

MAYOR JOHNSON'S WAY.

War on the bill boards was determined on by the city administration yesterday. Complaint had been made about a large bill board on an old building half way across the viaduct.

"Do you allow bill boards within the fire limits?" asked Director Salen of Building Inspector Harks.

"Yes, I have been allowing them."

"I wouldn't do that if I were you," remarked the mayor.

"Then I ought to have authority to tear down those already erected."

"All right, go ahead and tear them down," said the mayor.

"I think that is proper," said Assistant Director of Law Babcock, "but you will probably be sued."

"A few more lawsuits won't hurt us," observed the mayor. "Tear them down, Mr. Harks."—Cleveland Plain Dealer, of Aug. 24.

Director of Public Works Salen has ordered six watering troughs to be located at various points throughout the city. They will be attached to fire hydrants, a bowl on each side of the hydrant. A team of two horses hitched singly can drink at the same time. If the troughs prove a success the director will install 25 more.— Plain Dealer of Aug. 24.

Mayor Johnson is not at all satisfied with Grade Crossing Engineer Ritchie's plans for doing away with crossings and proposes to fight them. Ritchie wants to raise the C. & P. railroad tracks 21 feet and depress all the East end streets which now cross them. The mayor says this plan would ruin the beauty of the east end of the city and says the tracks should be lowered so as to go under the streets. The grade of the land makes that the natural solution of the problem, he contends. Ritchie avers this plan would cost nearly twice what it would to raise the tracks and would drive away a lot of the industries along the C. & P.

"I am not so sure of that," said the mayor, "and besides there are sometimes things of more importance than industries. I will never consent to raising those tracks above the streets and I want to attend the meeting of the grade crossing commission when it takes up that matter."

Ritchie said the mayor would get an invitation.—Plain Dealer of Sept. 4.

By the terms of an ordinance passed by the city council Tuesday night, all telephone, telegraph and electric poles from the river to Willson avenue must disappear by January 1, 1903. On the

West side the time limit will not expire until January 1, 1904.

The wires which these poles carry must be placed in conduits underground.

From Orange and about a dozen other streets the poles must be cleared away before the snow flies. Improvements are to be made on the streets in question this fall and the mayor wants the poles down and the wires underground before that is done.— Plain Dealer of Sept. 5.

Mayor Johnson called on City Engineer Carter Friday for his report on the condition of the G. A. R. stands on Bond street.

"Several changes were ordered," said Carter.

"Did you have them carefully examined?"

"I did."

"I want a written report from you that the necessary changes are made."

"I cannot make a report of that kind until the changes are made."

"Well, I want you to follow that up and see that they are made. We won't let them use the stands if they are at all unsafe."

"How about the lights under the stands?" continued the mayor.

"I think the G. A. R. committee will put them in," said Deputy Director of Public Works Galvin.

"Very well. I want you to follow that up at once and see that the lights are put in before the encampment opens."—Plain Dealer of Sept. 7.

The question of the strength of these reviewing stands and their ability to hold with safety the large crowds which will assemble upon them on Tuesday and Wednesday, has been, of course, foremost in the minds of the decorations committee, and the reviewing stands committee, who have had charge of their erection. The reviewing stand for the children at the foot of Bond street was designed and erected under the supervision of James Ritchie, who is an experienced bridge builder, and it is as strong as a railroad trestle and will bear many times the weight which will go upon it—in fact it would be perfectly safe to run a train of cars over it, as it is made of the same materials used by railroads in their bridges.

All the other stands were designed by architects. Both of these plans were submitted to the building inspector and met with his approval, and since that time have been inspected by him and by the city engineer.—Plain Dealer of September 9.

AGAINST PRIVILEGE.

An address delivered before the Allied Trades Unions of Jefferson City, Mo., Monday, September 2 (Labor Day), 1901, by Speed Mosby.

Every man who is not a social ex-crescence is in some sense a laboring man, but upon this day we are accustomed to devote our attention peculiarly to organized labor, and my remarks shall therefore be particularly, though briefly, directed to what I conceive to be the true interests of union labor, whose representatives it is my privilege to address to-day.

The organizations which you maintain are, it seems to me, to be especially commended. Under existing political conditions unionism is the palladium of the labor interests. It is a vital necessity. You must at all hazards maintain the union, or you are lost. As Edmund Burke says: "When bad men combine the good must associate." With each new consolidation of gigantic corporate interests the situation more imperatively demands that you weld more firmly the bonds of that defensive alliance which the solidarity of your interests requires for your mutual protection.

But after all, as it seems to me, labor unions are but the means o an end, and that end is, I take it, the complete emancipation of labor; and there can surely be no objection to attaining the end by a more certain, a more secure and a shorter route, if that route may be followed without yielding up the defensive weapons which you now employ.

KINSHIP OF CAPITAL AND LABOR.

You are united not only by a sense of mutual interest, but also by the sense of common danger. What danger? What is it you fear? Whatever that thing is, it is the real object against whose encroachments you are united. Now, what is it? Some of you may call it capital. And what grievance have we against capital? Capital is merely wealth—wealth devoted to productive uses. Nothing that is not wealth can be capital. Capital does not employ labor, my friends. Labor employs capital. Capital must seek its life at the hands of labor. Destroy capital, and, if labor is free, it will spring again into newness of life; strike down labor, and capital will rot in its vaults.

Capital and labor are not natural enemies, nor is there any good reason why they should be. There is an indissoluble bond of relationship between them. Labor creates capital for its own uses, and capital is the

natural tool of labor; and in its heart of hearts labor loves capital as the father loveth the son. What has brought about this unnatural estrangement between them? Why should the created turn against its creator, and the father spurn his offspring?

Is it not because capital is too often fortified by Privilege? So it seems to me. It is only by means of special privileges owned and controlled by capitalists, that capital can ever secure an advantage over labor. And it is only by securing privileges from which other men are debarred, that the so-called "capitalist" is enabled to take wealth from society without giving anything in return for what he receives.

There should, in the nature of things, be no conflict between labor and capital. But there is, under present economic conditions, necessarily a very decided conflict between labor and a certain class of so-called capitalists, and the very thing they are fighting about is capital—or, more properly speaking, wealth. We cannot deny it, and we need not attempt to disguise the fact that we all want wealth. We all need it, and those of us who earn it ought to have it; and, I may add, those of us who do not earn it ought not to have it.

THE MENACE OF PRIVILEGE.

Now, what is it that prevents labor from reaping the full measure of its reward, while permitting other men to fill their pockets with what they have not earned? It is Privilege. You are to-day combined against the power of special privileges. And what is the nature of these privileges? You frequently hear courts and lawyers speak of them as "vested rights." They are vested wrongs. They are nothing less than the power, vested in private hands, to control the ultimate sources of production and the means of distribution. There can be no iron-clad, indestructible monopoly under our present system which does not rest, directly or indirectly, upon one or the other of these privileges or their corollaries.

The man who holds these privileges controls the bulk of all natural opportunity, and he alone can deny your right to live and labor and be free. The few men who now control the sources of production and the means of distribution in the United States are in one sense the most potent political factor in America to-day, and when the greater part of those privileges shall have passed under the dominion of a single man,

which you will admit is now the undoubted tendency, that man will be the absolute lord and master of this western hemisphere just as truly as Nicholas is to-day the czar of all the Russias.

By far the most serious question that confronts labor to-day, my fellow citizens, is how best to cope with this man and the class which he represents. In my judgment there is but one way. You must attack monopoly by laying the ax at the root of the tree. You must destroy Privilege. You cannot give to labor its earnings until you take from monopoly its privileges.

Men of reputed wealth have been called the natural foes of the laboring class. They are not necessarily so. They are not any more to blame for the condition of labor to-day than the laboring men themselves. They have merely taken advantage of the political institutions for which you are even more responsible than they are, because you are vastly in the majority and could change those institutions if you would. Personally, I feel no grievance against John D. Rockefeller or J. Pierpont Morgan, but I do cherish a most profound and everlasting grievance against the political and social system which has made them the uncrowned kings they are to-day, for the institutions which have given unrivaled power to them have made slaves and paupers of untold thousands.

ROCKEFELLER'S "CHARITY."

Speaking of Mr. Rockefeller reminds me of a statement he made to his Sunday school class a month or two ago. He said that he had been "giving" men steady work, and that during the last 30 years he had paid out between \$600,000,000 and \$700,000,000 to laboring men in wages. "That," said Mr. Rockefeller, "I regard as the best kind of giving." So, when he allows men to work, Mr. Rockefeller considers himself benevolent, and evidently regards the wages he has paid as just so much charity. How can he arrogate to himself the right to "give" men work? What right in nature has he to keep them from it? The right to labor for our sustenance is a natural right which we all possess, and that right continues just as long as men are born with hands to work with and bodies to clothe and feed. The Good Book doesn't read: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread—provided you can get a job from Rockefeller."

Man's right to produce wealth, to

visit freely the storehouse of nature and freely exchange his produce, without hamper and without restraint, is as fundamental as his right to life itself, because the exercise of that right is equally necessary to the life and happiness of all men. The fact that Mr. Rockefeller has been able to monopolize certain productive opportunities, fortified by legal barriers and transportation rebates, gives him no right to boast of his benevolence in allowing men access to those opportunities to which they were entitled by the laws of nature, nor can he with good grace speak of his "charity" in permitting his employes to retain a very small percentage of the wealth which they produced. If his moral sense were as keen as his love of gain, his conscience might well accuse him of robbery in extorting so large a share from the labors of other men. For he must have known, when he received his last dividend upon his oil stock (a dividend of 48 per cent.), that he had received just \$2.21 in dividends for every dollar paid out in wages, and that he had thus summarily pocketed the wages of 31,638 men.

All the wealth he possesses is what labor has given him—and for what? For the bare opportunity of working; nothing more. But I cannot find it in my heart to blame Mr. Rockefeller for the sins of the American people. If I had any opinion of him at all, it would rather be one of pitying contempt for his brazen and pretentious assininity. He is only one of the moral idiots whom we have created by our political institutions, and if Rockefeller were dead other Rockefellers would spring up and flourish upon the soil that nourished him.

When we sow injustice we may expect to reap oppression.

PRIVILEGE IN THE GUISE OF WEALTH.

The millionaire whom we have been considering is a type of the "capitalists" between whom and organized labor the conflict has been so long raging. And yet, if you will examine the sources of his power, you will find him to be more of a privilege-monger than a capitalist. You will find that most of his so-called capital is not wealth in the economic and scientific sense. It consists largely of title deeds to oil and mineral lands, and of the stocks and bonds of public service corporations, and their great value is due to the fact that they rest upon monopoly fortified by legalized privilege. They are not wealth in themselves, but they repre-

sent the power to extort wealth from other men.

Representing a monopoly of productive opportunities and of public utilities, by virtue of that fact they represent the power of the holders of these monopolies, to utilize, to their own advantage and upon their own terms, the labor of other men. This is what gives to that misnamed thing called "capital" all of its deadly power. Your strikes and boycotts will help you to contend against this power, but in my humble judgment, if you would pierce the heart of the monster you must do some striking through the ballot box.

If you will analyze the majority of the great "fortunes" of the present day you will find that they consist mainly of the fruits of Privilege. They exist for the most part upon paper, and if you will annihilate the privileges upon which they are based you will find many of those fortunes as valueless as the paper upon which they are written. Bonds and other evidences of indebtedness are not wealth. If they were, you could increase the aggregate of a country's wealth by increasing the sum of its indebtedness, which is plainly impossible. Stocks in privilege-holding corporations, whose values depend upon the values of the privileges upon which they are based, are not wealth. They are neither more nor less than an incumbrance upon labor, and to an enormous degree they operate as a detriment to the production of wealth. A title deed to the Lehigh valley coal lands, for instance, is not wealth. It merely represents the power of the holder of that deed to permit the mining of coal in that valley upon terms dictated solely by him. None of these things can be properly called wealth. They represent the means by which holders of certain legalized privileges may put shackles upon your hands and mine, and thrust their hands into our pockets whenever they choose to do so—for that is the power of Privilege.

When you permit a man to monopolize productive opportunities you enable him to shut the doors of nature's storehouse against all mankind, and walk away with the key in his pocket; but the name of that key is not capital, not wealth—it is Privilege. Too many well-meaning men, I fear, have merely been fighting for the possession of this key. But I propose to you to throw away the key and batter down the doors. Open up to all men free and equal oppor-

tunities to produce wealth, and secure to them their right to keep all that they may honestly earn. The real trouble, my friends, is not primarily in the unequal distribution of wealth, but in the cause that leads to unequal distribution; it is in the inequality of opportunity to produce wealth and retain it after having produced it.

And if you were to utterly and forever destroy Privilege, what would be the result? Doubtless the first thing you would notice would be the slump in the bond and stock market. Many men now reputed to be worth millions would be found to be practically penniless. But they would have lost nothing that they ever had a natural right to call their own; nothing but the legal power to extort wealth and labor from other men; absolutely nothing but the unjust power to grind the blood and bones of American workingmen into dollars at their own sweet pleasure! But the effect upon labor would be vastly different. With equal opportunities opened to all, with the functions of production and distribution untrammelled and unrestrained, with all men enjoying equal rights and the gains of each man's industry secure unto himself, we should never again see the astounding spectacle that greets our eyes to-day—the spectacle of one per cent. of our families owning more wealth than all of the remaining 99 per cent!

THE REMEDY.

But how can we destroy Privilege? The simplest way is by a judicious exercise of the taxing power. Remove all taxes that fetter labor. Wipe out every tax that restricts consumption and production. Exempt labor and its produce. Levy your taxes where nature intended they should be levied—upon the privileged monopolists of natural resources and public utilities. And when you have taxed those privileges to the full extent of their value, you will merely have absorbed, as a community, those values to which the community alone is entitled by virtue of its creative right, for franchise values are community values. When you have done this you will have established a government as free in fact as it is in name. Then, and not until then, will labor be set free, and each man at liberty to employ himself at will, and his wages will be his own. Then will you have a government where each will possess what he earns, and no man will possess what he does not earn. I feel that such a government would be

just, and that none other can be. I believe it is possible.

It is for such men as you to say when it shall begin, or whether or not it shall ever be. I know that you are sincere in what you do. But your only weapons now are the boycott and strike. I sympathize with you. God knows my heart bled with pity when I read in the accounts of the great strike in the anthracite coal regions last year, of the little helpless boys who came up out of the ground to see what it was all about, and marched in their dirt and rags, at the behest of their leaders. And there were grown men, too—hundreds of them—who had never learned to read or write. And then I thought of the damnable cupidity and the soul-sickening brutality of that grasping, grinding, God-hating commercialism which has doomed those poor men to a life of hopeless and degrading servitude, while their omnivorous lords and masters were founding Christian universities wherewith to put the golden padlocks on the lips of Truth, because, forsooth, they owned the stock in the corporation which held the legal title to the ground! Pardon, me, gentlemen, if my language is intemperate, for I cannot mince words when speaking of the barbarous, heart-wrecking cruelty and injustice of our present system, and when with Robert Burns, I

See yonder poor, o'erlabored wight,
So abject, mean and vile,
Who begs a brother of the earth
To give him leave to toll;
And see his lordly fellow-worm
The poor petition spurn,
Unmindful though a weeping wife
And helpless offspring mourn.

If I'm yon haughty lordling's slave
By nature's law designed,
Why was an independent wish
E'er planted in my mind?
If not, why am I subject to
His cruelty and scorn,
Or why has man the will and power
To make his fellow mourn?

Yes, my fellow citizens, I am with you in your strikes and boycotts. But I would stand for something better than the strike and more effective than the boycott. I would stand for a system of government which shall

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make them both unnecessary; a system which shall wipe out the inequality born of privilege, and elevate labor to its true dignity as the rightful sovereign of the earth; a system which, by removing from men the power to rob their fellows in the guise of law and leaving to each the equal chance that belongs to all, would substitute new hope and noble aspirations for the soul-destroying passions of greed and gain, and thus pave the way to a civilization, infinite in its possibilities, and higher, nobler, better, grander than the human mind has yet conceived.

The names of institutions
Are thoughtless and unjust.
The "trusts" will trust nobody
And nobody trusts a trust.

—Washington Star.

"I overheard that man who calls on you say something about betting, Briquet; I hope he doesn't frequent pool-rooms?"

"Sure, ma'am, he doesn't know there's such a place in New York. He's a policeman, ma'am."—Yonkers Statesman.

R. Enter—I don't see any difference between a landlord who is a Christian, and one who is not, do you?

T. E. Nant—Oh, yes! A landlord that is a Christian will not call for his rent on Sunday.

C. E. L.

He was very young. To be precise, he was five years and seven months. As long as he could remember he had had to set aside a part of the moneys he received to educate the little children of China. He didn't love them as much as he should, or he would not have asked:

"Mother, they're killing all the Chinese children, aren't they?"

"Yes, isn't it dreadful? Are you not glad you are not a little Chinese boy?"

"Yes. But when they get them all killed, I won't have to send them any more of my money, will I?"—N. Y. Evening Sun.

Brooklyn Workingman's Wife (in 1910)—What's happened, Danny?

Her Husband (desperately)—Well, I've been fired by J. P. Morgan, and there's nobody else in the world to work for!—Brooklyn Citizen.

Shippers of fruit and vegetables to South Water street have some queer ways of endeavoring to impress the superiority of their products on the prospective purchaser. On each six baskets of Flemish Beauty pears which reached the street the other day was scrawled with a red lead pencil

this legend: "This pairs if poud away will be foud chuse & fine flavor."

The pears were green and the shipper meant to convey the statement that if they were stored until ripe they would be found to be juicy.—Chicago Chronicle of Aug. 20.

BOOK NOTICES.

A second edition of "Government," by John Sherwin Crosby, has been issued in the Library of Liberal Classes (New York: Peter Eckler, 35 Fulton street. Price, 25 cents). Mr. Crosby's work is one of especial value because, while the principles of government which it lays down are entirely sound and comprehensive, there is nothing about it of the subtle or mysterious. It is addressed to the understanding of the ordinary citizen and appeals with friendly grace but statesmanlike force to his common sense. In these times of topsy turvy theories about government, which are rived by a helter skelter practice of government, Mr. Crosby's little book, with its lucid explanations, cannot but make a good impression upon every reader, whether he may happen to be a scientific muddler, an indifferent ignoramus, or an ordinarily intelligent citizen. The general principle of government which constitutes the basis of Mr. Crosby's civic philosophy is this: That the civil power may be legitimately used for only one or more of the following four purposes, namely: (1) For the preservation of the government itself; (2) for the preservation of the public peace; (3) to secure to individuals the equal enjoyment of their natural and inalienable rights; and (4) to accomplish "such undertakings" and perform "such services, if any there be, as are necessary to the preservation of the peace or the security of natural rights, but, by reason of their nature or extent, cannot be carried on by individual or partnership enterprise without the aid of government." One chapter of the book is devoted to the elucidation of these functions, and the remaining 73 pages to a discussion of their practical application.

MAGAZINES.

—Talcott Williams contributes to the September Review of Reviews a judicial article on the steel strike, written from the point of view of the trust. A better, as well as franker consideration of the subject will be found in the September Pilgrim.

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