

The Public

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A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

Eighth Year

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LOUIS F. POST
EDITOR

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The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

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EDITORIAL

President Roosevelt is quoted as saying of the trusts which fatten upon protection that he will make them "take their feet out of the trough." But will he make them take their snouts out, too?

When the merchants of Chicago want troops to prevent occasional missile-throwing from 10-story windows, and the Governor of Missouri is reported to contemplate sending troops to St. Louis to keep liquor saloons closed on Sunday, the question arises

whether we should not call for troops to collect taxes from tax dodgers, and generally to displace civil by military government. The demand for troops in American cities to-day would have delighted George III. if it had been as insistent in the American colonies a hundred and fifty years ago.

When a clique of Chicago merchants and Chicago newspapers lent their aid to a band of conspirators who, for a sordid purpose, were scheming to place Chicago under a regime of military government, they overlooked one of the possibilities of a course so fatuous. They do not seem to have considered the effect upon business of making the public believe that anarchy has been reigning in Chicago. They are learning the lesson now.

There has at no time been any disorder of a kind to warrant the calling in of the military. Legitimate calls for military aid depend not upon disorder, but upon uprisings of such magnitude and defiant purpose that the police are too weak to cope with them, and civil government is endangered. There has been no such condition in Chicago. In not one instance has there been a mob so defiant or so numerous that a few policemen could not and did not disperse it. It is true that missiles have been thrown by individuals, and that the police could not stop that. But neither could an army of troops have stopped it. And altogether there has been no great violence throughout the strike. But troops were needed to serve certain nefarious ends, and that troops might be demanded, the newspapers have, with exaggerated reports of sporadic violence and with flaming headlines, impressed the whole country with a notion that Chicago has been in a riotous condition of such magnitude as to make its streets unsafe; and this at a time when in the very heart of the strike region, men, women and children have gone about

their affairs upon the streets as safely, and in crowds as great, as in ordinary times.

But now the Chicago merchants, who thought they were embarking upon a holiday excursion for the destruction of a trade union, find themselves suffering keenly in the most sensitive nerve of their organism — the pocket nerve. People have been frightened away from Chicago by exaggerated newspaper reports, and business has fallen off enormously. Even if the strikers are defeated, even if their organization is destroyed, the victory will really be with them. For the loss to them of wages at the rate of ten or fifteen dollars a week counts for little or nothing when, as the fact is, most of them have found employment and the others are supported out of strike funds. And if their organization should be destroyed, another will soon be organized upon its ruins. But the merchants are suffering so keenly in their finances that it will be many a long day, no matter how this strike terminates nominally, before walking delegates of the employers' union will be able to involve them in another.

The indications are that the object of instigating this strike and of preventing its termination, will not be realized; and it is to be hoped that the investigation into its origin and the causes for its perpetuation will be pursued until the truth is laid bare. The fault is not with the labor leaders alone—not even with the worst of them; if they have been influenced by boodle, as is freely charged on all hands, the boodle has come from interests that have boodle to give and objects to serve by giving it, and these, it is hardly necessary to say, are not labor interests. Nor is the primary fault with the few ignorant, narrow, bigoted money-mongering merchants, who compose the employers' union; they have been irritated, and their passions

have been played upon. Even the alarmist newspapers have to be treated considerately in the matter, for they depend for their existence upon mercantile advertising; and the temper of the employers' union has been such that these papers dared take no other course than to cater to their passions. The fault for the strike, for its perpetuation, for its exploitation as a condition necessitating military government, lies at the door of a few cold, calculating remorseless, sordid men, to whom the petty greed of labor leaders, the larger greed of your modern business man, and the passions of conflicting economic classes, are as pieces on the board in a game they are playing, with millions of money and kingdoms of power at stake. Let the probe be inserted skillfully enough and go deep enough, and the players at this game will be found not at labor headquarters, nor in the newspaper offices, nor in the counting rooms of any of our mercantile houses, nor in Chicago at all, but in the city of New York. Their object was to overwhelm the civil government of this city, so as to stay, by counter irritation and civic and political confusion, the movement in the direction of dethroning public utility corporations. And this object had a larger target than Chicago. To provoke labor uprisings all over the country, with a view to putting them down with the strong arm of military power and thereby producing in the public mind a reaction from radical economic tendencies, was within the scope of this conspiracy. The circumstantial evidence of such a conspiracy is more than enough to raise a reasonable suspicion; direct evidence can doubtless be procured by any inquisition which is not so blinded by class passion as to be incompetent to investigate a labor strike.

There is much commendation of a speech on trade unionism by Franklin MacVeagh in Cincinnati on the 26th. It is to be observed, however, that most of this commendation is expressed by men

and newspapers that, no matter how friendly to trade unionism in the abstract they may profess to be, are always opposed to trade unionism in the concrete. If Mr. MacVeagh's Cincinnati speech is correctly reported, it may be summarized as a speech in favor of trade unions which never strike. And if it may be interpreted by the attitude of the employers' union of Chicago, with which Mr. MacVeagh's house is identified, he thinks that a trade union, to be legitimate, must not insist upon dealing as an organization with employers, but must amiably allow its members to make terms individually. For this was the issue which the employers' union raised in Chicago, and upon which its walking delegate and its lawyer have insisted, even at the risk of superseding civil with military government.

The notion which lies at the bottom of such good-god-good-devil utterances as those of MacVeagh, is that trades unionism is possible without coercion. But trades unionism without coercion—not necessarily of actual physical violence, but coercion of some kind—is impossible. The "closed shop" policy is coercive. It coerces the employer and it coerces the non-unionist. In so far as it fails to coerce, the union is weakened; for employers will not deal with unions if they can deal with individuals. But let no employer flatter himself with the thought that as the "closed shop" policy is coercive, the "open shop" policy is not. The "open shop" policy, also, is coercive. So long as employers can maintain the "open shop" policy, amidst economic conditions which perpetuate a superfluity of workers relatively to jobs, they can press wages downward and make working conditions more onerous.

When relative lawlessness is considered, the working classes are at a disadvantage. Their methods of lawlessness are necessarily primitive, crude, obvious and repulsive. For the most part

they must fight with violence if they fight at all. The possibilities of coercion except by means of some form of violence, actual or potential, are very slight. Every powerful labor union has a history of more or less violence. Those that seem to have grown beyond it, may yet resort to it again; and if they are not forced into it now, it is because they have learned the trick of cooperating politically with their employers for the promotion of special privileges. It is this circumstance, the tendency of unionism to violence, which enables men like Mr. MacVeagh to deplore the "excesses of unionism" while approving unionism, and at the same time to save their own faces. If the social disorder for which Mr. MacVeagh's house is responsible were translated into terms of violence, could he with the same grace condemn the violence of unionism? In asking this we do not imply that he and his partners are wicked above other men. We doubt if there is a more honorable business house in the land than MacVeagh's. What we do intend to imply is that there is no great business house anywhere outside the records of bankruptcy, from the Standard Oil company to the Chicago merchants, whose head could without blushing condemn the violence of labor unions if its own disregard of common rights, often actually lawless, were translated into terms of violence.

When Senator Platt, of New York, one at least of the men who are personally responsible for perpetuating the teamsters' strike in Chicago,—when he publicly described the express companies as public servants, he said something which calls for serious consideration of a kind very different from what he intended. "It must be understood," he said, "that the express companies occupy the position of public servants, and they consider themselves under legal obligations to transport the property which is offered them for transportation, and under moral if not legal obligations to deliver

it at all points where they have delivery service." If Senator Platt had really meant what he is here reported as having said, he would have ended the Chicago strike two weeks ago, by taking back the express drivers who had struck, and thereby reestablishing the effectiveness of the express service. In consequence of his action in that respect the express service into Chicago has been slower than the freight service, as any business man who has had occasion to use it could testify. The circumstances make it very clear that Senator Platt's reason for refusing to end the Chicago strike did not spring from any strong sense of public obligation, but rather from that peculiar sense of honor which makes certain classes of persons true to one another. He refused to end the strike because he was the head center of a blacklist agreement against express employers, and possibly because he represented persons whose interests and desires were to be served by a continuance of the strike.

It would be somewhat remarkable if the express companies had any such sense of public obligation as Senator Platt describes. They violate their legal duty and ignore their moral obligations to the public every day in the calendar. What are these express companies but unlawful combinations, operating under unlawful secret agreements with railroad companies? Senator Platt has much to say about the duty of express companies as to transportation, but nothing as to charges for transportation. He appears to be unconscious of any obligation, legal or moral, in that respect; and the charges these companies make for service go far to show that they acknowledge no such obligations. Although they do an inter-State business they manage to evade the law; and through influences, which are perhaps more obvious than evident, they escape the jurisdiction of the Inter-State Commerce Commission. If the lawlessness of the ex-

press and railroad combine were translated into terms of violence, the whole history of trades unionism would not furnish violence enough to match it.

One probable result of the part the express companies have played in the Chicago teamsters' strike is an overwhelming demand upon Congress for a parcels post. By means which would doubtless be exceedingly ugly if translated into terms of violence, the express companies have thus far been able to hold Congress in leash on the parcels post subject. But this postal reform cannot be much longer delayed. Other countries have it, and our own has it, through treaties, to some extent. For instance, last week a package weighing eleven pounds was mailed from Chicago to New Zealand by parcels post, at a cost of \$1.35. To have sent the same goods by mail to any post office in the United States, near or far, they must have been broken into three packages, and the postage would have been \$1.76—44 cents more than to New Zealand. This is no doubt a profitable thing for the combine of express companies; it protects them in their business. But it is decidedly unprofitable for the people, whose very obedient servants Senator Platt says these companies consider themselves to be. There is no reason why the express monopoly, a parasite of the railroad monopoly, should not be broken down and broken up, by establishing a parcels post; and the time and circumstances are now propitious. If the agitation is kept up one year longer, every candidate for Congress can be compelled to choose on this question either for the express companies or against them, so that the parcels post, if it cannot be secured from the present Congress, can be secured from the next one.

A typical argument against municipal ownership of public utilities recently made by the Cleveland Plain Dealer was promptly punctured by Edward

W. Bemis, the head of the Cleveland water bureau. Much had been made by the Plain Dealer of the usual objections to the zone system of fares in Great Britain, and to this Mr. Bemis replied: "The zone system in the English cities is as much characteristic of the privately operated roads, as of the others, and it started with the private roads. Under municipal operation these zones have been extended in size and in at least one city, Liverpool, the municipality has gone far toward the entire abolition of the system by establishing a uniform 2-cent fare within the city limits." The Plain Dealer's punctured argument in this respect was like the whole range of arguments which rest upon the statements that private street car systems in this country are better managed than municipal street car systems abroad. Even if the statement were true, the legitimate comparison is not between municipal street car systems abroad and private systems here; it is between municipal systems abroad and private systems there. This comparison is never urged in the interest of the private system. The reason is evident to all who have made the comparison.

Another of the Plain Dealer's arguments against municipal ownership in the United States was the familiar one that the general character of municipal government is better in Great Britain than it is here. Upon this assumption the inference is urged that the success of municipal ownership there, under their good municipal governments, does not prove that it would be successful here, under our corrupt municipal governments. Mr. Bemis's reply is unanswerable: "If the British municipal governments are able to operate their own public utilities better than our own, they are also able to make more honest and intelligent contracts with private ownership, and yet they prefer public management. To deal honestly and intelligently with private management is a harder

strain upon a city government than to manage directly a natural monopoly. Contrast the difficulties the City Council has with the waterworks on the one hand in Cleveland, and with the lighting and street railway question on the other hand; yet there is as much structural value in the waterworks as in either the street railways or the lighting companies." The same comparison between water supply and traction service holds good also in Chicago.

Mr. Bemis concludes his reply to the Plain Dealer with these pregnant remarks: "I learned in my visits to English cities that municipal ownership has done much to improve the character of English city governments." That is a result which should be expected everywhere. When a private business depends upon favors from public officials, its owners are under a constant temptation to influence those favors—by corruption if necessary. Honest municipal government is impossible anywhere so long as private interests can capitalize the profitable possibilities of performing public functions. We are too apt to think of an office holder who plunders the people by virtue of his office as different from a corporation that plunders the people by virtue of its franchise. Both are grafters, and the corporation is the worse grafter of the two.

The progressive tendency of public opinion toward greater wholesomeness with reference to public utilities was illustrated by the Nashville (Tenn.) Banner of the 16th of May, in an editorial reply to a question of the Nashville American. The American had asked: "Did the Banner advocate the million dollar subsidy?" and the Banner pungently replied: "It did not. The Banner believed that instead of lending its credit and issuing a million dollars of bonds to a syndicate to build a road to be owned and controlled by the syndicate, it should have taken the million dollars and built its own railroad, and forever

owned and controlled it; and it believes to-day that if this advice had been followed the city of Nashville, with its million dollars as a nucleus, would ere now have had a completed railroad all the way to the Mississippi river and commanded a position that would have enabled it to be forever independent of railway monopoly."

A similar tendency is every here and there evident in the declarations of our public men. Witness the following from the address on the 25th of S. S. Gregory as president of the Illinois State Bar Association: "An effort was made at the last session of the legislature to secure some provision for the municipal ownership of lighting plants. I think it was a mistake not to provide for this. Municipal ownership is an evolution in modern municipal government. It is the only practical solution of the difficulties which seem to attend upon securing for the public adequate service in such matters at reasonable cost. Another result thus attained would be to check the great temptation to official corruption which must always exist when valuable franchises can be obtained."

Mr. Gregory's Bar Association address was significant in still other respects. He spoke very pointedly against government by injunction, urging the true ground of objection to this dangerous judicial innovation, namely, that it deprives men accused of crime of the right to jury trial. On the subject of taxation, while the reforms Mr. Gregory urged were somewhat discursive and not all of them economically defensible, yet they were all inspired by a democratic spirit, and one of them, the land value tax, is sound and includes all that is good in the others. "I believe," he said, "that the time has come to recast our entire revenue system upon a scientific basis. Personally I regard all taxation of personal property as futile and unjust and tending to unjust discrimination

as between taxpayers. I believe that taxes on land values and franchises, graduated income taxes, and a materially increased legacy and succession tax, would furnish the revenue required for local and State purposes and distribute the burden much more equally and equitably than it is now distributed."

The general spirit of Mr. Gregory's address was indicated by his vivid picture of present conditions and the trend of public opinion away from plutocracy. In this connection he said: "The popular mind is now turning to the idea that, in some way, the control of government has passed largely into the hands of the favored few. The great popular movement to restore government to the hands of the people is well under way. It is illustrated in the popularity of the referendum, in the general demand that United States Senators shall be chosen by the popular vote, in the effort of municipalities to take over utilities operating within their territory, and the general protest against the attempt of a little oligarchy of men in the Senate of the United States whose aims are low, sordid and selfish, whose characters for integrity and patriotism are not above suspicion, whose conceptions of public duty are mean and small, and whose abilities as statesmen by no means warrant the authority to which they aspire on every occasion to thwart the popular will and to seek to protect great interests with which, in some manner not altogether mysterious, they seemed to be allied." To appreciate the full significance of Mr. Gregory's invigorating address it must be known that he was no accidental president of a State Bar association. He came to that position for the best of professional reasons—because he is in reality in the front rank at the Illinois bar.

An exceedingly significant report has been made by the United States consul general at Auck-

land, New Zealand, Mr. Dillingham. It is significant because it explains one of the most puzzling of social phenomena—the pressure upon the working classes which makes strikes and perpetuates poverty in the midst of plenty. “Some of the necessities of life,” Mr. Dillingham reports (in the Daily Consular Reports of May 15, 1905, No. 2258, to be had of the Department of Commerce and Labor at Washington), “cost more than in former years and their price is rapidly advancing out of all proportion to the rise in wages of the producers. Of course, the rise in wages given by the arbitration court to certain classes of workers is asserted, by some, to be the reason for the increased cost of articles and services, but this argument runs in a vicious circle, for it is the increased cost of necessities that has caused the concession of higher wages. There has been no fair ratio between the rise in wages and the rise in prices. The fact is there is a third man in the game beside the employer and employe, and it is this third man—the nonproducing ground land lord of city and suburban property—who alone will be the winner in the end. The chief devourer of the wages of the worker and of the profits of the employer is excessive rent. That an equitable payment for the use of land and dwellings should be made to their owners is, under the present constitution of society, proper and desirable; but a greedy, rack-renting system, which transfers gradually almost the whole earnings of the industrial and commercial classes to the pockets of the non-producer, is indefensible. It partakes of three characters—it is unauthorized taxation by private persons, it is tribute to a conqueror, and it is the ransom of a captive. In Wellington (and in Auckland, too) rents have not only increased during the last ten years, but they have done so in an utter disproportion to earnings. It is difficult for a clerk or foreman at \$1,217 a year to get a decent house under \$7.30 a week,

which means about one-third of his income. A laborer earning (taking wet days, illness, etc.) on an average \$7.30 a week must pay at least \$2.43 to \$2.92 for a house. He, too, finds that a roof over his head costs one-third of his income. This may be accepted as a general rule in the capital city, viz., one-third of the income goes to the landlord. The shopkeeper, who by industry and capability improves his business and enhances the value of his holdings, discovers as soon as his short lease expires that if he wishes a renewal he must sacrifice the profits of his business. In a certain southern city there is a striking instance of this process. A small piece of land, now in the center of the town, was bought many years ago (almost by chance) for a person living in England who paid \$243 for it. That person has drawn \$3,893 a year from it for 20 years, and now receives \$9,733 a year therefrom. The tribute levied on the struggling colonists of New Zealand by this absentee would, if capitalized, ‘stagger humanity.’ It represents no honest profit on investment.” It is to be observed that these remarks do not come from a theorist, nor from a covetous workingman. They come from an official observer for the American government and appear in his official report. There is really nothing strange about the facts. The same facts exist in this country, in every city and village,—more numerous, more oppressively, and more startling in their suggestiveness. The inference from them may be ignored or evaded, but it cannot be reasonably explained away.

A little matter of \$7,500 a year, paid by a certain young lady as rental for the few modest rooms which she occupies in a New York apartment-house, has recently caused a deal of strenuous newspaper comment throughout the length and breadth of the land. It would not have attracted any attention but for the fact that the real estate agent who leased the rooms to her, wishing to cause a

sensation which would afford him a goodly amount of free advertising, gave out the story that the rental in question was \$15,000 a year! That was too much; anybody could see that such a price for rooms for the occupancy of one young lady was—“not to put too fine a point on it”—extravagant. But if the real estate agent had said that the rent was \$7,500, the newspapers would not have printed anything about it, whereas the fact that she was paying \$15,000 a year for living rooms was “worth space.” The report that a young girl was paying an annual rent for her living apartment sufficient to buy outright fifteen houses and lots equal in value to the tenements occupied by laborers who eat bread in the sweat of their faces was news indeed. It would pay the rental of 125 homes such as laborers with their families occupy! Counting five persons to each family, we have the startling number of 625 people who could be housed in average comfort at a cost not exceeding the amount that this one girl was erroneously charged with paying for her rooms! No wonder that the poor child was much grieved by the injustice done her! Now that we have been assured that her living rooms are of so unpretentious a character that the annual rental does not exceed the value of seven average homes, we can appreciate the chagrin of the newspapers that were hoaxed. Not many more than 300 persons could be housed in average comfort at the real cost of this girl’s rooms, and she should be spared any further annoyance by “poor people who are struggling and suffering all kinds of privations to keep a roof over their heads.” The more especially so, as she is not to blame. But somehow the disparity doesn’t seem quite right, and somebody must be to blame. Many of our church friends put the blame on God; but neither is that explanation quite satisfactory.

We find a significant note in the issue of May 20 of the Record and

Guide, the leading real estate paper of New York if not of the world. This note tells of the wonderful growth of Long Island City. Quoting a prominent real estate broker it says: "Long Island City is destined to become a great factory center, with homes for the operatives. I expect within the next five years to see the population multiplied by three, provided we have as capable local government as we have now." There is in that remark a pleasant suggestion of good times to come for the people of Long Island City. But observe what follows in the same article: "Some owners of property," he said, "were so confident of a continued rise in values that they were holding property for what it might fetch five years hence." So it isn't the people of Long Island City, after all, that are to benefit by "population multiplied" and "capable local government." It is the land speculators who, foreseeing this growth, hold land at prices based upon the expected demand of five years hence, when there will have been not only continued "capable local government," but "population multiplied by three." It is not difficult to understand where that prosperity will go to if it comes.

A Republican paper is delighted with the following clause in the Republican platform of Ohio:

Always supporting genuine progress, evolution, not revolution; liberty, not license, the Republican party continues to oppose every insidious device to undermine and destroy the stability of our civil institutions.

The Republican paper in question interprets this as condemning what it calls "the tendency to state socialism." That is one of the advantages of being on the inside. The outsider would have to interpret the clause as a neatly constructed paraphrase of the good-natured clown's reply to the boy at the circus who had asked whether a cockatoo was an elephant or a rhinoceros: "You pays your money and you takes your choice," said the clown.

GENESIS OF THE TRADE UNION.

Industrial warfare, with its enormous waste of energy and destruction of wealth—how long must it continue before the belligerents will come to realize its futility?

Incredible as it seems to those who understand, it is nevertheless a fact that employers generally, or at least a very large and important body of them, imagine that it is going to be possible for them to destroy trades unions! Not so incredible, but nevertheless a fact it is, that most wage-men believe employers to be oppressors of labor.

Neither party has any intelligent conception of what they are fighting for. They both imagine that the division of their whole joint product is the bone of their contention. Both are oblivious to the fact that they are being systematically and perpetually plundered by a third interest, whose devastating trail is hidden amid the complex intricacies of the economic labyrinth.

They do not know that the increasing spoliation by this third party—who is neither employer nor laborer (though often masked in employer guise), who never produces nor helps anybody else by so much as a thought, word or deed to produce—they do not even suspect that the increasing spoliation by this third party keeps pace with the increasing productivity of capital and labor, thus projecting into the industrial world the mystifying paradox of a rapidly expanding volume of produce per capita of population together with, at best, a comparatively slow increase in the amount available for consumption by producers.

The laborer knows, both by hearsay and by observation, that productivity increases by leaps and bounds, while his savings do not greatly increase, by comparison. Who then gets the lion's share of the increase? Why, his employer (he thinks), of course!

The employer also is cognizant of the rapidly increasing productivity, and, finding that his net profits do not advance proportionately—often do not advance at all—he naturally and inevitably resents the imputation of an un-

fair division laid to his charge by the workmen.

Concerning the science of the industrial scheme, the average employer is as much in the dark as his workmen are. He is as likely to imagine the wageman to be the chief beneficiary of productive advance as the wageman is to imagine the same of him. The increased product exists, and as each knows that he himself does not get any great share of it, why, of course, it stands to reason that the other does get it! Plain as day, isn't it? At least, each thinks it so—honestly thinks it so. Of course, they both know that one or the other is—to put it mildly—mistaken. And each is perfectly sincere in the conviction that the error is not his own!

Firm in this conviction, what more natural than that each should resist, with all the power at his command, any attempt on the part of the other to capture a larger portion of the total net returns from their joint industry? And on the other hand, what more natural than that each should strive to get an increase at the expense of the other?

"Wealth is power;" the employer has, at the outset, the advantage that wealth gives. But, "In union there is strength"; the wagemen unite, and the result is written in the wretched conflict between capital and labor.

Place eighty million producers—laborers and employers—upon a continent, and they will not be at all crowded for space. They will occupy but a small portion of it; and all that they produce will be theirs to enjoy. The same economic law that distributes the comparatively small product of one year's industry will continue to distribute pro rata the increasing product of each successive year; for competition takes no account of the volume to be distributed, but only of the share of the total volume—whether that total volume be small or great—which goes to each producer.

But now introduce private monopoly into this continent, and the eighty million producers—employers and laborers—will strive with one another for whatsoever is left of their produce after Monopoly has taken what it can.

If the producers knew enough,

they might, by united action—both the employers and the laborers joining against the common enemy—kill Monopoly, and have all the produce to themselves.

In the absence of Monopoly, the whole field is free to employer and laborer. The effect of free competition is merely to crowd each individual into the place that fits him best—into the place, therefore, where he is most productive. The method or means by which the successful competitor crowds the individual into the place that fits him is by surpassing him in service to the consumer. The successful competitor accepts a diminished compensation for a given service; thus yielding up a measure of purchasing power from one individual producer to the whole body of consumers—he distributes purchasing power. Mark that. He distributes purchasing power.

The tendency of free competition is to induce the largest possible volume of production, and to compel the most equitable distribution. These conditions we might have if employers and laborers would unite and kill Monopoly. But not knowing any better, they fight each other for such portion of their joint product as Monopoly has found it impossible to divert to non-producers.

Mr. D. M. Parry, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, elucidates with marked exactitude the office of competition as the distributor of the joint product of capital and labor. Mr. Parry points out the fact that unrestricted competition would determine to the laborer an increasing proportion of that joint product. But he makes the fatal mistake of assuming that unrestricted competition would exist in the absence of the trades union.

While it is true that the absence of union among laborers would leave practically unrestricted competition in that field, yet, I beg to ask, would it leave competition unrestricted in other fields?

Would the railroads charge any less than the traffic would bear?

Would free competition in the field of labor squeeze the water out of the steel trust?

Would it curtail the Astor rents? Or would it have the effect of causing Astor's taxes to be advanced to an equitable basis as compared with taxes on the laborer's possessions?

Would it affect the icing charges of the private car lines?

Would it release the unused coal lands to competitive exploitation?

Would it cause the steel trust to forego the extra profit afforded by the tariff?

Would free competition in labor prevent legislatures from selling privileges? Would it nullify the effect of the giving of passes, and other forms of bribes, to public officials? Would it cause our system of personalty taxation to be other than a scheme by means of which the rich escape their just share of taxation, thus proportionately increasing the burden of the poor? Would it result in the farmer's getting a higher price for his cattle when the price of beef to the consumer is raised? Or would it enable the laborer to get his beef at a reduced price when the price of cattle on the hoof declines?

Would free competition in labor produce equitable taxation of railroad land values?

Mr. Parry in fact begins at the very tail end of the monopolistic train in his endeavors to eliminate the monopoly element from our economic system. What is much worse, his efforts halt right there.

The labor union is a product of monopoly far more than a creator of monopoly. Organization is the laborer's means of protection against the exploitations of monopoly. The labor union would never have come into existence but for the fact of pre-existing monopoly. Extinguish all other forms of private monopoly and the labor union would die for want of a reason for its existence; because then, as Mr. Parry says, competition would determine a constantly increasing proportion of the total industrial product to the laborer. Unrestricted competition would, in fact, distribute the produce of industry with impartial equity to both the laborer and his employer, the wages of both increasing commensurately with the increase in the productivity of the unit of labor.

But what will befall the laborer

if you destroy his union without first removing the cause which forced him into union?

Again, how will you destroy the labor union without first destroying the cause of its existence? The answer is: Nohow. It cannot be done.

Neither is it desirable, from the standpoint of the competing employer's interest, that it should be done.

If the general wage rate decline, will not the selling price of labor products decline equally? Impartial men of the intelligence of Mr. Parry will answer, Yes.

If the meanest employer in a group of competitors extend the working hours to twelve a day without advancing the day's wages, as a means of enabling him to undersell his competitors, will not the rest be forced to follow suit? Undoubtedly yes.

And if twelve hours, why not fourteen? And since the purpose of lengthening the hours of labor is to make possible a reduction in prices, for the purpose of underselling competitors, what final advantage or benefit of any kind do the employers get from it all?

And now mark: If the workmen's wages fall, and the employers' profits are kept down by competition, where goes the product of the additional hours of toil?

It goes to the monopolists—precisely the same as if wages and profits and the prices of commodities had remained stationary, and monopoly prices had risen.

Private monopoly is the generator of the labor union; and nothing short of its removal will extinguish labor unionism.

EDWARD HOWELL PUTNAM.

NEWS NARRATIVE

Week ending Thursday, June 1.

The Russian-Japanese War.

Interest in the Russian-Japanese war (p. 24) has been revived by authentic reports that the Japanese have achieved one of the most stupendous naval victories of history.

The destructive battle in which this victory was won, took place in the Straits of Korea and the

Sea of Japan, and lasted two days, the 27th and the 28th of May. The Japanese fleet was commanded by Admiral Togo, and the Russian fleet, en route from the Baltic to Vladivostok, by Admiral Rojestvensky.

Nothing definite had been heard of Rojestvensky's fleet after it had been reported as having passed through the Straits of Malacca into the China Sea (p.24) early in April, and even this report was questioned. Complaints were subsequently made by Japan that Rojestvensky was using Kaminranh bay, on the French Cochinchina coast, as a base of operations; but France formally denied any breach of neutrality in that connection, and no trustworthy disclosure of the facts was made from any source. Reports of a battle, with victory for Rojestvensky, began coming from St. Petersburg on the 26th, and continued until the Russian disaster could no longer be doubted.

The first news that has since proved to have been true, came from Tokio on the 27th. It was confined to a statement that Rojestvensky's main fleet, steaming in two columns, with the battleships on the starboard and the cruisers and monitors on the port side, had appeared in the Straits of Korea, and was headed northward for the Sea of Japan. The strictness of Japanese censorship and the inability of the Russians to transmit news, prevented any further information more reliable than rumors and guesses, until the 29th. Full information is not yet at hand.

Fighting began on the 27th about 6:30 a. m., in the eastern channel of the Straits of Korea, southeast of the Tsu islands. It continued without cessation throughout the day and night and the following day. Through it all, the Russians continued on their northerly course, pursued by the Japanese, so that the fighting of the second day occurred in the region of Liancourt rocks, which are westward of Oki islands. The practical destruction of the Russian fleet appears to have been completed by the 29th. Twenty-four of its ships, including all the battleships, had then been either

sunk or captured; 5,000 Russians had been killed or drowned; and 3,000, including Rojestvensky, himself, had been taken prisoners. Rojestvensky had been severely wounded before his capture, and is now in a hospital at Sasebo, Japan. Only slight losses to the Japanese are reported by them. But two Russian vessels, the cruiser Almaz and the torpedo boat destroyer Grozny, which reached Vladivostok on the 31st, reported heavy losses on both sides.

A startling climax to the Russian disaster at sea is a revolt in the Russian army in Manchuria (vol. vii, p. 823), which was reported from St. Petersburg on the 31st. According to this report Gen. Linevitch, in command in Manchuria, had that day wired the Czar "that the news of Rojestvensky's defeat has spread throughout the army in Manchuria and that the troops are in open revolt."

Public Sentiment in Russia.

Dispatches from St. Petersburg describe the effect of the Russian naval disaster as having brought a realization of the terrors of war into circles where it had been little felt theretofore. "For the first time," reads one of these dispatches of the 31st, "society and the entourage of the court are struck heavily. The defeats of the army brought grief mostly to families of provincial land owners, but in the lost Pacific fleet were many officers belonging to leading St. Petersburg families."

An extraordinary conference was reported on the 30th to have been called for the 31st to meet at the Czar's palace, Tsarkoe Selo, at St. Petersburg, for the purpose of considering the question of war or peace. It was to have included all the resident grand dukes, the members of the Czar's war council, and other high advisers. Such a conference was accordingly held, but no authentic reports regarding it are at hand.

Some expectations of the summoning of a national people's assembly, the ancient Zemski Sobor (vol. vii, pp. 732, 777), are also reported. The St. Petersburg cor-

respondent of the Chicago Tribune makes the following comment, in his dispatch of the 31st, on the expectation that the responsibility for peace or war will be thrown upon this national assembly: "This is now a hopeless course, as it means no escape for the autocracy. The bad faith of the government in canceling or shelving all reforms promised after the January agitation was so flagrant that any national assembly when convoked is certain to postpone the question of war or peace until it gets control of the machinery of the government itself. It is equally certain that the bureaucratic system will not take a subordinate position without a most stubborn fight. Neither of these great antagonistic forces is greatly concerned about the Czar's military humiliations."

The Swedish-Norwegian Union Endangered.

By the action on the 27th of King Oscar, of Sweden and Norway (p. 39), who has terminated the regency of Prince Gustaf and resumed his sovereign functions, the union of those two countries is in danger of disruption. The lower house of the Norwegian parliament had on the 18th unanimously adopted a bill providing for a separate Norwegian consular service abroad. So strong was the feeling of the members for the bill, and their confidence, in its popularity, that they refused by 80 votes to 6, to postpone consideration of it until after the people had had an opportunity to pronounce upon it. This bill the King vetoed on the 27th. He did so on the ground that the existing community of interest in the consular service of the two countries over which he reigns, is such that the joint consular service ought not to be abolished without the assent of both. His Norwegian cabinet protested urgently that his veto was not only the rejection of a pressing demand by the whole of the Norwegian people, but, as it was formulated in disregard of the cabinet's unanimous advice and without the advice of any Norwegian, it was a breach of the constitution and a violation of the constitutional rights, independence and sovereignty of Norway, and would mean dissolution of the union. They therefore resigned.

The King refused to accept their resignations, on the ground that no other cabinet could be formed at the present time; but the ministers refused to withdraw the resignations, and on the 30th they returned to Christiania, the Norwegian capital, from Stockholm, the Swedish capital, where the veto had been declared. The Norwegian parliament has decided to suspend negotiations in the matter for the present. The King's veto is not absolute. It may be twice exercised, but if the same bill passes three Norwegian parliaments, chosen at separate elections, and is vetoed upon its first and again upon its second passage, it becomes a law upon its third passage, without the King's assent.

American Politics.

When the Republican convention of Ohio (p. 121) reconvened on the 25th it adopted a platform favoring tariff protection, ship subsidies, a sufficient navy, enforcement of laws against monopolies, and legislation on railway rebates. Gov. Myron T. Herrick was renominated.

Franchise Taxation in New York.

By a decision of the United States Supreme Court, rendered on the 29th, the right of the City of New York to over twenty millions of taxes due from public utility corporations has been affirmed and an important principle of taxation judicially established. The decision sustains the constitutionality of the franchise tax law enacted during Roosevelt's administration as Governor of New York. This law subjects public utility corporations to a tax on the value of their franchises. It was attacked by the corporations upon the ground that the State, having granted these franchises as contracts, in consideration of money payments, could not impair their value by taxation, since a tax would be in the nature of an addition to the agreed consideration for the contract. Justice Brewer wrote the opinion of the Supreme Court. He argued that whatever strength there might be in the arguments against the law, "it would be giving them undue significance to hold that they are potent to displace the power of

the State to subject to the burdens of taxation property within its limits." The gist of the decision, as indicated by the press reports, is expressed by Judge Brewer in these words:

It must be borne in mind that presumptively all property within the territorial limits of the State is subject to its taxing power. It would not be doubted that if a grant of specific, tangible property, like a tract of land, and the payment therefor was a gross sum, no implication of an exemption from taxation would arise. Whether the amount was large or small, greater or less, if the payment was distinctly the consideration of the grant, that which was granted would pass into the bulk of material property, and like all such property be subject to taxation. If this be true in reference to a grant of tangible property, it is equally true with respect to a grant of a franchise, for a franchise, though intangible, is none the less property, and oftentimes property of great value.

Among the corporations which, under this decision, will be compelled to pay accumulated taxes under the franchise tax law, are the following:

The Manhattan Elevated Railway Company, \$4,221,951; Consolidated Gas Company, \$1,489,966; Metropolitan Traction system, \$6,025,184; Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company, \$2,222,656; Brooklyn Union Gas Company, \$931,268, and the New York and Harlem Railroad Company, \$984,024.

The Philadelphia Gas Question.

A complete victory for Mayor Weaver (p. 119) appears to have followed his defiance of the Republican ring and the United Gas Improvement Company of that city. The mass meeting at the Academy of Music, called for the 26th, to support the Mayor, filled the hall to overflowing and two overflow meetings were held outside. Meanwhile a writ of super-seedeas had been granted in the injunction case, which suspended the operation of the injunction, and the Mayor at once ousted the directors of public safety and of public works, whom he had previously removed, and reinstated his own appointees. The injunction proceedings were withdrawn on the 30th. Public opinion has asserted itself without restraint, and in a manner which, though it has escaped criticism, might have been very severely condemned if similarly expressed by less important classes of the community.

An instance was the coercion of Walter T. Sykes, a member of the upper branch of the Councils, who voted for the objectionable gas lease. He is reported to have been called upon by a delegation of business men representing fifty millions of capital, who told him he must either resign from the Councils or support the Mayor's veto. A mob of thousands surrounded his automobile factory and with threats moved on to his house, where they were told he was. The police were powerless against them, and when they came to the house they yelled for Sykes to come out. Sykes appeared, white and trembling. There were cries of "Burn the house if he won't consent!" and kindred exclamations. Finally Sykes, almost weeping with fear, swore with uplifted hand to support the veto. Then the mob moved away. In similar ways several councilmen were induced to change their attitude toward the lease. With the tide of public opinion and administrative power running strongly against them, the United Gas Improvement Company decided on the 27th to abandon its efforts to get the lease. This was done in a letter from the president of that company to the presidents of the Councils, in which the former said:

The manner in which the whole subject has been treated induces the United Gas Improvement Company to believe that the community is opposed to any extension of the gas lease upon any terms. This being so, this company is unwilling to accept the ordinance which has been passed or to enter into any contract whatever with the city looking to any variation of the present lease. The United Gas Improvement Company, therefore, begs respectfully to advise the Councils that, for the reasons stated above, should the pending ordinance become a law, it will not be accepted by it.

Out of this gas lease agitation a municipal ownership movement has developed, the strength of which, however, is as yet uncertain. It contemplates the cancellation of the present lease to the United Gas Improvement Company, and also an attack upon the traction franchises.

The Traction Question in Chicago.

Interest in the Chicago traction question (p. 119) has been stimulated by two events of the current

week—the beginning of a new legal proceeding involving the validity of the ninety-nine year franchise, and the arrival of James Dalrymple, the manager of the municipal lines of Glasgow, as the guest and adviser of Mayor Dunne.

Mr. Dalrymple arrived in New York on the 27th by the Campania, and was met there by Mayor Dunne's personal representative, Mr. James O'Shaughnessy. He was given a reception at the Hoffman House upon his arrival, by the Municipal Ownership League of New York, and on the 29th he reached Chicago, where Mayor Dunne met him in person. Over 500 citizens received him at a banquet at the Auditorium on the 31st, where James Hamilton Lewis presided and Mr. Dalrymple and Mayor Dunne were the principal speakers.

The new legal proceedings relative to the 99-year claim were begun on the 27th. They are proceedings in quo warranto, demanding of the companies that they show by what legal right they are operating their cars by cable and electricity when the 99-year franchise authorizes the use of horse power only. Although these proceedings were instituted by the attorney general of the State, they are brought at the request of Mayor Dunne and under the advice of Clarence S. Darrow, the city's special counsel for traction matters.

The Chicago Teamsters' Strike.

No important changes have occurred in the teamsters' strike (p. 118), and there are few events of importance in connection with it to be recorded. Two disturbances, which were quieted as soon as police could reach the scene, make the sum total of violence for the week, other than individual assaults. In the Federal courts proceedings for contempt for refusal by labor union witnesses to answer certain questions, have resulted in the conviction of two and the acquittal of a third, the latter being Mr. Shea, the leader of the strike. The witnesses had refused to answer, on the ground that they were under indictment for con-

spiracy in the State courts and that this equity proceeding in the Federal court was being used to discover evidence to be used against them in the criminal cases. They therefore declined to answer, for the asserted reason that their answers might criminate them. In convicting two of the witnesses, Judge Kohlsaas said:

I am satisfied that no such state of facts is presented as justifies them in pleading the privilege. There is nothing disclosed in the record which in my judgment would even remotely be used against them in a proceeding in the State courts, and there is no jurisdiction in the Federal courts to entertain any such proceeding. I see no reason why they should not have answered the questions as ordered by the court. Some of them they did answer. As to those which they did not answer the court holds they willfully disobeyed the order of the court.

They were ordered to be imprisoned until they should offer to answer the questions, and writs of habeas corpus are now under consideration by other Federal judges.

NEWS NOTES

—On the 1st a law of Washington establishing juvenile courts went into operation.

—Francisco Silvila, ex-premier of Spain, died at Madrid on the 29th at the age of 62.

—Baron Alphonse de Rothschild, head of the French house of the Rothschilds, died at Paris on the 26th at the age of 78.

—The annual peace conference at Lake Mohonk, N. Y., was opened on the 31st with an address by the president, Judge Gray.

—A daily labor paper began publication at Chicago on the 24th. It is published by the Chicago Federation of Labor and its name is the Daily Labor Bulletin.

—The Presbyterian general assembly at Winona Lake, Ind. (p. 121), adjourned on the 27th. The next annual meeting will be at Des Moines, Ia., in May, 1906.

—As the guest of the Illinois State Bar association, Judge Alton B. Parker, of New York, spoke on the 26th at the annual session of that body at Chicago upon "The Lawyer in Public Affairs."

—It was reported on the 3d that Paul Morton, secretary of the navy, is about to resign from the cabinet and accept the position of president of the Interborough Rapid Transit company, of New York.

—At Rome on the 28th King Victor

Emanuel and Queen Helena of Italy opened an international conference on agriculture, at which 150 delegates were present. David Lubin, of California, is reported as the leading spirit.

—Abraham Lincoln Center, the institutional church of All Souls of Chicago, of which Jenkin Lloyd Jones is the minister, was dedicated on the 28th. Addresses were made by Mr. Jones, the Rev. Wm. C. Gannett, of Rochester, N. Y., and the Rev. Dr. Hiram W. Thomas.

—The American yacht, Atlantic, won the ocean yacht race (p. 104) on the 29th, making the voyage from New York to The Lizard in 11 days, 16 hours and 22 minutes. The second to finish the course was the German yacht Hamburg, which arrived on the 30th, 22 hours behind the Atlantic.

—A dynamite bomb intended apparently to assassinate the President of France and his guest, the King of Spain, was thrown in Paris on the 31st. Both the President and the King escaped injury, but some bystanders were seriously hurt. The bomb was thrown at the carriage in which President Loubet and his royal guest were riding.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (p. 41) for the ten months ending April 30, 1905, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for April, were as follows (M standing for merchandise, G for gold and S for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M.	\$1,275,059,368	\$335,072,990	\$339,986,378 exp.
G.	88,081,572	48,842,767	39,238,805 exp.
S.	38,677,597	21,886,656	17,290,941 exp.
	\$1,401,818,537	\$1,005,802,413	\$396,516,124

PRESS OPINIONS

JAPAN AS A VICTOR.

Toronto (Ont.) Weekly Sun (Lib.), May 24.—That the yellow race will ever invade Europe is not to be believed. But it is by no means improbable that the East will completely shake off the domination of the West. China is likely to come, indeed seems already to be coming, under the influence perhaps under the leadership of Japan. She contains a boundless though dormant fund of military power, and many steps in civilization are not needed to enable any population, however backward, to handle the rifle and point the Maxim. There will be an end of the raids of the opium smuggler, and generally of that trampling upon a helpless people from which the good Elgin recoiled when he was compelled to be its official instrument. It is not unlikely that the revolution may in time extend to British India, which (with all his pains and skill), the conqueror has never been able to assimilate, or to convert from Oriental to Occidental civilization.

THE CHICAGO STRIKE.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.) May 29.—Mayor Dunne has controlled the situation in Chicago better than any similar situation in that or any other city has ever been controlled. He would have had it absolutely in hand weeks ago had the Employers' association acted in the interest of public order instead of obviously for the purpose of embarrassing Mayor Dunne. There is no real concealment of the anti-

mus of the Employers' association. It has almost frankly made it clear that it was inspired by hostility to the Mayor's municipal ownership programme. And its course has been laid with a view to creating race and class feeling. It has stubbornly refused to submit the questions at issue to proffered arbitration, although the strikers have over and over sought this means of adjusting the difficulty. And now the Employers' association declines police protection and declares that it will send out no team except under military escort. The trouble therefore is not with municipal ownership. It is with an insolent and bigoted plutocracy which is willing to plunge a city into bloody turmoil rather than yield to the will of the people as expressed in definite terms at the polls.

The Cincinnati (O.) Post (Ind.), May 27.—The Chicago employer will tell you that peace cannot come until the labor trust is demolished. He denounces the union as the curse of modern times. And the man who toils will tell you, with force, that so great is the greed of employers for profits, so small a part does the golden rule play in business, that the union is the only thing that stands between him and serfdom, and he can quote you facts and figures to make his contention plausible. And so there is war—now in Chicago, perhaps to-morrow in Pittsburgh, and next week in New York. And men are bitter and class hatred grows and women weep—all in this great, prosperous land of ours. Here is a trouble more serious than the rebates of railroads or the machinations of the oil trust. It affects us all. It touches the homes, opportunity, the right to live. And back of the street battles, and the speeding ambulances, and the cries and groans, there must be a great cause. To find it is a task big enough for a Roosevelt, and as important as anything that now confronts the nation. For, once find the cause, there must come a cure and, with the last, peace for all.

VITALITY OF THE LAND QUESTION.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), May 30.—William Jennings Bryan could set the country aflame to-morrow with a single word if he should choose to utter it. He could turn the United States into a vast debating school in twenty-four hours were he to declare himself in favor of a single tax on the value of land. So the question is not wholly academic. It is gradually entering into the field of practical discussion. The monopoly of opportunity is becoming a more obvious factor every day in our economic life. It is seen more and more clearly that the power to deny access to land is the all-compelling one in the industrial order and that it is a power of life and death. No great party has yet taken hold of the land question in this country. But it is pressing steadily for recognition. The growth of sentiment against cornering opportunity is bound to increase with the growth of sentiment against private monopoly in general. For you cannot challenge monopoly of one sort without challenging it in all its manifold phases. This fact is not lost upon the beneficiaries of monopoly. They stand together in opposing every suggestion of attack on the system in any of its details. And it may yet dawn upon the public that the tremendous impulse now sweeping over the country toward the reclamation of highway rights from private monopoly found its inspiration in the doctrines of Henry George and its strongest promoters in the men and women who are his faithful adherents.

Columbus (O.) Press Post (Dem.), May 25.—Man, alive or dead, must occupy some portion of the earth's surface, the land. Sleeping or waking, working or playing, thinking or dreaming, he must be somewhere, in the woods, on the water, in the country or city, the roads, fields, streets, parks or building lots. It is for that very reason that many believe the solution of

the proper tenure of land to be the solution of the entire problem of political economy. It is for land, more land, that peoples and nations fight. Every war in history was a war for land of some sort. To deprive a man of land is to deprive him of the right to live, the right to be. It is for this the American Indian fought, the right to retain the land wherein he could roam at will and secure a livelihood by his own exertion. Be a man never so industriously and frugally inclined, he is powerless if deprived of a place to work. This question is at the bottom of the terrible hatred which the Adirondack mountaineers have displayed toward millionaire land grabbers and which they are now displaying toward William Rockefeller, even to the extent of threatening his life. These men have lived peacefully for years in the valleys and on the hillsides of the mountains. They have hunted and fished and lived the simple life. Suddenly they see a man approaching on a load of barbed wire, preparing to put a fence around it all, and order off the natives. "No trespassing, by order of the owner," is displayed in conspicuous places. "Whence the title to this, God's acreage?" wonder the simple mountain folk. "We thought the heritage of birth is at least the right to be upon the earth," they argue in their unsophisticated homeliness. "Why does the owner fence off these forests? It does him no good and does us much harm. If we allow it, we and our wives and our children must die. Therefore it is his death or ours. He has no mercy on us, we shall have no mercy on him. We shall kill him if he persists." It is law, but most of them do not know it. Those that do, believe it is the law of man and not the law of God. They believe they have a right to break a law of man that contravenes a law of God. Thus, therefore, they are anarchists, according to the true meaning of the term. We, off here in Ohio, must pass upon the merits of this contest in human rights. Should these people "get off the earth" at Rockefeller's behest, or should they say: "This land is ours by right of birth, it is God-given; and man, be he never so wealthy, shall not take it away." Most of us are a little cloudy on this subject, but many of us think the opportunity of birth should carry with it the opportunity of life.

(New York) American (Dem.), May 20.—The building at the northeast corner of Thirty-eighth street and Fifth avenue, formerly owned by Austin Corbin, was sold for \$400,000 in 1902, was resold in the same year for \$550,000, and to-day is easily salable for \$1,000,000. We don't know what the people who bought this land did to make it so much more valuable. They must have done something, else they should not have secured this great profit, because it is, we understand, one of the fundamental principles of business that men must earn the money that they get. The house of Henry Clews, at No. 9 West Thirty-fourth street, was bought in 1887 for \$250,000 and sold last January for \$750,000. Mr. Clews lived in it in the meantime, so that the \$500,000 profit seems like a plain, ordinary gift on the part of the people who made that part of the city more valuable. Going over to Broadway, every one knows that the magnificent piece of property occupied by the Times building might have been had a very few years ago for \$500,000. The backers of the Times paid three times that much for it. These are just a few isolated instances of the enormous increase in the value of uptown real estate in New York, due not in the slightest degree to the man who happens to own that property but to the hundreds and thousands of men and women who are making it valuable by living in that neighborhood, or by turning in that direction for their shopping or other business matters. It offers just an early illustration of what is going to happen in this congested Manhattan of ours if the owners of real estate are to be allowed to enrich themselves without

making a proper and reasonable compensation to the public therefor. The very growth of the population of Manhattan island which makes real estate more valuable makes also the landlords more arbitrary. And yet, curiously enough, the people who make the property more valuable and the people who enable the landlords to be more arbitrary are the ones who suffer both by the increased value and by the new insistence of the landlords upon conditions which are intolerable to self-respecting tenants.

BUSINESS GRAFT.

Cleveland (O.) Waechter und Anzeiger (Dem.), May 13.—Fourteen officers of the Equitable Life Assurance Society draw annually salaries aggregating the fabulous sum of \$655,000. Who paid these princely amounts? Certainly no one but those who have up to now considered the life insurance company as their savings bank.

MISCELLANY

TO THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONISTS.

For The Public.

Ye disinherited, that mourn
In misery, abject, forlorn;
Your only crime that you were born
In poverty;
God speed the day when ye shall spurn
The ancient lie—

That some should loll in idle ease
Lulled in the lap of luxuries,
While those that toil must starve and
freeze,

And be pacified
With what their lordly masters please
To cast aside.

Alas, that there should be such dearth
Of reverence for humble worth,
While bastard, gold-got pride of birth
Holds high her head,
And scorns the tillers of the earth
That make her bread!

Alas, that honest men should need!
Alas, that helpless women plead!
Alas, that tender children bleed
In our own time!
Shame! shame on those whose social creed
Condones the crime!

God speed the day when right shall reign,
When slaves shall cease to kneel in vain,
But rise and snap the tyrant's chain,
And take their place
Full owners of their own again—
An unbound race.

The day will come (God grant it soon!)
When each shall have his birth-right boon
To make and take what is his own—
His rightful share;
And none shall reap that hath not sown,
And tilled with care,

The day has come. Up, brothers, on!
The long, dark hours of night are gone,
In the trembling east the blood-hued dawn
Paints red the skies,
Arise, and strike the tyrant down!
Arise! arise!

The day has come—the destined day
For which your exiled comrades pray,
While wearing weary lives away
With slavish sweat,
The day has come when blood shall pay
The tyrant's debt.

The aching ages bid you rise,
Your comrades under other skies
Have fixed on you their eager eyes.
Up, men, and do!
The future ages' destinies
Depend on you!

The world-old lethargy has fled,
And Liberty long centuries dead
For which your sires and grandsires bled,
Must live again,
Though Russia's rivers all run red
To the crimsoned main.
WALTER V. HOLLOWAY.
San Francisco.

TAINTED GIFTS.

From the "Apostolic Constitutions," of the third or fourth century.

WHOSE OBLATIONS ARE TO BE RECEIVED AND WHOSE NOT TO BE RECEIVED.

Book IV., Lecture 6.

Now the bishop ought to know whose oblations he ought to receive, and whose he ought not. For he is to avoid corrupt dealers, and not to receive their gifts. "For a corrupt dealer shall not be justified from sin" (Ecclesiasticus 26, 29.) . . . He is also to avoid extortioners and such as covet other men's goods, and adulterers; for the sacrifices of such as these are abominable with God. Also those that oppress the widow and overbear the orphan, and fill prisons with the innocent, and abuse their own servants wickedly, I mean with stripes and hunger and hard service, may destroy whole cities; do thou O bishop, avoid such as these and their odious oblations. Thou shalt also refuse rogues, and such lawyers that plead on the side of injustice, and idol makers, and unjust publicans, and those that deceive by false balances and deceitful measures . . . and everyone that is wicked and opposes the will of God. . . . For those that receive from such persons, and thereby support the widows and orphans, shall be obnoxious to the judgment seat of God. . . . For the bread which is distributed to the widows from labor is better, though it be short and little, than that from injustice and false accusation, though it be much and fine.

MUNICIPALIZATION NOT SOCIALISM.

"Raymond's" letter from Vienna, in Chicago Tribune of May 26, 1905.

What impresses me so much in Europe in studying municipalization here is that nobody, even among the Socialists themselves, seems to think that public ownership and operation, either or both, can be classed as socialistic. The worthy burgo-master of Vienna wages never

ending war on the Social Democrats, and yet he calls his party the Christian Socialists, and he has been a successful leader of all municipal enterprises.

Everywhere I am told that the old, conservative civilizations of Europe recognize the absolute right, if not the duty of the municipality, to administer all its public utilities for the benefit of the people as a whole. The ones who are most doubtful about the success of municipal ownership in America base their objections on the peculiarity of our political system and not because of any fear of a socialistic taint. Aristocratic and autocratic Vienna, which has seen Marie Antoinette and Maximilian sacrificed, still shudders at the thought of the possible excesses of republican mobs. They have constructed their municipal electoral system for the express purpose of depriving the poorer classes of political power, and yet apparently it has never entered their heads that the municipal manufacture and distribution of electric light was in any way a concession to the masses.

If London, Brussels and Vienna, representing three distinct conservative civilizations, all consistently monarchical, can and do accept municipal ownership as natural, America might as well dismiss the fear of socialism once for all and deal with the subject as it should be dealt with, from the economic and political side alone.

GRAFT IN CHINA.

A letter written from Nanking to the Shanghai Mercury of April 26, 1904, by Dr. W. E. Macklin.

Another instance of grafting on a large scale has come to light. The new college Gao Yang or Normal College has collapsed, killing several of the students and wounding others, I hear. The building shows the worst kind of jerry workmanship and the builders should be severely dealt with. It is said that several thousand taels were made by the grafters. Lately several notorious plunderers among the officials have been cashiered and others will follow.

The mint is a great source of graft. If the assayer makes the analysis exact, the officers make the rollers roll thinner stubs. It takes less than two cash in weight to make the new ten cash coinage and this is good graft.

We have a locality like your Foochow Road, and this is a fruitful field for grafters as it is in American cities. It is said that military graduates make greatly out of this business.

A while back our magistrate, since degraded, took a great interest in this

form of robbery and had "heelers" beating up profitable lawsuits from this tenderloin district.

Soldiers oppress the people greatly. As two of us were riding along the main road we saw a little characteristic scene. Two soldiers had hold of a simple minded rustic. We stopped to inquire into the row and found that the soldier had kicked the countryman's donkey and the donkey had returned the salutation with compound interest and the soldier was trying to claim damage for his barked shin. The proceeds of the sale of the donkey's load of farm stuff would no doubt have satisfied the soldier, but seeing that a foreigner was interested in the case the soldiers pulled one another off, while the country fellow ambled away on his ass.

One said: "Pretty soon it won't be safe to take a load of anything to market at all." Certainly a very wise remark.

A proclamation in one place is out, warning soldiers against oppressing the people, buying things at the soldier's price, etc., etc.

This evening an offending woman was pulled on the road by two soldiers. Two soldiers of Chang Chi-tung had a very bad reputation for oppression and buying goods at low prices or no price at all.

Toughs and bullies hunt singly and in packs, levying blackmail on gamblers, small trades, men gambling, swindling, seducing wives and daughters away and selling them for evil purposes till the life of the honest man is a continual dread.

The bulder, that is the official who had the management of the building of the college that crumbled to pieces, has been cashiered and a special messenger sent to call him back to reckon the damages. He got his present very lucrative official position, on account of the merit acquired in building the college. Much merit is gained in this way by officials. He gained his office by this job, but no doubt a great price was paid his superiors. This capital invested in official business will be so much loss to him, as he will not have time to recoup himself by plundering his people of whom he is the "father and mother." It is to be hoped that some of the other college buildings in the city are of better construction. The new university building, for the three provinces have been built by foreign trained Ningpo builders and look to be quite substantial. I had occasion to see the method of doing official masonry. A wall was falling down and

the officials who owned it contracted for \$80 for the wall, but the boss who finally did the work paid out \$20 for labor and perhaps \$10 for material, leaving a very nice little "rice ball" of \$50 for the grafters. This tumbled down college building was managed in this way so that the builder had not really enough money for proper materials. The official put up a nice foreign bungalow, using some of the "remaining bricks."

We have just passed the Tsing Ming or the Chinese Easter period. It is not the commemoration of a resurrection, but of the incarcerated spirits of dead ancestors.

It seems that there are three ranks of "devils" or spirits of the dead in China. Poor devils or "orphan spirits" are "wandering ghosts." They are not wanted on earth and the devil, the great grafter or official of hell, will not take them in. "Those who have starved or frozen to death or have died of the ten evil deaths, drowning, murder, etc., the devil won't receive one of them." They must wait for the charity sacrifices of the late summer to get paper money enough to bribe the gateman of hell, just as in the yamens on earth.

The spirits of the common Chinaman who has children or relations manages to get into limbo, but falls into the hands of the devil's Yamen runners who pound him and put him in the cangue and use other tortures till the filial sons burn paper money enough to fill the "loin pockets" of the lictors.

The higher classes, our "best" citizens have lots of money and as they have got it by graft on earth they know how to use graft below. They do not pave hell with good intentions or good deeds, but with dollars and as they have bribed their way on earth into the august presence of the false eunich Pi Siao Li (Li Lien-yin) or even that of the old Empress Dowager they know how to smooth their way into the presence of Satan. Satan likes their paper money and returns the favor by appointing them expectant gods on earth with large Tse Yan or ancestral temples. Later some of these become gods with full official status.

Shen Wan-san was the Croesus of Nankin. He lived in the Ming dynasty and had a "treasure accumulating platter"—a magic dish that accumulated riches for him. All rich men have such a magic dish. In fact any old dish is such a magic dish if three charms are pasted on it. One is a "red title to land." This charm accumulates one-half of the crop of the poor farmers into the dish. The next is salt licenses. This makes the people

pay 40 cash for 4 cash worth of salt. The last charm is a license to open pawnshops. These accumulate the clothes off the backs of the people after their crops and money are gone. With such a magic dish full of the wherewithal the devil is not so fierce as he is to the poor. In fact he returns the magic dish with his benediction but in another form—an incense pot. When devil hums a charm and the people fear death the incense pot collects money as satisfactorily as did the landlord, salt monopolist or pawnbroker.

The Chinese will never be a free independent or wealthy people till both kinds of magic dish are destroyed. The romances of the Tang dynasty tell of a distinguished receiver of stolen goods from robbers. When he died the emperor appointed him god of agriculture. In this post he still receives in incense as much as formerly in plunder. "From his coffin" the dead official "puts forth a hand, dead yet he wants money."

THE GRAFT SITUATION IN PHILADELPHIA.

Lincoln Steffens in the New York World of May 21, 1905.

Every time a mob of American citizens goes to a body of its representatives to ask to be represented we have a spectacle which all Americans all over our country should look at, and look at hard. It shows what is so generally true in this country—that our representative government does not represent us. And it shows why not.

The citizens of Philadelphia who went before their Council to stop the gas deal were impertinent. They had no right to be there; those Councilmen were not their representatives. The citizens of Philadelphia did not elect those Councilmen. The ring elected them and, of course, they represented the ring.

Some two years ago I made a study of Philadelphia politically. It seemed to me then that the city was one of the most significant in the country, because it was the most American. The proportion of citizens born of native American parentage is larger than in any other of our great cities. I had heard foreigners blamed for our political corruption and ignorance, and the newness of our experiment in self-government. The Philadelphians are an old people. They are our people, they are aristocratic; and they are the most corrupted people (I am not talking about the ring now) in this country. The people of Philadelphia are to blame for everything that happens in Philadelphia. That is so,

of course, in every American community, but you can put it up to the Philadelphians more ruthlessly than any other community, because they are intelligent, they are native, they have traditions, and they have pride.

Philadelphia is like China. China is corrupt and contented. China has contempt for outsiders. China has ancestor worship.

This same ring that rules Philadelphia now ruled it when I was there. Everybody knew all about it. It seemed to me everybody knew the plans for this gas deal. At any rate it seemed to me it was common knowledge that there was a plan on, and I heard the details of it.

The common belief in Philadelphia was that the ring meant either to blackmail the United Gas Improvement Company at the expiration of its lease or take away the gas works and give them to another syndicate. And as an excuse the ring meant so to increase the debt of the city that the citizens themselves would see plainly that something had to be done.

Now the principal graft of the Philadelphia ring has long been public works. They have all other kinds of corruption, too, but their chief graft takes the form which Tammany has developed so highly since in New York, of, first, the rake-off on expenditures for public improvements, and, second, like our own Mr. Murphy, the "legitimate" profits of political firms of public contractors. So their plan of increasing the debt covered both their grafting ends—the immediate and the ultimate.

At that time the U. G. I. was against the ring, and I remember I was invited to go for information against the ring to some of the leading men in the U. G. I. I wouldn't go. I am perfectly willing to take information from grafters so long as they know I come as an enemy and mean to treat them as such. But to go to grafters as friends and to take help from them which would put me under obligations always seemed to me to be bad journalism. And I did not call on the U. G. I., for I believed the time would come when every decent newspaper man in this country would want to be free to speak his mind about them.

The U. G. I. might have told me a good deal about that ring. The U. G. I. hated it then—denounced it—leaned to the reform side. Now the U. G. I. is not for reform. It is in the ring.

The ring probably threatened to blackmail the U. G. I. That is the excuse business men give for bribery and corruption. They say that if they don't

pay bribes and don't "stand in" they will have to pay blackmail and be kicked in.

Whatever their excuse is, here they are in the deal with the ring to get an extension for 75 years of their privilege to supply gas to Philadelphia.

Now it does not seem to me to matter what the terms of that deal are; that is Philadelphia's business. The only fact we have to consider, we rank outsiders, is that Philadelphia is against that deal.

I do not mean to say some Philadelphians are not for it. There probably never has been a deal, however corrupt and outrageous, that some Philadelphians have not been for it. The majority of the citizens of the city are for the ring.

But we may be perfectly sure that when Philadelphia, or some Philadelphians, are aroused to a pitch where they will take the trouble to go down to the city hall and see what is going on—when Philadelphia is driven to that pass, we can be sure there is something bad about that deal.

But even if the deal were a good one there still remains this fact, that the U. G. I. company is now one of the sources of corruption of that government. You can't be represented in the Philadelphia ring unless you are a source of corruption.

The government of Philadelphia represents the sources of its corruption.

And it doesn't represent the people of Philadelphia. So I say that when those people went to that City Hall (the monument of their disgrace) they were impertinent.

Why?

Because they haven't performed for some forty years the duties of citizenship.

Their neglect is older than that, and their corruption is older than that. I remember reading a history of Philadelphia by their ring United States Senator, Penrose. He was a scholar, then, and I think he pointed out that when Philadelphia was a little bit of a settlement, with only a few hundred people, the people of his class were grafting. They were governing the city then and there was very little graft—just a few boat landings and ferries down by the river. The aristocratic people had them and they kept them from generation to generation. They were public ferries, but they were private profit.

And from that time down to the old McManes gas ring the citizens of that city neglected the government of that

city, and the rulers of it grafted. And the citizens knew it.

There were periodic protests all through the first half of the last century, and along about war time the common politicians, who had been the agents of the good people, began to say to themselves: "Here, why can't we do this for ourselves? Let us take it away from these best people. It is a good thing; let's have it for ourselves."

That was the beginning of the McManes gas ring.

So, you see, it is a long story of graft, and the modern chapter begins where it is ending now—with gas. The city owned its gas works. It is one of the most celebrated cases in our history to prove that public ownership of public utilities is a failure, for the McManes ring wrecked that gas plant—wrecked the whole service.

But you ask any well-informed Philadelphian to-day who was back of those political wreckers. If he doesn't know, ask one of the old residents. You will learn that there was a gas deal then by which certain capitalists, designing to get control of the gas works, conspired with McManes to demoralize the lighting business of the city, so that the city would demand private ownership. And the citizens of that day knew this also.

When the reform came, the uprising against the McManes ring, the ring was smashed, but the gas scheme was saved. This was business graft and it went through.

And that is how the U. G. I. got hold of Philadelphia gas. It is theirs. They bought it, and they paid for it. And when I was in Philadelphia a couple of years ago, the citizens said that was all right: "We get better gas."

They didn't mind being cheated; they didn't mind the corruption of their government; they didn't mind that their government was not their government.

The Philadelphians have never asked since the revolutionary days, for self-government, nor for representative government. They have asked always only for "good government."

And when I went there they told me they had it; that they had good government from their ring, and therefore the ring was not so bad. Since they had good gas from the U. G. I. and good government from their ring, I can't see what they have to complain about. These two good things have got together and the result should be very good.

Philadelphia is learning what we all

are going to learn some day—that we can't get good government from bad rings; we can't get good government unless we first get representative government. But Philadelphians do not know how to go about making their government represent them. Why, two months ago Philadelphia wanted good government so badly that they went down on their knees and prayed for it, like a lot of Russians. They prayed to be saved from one particular outrageous evil which one branch of their government, the police, were permitting.

And to whom do you suppose they prayed? To the mayor? To the boss? No; they prayed to God. Why didn't they go to the polls and vote?

They had an election about that same time, and the results show that either they did not vote or that the ring voted for them, or that, if they did vote, they voted for the ring. Why?

I think I can tell you why they voted for that ring, and then prayed to Heaven to save them from the evil thereof.

You hear a good deal about the sleepiness of Philadelphia. It is not asleep. Philadelphia is wide awake. But Philadelphians are grafting. Not the ring alone, but Philadelphia, high and low. Take an example: The University of Pennsylvania gets land and appropriations from the State ring, wherefore the head of the University of Pennsylvania refused once to join a reform movement against the local ring. Take another example—the charities. There are fine old charities in Philadelphia, and fine old people direct them. These charities get support or protection or conveniences from the ring, wherefore the fine old people who are running these fine old charities will not fight the ring.

I believe you could analyze the citizenship of Philadelphia and show that a majority of its voters, either themselves or their relatives or their friends or their institutions or their interests are in on the corruption of Philadelphia, or of the State of Pennsylvania, or of the United States. For if they don't get anything else they are profiting by the protective tariff. There is always some form of graft that they do not want to see overthrown. They would willingly put a stop to your graft or my graft or the ring's graft, if they could do it without interfering with their own graft.

No, the trouble with Philadelphia is not sleepiness or apathy. It is the corruption of its people.

They want to stop the gas deal, but they don't want to throw out the ring.

that makes the gas deal. That might weaken the Republican party which protects that tariff graft.

Now, we do not care whether the U. G. I. beats them or not. That won't matter in the long run. What really matters is this: Their government is not their government, and the ring, to which the government belongs, will continue to insult and rob and disgrace those corrupt Philadelphians until they take not their lives, but their grafts in their hands, and vote and vote again and yet again, not for their rotten old party, but for their city; not for the ring, but for themselves; not for good government, but for that which their ancestors fought for—self-government.

And, till they do that, let the rest of us pray that their prayers, whether to Heaven or to the Councilmen, be not answered. For we are interested. They send to Washington to represent the rest of us, men who represent the Philadelphia ring and—the Philadelphia spirit.

Of all tributes to the late Gov. Boutwell, that paid by Col. T. W. Higginson is best: "When conscience bade him he could withstand even friends."—Boston Record.

It is to be hoped that the Japanese, having licked the Russians, will be on their guard against the Christian peril.—The Crown, of Newark, N. J.

BOOKS

A PENNSYLVANIAN CONCEPT OF COMPETITION.

It is difficult to understand how W. V. Marshall, in his "Competition" (Berlin, Pa.: Record Publishing Co.) could have reached his conclusion from his premise.

In his opening chapters he makes an excellent development of the principles of competition in their relation to business activities, showing as he proceeds that the economies of business organization have a limit beyond which greater intensity of organization becomes uneconomical and unprofitable. This principle he demonstrates by "facts disclosing such hostility to colossal aggregation of work and workers, as to stand of themselves as a vehement protest against undue concentration."

He is equally happy in his arguments and conclusions relative to the underlying principle of competition. "Competition, free and unhampered," he says, "would so affect all industrial pursuits as to make them yield the same ratio of profit in proportion to the labor, skill and capital employed. . . . With unhampered competition rewards would

be equalized with earnings." Nothing could be better.

Nor has the author arrived at these sound conclusions by accident, as the following comparison of competition and monopoly clearly shows: "Monopoly—and exaction, overproduction, industrial depression, wasteful development, penury, hardship and crime. Competition—and equalizing of profits, a just reward as to earnings, consumption at par with production, continued industry, general progress, universal plenty, happiness and peace." The statement could not be improved.

What, then, is the author's plan for restoring the competitive conditions he enumerates? We are ready to hear him urge unhampered competition. But no. It is more restriction, which really implies more monopoly. He would use taxation—which he describes correctly as an economic regulator—to interfere with freedom of business organization.

Probably Pennsylvania is the only State in the Union out of which could have come the inversion of ideas which is relied upon to support this conclusion. The author, as a true Pennsylvanian, adopts the postulate that the protective tariff saves us from foreign monopoly. He then manufactures the correlative postulate that a graduated tax against organization beyond some point of intensity to be ascertained by experiment would save us from home monopoly. It is on the basis of these two amazing economic postulates that he concludes that unhampered competition can be secured by maintaining the tariff against the coming in of foreign goods to compete with home goods, and adding a business tax, graduated according to value of plant, to prevent trust goods at home from competing with non-trust goods!

It seems to us that the author must either abandon his premise, the equalizing influences of competition, which we believe to be sound, or else his conclusion, the equalizing influence of tariffs in imports and taxes on home plants, which we believe to be unsound. If, as Mr. Marshall says, over-intensity of organization becomes unprofitable under unhampered competition, he needs not to tax this overorganization. To do so is to prevent efficient organization, if you underestimate the point at which unprofitableness begins; and it is supererogatory otherwise. And if, as Mr. Marshall also says, competition free and unhampered would equalize rewards with earnings, it is not restriction upon any one, but general freedom to compete, that is requisite.

The missing thought in Mr Marshall's processes is evidently this, that if government gives special privileges to any business, the privilege should be withdrawn if possible, and if not possible it should be taxed to death. It is not foreign monopoly but home monopoly that ever makes imports prejudicial to home

production; it is not over-organization, it is laws conferring privileges that make home trusts injurious to home industry.

L. F. P.

THE DEMOCRACY OF RELIGION.

The spirit of Robert Whitaker's "My Country and Other Verse" (San Francisco: The James H. Barry Company) is indicated by the concluding lines of "Loyalty" on page 11:

Yet never nation has grown great and free
But by the grace of an unfearing few,
Whose love of country has not dulled their
sight

To larger love of the eternal right.

They are the verses of an optimist who has hewed his way out of pessimistic moods and knows the difference between optimism and frivolity. What a true story of life, the moral of which is too little appreciated, is told in this one stanza:

It used to cloud the sunshine
In my most hopeful mood,
To see the folly of the wise,
The badness of the good.
But now when I am bluest
It almost makes me glad,
To note the wisdom of the fool,
The goodness of the bad.

Of modern life; he says—

It isn't what it ought to be,
Yet I am bound to say,
Whenever I read history,
I'm glad I live to-day.

And even if to-morrow
Be a better day than this,
And I was born too early
To enjoy earth's rarest bliss,
I'll do my best to hasten on
The age of dream and lay,
And, when the battle's sorest, sing
"I'm glad I live to-day."

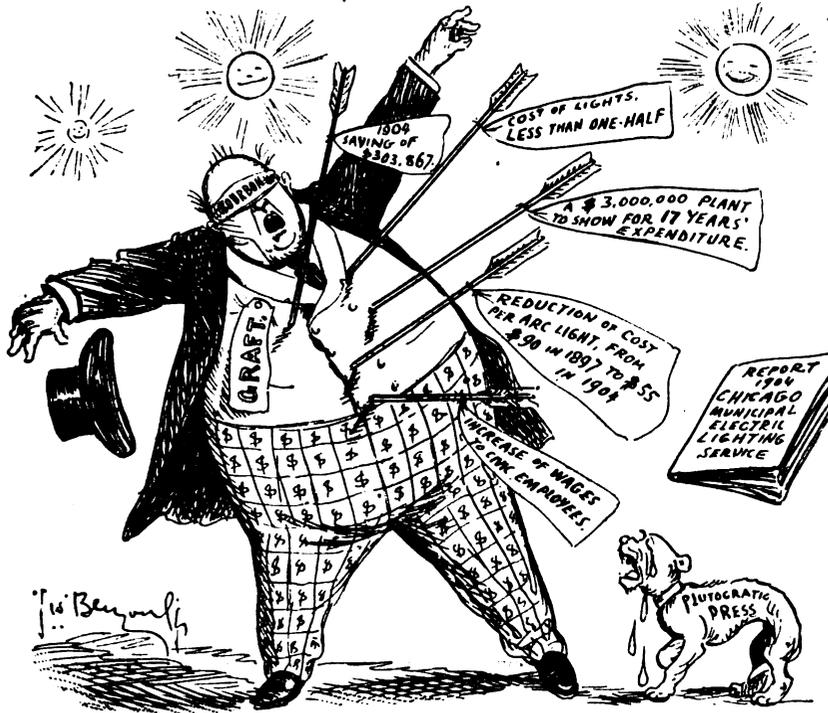
And that is no fool's song, for the poet knows what it truly means to be willing to live to-day. He tells it in his verses on "Courage:"

'Tis no trifling thing to die
As one should,
But to face life's sting and smart
Day by day,
And to play the hero's part
All the way,
Takes a stronger, braver heart,
So I say.

"The Scorned Prophet," a series of poems included in the volume, is a noble plea for "that simple, practical, unselfish love toward God and toward man wherein is the substance of the body of Jesus," and which the author declares has been overshadowed in every church by "ritualism, traditionalism and mammonism, which are the essence of the Pharisaism that crucified the Christ." Reverently but vigorously he holds a mirror up to the churches which boldly attack little sinners while shielding big ones:

All wrong that is in disrepute,
Or draws men from thy fold,
Essays in vain to make thee mute,
Or blow thy anger cold.
But larger ills laugh loud at thee,
And buy thy proudest pews.

Nor is it alone at the discrimination between sinners that the poet aims his



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shafts. His chief concern is the worse discrimination in favor of reputable sin, for he writes prophetically of—

The love that dares deny to one
The wealth God gave to all,
And does affirm: "Thy will be done,"
Writes doom upon the wall.

In the same connection we find this pointed description of the worker plundered by—

... them that drink their brothers' blood,
And feed upon their flesh,
And treat as animated mud
The bodies that enmesh
The suffering spirits of the weak
Who still are strong to bear,
And only impotent to seek
Their labor's honest share.

A democrat in the generic sense, whatever he may be in party politics, and a man of profound religion whatever he may be in the churchly sense, Mr. Whitaker has put out a volume of readable verse which will stimulate the best sentiments of his readers.

L. F. P.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—"A Soul's Love Letter." By Mabel Westwood, Mass.: The Ariel Press. Price, \$1.00. To be reviewed.

PERIODICALS

People generally do not realize the extent of our modern taste for reading gossip and chop-stuff. The point is brought out in an article in the Contemporary Review on Parliamentary Reporting. It seems, according to the writer, that people no longer wish to read full reports of speeches on important subjects; they want the gos-

sip of the speech and a reporter's summary. It would be interesting to know how many, or how few, of the speeches in Congress are read through by our modern voters.—J. H. D.

One of the gigantic personalities of modern times was Louise Michel, who died recently at the age of 75. The following characterization by the Paris correspondent of the San Francisco Argonaut is worth preserving: "A would-be murderess, yet compassionate to the wretched, hungry dogs of the Paris streets; one who laid torch to the palaces of Paris, yet who tenderly taught the children of the poor to spell; one who, rifle at shoulder, fought like a demon on the blood-splashed barricades of the Commune, and yet who recoiled in horror as a child from eating the flesh of animals; in masculine garb, a companion of the anarchistic outcasts

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