

than to be permitted to operate, at a five-cent fare, street car franchises which others would willingly operate for a three-cent fare.

Moreover, Senator Hanna's street car franchises pay no taxes. They are worth millions, but they contribute nothing to the support of the government. The supreme court of New York State has just decided that franchise values should be taxed. But while these enormous values evade taxation in Ohio, Senator Hanna can see no reason for a change, and his message to the voters is: "Hands off!"

Of course the Senator pays taxes on physical property which he has invested in his street railway enterprises. But on that property he does not pay enough. Before the defeated Republican auditor went out of office in Cleveland the Senator's company quietly made a bargain with that official whereby a fraction of what was owing to the county in back taxes was accepted as payment in full. The new auditor proposed to reopen that deal. This the State Auditor has tried to prevent. Yet this State official, who overstepped his bounds to protect the Senator's interests, has been rewarded with the nomination for a third term, by the convention which the Senator controlled. "The servant is worthy of his hire." But this servant works for the monopolies and is paid by the people. The Senator not only advises the people to keep their hands off, but does everything he can to see that they do keep their hands off.

Even in so trifling a matter as the tax on his home it seems that the Senator has been very generously dealt with by the taxing machinery in Cuyahoga county, which, until recently, has been so tractable. Any Clevelander will tell you that there cannot be much difference between the value of Senator Hanna's home and that of Mayor Johnson. Mayor Johnson's house, with an acre and a half of ground on Euclid avenue, is appraised at \$73,320. The Senator's home with ten acres of ground on a picturesque bluff overlooking the lake is appraised at \$39,930. If you talk of equalizing the burdens of taxation the Senator says: "Hands off."

He not only says it, but he takes the taxing machinery out of the hands of the local authorities and puts it in the hands of the State auditor. Driven out of his entrenchments in Cuyahoga county, he has taken refuge behind bulwarks which the State legislature has erected for his protection. The same political forces which have wrest-

ed Cleveland and Cuyahoga from his control must now dispute his right to control the State Legislature. Those who believe in American institutions, who believe in the power of truth and the ultimate good faith of the people, have no fear as to the final result of that contest.

But when we consider, not Senator Hanna's private affairs, but the condition of the people of the State and the nation, what do we find? The Senator says he cannot imagine anything happier than the present state of society. What is the condition of society? Senator Hanna is one witness, and not an impartial witness surely. Let us summon another.

Here is the story of "Big Jennie." She was an ironer in a laundry. She had worked in the laundry for years. She was heavy and great sores had come on her feet. The doctors thought an operation necessary. The forewoman in the laundry described to me the affecting scene when Big Jennie said good-bye to the girls. She had been a faithful worker, and was kind-hearted and loved by all. She had a premonition that she would not survive the operation. As she was waiting for the elevator to go to the hospital she turned to the group of companions which had gathered about her and said: "Girls, you won't let them bury me in the pauper's field, will you?"

It was one of those "successful operations" in which the patient died. There were girls in that laundry working for as little as two dollars a week. But they all contributed something to buy a coffin and a grave for their friend.

When the great Senator made that speech in which he described the present social order as the very climax of our ambition, he wore linen which was laundered by girls who do not receive enough for their work to pay the cost of keeping one of his horses.

You remember the fate of Dives. Thus did the Nazarene excoriate that type of rich man who is unmindful of the beggar at his gate. When I read the Senator's shameful admission that he was satisfied with a government where there is so much bitter poverty, I thought of the rebuke of "Alton Locke:"

You sit in a cloud and sing, like pictured angels,
And say the world runs smooth—while right below
Welters the black, fermenting heap of griefs
Whereon your state is built.

We want statesmen with a loftier ideal of human society. We want states-

men who will feel sure there is a flaw in their work so long as there is poverty among us. We do not need rich men to tell us that we have reached the goal of progress and that there is nothing more to be desired in the way of social improvement. Of more service are the agitators who will cry to us as Charles Kingsley cried to the workmen of England:

Men of England, heirs of glory,
Heroes of unwritten story,
Rise, shake off the chains like dew
Which in sleep have fallen on you!
Ye are many, they are few!

THE ETHICAL SIDE OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

An address recently delivered by Alfred J. Boulton at the Prospect Heights Presbyterian church, Brooklyn, N. Y., as reported in the daily press.

If you could be so foolish as to pass judgment on the organized labor movement from the newspaper accounts of our strikes and boycotts you would most likely come to the conclusion that our movement did not have an ethical side. As a matter of fact, the accounts of violence are, generally speaking, greatly exaggerated. Take, for illustration, the great railroad strike of 1894. Our daily newspapers were telling us of the millions of dollars' worth of property that was destroyed in the vicinity of Chicago in one day, and that great destruction of property had taken place for a period of eight days. Now, as a matter of record Cook county had to pay \$335 to different railroad companies, and this covered the entire loss the railroad companies sustained through the destruction of property, and no evidence had ever been adduced that this destruction was the work of the American Railroad Union.

Or take the great coal strike of last year.

The New York World sent James Creelman, one of the most reliable reporters in this country, to Pennsylvania to investigate and report on the condition and affairs there, and Creelman reported a lack of violence that was simply amazing in view of the reports that had previously been published.

I have heard John Mitchell declare that if the success of the labor movement depended upon violence he would not be a member of organized labor, and Mr. Mitchell only expresses the convictions of all intelligent labor leaders in regard to brute force. An overt act injures the labor union more than it does the non-union man or the employer, but it must not be lost sight

of that while members of labor organizations sometimes, in the heat of passion, are guilty of doing things that cause their friends to blush, corporations are not wholly guiltless in this respect.

According to the evidence in a Buffalo court, the Standard Oil Company resorted to the use of dynamite to destroy a rival, but the men who talk of the right of a nonunion man to work do not complain when trusts crush competition.

One of our college professors has declared that the "scab" is a hero. Now, let us examine this question of the scab a little further.

Without organizations the laborer would be ground to atoms, and his children made serfs. This is an age of organization, and individually laborers are helpless in dealing with organized wealth. Through organization we have already improved conditions immeasurably. Every time that organized labor achieves a victory, it not only improves the condition of organized labor, but of the non-organized as well. On the other hand when a non-union man takes a striker's place, and thus defeats the object of the strike, and crushes the union, he not only lowers the status of the union man and his family but of the non-union man and his family. This being so, it is outrageous for the "scab" to take a striker's place. If he does not wish to join the union he need not, but inasmuch as the union is making a fight for the welfare of his own children he ought to have manhood enough not to take a striker's place. Yet he has an abstract legal right to do it, but when whole bodies of men are excited over a matter affecting not only their happiness, but their very existence, they do not always consider abstract rights.

During the Revolution the colonists preached liberty, but the man who differed with them was in danger of being hung. During the Civil War our Constitution guaranteed freedom of speech, yet the man who defended the Southern cause was in danger of being imprisoned, while the man who defended the Union, if he happened to be in the South, was in danger of being lynched. As a matter of fact the ethics of the trade union movement are certainly as high as those of the different organizations of employers. Take, for illustration, the Anthracite Coal Companies of Pennsylvania, who, in addition to the crime of employing mere children as breaker boys, sold thousands of tons of coal per year more

than their books showed to have been mined. The books only showed what the miners had been paid for, and although the legislature of Pennsylvania passed a bill providing for the proper weighing of coal at the mines the companies have persuaded the Governor to veto this just measure in order that they may continue to compel the miner to mine 28 to 30 hundred weight of coal to the ton.

Few people realize that the trade union is the greatest temperance organization on earth. Take, for illustration, the different organizations of train men. These provide heavy penalties for intoxication while on duty, and three offenses means suspension from the organization. Think of what that means, not only as an inducement to the men to shun saloons, but to the traveling public, to know that the man who holds the throttle of the locomotive is at least in his sober senses. The man who gives or receives orders or who handles the brake are all punished by their organizations for getting under the influence of liquor while on duty. The longshoremen of New York were not organized 15 or 20 years ago, and in every instance they received their wages in a saloon. The saloon-keeper acted as a sort of agent in furnishing men and the employes in return paid the men there so that they might spend their money in the saloon. The longshoremen are now organized, and, according to agreement entered into between the longshoremen and the stevedores, the men are to be paid either in the office or at work; never in a saloon. In addition, ice water and oatmeal water have to be supplied to the men, and this obviates the necessity of rushing the growler. The organization to which I belong imposes a fine of \$10 for every time a man goes to his work while under the influence of liquor or fails to put on a proper substitute in case he should be under the influence of liquor before coming to work.

During the coal strike of last summer the Miners' union selected committees to distribute strike benefits, and any man who was seen coming out of a saloon carrying a can of beer or was seen under the influence of liquor was denied strike benefits for that week. These are only a few illustrations showing the trend of the whole labor union toward compelling their members to lead temperate lives, and so you see the tendency of the labor movement is in the direction of elevating its members.

Typographical union No. 6 is a fair

illustration of what the union is doing along somewhat different lines. It pays \$4 per week to those members who are so unfortunate as to be unemployed. For the sick members it maintains four beds in hospitals in New York. Those who have been in the union for 20 years, if unable to work, are entitled to a pension of \$4 per week. The union also maintains a large reading room, which is kept scrupulously clean, with magazines and other reading matter, checkers and dominoes for the entertainment of those who are on the substitute list and can be reached at the rooms by telephone. For old and indigent members it has the Childs-Drexel Home at Colorado Springs, where members are sent and receive a monthly stipend of \$4, which furnishes them with incidentals.

The glass workers when they struck in the Great Jones glass factory in New Jersey, took the children, placed them in school and have been paying them ever since the same wages that they received in the factory, docking for days missed from schools just as though they had missed a day in the factory.

Now let us examine the conditions that made labor organizations a necessity. Lord Macaulay tells us in his history of England that the condition of the English masses was never in a more deplorable condition than it was at the close of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century. Magna Charta, extracted from King John, "freed the Barons." American Magna Charta gave to all the people their political rights, but it left labor in serfdom. Independence of labor was the next step in the evolution of human rights. The men who toiled with their hands, who cleared forests, who built roads, who built cities, who built schools and churches, are the men who make civilization possible; others are useful, but the laborer is indispensable; therefore he must have justice, and he can only have fair treatment through organization. To see how true this is we have only to examine the condition of wage earners in this country. McMaster says in the general advance made by society in 50 years, from 1775 to 1825, the working men had shared but little. Wages had risen, but not in proportion to the cost of living. The revolution had not meant five cents a day increase in wages. Unskilled labor was only paid 40 to 50 cents a day in this city, and in other parts of the country less. Even in the trades the conditions were deplorable. A little over 100 years ago a public

spirited young man named Michael Menton wrote a letter to a daily newspaper in New York describing the oppressive condition of the bricklayers in New Jersey. These bricklayers were being worked 14 hours a day, and the shanties in which they lived were mere hovels. They were, of course, unorganized. The employing bricklayers had Menton arrested, and, although he proved his statements to be true, he was regarded by the judge who tried him as a dangerous member of society and conspirator and was sentenced to 60 days in jail.

The first trade union in this country was organized January 21, 1834, in the rooms of the common council of Boston. In March following a constitution had been drafted and ratified, and then, imbued with a devotional spirit, the members of the union decided to hold religious services on July 4. The labor movement spread throughout the manufacturing towns of Massachusetts, and, although it met with many rebuffs, refused to give up the ghost. Even the women workers became interested in it, and the first union strike on record occurred in Lowell, Mass., about 1849. It was a strike of factory girls against a reduction of wages, and one girl 11 years old was characterized as the "ringleader." These girls must have been not only aggressive, but also possessed of their full share of brains, because they published a small newspaper called the *Offering*. Its motto was: "The worm of the earth may look up to the stars."

The first national central body of mechanics organized in this country was that of the blacksmiths and machinists, which was formed in 1859. In the same year the iron molders signified their intention of forming a national union and applied to the United States government for a charter, but their application was refused. The breaking out of the war of the rebellion did much to retard the labor movement in America, although in 1860 as many as 25 or 30 trades had formed national organizations. Four years later the first convention or congress of trades unions was held in Cincinnati, and similar meetings were held in this city, Philadelphia and Chicago. The result of these meetings of the labor unions was the beginning of the agitation for the eight hour work day. About the same year the agitation for organization spread among the employes of the railroads, and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, one of the most powerful and influential labor bodies in the world, was formed.

Ten years later the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen was organized, and the movement then became general all along the line of the mechanical trades. It even reached the miners of the West, and so successfully did they accomplish the objects of organization that from 1875 to 1880 they kept the wages of manual labor in the mines at \$5 a day.

By this time other trades not only had their local unions in all the cities and larger towns of the country, but many of them had formed national organizations, including the cigarmakers and printers. The Knights of Labor, a national body, was also formed. This organization, which became a powerful one, was founded as an educational order by Uriah Stevens, but it became rather an aggressive labor organization and played a prominent part in a number of great strikes. At one time it was said to have reached a membership of nearly 1,000,000, but its power and influence waned largely through dissensions among its leaders, until now it has only a remnant of its former greatness.

The American Federation has taken its place with a membership of about 1,500,000. There are about 2,000,000 organized workers in this country, and it is no longer considered a disgrace to belong to a labor union. In a few years more when the aims and objects of the trade union are better understood a union card will be regarded as a badge of honor.

No greater fallacy ever existed than that of assuming that low wages made cheap production. The converse is true. The nation whose workers are most skillful and where the average intelligence is greatest is assured of the markets of the world.

Henry George was right when he declared that where the wages of common labor are high and remunerative employment is easy to obtain, prosperity will be general. Where wages are highest there will be the largest production and the most equitable distribution of wealth. There will invention be most active and the brain best guide the hand. There will be the greatest comfort, the widest diffusion of knowledge, the purest morals and the truest patriotism.

BOOKS

MOODY'S MANUAL.

When the house of John Moody put out the first number of Moody's manual of corporation securities three years ago, it supplied a refer-

ence book of extraordinary completeness and accuracy for the use not only of investors and financiers generally, but also of editors, legislators, economists, and other men in public life. The trust question has made reliable statistical information about corporations a necessity for all students of public controversies. This Manual at once proved its merit, and each succeeding annual volume has confirmed, strengthened and extended the enviable reputation of the first. The work is now justly regarded in financial circles as a standard publication.

The fourth volume, which has just appeared (New York: Moody Publishing Co., 35 Nassau street; Chicago office, 79 Dearborn street, room 1608), is much larger than any of the others, and more comprehensive and complete. It contains over 2,400 pages, in which appear minute statistics of 11,000 different corporate enterprises. Each corporation is fully described with reference to its property, its capitalization, its bonded debt, its dividends, its earnings and financial condition, its officers, managers, directors, etc. Regarding gas and electric lighting, and telephone and telegraph companies, it is especially complete in data, as it is also regarding bonding and trust companies. The data of municipal ownership and operation of water works and lighting plants are likewise gathered in this volume; and particular attention has been paid to the industrial combinations, known as trusts. Probably the first complete and authoritative list ever made of these combinations appears in this volume of Moody's. The publishers say that it includes practically all existing industrial trusts or consolidations worth mentioning. The tax valuations of a long list of American cities make another valuable feature.

Although under the necessity, for editorial use, of frequently referring to Moody's Manual for statistical information regarding the corporate interests of the country, we have never yet found it lacking in any subject within its scope nor in fullness of detail. The wider scope of the present volume implies greater utility.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—Aus dem Deutschen Dichterwald, Favorite German Poems, edited with notes and vocabulary by J. H. Dillard, professor in Tulane university, formerly principal of Mary institute, St. Louis. Amer. Book Co., 60 cents.

PERIODICALS.

By and by, when the student of the twenty-first century is looking back to search for sober truth and earnest thought at the beginning of the twentieth century, it will doubtless strike him as queer to find more of what he is after in Mr. Dooly and Life than in the academic philosophers and the dignified journals of civilization and ethics. Suppose he is studying, for example, the possibilities of home-building on \$30 or \$40 a month in the year 1903, where will he find