rasche, fellow employe, during a fight at coal yards, Twenty-sixth and Canal streets. Flood, Christopher, 6612 May street; accidentally shot by one of three men who were struggling for possession of revolver during quarrel over strike matters at Root and Halsted streets. Johnson, Joseph, 245 Forty-sixth street; severely slashed with razor by a Negro during a quarrel over strike matters on a Wentworth avenue car near Thirty-fifth street; scalp and face cut five times. McIntyre, C., 112 Thirty-fifth street; assaulted and severely beaten by three men at Twenty-sixth street and Cottage Grove avenue. Rice, A., superintendent of Samuel Cupples Woodenware Company; attacked and beaten by three men on Canalport avenue car. Tibbits, J. F., Kansas City; rifleman guarding one of Frank E. Scott's wagons; shot through left wrist by accidental discharge of weapon after he had fallen from wagon.

From the Chicago Record-Herald of May 9:—"Fruen, John, 6443 Lake avenue; stabbed in the abdomen by an unidentified nonunion Negro teamster at Lake avenue and Fifty-fourth street. Fruen, Richard; stabbed by the same man in the same fight. Fritch, Joseph, 81 Crystal street; right leg slightly injured when pole of a wagon driven by a nonunion teamster ran into a cable car at the Washington street tunnel. Himber, Emil, 744

North Halsted street; shot in a fight as a result of an argument over labor unions and the strike."

From the Chicago Chronicle of May 10:—"Hirsch, Frederick, patrolman; thrown from his seat; leg broken; taken to Alexian Brothers' hospital. Wolf, John, patrolman; struck by a club at Rubel and Eighteenth streets. Unidentified woman, on Eighteenth street car; struck by a stone hurled through the door. Ferguson, Emery, 1262 West Twelfth street; struck by broken glass at Lake and Clark streets. Frazier, Charles, Negro teamster; shot in leg at 505 State street."

The following account of the last named casualty is given by the Chronicle reporter in the same issue with the list in which his name appears under the sub-head, "Victims of the Riots":

Charles Frazier, 19 years old, a Negro nonunion teamster whose home is in Kansas City, was shot and dangerously wounded last night during a dice game at the headquarters of the nonunion Negroes at 505 State street. Frazier was shot in the left thigh by George Clark, said to be the leader of the Negroes who came to Chicago from St. Louis. He is now at the Samaritan hospital and Clark is locked up at the Harrison street station. Shortly after 9 o'clock Frazier, Clark and many others were engaged in a game of dice. A quarrel arose and Frazier, it is said, claimed he was being cheated. Having lost some money Frazier, it is said, seized a small amount which was on the table and ran from the place. Clark started after him, and as the two reached the sidewalk Clark drew his revolver and fired one shot. The bullet struck Frazier and he fell.

Another of the casualties classified above, is explained by the Record-Herald of the 7th as follows:

J. F. Tibbits of Kansas City, a rifleman employed as guard on one of the wagons of the Frank E. Scott Transfer Company, fell from his seat and accidentally shot himself in the afternoon in Harrison street, near Clark. The wagon was driven by Robert McDaniel, 160 Robey street. While turning out of the car track, the wagon lurched and Tibbits was thrown to the ground with his rifle in his hand. As the weapon struck the ground it was discharged and the bullet passed through his left wrist.

One of the unionists, killed by a special deputy sheriff, and included in the above classification, had, according to the Tribune report of the 11th, shouted to the deputy, a former unionist, "You are a nice one, you are; you ought to be

ashamed of yourself." Whereupon the deputy replied, "I'll fix you for that," and shot him. The deputy's name is Waldron; the man he shot, and who died soon after, was named Pierce. Another case was that of the schoolboy shot by a private detective. The schoolboy was one of several playing in the street on the 11th in front of his father's house. The boys jeered at a passing wagon driven by a strike breaker and guarded by a private detective. Some reports have it that the boys threw missiles. This the boys deny. At any rate the detective fired point blank at the group of boys and hit one of them, Edward Wright, 16 years old, in the thigh. In further illustration of the sensational character of the reports with which the Chicago papers have been giving an appearance of bloody rioting to what has as yet, at any rate, amounted to no more than sporadic breaches of the peace falling far short of constituting mob control, we refer to the Chicago Tribune of the 6th, which displayed the following startling head line at the top of a column:

Torch is Applied as Riot Weapon.

The body of the article described this "riotous incendiaryism" as follows:

Rioters caused fewer disturbances in the streets yesterday, but in the evening a new weapon—the torch—was employed. At 7:30 o'clock fire broke out in a building owned by the Peabody Coal Company at Twenty-eighth street and the Pennsylvania railroad. The police believe the fire was started by strike sympathizers. The loss was less than \$1,000, the fire department acting promptly. The fire was the culmination of a riot at the Peabody stables. As soon as it became dark the crowds began to gather. When it was learned that fifty non-union drivers were to be transferred to their headquarters at Twenty-eighth street and Wentworth avenue bricks and stones began to fall on the stables. When the men marched out the rioting began in earnest. In a second the air was filled with bricks and stones. The police charged the crowd again and again. Then a nonunion man fired a shot. The mob made another desperate attack. Another shot was fired, and the situation began to look perilous, when a wagon load of police arrived and drove the crowd off the streets. Two arrests were made. Two Negroes were injured by flying bricks. Hardly had the riot been

quelled when the clang of the fire engines was heard, and the glow in the direction of the coal yards set the crowd to cheering wildly. The first engine at the scene put out the fire, which was in a frame scale shed. Two or three boys were found prowling around the premises, but no direct evidence was found against them. "It was without doubt an incendiary fire," said Supt. McCormick of the yards. "If these boys set it they were incited by the rioters."

Just that, and no more; and of a piece with it has been all the sensational reports of violence. On the basis of two persons injured, in a crowd of 50 at whom missiles were thrown until "the air was filled with bricks and stones," by a "desperate mob" which was easily driven off the streets by one wagon load of police, a subsequent fire in a coal yard near the scene is sensationally exploited as the "Torch Applied as Riot Weapon." The general situation in Chicago, so far as yet developed in overt acts has been exploited by the local press with similar indifference to the truth; and persons who get their news from the headlines instead of the text of newspaper reports are horrified.

A committee of employers applied to Gov. Deneen on the 4th for State troops. This was after their attorney, Levy Mayer, had refused to submit the labor controversy to the State Board of Arbitration which the governor, through a member of that board, had advised both sides to do. After a three-hour conference at Springfield, Gov. Deneen informed the employers' committee that he could act as requested only on certain contingencies which had not yet arisen. The conference was a secret one. The governor had proposed that it be public, but the employers' committee objected. Having failed to induce the governor to send troops, the employers' union appealed to the Sheriff, who has sworn in a large number of deputies. Criticisms of the Mayor on the 4th, regarding alleged inefficiency of the police, were immediately met with denials by the police and assurances from the Mayor that if he could get verified accusations he would proceed against delinquent policemen. Such an accusation against one policeman has since been made.

Having exhausted every means at hand for getting this inflammatory quarrel between the employers' union and the teamsters' union, off the public streets, Mayor Dunne decided on the 6th to appoint a commission of inquiry, for the purpose of bringing all the pertinent facts to light. He accordingly issued the following proclamation:

To the Citizens of Chicago: In the present crisis arising out of conflict between the teamsters' union and the employers it would seem that to avert further trouble and bitterness the public should have full knowledge of conditions precedent and existing.

Charges have been freely made that certain members of the teamsters' union in positions of authority have been guilty of blackmailing employers and breaking contracts. If those charges are proved the guilty men should be held up to the opprobrium of their fellows whom they have betrayed and the public, to whom they are a menace, and should be eliminated from the situation. On the other hand, it is charged that in time of peril and excitement certain officials of the employers' association are seeking to spread the strike by demanding such action of employers beyond contract relations as is bound at such a time to be provocative of passion. If this be proven it may be stated that it is hard to preserve the peace when war is being sought for.

If the chosen representatives of either or both parties in contest are guilty as charged the party or parties thus guilty of fomenting discord should no longer be permitted to plot against the peace and the general welfare of Chicago.

I have named a Commission to investigate the facts in the dispute and shall make public the findings. The gentlemen composing the Commission are Graham Taylor, T. K. Webster and William C. Boyden.

In the interest of right judgment, only to be obtained through knowledge of such facts, I request all parties aggrieved to report to this Commission such facts as are capable of proof.

As Executive of this city, upon whom rests the heavy responsibility of preserving the peace, I request that both employers and employes be temperate and careful in their dealings, the one with the other, and again I warn those who would obstruct traffic in the public streets or be guilty of violence or threats of violence that I shall use to the utmost all the force available or obtainable that may be needed to maintain the peace that I am sworn to and shall preserve.

Mr. Taylor is the head of the neighborhood settlement known as Chi-

cago Commons; Mr. Boyden is a partner of Walter L. Fisher, of the Municipal Voters' League, and Mr. Webster is president of the City Club and head of the Webster Manufacturing Company. All were actively opposed to Mayor Dunne's election. The Commission has organized and called for testimony. The teamsters' union offers to furnish testimony freely if the meetings of the Commission are public; the employers' union has not yet made any formal declaration, but prominent members intimate in interviews that the employers will ignore the Commission. On the point of secrecy, Mayor Dunne was reported by the Record-Herald on the 9th as having said, in reply to questions:

I explained to the three commissioners that I desired to leave them unhampered by formal instructions from me, and I expect to stand by this attitude. I was asked if I thought public hearings were preferable to private ones, and I frankly said I did, but that would not mean that they were expected to pursue one course or the other. Professor Taylor informed me that he believed private hearings would result in gathering more evidence, but I replied that my thirteen years' experience on the bench demonstrated that public hearings in such matters generally were more satisfactory.

"The Mayor made it clear, however," adds the reporter, "that he had every confidence in the Commissioners to settle the matter in the right way." The Commission itself had issued on the 8th the following statement:

To the Public:—The members of the Commission accepted their appointments on the assurance of the Mayor that neither the existence of the Commission nor its work would be allowed to interfere in any way with the strongest and most sustained effort toward the complete restoration of peace and order on every street in Chicago.

In common with all good citizens, the Commission believes it to be the supreme and first duty of the Mayor and the police to suppress all violence and to punish all offenders.

The scope of the Commission's inquiry, as defined by the Mayor's proclamation appointing it, is definite and limited. It is to investigate the causes of the present strike and the reasons for the continued disturbance of Chicago's peace. To this end the Commission asks and hopes for the cooperation of all good citizens.

In order to give the freest opportunity to everyone who has information

which may be of value, the Commission will hold private sessions daily at the rooms of the finance committee of the City Council on the fourth floor of the City Hall. Appointments with the Commission may be made by addressing Graham Taylor, chairman care of the Mayor. No statements will be given out by the Commission until it finally reports to the Mayor.

The Mayor hopes that the Commission will be able to secure information which will be of permanent value in eliminating the causes of like disturbances in the future.

Mayor Dunne's policy in this respect was advised by William Kent, a leading business man and lately a reform alderman, who was an ardent adversary of Mayor Dunne at the recent election. Mr. Kent has published an open letter in which he says:

The time has come when no line of argument, however logical it may seem, can justify the position of the employers any more than it can justify the position of the strikers. The disinterested portion of our population knows that things have drifted into a fearful condition. It knows that the wind is being sown and that the whirlwind will be its fruit. It makes little difference to this portion of the population whether it is hit by a stray brick from the hands of a striker or shot by some maddened and irresponsible Negro. We want peace under the law as you are trying to give to us. We want men disarmed by the police. We want the violators of the law and order arrested by the police and not fought by others as lawless in the public streets. We do not want the strike to spread. For this strike is war, and war engenders bitterness which will not blow away with the conclusion of open hostilities. If in any way I may be of assistance to you in your course, which is the only right course, whether financially or personally, my services are at your disposal.

Another active adversary of Mayor Dunne at the recent election, Raymond Robins, writes him the following open letter:

I am one of that minority of your fellow citizens that did what was in their power to prevent your election to the office of mayor of this city, but I am not among that group of unconscious anarchists that are seeking to discredit your administration and the great civic movement for the advance of which you were elected. Since my return to this city on last Saturday I have very carefully studied the facts and conditions of the present industrial war now in progress in Chicago and I am entirely certain that it is the present duty of every honorable citi-

zen to uphold and maintain by every means in his power the dignity and good faith of your administration and the peace of our city. I believe that there are many hundreds of men in this city that share with me the willingness to serve in any capacity that might seem useful to this end. Until the termination of this present disturbance I wish to be considered as a volunteer in readiness for any demand within my power in helping to preserve order under the dominion of the constituted authorities.

Upon President Roosevelt's arrival in Chicago, on the 10th, a committee of the Chicago labor organizations,—C. P. Shea, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters; Charles Dold, president Chicago Federation of Labor; Joseph O'Neil, vice president Chicago Federation of Labor; T. P. Quinn, Canvasser's Union, and T. Rickert, president Garment Workers' International Union—presented him with a written address, urging him to prevent any abuse of Federal power by complying with the demands of the employers for Federal troops without an inquiry into the case. After reciting the facts as the strikers view them, and referring to the arrogant demands of employers for Federal troops, the address reads:

Is it just or is it necessary to bring the United States army into Chicago in an effort to smother the cry of the toiler for arbitration? Is it right or expedient to attempt to stifle the demand for the settlement of controversy by court procedure? Is the purpose of the army to prevent the carrying out of written contracts that are open to all who care to read them? Can you, our honored President, afford to use the forces under your control to stifle labor's demand for peace and the methods of peace? Why should our attempt to get and maintain peace be met by the army and by war?

Every laboring man knows these facts. What will be the results upon the citizenship of this country, if, when American citizens ask for court procedure and order, they are met by the bullet and the jail? Is it not time to inquire as to the facts in the case?

The President deprecated the language used as to Federal troops, but is not reported to have given any assurances. In his speech at the Iroquois Club banquet at the Auditorium he said, with an apparent allusion to the Chicago labor trouble:

This government is not and never

shall be the government of a plutocracy; this government is not, and never shall be the government of a mob.

The Traction Question in Chicago.

Steps for the municipalization of street railways in Chicago (p. 58) have not been neglected by the Mayor in consequence of the exigencies of the strike situation. Considerable progress has been made, Judge Grosscup, of the Federal court, having at last been induced to sign a final decree upon the decision made several months ago in the suit involving the validity and extent of the 99-year franchise (vol. vii, pp. 778, 808), and to render a long deferred decision in the injunction suit to prevent the city's interfering with the Passenger Railway (vol. vii, p. 764), which is not affected by the 99-year grant and the franchise for which has expired. From the 99-year decision the city will now appeal. The Passenger decision dissolves the injunction, on the ground that the franchise expired in 1904. In explanation of his delay, Judge Grosscup said that—

in pursuance of an understanding between the court and some of the counsel, at least, for the city that the hoped for settlement of the whole traction problem might be hindered rather than helped by a decision in this case, I waited until I received official notification from the city that that view was changed, and then took it up. In the meantime I did not as much as consider the merits of the case.

In accordance with Mayor Dunne's policy, the streets released to the city by this decision are to furnish opportunity for the first experiment with municipal traction ownership in Chicago. The routes released are as follows:

Adams, from Clark to Desplaines; Desplaines, from Adams to Harrison; Harrison, from Desplaines to Western avenue; Western avenue, from Harrison to Twelfth street; Twelfth street, from Western avenue to the city limits.

On the 9th it was decided by the Mayor and his advisers to have a suit started at once to carry up to the Supreme Court of the State, with reference to the taking over of the Passenger Railway, the question of the validity of Mueller law certificates for the purpose of clearing the way for financing this municipal plant.

Other Municipal Subjects.

Before adjourning sine die on

the 6th the Illinois legislature killed the Chicago charter convention bill (p. 73), but enacted an amendment to the old "Cities and Villages" act, applying it only to Chicago, which, if adopted next Fall on referendum, will in slight degree alter the city government. Among other things the Mayor's term will be extended from two years to four.

Another bill, also subject to referendum, relates to gas and electricity in Chicago (p. 73). It authorizes the City of Chicago to sell surplus electricity from its municipal lighting plants for heat, light and power, and empowers the city to prescribe by ordinance maximum rates for the supply of gas or electricity for power, heat or light, furnished by any individual company or corporation to the city and the inhabitants thereof, such charge to be just and reasonable. Prices may be fixed for a period not exceeding five years, and in case they are unjust and unreasonable they may be reviewed by the Circuit Court of Cook County. The bill contains a proviso that the powers now possessed by the city to own, construct or acquire electric lighting plants are not enlarged, and that no electrical current may be sold if it is needed for municipal purposes.

Another meeting in Cleveland (p. 73) between the city authorities and the local traction company took place on the 3d. Mr. Andrews, the president of the company, refused to make any proposition for renewal of franchises. Regarding Mayor Johnson's previous suggestion for a civic company to lease the rights of the stock company (p. 57), Mr. Andrews stated that his company was not anxious to enter into such a plan, for they wished to continue operating the property, but he suggested 5 per cent. on the par value of the stock as fair terms. Mayor Johnson declared these terms outrageously high and would not consider the suggestion. Although there was much and varied discussion, no conclusion was reached.

As a result of the popular agitation in Philadelphia against extending the lease of the gas works

(p. 72), the City Council, on the 4th, adopted a resolution to advertise for bids. Before the adoption of this resolution, a message from Mayor Weaver was read, in which he vigorously opposed the lease to the United Gas Improvement Company and advised that the city take back the gas works and operate them after 1907, when the present lease expires. To do this the city would be compelled to pay the gas company nearly \$11,000,000 for improvements it has made. No action was taken upon the message. Denials of the charges of corruption made by Robert Dornan (p. 73), were published on the 4th by several of the persons implicated.

The veto by Mayor McClellan of New York, of the Elsberg bill (p. 73) was overridden by the legislature on the 4th. This bill is reported to be in the interest of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, which has been balked in procuring street franchises from the Board of Aldermen of New York city. Such franchises are first passed upon by the Board of Estimate and Apportionment (composed of the Mayor, Comptroller, President of Board of Aldermen and the presidents of the five boroughs), and are finally acted upon by the Board of Aldermen. It was to deprive this board of final authority and vest in the Board of Estimate and Apportionment all power over the granting of franchises to public service corporations that the Elsberg bill was passed. Under the laws of New York, the Mayor has a veto upon legislation affecting the city. He has exercised this right, on the ground that the Board of Aldermen directly represents the people and that the principle of the bill is therefore bad. The legislature having overridden the Mayor's veto, the bill goes now to the Governor in the usual way.

Corruption in the New York Legislature.

The action of the New York legislature on the Elsberg bill, noted above, is reported from Albany to have been corrupt. For this and other legislative favors the Pennsylvania Railroad Company is said to have spent half a million dollars. According to one of these reports, a special to the

Chicago Record-Herald of the 6th, there was on the day of adjournment, the 5th—

such a riot of corruption as seldom has been seen, even in Albany. With several graft bills to promote, the various corporations seeking favors at the expense of people poured out money like water. The use of bribery funds to influence legislation was notorious, and rarely has the lobby been more brazen and shameless. While there were abundant evidences of graft it would be impossible, for obvious reasons, to give the exact amount of these corruption funds, but it is possible to make some estimates in round numbers. There were a dozen "juicy things," the most fascinating of which was the sum sent by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, estimated at \$500,000, to put through bills knocking out the board of aldermen and procuring other favors. The gas company probably will have to charge up to profit and loss for "the legislative account" another half million. The Metropolitan and Interborough interests may find themselves \$250,000 out as a result of their legislative ventures. The combined insurance interests probably spent half a million dollars at a conservative estimate. Railroads, in addition to the Pennsylvania, including the New York Central, the Lehigh, the Erie, the Lackawanna and the New Haven, probably did not get away without contributing between them \$250,000. The telephone company was mulcted to the extent of \$150,000. Miscellaneous interests probably will figure up their contributions of a quarter of a million more. Of this enormous sum at least 75 per cent. was disbursed in the nature of contributions to the parties direct, the other 25 per cent going to the men in a position to be of assistance in promoting desirable legislation or preventing the passage of bills not wanted. For boldness of operation and audacity of execution there has been nothing approaching it in Albany in many years. Without a single Boss possessed of anything like the proper authority, with a Governor who refuses to dip his hands into the filth of some of the legislative undertakings, with the corporations riding rough-shod over competitors and presumptuous obstructionists alike, and with each of the half dozen bosses digging into every "dough bag" that offers field for investigation and pre-emption, it was only publicity that acted as a restrainer in any sense. The combination with the most money to distribute through high-priced agents was known as the Rockefeller crowd, though the Rockefellers personally may not have been cognizant of what was going on. This party is behind the gas and electrical trusts, which were directly interested in the most important bills before the legislature. It

stood ready to kill the gas bills with one hand and pat the Niagara grab with the other. Fighting the Rockefeller interests, and next to it in moneyed strength, was a combine tagged with the name of Morgan, because it controlled the power plants already doing business at Niagara Falls. This combination was represented by a long string of agents ranging from the high-classed attorney to the press agent and lobbyist in ordinary. The aim of this coterie was to kill the omnibus power grab, bearing the name of the grab trio, Cassidy, Leggett and L'Homme-dieu. The big railroad companies of the metropolis had a score of representatives here, including the Interborough, the Belmont, the Metropolitan and the Westchester roads. The steam railroads which maintained high-class lobbies were the New York Central, the Lehigh, the Erie and the Pennsylvania.

In the British Parliament.

The legislative news of value from across the ocean relates to British government in Ireland. In Parliament on the 9th Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, the Liberal leader, brought to vote a resolution equivalent to a vote of censure of the Ministry for its recent policy in Ireland. He argued that the Ministry had attempted a policy of impartial Irish administration under dictation from a small party of Irish unionists. He concluded with remarking that as to the future Irish policy, mutterings of coercion were heard; and that if coercion were attempted Englishmen would learn that the real separationists are the unionists, who first cajole Ireland and then abandon her. The resolution was defeated by 315 to 252.

Russian Revolution.

A second congress of Russian zemstvos opened at Moscow on the 5th. The first was held at St. Petersburg (vol. vii, p. 552) in November. The second, like the first, is obliged to meet in secret. All the zemstvos (or provincial legislatures) of Russia are represented, and 132 delegates are in attendance. The project for discussion contemplated a national legislature of two houses elected on the American plan—the lower house by direct popular vote and the upper by indirect popular vote, through local zemstvos, universal manhood suffrage being the basis of representation. This plan was adopted on the 8th.

A government order was served on the newspapers of St. Petersburg on the 6th forbidding further mention of the congress; and on the same day the local authorities of St. Petersburg broke up a meeting there of a congress of engineers and ordered the delegates out of the city.

NEWS NOTES

—The Illinois legislature passed a primary election law before adjourning on the 6th.

—Count Cassini, Russian ambassador to the United States since 1898, has been recalled by the Russian government.

—"The Democratic Majority Rule League," with M. F. Dunlap, of Jacksonville, Ill., as president, was organized at Chicago on the 7th.

—Responding to a memorial from Wu Ting-fang, formerly Chinese minister to the United States, China has abolished whipping as a punishment for crime.

—President Roosevelt returned from his vacation (p. 24) on the 8th. He was banquetted in Denver that evening and by the Iroquois club (Democratic) in Chicago on the 10th.

—John C. Fetzer resigned on the 5th as a receiver of the Union Traction company, of Chicago, under appointment of Judge Grosscup, in place of R. R. Govin (vol. vi., p. 140).

—In a railroad wreck on the Pennsylvania railway at South Harrisburg, Pa., just after midnight of the 10th, nearly everybody on board, about 170, was killed or injured. The killed are 50. A freight train, including two cars with dynamite, had met with an accident which threw some of the cars over upon the passenger track, but a moment before the arrival of the Cleveland-Cincinnati express, which, with ten coaches, plunged into the freight wreck and exploded the dynamite.

PRESS OPINIONS

THE CHICAGO STRIKE.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), May 5.—The employers have the theoretical right to carry out their contention to the bitter end. They have the right to insist upon a conflict in the streets, to call out the militia and the regular troops. But this is a consummation devoutly not to be wished. We do not wish any of our fellow citizens, however misguided they may be, to be shot down because they are attempting by force to maintain what they erroneously consider to be their rights.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), May 10.—The struggle is where it was a week ago. The men are out, the Negroes and other imported men are driving through the streets escorted by policemen and deputy sheriffs. Instead of going out for more business, instead of a peaceful and united effort for progress, we have a prospect for a struggle

until one side or the other is exhausted. Why prolong the fight when a few cool-headed men could adjust it in 24 hours? The differences can be arbitrated. There are no questions that can be solved only by brute force.

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (Ind.), May 5.—The Chicago strike, in all essential features, whether in outline or detail, is an old story, except in one very interesting particular. Perhaps this particular is not so novel as it might be, but it stands out as a phase of the contest more conspicuously than in the past. What we refer to is the systematic way in which the strikers are being fought by the Employers' association, the organization which for the past year or two has been spreading throughout the country and bringing employers together as a cohesive force in opposition to labor unions.

Cincinnati Times-Star (Rep.), May 3.—The municipal ownership campaign in Chicago aroused the anarchistic element of our society and led it to believe that in the new Executive it had a man who would permit it to carry on an aggressive war against those who opposed them, and to maim, to kill, to burn and to pillage those who stood in the way. It opened the Pandora box of all that is vile and vicious in mankind and turned society into a seething, blood-stained ferment. Chicago to-day stands as an object lesson of socialism in action. One sees it as it stands stripped of its philosophy and its rhetoric. It is an object lesson to the nation.

Newark (N. J.) Evening News (Rep.), May 5.—If Mayor Dunne's government cannot enforce the essentials of civic right, it is his immediate duty to call on the State to supplement defect of power. If the State is unwilling or unable, then it is the duty of local authority to call on the Federal Government. That extreme resort has never failed to be promptly successful in suppressing strike violence. But the Chicago Mayor has as yet shown no disposition even to ask for the assistance of the National Guard. He must either remain the cringing politician ready to fawn on mob violence at the expense of the public rights he is sworn to protect, or else at once rise to a situation which has passed far beyond temporizing measures.

The (Chicago) Broad Ax (Negro), May 6.—It is the opinion of the vast majority of the better class of colored people residing in all parts of Chicago, that the managers of the Employers' Teaming company are not justified in bringing hundreds and hundreds of colored men here from the remotest parts of the South—many of them representing the lowest and the toughest element of the race, who are armed to the teeth and are ready to shoot any person on the slightest provocation, to temporarily serve as strike breakers, for such Negro hating concerns as Marshal Field and Company, Mandel Brothers and Montgomery Ward and Company who have no use for Negroes in general except to use them as brutish clubs to beat their white help over the head so that they will bow or knuckle down to them in all things.

The (Indianapolis) Freeman (Negro), May 6.—We believe the colored man makes a serious mistake in permitting himself to be used as a club in the hands of employers. One-half the determination shown in employing colored men in times of violence would be sufficient to secure them employment in times of peace. . . . In addition to the hatred which is always shown toward the strikebreaker, of whatever race, will be added the prejudice against the Negro. This is visited upon the race of which he is a member and the burden that all must bear is thereby increased. That which tends to increase race prejudice cannot bring anything of permanent good to the Negro. Feelings of interest in organized labor do not prompt these sayings. No

colored man can be a well-wisher of organized labor until organized labor learns to respect the manhood of every man.

New York Times (pluto-Dem.), May 5.—Chicago is now reaping the penalty of putting a Socialistic municipal ownership crank in the Mayor's chair. The city is without an effective government, life and property are without protection, bands of strikers who are no longer workmen, but criminals, possess the streets, and are indulging in riot, arson and pretty much every form of outrage and violence. The police, it has been demonstrated, are incapable of keeping the peace. Yet Mayor Dunne, being importuned to invoke the aid of the militia, refuses on the ground that the police have not exhausted their powers. The conditions that now prevail in Chicago do not call for police treatment, they do not call for militia treatment. The proper remedy is an application of United States troops in sufficient number at once to put a stop to violence and to give the strikers an exemplary lesson.

Cleveland Plain Dealer (Ind. Dem.), May 3.—Mayor Dunne did his best, first to avert and then settle the trouble by peaceful means. When these efforts failed he resorted to sterner measures, and there is no reason to suspect that he will not use all the means at his command to preserve order, even to the extent of calling for State troops. If rioting shall reach such a pitch that city and State have to call for help, then the President will take a hand in the game necessarily, and it will not be as an arbitrator. The basis of American political life is the self-reliant community, able and willing to take care of itself and insistent upon that right; a town or city capable of settling its purely local affairs, which includes suppressing its rioters. American local self-government will be in a bad way when it is thought necessary to run crying to Washington every time bricks begin to fly in the streets.

MISCELLANY

THE DEATH WE CREATE.

In the early 40's of the nineteenth century, Germany was passing through an era comparable to the one our country is now experiencing. Morality and civic virtue, as grounds for social esteem, had been displaced by respectability, which was measured by outward conformity to certain requirements relating to living in a certain style, to clothes, well groomed appearance, going to church, professing adherence to certain ideas in religion, in politics, economics; and refraining, when under observation, from slang, profanity, saloons, brothels, gambling resorts, and from the robbery of the poor, except under the forms of law. The pain which these conditions produced in the sensitive soul of Heinrich Heine, the German poet, are well depicted in a poem, of which the following lines are a free translation.

Oh! give me, at my ease to die,
A wide expanse 'neath vaulted sky;
Oppress me not to suffocation,
Foul stench of mercenary nation.

Your drink is good, your meals are prime,
You love such lives as snails in slime,
Your generosity's as great
As coins in offertory plate.

Spices from all the world you store,
Fragrance, incense to breathe the more.
Stench of corruption covers all,
With blighting, suffocating pall.

Colossal vice let me behold,
Crimes horrible, stupendous, bold;
Save me from goodness which is measured
By balances at bankers' treasured.

Ye clouds above, bear me away
To Lapland or to far Cathay,
Or Kaffirland—if it must be—
Only this land no more to see.

I wish with you—oh, flying clouds,
Which cross the sky in rushing crowds—
Past greed, and fraud, and force to race,
With swift, accelerating pace.

T. W. H.

THE LINE BETWEEN GAMBLING AND BROKERAGE.

Press report from Springfield, Ill., under date of May 5.

The Board of Trade bill to legalize option trading and shut out bucket-shops, after having been twice beaten, was galvanized into life in the house to-night and gavelled to third reading, but not until after one of its opponents among the down-State members, Representative John M. Rapp, of Wayne, a newspaper man, had offered the following amendment, hitting off what he regards as the purpose of the bill:

Section 5. Hereafter, in the State of Illinois all players of the great national game known as poker who shall play for stakes where the limit is less than two dollars, shall be known as gamblers and shall be subject to the penalties prescribed by law for gambling; but where the limit of stakes is two dollars or over, the game shall be considered a brokerage office for the purpose of fixing the value of celluloid checks, and the players thereof shall be known as brokers or high-class financiers, and shall be exempt from penalties prescribed for violations of the gaming law. The intent of this act being hereby declared to shut up all small games, and legalize all large games.

The amendment was tabled.

ENVIRONMENT AND CITIZENSHIP.

Yesterday I saw a group of boys looking at a theater poster. The picture showed a man in the act of plunging a dagger in the throat of a woman. The boys did not run or scream. But their eyes were big, and the intensity of their faces showed that the horror of the picture was not lost upon them. Near by were two younger children playing together in the gutter. Their faces were smeared by the mud made by the dish-water running over the sidewalk, and the children were amusing themselves floating cigar stumps in the disgusting pool.

Reflecting upon that sad sight there came to mind other childhood scenes. There stood out in memory a little lake which nestled among the hills where sweet-breathed cattle browsed, and where the branches of great trees

were mirrored in crystal waters. There were the boat house and the swimming hole and the spring-board, and there were summer nights, too, when the leaves were still and stars were bright and the spirit of the child looked up in silent wonder.

In the race of life, in the contest of physical endurance, in the moral tests that come, that child has not a fair chance who has sprung out of the mud of the streets.

To know the breath of lilacs and the rustle of autumn leaves, to be up with the lark, to bathe one's feet in the dew of the pasture, to go to bed with the song of the whip-poor-will—these memories are like guardian angels.

The children whose horizon is a brick wall, who must play on cobblestones and go swimming in the canal and be chased by the police, if they do not grow up to be ideal citizens, shall we, of holier memories, sit in judgment upon them? Shall we not remember their bonds?

HERBERT S. BIGELOW.

WHO WAS GREATER, FRANCES WILLARD OR THE HUMBLEST MOTHER?

In the eulogy of Frances E. Willard by Senator Beveridge on the occasion of the unveiling of the Illinois statue of her in Statuary Hall at the nation's capital, he says: "The mother of all mothers, the sister of all wives, to every child the lover, Frances E. Willard sacrificed her own life to the happiness of her sisters. For, after all, she knew that, with all her gifts and all the halo of her God-sent mission, the humblest mother was yet greater far than she."

Why should such an estimate of herself be imputed to Frances Willard? She was above all a Christian, and this is not a Christian idea. When Jesus answered the woman who blessed the mother who bore him, he said: "Yea, rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it." (Luke ii, 27-28.) There is, then, something possible for womanhood more blessed than to be even the most exalted mother. For mere motherhood is a physical function, and such a function cannot be the highest achievement of a being endowed with intelligence and soul, whether woman or man. How clearly this would have appeared if the orator, instead of the name of Frances Willard, had used that of George Washington or Phillips Brooks, and said: "The humblest father was yet greater than he!"

Perhaps this extravagant praise of the "humblest mother" was given because the question of "race suicide" is now so.

much discussed. But if there is danger of race suicide at all, it is not from a deficiency of that motherhood which is so humble that it aspires to little more than to bring children into the world, and takes no thought of the conditions which surround them. Statistics show where the dangers lie when they tell such dreary facts as that one-half the children die before they attain the age of five years, and that in the one city of New York alone 70,000 daily go to school unfed.

The noble understanding of Frances Willard, illumined by her great mother heart, apprehended and taught that the world needs a womanhood sufficiently elevated to be capable of rearing children in health and virtue; and to be possessed of the self-respect to desire their share of political power to enable them to seek out and secure better conditions in which to rear their children than those that now prevail. She besought for mothers the boon of a voice in the laws in those words of hers chosen to be inscribed on the pedestal of her statue: "I charge you, give them power to protect along life's treacherous highway those whom they have so loved."

LAURA CLAY.

"ABILITY" AS A FACTOR IN PRODUCTION.

Editorial in the American Machinist of December 15, 1904.

The proposition of Mr. Wallace Downey to institute a system of profit sharing in the shipyards of the Townsend-Downey company is being variously commented upon, and some are asking if it is to be expected that the workmen will share losses as well in case there are no profits to divide. This question seems to those who ask it to be pertinent, in view of the fact that not very long ago these yards suspended operations, and the reason given at the time was that the business could not be profitably carried on, and at the same time meet the demands of the various unions connected with the shipbuilding industries. Needless to say, however, Mr. Downey looks deeper into the matter and expects the incentive of possible dividends that may be divided among the workmen to reduce labor costs and, of course, therefore, the costs arising from fixed charges. At any rate, he seems determined to try it, and if he does his experiment will be watched with much interest.

One feature of his plan is, we think, to be regretted, and that is his classification of factors contributing to production. He proposes to first pay capital, ability and labor at the prevailing

rates, and then divide the remainder between them as profits. Now ability as a factor in the production of wealth has been invented by certain servile pseudo-economists for the purpose of justifying the enormous gains of promoters and others who do not contribute to production in any way, but simply scheme to make profits out of labor and capital devoted to industrial operation. The burglar may have ability, and some of them do have it; so have bank wreckers, railroad wreckers and rascals of various kinds. But their ability is not of a kind that should be rewarded, and usually is not rewarded—voluntarily. Considering an industrial establishment, no ability, executive or other, can be of the least service to it unless that ability is exerted to promote the production of the establishment; and as soon as it is so exerted it is labor, pure and simple. Labor in the broad sense does not mean muscular exertion; it may be mental as well, and in fact a great deal of manual labor is necessarily accompanied by mental exertion. Taking a group of draftsmen all working together in the drafting room of a machinery-building establishment, and usually some can be found whose work is almost entirely manual, others whose work is almost entirely mental, and between these extremes, those whose work consists in varying degrees and combinations of manual and mental exertion. To say where a man ceases to "labor" and begins to "exercise his ability" is impossible, and fortunately there is no occasion to try. Anyone who renders service of value in or in connection with a manufacturing establishment, works for that establishment, and he need not be ashamed to be classed as a worker. In fact, if he is ashamed of it his services are likely to be of little or no value. There are only three factors in production: land (which of course includes raw materials), labor and capital. Labor here means and is generally understood to mean useful exertion of every kind. The invention of "ability" or "executive ability" as a factor in production was, we believe, inspired by unworthy motives, and the use of the term is erroneous, or snobbish, or both.

HOME LESSONS IN POLITICAL ECONOMY.

For The Public.

Willy: What is a Trades Union, Papa?

Papa: A Trades Union, my son, is an illegal association of workmen who band themselves together for the purpose of interfering with the business

methods of their employers, and disturbing trade generally.

Willy: Who makes them do it?

Papa: The walking delegate, who prefers to wear kid gloves and make trouble, rather than to earn an honest living. The men are the greatest sufferers themselves in the whole affair, and the most of them don't half believe in it, either, but are persuaded against their better judgment.

Willy: Who persuades them, Papa?

Papa: The walking delegate, of course.

Willy: But who pays the walking delegate, Papa?

Papa: Why, the men, the Union, of course. They take money from their scanty earnings that he may wear good clothes and loaf at their expense.

Willy: But why do they do that, if they don't believe in it, Papa?

Papa: Don't ask silly questions, my son. When you are grown up, and in business for yourself, you will understand. It is disgraceful that in this enlightened age and country a man can't run his business to suit himself. There ought to be a law to punish as a crime any interference with a man's business, so long as he is honest, and does not transgress the laws of his country. Things have come to a pretty pass nowadays.

[Pause.]

Willy (looking up from paper he is reading): Papa, this Mr. Smith, the sugar refiner, is the one that married Mamma's cousin, isn't it? The one who shot himself, I mean.

Papa: Shot himself?

Willy: Yes; it says here he was driven out of business by the Sugar Trust, which he had fought for many years, and finally they ruined him, and he was desperate and shot himself.

Papa: Dear me, how very sad! I hadn't heard of it yet. Yes, yes, our modern industrial life is a hard struggle. It is the natural evolution that the big fish eat the little fish; but it's hard for the little fish, just the same, even if they know it has to be.

Willy: But, Papa, the Sugar Trust drove him out of business, by interfering with his methods of business, didn't they?

Papa: Yes, yes; the big fish and the little fish; it's the same all through the natural world.

Willy: But, Papa, you said just now that there ought to be a law to punish any interference with a man's business.

Papa: Eh, what?

Willy: Yes; when you were talking about the Trades Unions. Isn't the

Sugar Trust an illegal association to interfere with business, also?

Papa: What nonsense! It's a different matter altogether; it's the natural course of evolution in the business world.

Willy: Then why aren't Trades Unions also a natural evolution?

Papa (sputtering): What nonsense you are talking. Didn't I tell you not to ask silly questions? Wait until you are old enough to have a little sense; I really haven't time to answer all your fool questions. (Retires sternly into his newspaper.)

G. I. C.

CHICAGO'S MUNICIPAL LIGHTING BUREAU SHOWS WHAT PUBLIC OWNERSHIP DOES.

Editorial in the Chicago Examiner of April 24, 1905.

Mr. Ellicott, city electrician, sends out his annual report at a time when all the foes of public ownership are trying to garble the facts of accomplishment here and abroad.

This is unfortunate for those delegated to pick flaws where none exist. City Electrician Ellicott produces facts and figures that obviate the necessity for going outside Chicago to prove the benefits of public ownership.

For instance, in the 1904 report, just published, he shows that the city of Chicago is operating over 5,000 arc street lights, by the municipal plant, at a cost of less than one-half what the same lights would be charged for by a private company.

In exact figures, the cost of operating these 5,034 arc lamps last year was \$277,666.44, while the cost, had the city rented the same, would have been \$581,533.50. Here was a saving over rented price of \$303,867.06.

During the seventeen years that the city has been building and operating its electric lighting plant it has spent a total of \$4,098,837.38. Adding 4 per cent. interest to this sum, for the period, or \$1,274,000.27, there is a grand total expenditure of \$5,372,837.65.

If the city had been renting the same lights during these seventeen years, it would have paid \$4,677,345.50, which, with 4 per cent. interest, or \$1,142,513.28, makes a total of \$5,819,858.78.

Here is an actual saving by the city of \$447,021.13. But this does not begin to show what the city has really gained.

Besides the actual cash saving in lighting expense, the city has its entire present electric light system to show as an additional profit.

Even allowing for depreciation during these seventeen years of operation, the

earning power of the city's municipal lighting plant is now equal to the cash cost of \$54.36 for maintaining an arc light during 1904. If a private corporation owned the city plant and could show the profit the city does, the plants would be considered worth at least \$3,000,000, as the profits would pay 10 per cent. on that valuation.

Thus the City of Chicago has a \$3,000,000 plant to show for its total expenditures during seventeen years of a little more than \$5,000,000, besides lighting the streets better than a private company would have done.

If the same money had been paid out to a private lighting corporation the city would not now have a dollar to show for the expenditure.

It is also worth noting that under municipal ownership and operation of lighting plants, the City of Chicago has steadily reduced the average cost per arc lamp per year from \$90 in 1897 to \$55 in 1904. This reduction means that the city has compelled proportionate reductions in the cost of the lights that it still rents from private companies.

Thus, in more ways than one, Chicago's municipal lighting plant has caused direct cash saving for the benefit of taxpayers. Each year the saving becomes greater, as the municipal plant is developed.

Another important point is that this saving has been effected while the cost of labor has been constantly increasing. The average wage paid to city employes in the lighting department is far above that paid by private companies for the same class of work.

The reduced cost of city lighting is simply due to business methods, to a highly organized application of civil service rule, and to efficient employes at the best wages.

These unanswerable results are but the beginning of what the city may yet accomplish with its municipal lighting plant.

Last year the expenditure for 6,000 gasoline lights of 60-candle power, furnished by a private corporation, was as great as that of maintaining 2,400 arc lights from the municipal plant. The relative candle power furnished was 350,000 by gasoline lamps, and would have been 4,800,000 by electric lights.

The extension of the municipal lighting system is thus a vital necessity on the ground of economy. The cost of municipal lights will be still further reduced when the Lockport water power becomes available for the city's use.

Yet there are some Bourbons in this community who tell us that municipal ownership is a doubtful experiment.

They are not abreast of what is going on in their own city.

Teacher—Johnny, how is the earth divided?

Johnny—It isn't divided; some people have got it all.—Chicago Journal.

Stranger (in Kansas City)—I want to go from here to Seventh street. Which is the quickest way to get there?

Native Boy—Go right there to the edge o' this street, an' fall off, mister.—Chicago Tribune.

There were six of them, each in a new gown. It may be that the gowns only looked new to the newspaper man, but at any rate, the young women were quite content with themselves and each other as they boarded a Broadway car. They had very little regard for the dull routine and commonplace details of life.

The announced intention of all was to transfer to Thirty-fourth street, and to this end the girl in the red hat got six transfers. But the other five changed their minds before they got to the transfer point, and declared themselves in favor of a shopping foray. Only the girl with the red hat stuck to the original plan and boarded the Thirty-fourth street car. To the conductor who came to take her fare she handed the bunch of transfers—the original six.

The conductor looked at her, and on each side of her, and all round her. She was oblivious. Then he said: "Where are the others?"

The girl looked up, startled and confused for an instant. Then she spoke, with cold dignity.

"That's all the transfer man gave me," she said.—New York Sun.

BOOKS

AN INTRODUCTION TO CLASSICS.

It is a mistake, in modern education, for those who do not study Latin and Greek to remain ignorant of the literature of these languages. To feel that one should not read Plato without Greek, or Juvenal without Latin, is as if one should not read Isaiah or St. Paul except in the original. In time our high schools and colleges will doubtless have courses in the literature of the world, in which students will have the opportunity, as nowhere else in their studies, of seeing the history of human thought and ideals.

Greek literature is of course acknowledged on all hands to be one of the world's choicest possessions. Latin literature also contains a procession of great works which can be read in all ages for their beauty and wisdom.

There has been perhaps too much said about the debt of Latin literature to the Greek. Of course Roman writers were influenced by the only literature which they knew. A modern English writer has back of him Hebrew literature, Greek, Roman, Italian, French, Spanish, German, and now Russian. The Latin writer had only Greek; it was natural that he should feel the influence. Yet in Rome there were not wanting those who upheld a native development. One of the earliest of the poets, Naevius, seems to have been ready to make a fight for independence, just as an American writer of to-day might be inclined to throw aside foreign models.

The course of Latin literature, with brief and discriminating accounts of the leading authors, will be found most interestingly set forth in Prof. William Cranston Lawton's new book (Introduction to Classical Latin Literature, Scribner's, New York, \$1.20). Those who have read, for example, Prof. Lawton's little book, entitled *Three Dramas of Euripides*, will agree that few scholars are so well fitted as he to write a history of classical literature, which shall be both usable in schools, and at the same time interesting and valuable as a book for the general reader.

He has the quality, which many scholars unhappily lack, of going to the real values in literature, and not permitting the details of nice scholarship to absorb his whole attention. In this book, as far as is possible in a short treatise, he attempts to put his readers in touch with his authors' main purposes. He gives a number of quotations, always in good translations, and in this respect, as well as in the unstilted character of his style, he has made his book one which may be read with profit and interest by persons who have never read a line of Latin.

He shows the same inclination of appeal to the general reader in the bibliographies appended to each chapter. In these he takes pains to refer to the last translations, as well as to various English works that deal with his authors. These references are in the main very satisfactory, though certain failures, as for example the omission of Froude's *Caesar* and Shairp's fine essay on Virgil, are somewhat surprising.

J. H. DILLARD.

DATA OF SOCIAL PROGRESS.

A year book of social progress, such as Josiah Strong has undertaken as editor to maintain (*"Social Progress, a year book and encyclopedia of economic, industrial, social and religious statistics."* New York: the Baker & Taylor Co., Union Square, North) is too ambitious a work to approximate perfection, or even to give satisfaction, until it shall have been for several years before

the public. Its field is new and its scope great, which makes completeness impossible except as the result of age and accumulated information and experience; and as its statistics necessarily depend upon official publications which do not include the strictures of critics, while much of the non-statistical information must be gathered from interested enthusiasts, the check that such a publication ought to put upon a too confiding acceptance of "facts and figures" is, and until it has occupied its field longer, must be in greater or less degree untrustworthy. But if the future issues of Dr. Strong's annual improve upon preceding ones as the second issue has improved upon the first, it will not be long before the work will serve not only as a handy reference book but as a quotable authority.

As a reference book, furnishing suggestive information and disclosing lines and channels of inquiry, the number for 1905, now before us, is an invaluable guide with reference to the wide range of subjects it covers. Yet the volume is small and inexpensive.

L. F. P.

PAMPHLETS

For information regarding criminal phases of the vulgar sort in connection with civic affairs in Chicago, and for suggestions to students of civics generally, the recent report of the Citizens' Committee of Chicago is a valuable work. It deals especially with the policies with the police and criminal courts and with paroles and pardons. The committee includes the Rev. R. A. White, Dr. C. E. Bentley, Father Thomas E. Cox, H. C. Staver, N. A. Partridge and James L. Houghtaling. It was appointed in December, 1903.

One need not be a socialist to enjoy Upton Sinclair's socialistic skit on "Our Bourgeois Literature," originally published in *Collier's*, but reproduced in pamphlet by Charles H. Kerr & Company of Chicago. Even a typical bourgeois must be totally lacking in humor not to enjoy this candid picture of his class. Mr. Sinclair is somewhat comprehensive in his enumerations of popular writers as socialists; but if, as he seems to think, the world is made up only of a socialistic and an exploiting class, he is right even when he classifies Tolstoy as a socialist.

Gov. Pingree's "Potato Patch" plan survives in the successful operations of the Philadelphia Vacant Lots Cultivation association, of which R. F. Powell (14 South Broad St.) is superintendent, an account of which down to date may be found in the eighth annual report of that body. Its title is "Farming in the City." The number of acres of vacant lots cultivated rose from 27 in 1897 to 275½ in 1903 and fell to 159¾ in 1904. An appeal for encouragement is made especially

to those "who believe in training men and women thrown out of the rushing industry of a great city, to earn a modest but sure livelihood through intelligent cultivation of the soil.

PERIODICALS

"Direct Legislation and the Single Tax," by Robert Tyson, is the leading article of the Spring number of the *Single Tax Review*. Other matter of special interest to believers in the single tax are abundant. The portraits are of J. H. Whitley, a distinguished single tax member of the British Parliament, and of James R. Brown, one of the best known and most energetic single tax workers of New York.—L. F. P.

The "Confessions of a Commercial Senator" (p. 63), the second installment of which appears in the May number of "The World's Work," is more interesting and enlightening even than the first. No one should miss so graphic a picture of the plutocratic politics of our time. The same number of this most excellent magazine contains also a fair and evidently true account, by Leroy Scott, of the business of "strike-breaking."—L. F. P.

By long odds the most refreshing word that has been uttered of late on the Monroe doctrine is the article in the April Atlantic by Rev. Charles F. Dole. "So far," says Mr. Dole, "as we are good friends of the South American peoples, so far as we are friends of our kinsmen over the seas on the continent of Europe, so far as our intentions in South America are honestly humane and philanthropic, we have no need whatever of the Monroe doctrine any longer."—J. H. D.

In all institutions there are individuals who are far ahead of the conservative policy to which they must conform. This is true of churches, of schools, and especially of newspapers. "If we had an independent daily press," says the Nebraska Independent, "that was uncontrolled by the trusts and millionaires. It would furnish the information that everybody is so anxious to get. . . . The newspaper men of the United States are keen to do such work as that. They would throw heart and soul into it if they had a chance. But there is no daily that wants such work done."—J. H. D.

There is some delightful reading in Thoreau's *Journal* now running in the *Atlantic Monthly*. Under date of July 21, 1851, there is this naive comment: "It is possible for a man wholly to disappear and be merged in his manners. The thousand and one gentlemen whom I meet, I meet despairingly, and but to part from them, for I am not cheered by the hope of any rudeness from them." And this, under date of August 19, is equally ingenuous: "I fear that the character of my knowledge is from year



A CROSS-EYED JUDGMENT.

"Socialism, you have been convicted by the jury of the American people. The sentence of the court is—that this other fellow shall go to penal servitude for life."

to year becoming more distinct and scientific. I see details, not wholes nor the shadow of the whole. I count some parts. and say, I know."—J. H. D.

Each appearance of the Hibbert Journal must receive grateful acknowledgment from all who are interested in vital problems of religion and philosophy. Two very striking articles in the April number are: "The Lord is a Man of War," and "Christian, Greek, or Goth." The first brings out the thought that "God's attitude, to say it with reverence, is provocative, and presents an eternal challenge to the human will." The second is marred by a misunderstanding, which fails to see the vigorous side of Christianity, but it makes an original and convincing argument in proof of the powerful, though little acknowledged, Gothic element in modern civilization.—J. H. D.

The April number of the South Atlantic Quarterly presents a most interesting table of contents. Mr. Mable contributes an article on the New North, meaning particularly the more sympathetic attitude of the North toward the South. Ex-President Gilman's paper on Sidney Lanier will be found most interesting. It contains several characteristic letters from the poet. Ruskin's Letters to Charles Elliot Norton is the subject of a very entertaining article by President Snyder, of Wofford college, South Carolina. On the whole it can be said that few publications, North or South, present a more thoughtful and

interesting list of contributions, or a better typographical appearance, than this review, published at Trinity college, Durham, North Carolina. Its independent spirit is most refreshing in dealing with Southern problems, and many silent readers here and there will be especially grateful for its condemnation of Thomas Dixon's "Leopard's Spots" and "Clansman."—J. H. D.

The Chicago Dial, of which F. F. Browne has been the editor from the beginning, celebrates its twenty-fifth anniversary with the first issue in May. The Dial is a literary periodical. It lives and moves and has its being in and about and through books. But unlike most, if not all, other book periodicals, it is not bookish. Like its editor, it regards books not as something alien to human life, but as an essential part of human life.—L. F. P.

A writer in Good Housekeeping for May, under the caption A New Era in Musical Education, strongly upholds the use of the mechanical devices for piano playing. His article is well worth reading. "The rise and development of these wonderful practical instruments is," he says, "one of the characteristic signs of our time. As printing revolutionized literature ages ago, so the piano player is revolutionizing music as a social, moral and esthetic agency in the life of the modern world. Mechanical art has long been enlisted in the service of the spirit."—J. H. D.

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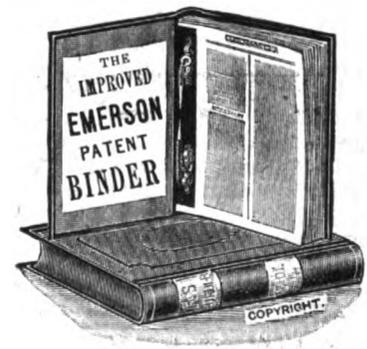
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