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A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

8th Year. No. 417 CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MARCH 31, 1906 Price 5 Cents

LOUIS F. POST
EDITOR

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FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING, CHICAGO

The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

Volume VIII Number 417

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MARCH 31, 1906.

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EDITORIAL

Chicago's civic motto.

"I will!" is the civic motto of which Chicago has long been boastful. It comes down as an inheritance from the days of the World's Columbian Exposition. But now that circumstances offer Chicago the world's championship in the municipal work toward which all the world is turning, Mr. Eugene E. Prussing would alter her motto of "I will" to "I won't," and Mr. Franklin McVeagh would make it "I can't."

Dangerous Immigration.

"Personally, I think," says Harris R. Cooley, the head of the department of charities and correction at Cleveland, "that there is more danger to our free institutions among those in the first cabin of the steamer than in the steerage." This expresses one of those almost obvious facts which need only to be stated to be acknowledged as true.

The Federal police power.

It was once believed that the Federal government had no police power except over territory ceded to it. Certainly there was never any intention of bestowing general police power upon it. Yet, under cover of preventing fraudulent uses of the mails, the Federal government is actually exercising police power. Only a few days ago criminal proceedings were begun in Indiana by the Federal government in the Federal courts, against a young man for doing business as a publisher after the suspension of his paper. So pronounced an assumption of State functions by the central government would have aroused the nation twenty-five years ago. Today it goes as a matter of course. At the same rate we shall be as contented twenty-five years hence with the transfer to Federal jurisdiction of libel prosecutions.

Taxation of borrowing by borrowers.

A statistical investigation of the effect upon borrowers of the taxation of mortgages has been made by the New York Tax Reform Association. It ought to make the advocates of "taxing money" stop and think, for it has demonstrated, what in substance might have been guessed without an investigation, that the taxation of loans increases interest. Under the New York law for the taxation of mortgages, so this statistical report concludes, the rate of interest on mortgage loans "increases the rate of interest over

what the rate would be were mortgages exempt from taxation," and "this increase is more than the amount of the tax." So the "tax on money," aimed at "loan sharks," has the effect not only of making the borrower bear the burden of the tax, but it enables lenders to exact a little additional interest for themselves. Of what benefit is this to borrowers?

Mayor Dunne and his critics.

It is a good thing to see Mayor Dunne throw aside for a moment his sunny good nature to give some of the unfair critics of his administration the castigation that all this class have so richly deserved. From the beginning of Dunne's administration irreconcilable obstructionists of the "business efficiency" type have availed themselves of every possible opportunity, from banquet table to pulpit, and whether the Mayor or friends of his were present or not, to jeer at him, his policy, his appointments and his accomplishments—and only to jeer, for rational argument they have had none. Protesting that they were wholly impersonal, they have been in fact deliberately, intentionally and offensively personal. The time for a blunt retort had fully come, and Mayor Dunne has made one with good effect. He is now accused of "striking" below the belt." But that need not be discussed, for it is what the objects of his righteous wrath have themselves been doing all the time.

Mr. Bryan on Individualism versus Socialism.

Socialist party socialists will find reason, from their point of view, for criticizing William J. Bryan's article in the Century for April, on Individualism versus Socialism, as an incorrect statement of their philosophy. In some respects their criticisms would be just. While, for instance, the ethics of many socialists are indistinguishable with Christianity, this is not true of all schools

of socialism. But there are, indeed, few things that could be truly said of many socialists which would be true of all schools of socialism. Probably there is only one such thing—hostility to competition; and that is the thing which Mr. Bryan has hit upon as universally distinctive. He accordingly draws the true line between socialism and individualism, as opposing tendencies, "at the point where competition begins to be possible, both schools favoring public ownership where competition is impossible but differing as to the wisdom of public ownership where competition can have free play." Mr. Bryan's paper does not profess to be a searching philosophical inquiry; if it did it would be open to criticism for loose treatment of the competitive principle and of the history of competition. It assumes to do no more than discuss the opposing tendencies of individualism and socialism as their effects appear upon the surface of present political conditions. It is the product not of a philosopher working outward from central principle, but of a statesman working inward from surface phenomena. So considered it is highly satisfactory. And that this statesmanship work is not done blindly may be inferred from Mr. Bryan's statement of the economic goal, toward which statesmanship ought to tend, namely: "Justice requires that each individual shall receive from society a reward proportionate to his contribution to society."

Mr. Jerome and his insurance-grafter friends.

The district attorney of New York, Mr. William Travers Jerome, does not cut a pretty figure in his evident efforts to shield from indictment the insurance magnates who have been detected in diverting trust funds to the uses of political committees.

The criminal law of New York is explicit in terms and unmistakable in meaning. It is contained in section 528 of the Penal Code as follows:

A person who, with the intent to deprive or defraud the true owner of his property, or of the use and benefit thereof, or to appropriate the same to the use of the taker, or of any other person, either (1) . . . ; or, (2) having in his possession, custody, or control, as a bailee, servant, attorney, agent, clerk, trustee, or officer of any person, association, or corporation, or as a public officer, or as a person authorized by agreement, or by competent authority, to hold or take possession, custody, or control, any money, property, evidence of debt or contract, article of value of any nature, or thing in action or possession, appropriates the same to his own use, or that of any other person other than the true owner or person entitled to the benefit thereof, steals such property and is guilty of larceny.

The heavier type describes the crime in question, according to the undisputed facts.

What are the undisputed facts? The accused persons were officers of corporations unrelated to the Republican national committee; as such they had control of the money of those corporations, of which money the Republican national committee was not the true owner; they appropriated definitely ascertained amounts of that money to the Republican national committee. All this being so, what remains to make those acts of misappropriation larcenous? Simply that they shall be ascertained to have been done with the intent to appropriate that money to the use of that committee. And how shall this intent be ascertained? Obviously by inference from the nature of the acts themselves; for the law is not a mind-reader, but an act-interpreter. And the acts themselves in this case testify to their own perfidy. There is no question here of whether the accused persons thought the perfidious acts immoral. The only question is whether they intended to do the acts they did do. Did they intend to transfer funds of their financial institution to the exchequer of the Republican national committee, either as gifts or for unlawful considerations? If they did, then they larcenously intended to appropriate that money to the use of an-

other than its true owner, which makes them guilty of stealing.

Judge O'Sullivan in his charge to the grand jury indicated that view of the matter. But Mr. Jerome wants proof that the intent was distinctly wicked by "goo-goo" standards. Had this diversion of funds from their true owners been made in behalf of "dishonest money," it would have been larcenous; but made as it was in behalf of "honest money," the guilty intent is absent. Such seems to be Mr. Jerome's theory; and his insurance friends are of like opinion. So are Cornelius N. Bliss and George B. Cortelyou, treasurers of the Republican committee, of whom Mr. Jerome, with clearer legal vision than on the other point, observes that they are receivers of stolen goods if the others are thieves. "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!"

Better days a-coming.

Less than five years ago the country was aflame with the notion that financial success was the only kind worth bothering about. The educational institutions were "scientifically" teaching it, the churches were pietistically preaching it, and the business classes were exemplifying it. At that time Rockefeller was a worshipful exemplar, and the McCalls, the Morgans and the Depews were approved specimens of ethical culture of the financial sort. And now it is all passing. The churches are beginning again to preach righteousness for its own sake, Depew's name is a byword, McCall died of a broken heart upon getting found out, and Rockefeller is a fugitive from justice. It is even said that some of the corruption money of the McKinley and Roosevelt campaigns is to be restored to the place whence it was stolen. This is most significant of all. For the contribution of other people's money by corporation trustees to Republican campaign funds was well known a few years ago and regarded as a highly moral type

of larceny under the circumstances. That it is now regarded as a moral crime, even if District Attorney Jérôme does give it legal absolution, is a really hopeful sign of the times.

The traction referendum at the pending Chicago election.

Three referendum questions are to be voted upon in Chicago (p. 854) on the 3d. The first proposes authority for the municipality to proceed to operate street railways. In order to give it legal vitality this requires an affirmative majority of three-fifths of those voting on it. A lesser majority would be no more than a specific expression of public opinion. The second question is a submission for popular approval of an ordinance empowering the city to acquire and own street railways and authorizing the issue of \$75,000,000 of certificates to be a lien upon the property but not a charge upon the taxpayers of the city. This question requires only a majority in the affirmative in order to give it legal vitality. The third question is advisory only. It aims to instruct the City Council to proceed without delay to municipal ownership and operation, and against granting franchises to private companies. Although private traction interests are electioneering in subtle ways against these propositions, the impression seems general that all will be carried.

That this impression is well founded is indicated by an editorial in one of the most influential and observant papers heretofore in opposition to Mayor Dunne's policy, the Daily News of the 24th. After a fair summary of and reasonable comment upon the Mayor's policy in relation to the Supreme Court's decision on the 99-year question, the News says:

In the light of the Mayor's declared programme, including his pledge of prudent action, and in view of the fact that the ordinance which he asks the voters to approve will afford a means of securing an early decision as to the validity of Mueller certificates, opposition to that ordinance has declined materially of late.

The Record-Herald, another influential paper heretofore hostile to Mayor Dunne's traction policy, goes further. While recognizing in an editorial of the 27th the probability of the adoption of the municipal ownership ordinance at the referendum, it comes out in unqualified advocacy of its adoption. The editorial in which it does this is especially notable for its indication of the genesis of a better spirit in the civic life of Chicago, and we quote it in full:

The Record-Herald sees no reason to suppose that the vote on the \$75,000,000 ordinance will be a reversal of the popular expressions on the subject of municipal ownership in the past, and it has no wish to play the part of a Jeremiah, but prefers rather to take up the question in a practical manner with a view to the constructive work of the future. It believes, moreover, that there is nothing in the situation to justify tears, lamentations and dismal prophecies. On the contrary, the prospects are much brighter than they ever have been for a satisfactory traction settlement.

The features of the case that stand out with marked prominence are the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court and the definitive interview with the Mayor which appeared in this paper. The former changed the conditions to such an extent that it would be madness on the part of the traction companies if they were to insist upon unreasonable terms and provoke retaliation. The interview was a perfectly frank statement that swept away all ambiguities and put the whole subject fairly before the people in an eminently rational manner.

Everybody who considers the matter thoughtfully must see that a wild, revolutionary rush into hidden dangers is impossible. What we shall have first will be a legal test of the ordinance and a construction of the Mueller law by the Supreme Court of the State. The ordinance is to be regarded not as something to be feared but as a useful means for arriving at a necessary decision. It is so far from a finality that as a preliminary to the sale of certificates and the purchase of property a concrete proposition in a new ordinance would be brought before the people.

Meanwhile, while we are awaiting the decision, there is the assurance of the Mayor that the city will be protected in its power to regulate and control. Financial details will have to be worked out later, but a fair basis for negotiations with the existing companies is suggested, and they cannot complain of the alternative that is

proposed in case they should not be willing to accept the city's offer. Their rights and their tangible property are taken into consideration. If they do not care to operate as a consolidated concern under a license they will receive every cent that is their due, and a construction company will give the people the improvements and the service that they need.

Provision is thus made for all possible contingencies, and it is obviously time for the people to think rather of construction than obstruction. With the proper infusion of the "I will" spirit we shall be able to solve before long a problem that has kept Chicago in turmoil for years and that has presented enormous difficulties. There should be a feeling of relief and great rejoicing that this is so.

Successful municipal ownership.

With Bourke Cockran and Tammany Hall declaring that "public utilities are more effectively administered by private agencies under the watchful supervision of government than by public officers (p. 855) it is gratifying to be able to call witnesses to the contrary not only from abroad and from other parts of this country, but from the city of New York itself. Here is an editorial from the New York World on the 9th, which needs no explanation. It testifies straightforwardly and is a very good witness against Mr. Cockran and Tammany Hall:

It was understood when the city decided to take over the Staten Island ferry that it must be operated at a loss for some time. The important point in Dock Commissioner Bensen's statement is that the receipts last month were 24 per cent. greater than for the same month last year, when the ferry was still in private hands. That single fact proves that travel to and from Staten Island is increasing; that homes there will be more in demand; that property will rise in value; that the aggregate wealth and taxable values will be proportionately increased as an island with three times the area of Manhattan recovers from the long period of stagnancy in which it had dwelt. Aside from being a necessity and convenience which the former holders of the franchise refused to furnish on any terms Mayor Low could offer, the city ferry service is an investment that will benefit the whole city by increasing its tax receipts and its credit. It was not conceived for use to-day or this year only, but as part of a far-sighted

policy to build up a neglected borough capable of immense expansion.

Formerly this ferry was "administered by private agencies under the watchful supervision" both of Mayor Low and of Tammany Hall itself. Tammany appears to do better as a manager than as a supervisor of public utilities.

Encouraging real estate improvement.

The New York League for the exemption of real estate improvements to the extent of \$3,000 (p. 434) has had its bill, backed by thousands of signatures, introduced in the New York legislature. The bill is a simple one. It merely amends the existing law by inserting the following section:

The Board of Supervisors of any county, and the Board of Aldermen of any city covering more than one county, may by ordinance prescribe that there shall be exempted from taxation within such county or city, except for State and county purposes, buildings and other real estate improvements to a certain amount, which shall not exceed three thousand dollars on each separately assessed parcel of real estate. Such ordinance shall fix the amount of such exemption and shall be in force until amended or repealed by ordinance of such Board of Supervisors or Board of Aldermen. Such exemption shall have uniform operation throughout such county or city, and shall not be conditioned upon the nature of the use to which such buildings or improvements may be put or the character of the ownership thereof.

Special exemptions of improvements for limited terms is a familiar practice. It is a vicious practice, too; yet it springs from a sound economic principle, namely, that the exemption of improvements encourages improving. This principle can be properly realized by the method proposed. If special exemptions of improvements encourage special improving, general exemptions of improvements would encourage general improving. This is evidently the view of the State Comptroller of New York, who, in his official report submitted to the legislature on the 14th of February said:

While deprecating the extensive granting of exemptions from taxation

by special legislation, the comptroller suggests, if such favors in exemptions are to be allowed, it would not be inequitable to relieve from taxation the homes of citizens not exceeding \$3,000 in value.

The cause of hard times.

It is difficult to conceive of the New York Sun as an advocate of Henry George's single tax ideas; but a recent editorial reads as if the Sun's editor had accepted George's explanation of hard times. As is well known, George sets forth the fact that the essential factors of production are land, labor and capital; that, essentially, the product is divided into rent, wages and interest; that the share of each is dependent on the portions taken by the others; and that great land booms, by unduly increasing rent, or land values, rob labor and capital, stop production to a degree, and plunge the world into "industrial depressions" from which it takes a long time to recover. His language is as follows:

The confident expectation of future enhancement of land values, which arises in all progressive countries from the steady increase of rent, . . . leads to speculation, or the holding of land for a higher price than it would then otherwise bring. . . . That land speculation is the true cause of industrial depression, in the United States, is clearly evident. In each period of industrial activity land values have steadily risen, culminating in speculation which carried them up in great jumps. This has been invariably followed by a partial cessation of production, and its correlative, a cessation of effective demand (dull trade), generally accompanied by a commercial crash; and then has succeeded a period of comparative stagnation, during which the equilibrium has been again slowly established, and the same round been run again.

The Sun has seen that the increases in rent during the past two years, which have probably averaged at least two or three dollars a month per family, have taken that much out of the earnings of the people,—that much from their "effective demand" for commodities. It sees in the large rush of the better-paid classes of wage earners to escape the landlord by becoming home-owners, another

substantial cut in "effective demand;" for these must enter upon a regime of economy in order to pay for their homes. It shows that goods made to be sold will not be sold, or will be sold slowly, and that an overstocked market will curtail production, throwing many out of work and wages of any kind. Hence the Sun tries in its own peculiar way to check the great boom that threatens to bring disaster to business when it collapses. Listen, ye foolish ones. Building has been overdone, and financial institutions will put up interest rates and eventually refuse to lend at all if you persist. Buying for a rise has been overdone, and those who buy now will be bitten. We are comfortable and well-fixed; don't disturb the equilibrium by all going off to buy homes at once. You can't do it, anyhow, for you will put prices away beyond your own reach if you try. Let things settle awhile—at least until after the next election, so we can blame it all on the pesky Democrats, who are always trying to unsettle things! Thus, in substance the Sun. And now a word from us. Single taxers have never had a better opportunity for establishing reputations as statesmen who can see ahead. The smash is coming, sure as fate. They will not bring it about; it is not their fault, and they cannot help it. But they can explain what will bring it about; and when it comes they can truthfully say, as prophets and not as croakers: "We told you so!"

Capital and monopoly.

There is a peculiar insistence among professed students of sociology upon disregarding monopoly as a factor in the distribution of wealth. For instance, in a letter from Charities and The Commons requesting the cooperation of a gentleman of New York, this gentleman is informed that the publication (really excellent in many ways, let us say, and doubtless acting without thought rather than in bad faith in the matter under consideration) is endeavoring "to discover what

really are the relations of capital and labor." That monopoly is a factor here, the most important factor if the necessity for charity is to be explained, seems never to have occurred to the letter writer. Consider. Labor has no monopoly. Trade unions are sometimes mentioned as examples of labor monopolies, but that is true in so slight a degree, if true at all, as to be absurd. They are less monopolistic than lawyers', physicians', dentists', or similar unions, for these are under the protection of laws against non-unionsists. Capital also is said to have monopolies. But that means no more than that capital is exchangeable for interests in monopoly. Thus a ship might be traded for a street car franchise, but this doesn't do away with the essential difference between the two. As we should not say that a slave is capital because he is exchangeable for capital, neither can we say that monopoly is capital because the two are exchangeable. So long as men try to discover the relations of capital and labor in disregard of monopoly, which is different from either, just so long will those relations be elusive.

A DIVIDING LINE.

The people we know necessarily fall into certain classifications. Some have read, some have not. Some have traveled, some have not. Some have been to college, some have not. Some are generally good-natured, some are not. Some are rich, some are not. Some are interesting, some are not. Some go to church, some do not. Some think and some do not. And so on.

The question we are asking is, Which of all the dividing lines is most decisive in fixing the real position of men and women whom we meet and have to do with in the common doings of life? Across the classifications that may be thought of, is there not one which goes deeper than any other?

Between Dives and Lazarus, we are told, there was a gulf in the next world; between them the story shows that there was al-

ready a gulf in the present world. Shall we think of the gulf as merely one between wealth and poverty, or, since Dives left his wealth behind, shall we not rather think of the division as existing between different states of mind? It may fairly be assumed that the most decisive line of distinction must depend, not upon external conditions, but upon the state of mind.

Now, what is the state of mind, the having and not having of which makes the most difference in relations between men? Does it not turn upon the idea of what may be called in modern language the democratic mind?

The democratic mind implies a distinction which is internal and vital. There are people who have read books, who have traveled, who have been to college, who seem to be religious, who seem to think, yet they have never got to the root of the matter which the democratic mind puts first. The democratic mind puts first the common humanity of men, the dignity of man as man, the duties of man as man, the rights of man as man. It puts quite secondary all external distinctions, and we might almost say all merely intellectual distinctions.

Democracy represents the impulse and progressive tendency toward equality of dignity, duties, and rights. Called by different names, it has been the guiding principle of all the great forward movements in history. It is, moreover, the touchstone of genuine religion—the religion which is a motive power in life and regulates the relation of man to man.

No man who brushes the cobwebs aside, and reads the gospels with open eyes, can fail to see that the religion of Jesus, as it touches the relation of man to man, and as it influences man's attitude to his fellow man, is the religion of democracy. What were the Rabbis, the Sadducees, the Pharisees—the Scholars, the Intellectuals, the Orthodox—to Jesus? These were they who emphasized distinctions among men based on other grounds than the democratic ideal of justice and equality. They did not put the first thing first, but valued primarily learning, or wealth, or political and social position. Did not Jesus ignore all such lines of distinction? The religion he taught means true brother-

hood, and the highest ideal of brotherhood is primarily a relation of equality in mutual rights and duties. This is the democratic ideal.

Whosoever has once felt the spirit of this idea of the essential equality of men, and has come to see that the inequalities are merely secondary and accidental—whosoever has once got the conception of the democratic mind—can not get rid of it. It is vital and abiding. It fixes the viewpoint and standpoint of men. More than learning and ignorance, more than wealth and poverty, more than any other distinction whatsoever, the state of mind indicated by the words democratic or aristocratic is the main dividing line.

J. H. DILLARD.

NEWS NARRATIVE

How to use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives: Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before; continue so until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.

Week ending Thursday, March 29.

The impending coal strike.

No final action regarding the pending coal strike (p. 853) has yet been taken, but the possibility of a settlement appears to have passed away.

In joint committee at Indianapolis the miners and the operators soon came to a deadlock. Although the miners waived their demand for 12½ per cent. increase, and offered to return to the wage-scale of 1903, from which they had receded temporarily by agreement at the last previous adjustment of the scale, the operators would not concede this much. Amounting to an increase upon the present scale of 5.9 per cent., it would add 3 cents a ton for Illinois on "mine run" coal, 5 cents a ton for other States on screened coal, and 14 cents a day for day laborers. Francis L. Robbins, president of the Pittsburg Coal Company, urged acceptance of the miners' compromise offer, but the other operators are reported to have replied to him, "We won't yield an inch."

On the 27th the joint committee on scale having reported its disagreement to the joint convention, the day was devoted to discussion, but with no indications of an agreement. The debate disclosed the following as substantially the points of contention:

For the operators.—That the general prosperity which has swept the country has not affected the coal industry; that coal is selling for less to-day than one year ago; that the unfair competitive regulations have operated to the advantage of Pennsylvania and to the disadvantage of the other bituminous States; that the shot firers law of Illinois has added greatly to the expense of mining; that the miners' wages already are high and there is no evidence of suffering among their families.

For the miners.—That the iron and steel industries are prosperous, and these constitute the barometer of the coal trade; that the reduction of two years ago was expedient and only was accepted in the interests of peace; that the miners' wages to-day average less than \$500 a year.

On the 28th the discussion was resumed in joint convention. Mr. Robbins charged his associate operators with having coal stored for which they expect high prices in the event of a strike; and urging acceptance of the miners' compromise offer, he made a vigorous plea for permission, in case of a strike, to be allowed to continue operating his properties on those terms. Mr. Mitchell distinctly intimated that the coal companies are making large profits which they cover up in freight rates to railroads in combination with them. "We shall insist on knowing," he said, "if the profits of the coal companies are transferred from one pocket to another and charged up to freight rates." A motion of the operators to renew the present scale was voted down on roll call, and a proposition of the miners to restore the scale of 1903 was under discussion when the convention adjourned for the day.

In the bituminous coal fields of Pennsylvania a strike has been ordered by Patrick Gilday, president of District No. 2 (composed of all or parts of ten counties comprising the central bituminous field of Pennsylvania), to begin on the 31st. This affects 25,000 miners. The order was issued by Pres-

ident Gilday after he had become convinced that the miners and the operators at Indianapolis would be unable to agree. It is in the following terms:

You are hereby notified that there will be a suspension at all mines in the district of all work, except for the firemen, pumpmen and engineers, on Saturday night, March 31, 1906. This suspension is to continue until the miners and operators of the district hold the joint convention of the district at Clearfield on April 3, when, if an understanding is reached, you will be notified to resume work. Secretaries will on receipt of this notice call meetings of their locals at once and arrange to notify the superintendents accordingly.

Organized labor in national politics.

After a long session of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, held at Washington on the 24th, at which the reception given by the President and the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House to the memorial presented last week (p. 853) was considered, the Council adopted and promulgated the following declaration:

We reaffirm as one of the cardinal principles of the trade union movement that the working people must unite and organize, irrespective of creed, color, sex, nationality, or politics. That the American Federation of Labor most firmly and unequivocally favors the independent use of the ballot by the trade unionists and workmen, united regardless of party, that we may elect men from our own ranks to make new laws and administer them along the lines laid down in the legislative demands of the American Federation of Labor, and at the same time secure an impartial judiciary that will not govern us by arbitrary injunctions of the courts, nor act as the pliant tools of corporate wealth. That as our efforts are centered against all forms of industrial slavery and economic wrong, we must also direct our utmost energies to remove all forms of political servitude and party slavery, to the end that the working people may act as a unit at the polls at every election.

The labor vote in Chicago.

The movement for securing control of the party primaries of Chicago (p. 853) in the interest of the labor vote, has progressed to the point of a call for a convention to meet on the 8th. The official call declares that—

The time has come for a united pro-

gressive movement in convention to take under consideration the character and nominations of candidates who will be from the people—uncontrolled by political bosses, corporations, or the privileged class. For years the wealth producers of this city have been suffering under oppressive legislation enacted by corporation-chosen legislators, interpreted by corporation-chosen judges, manipulated by a corporation arranged jury system, and executed by officials whose nominations were dictated to party bosses by corporation representatives. During all these years we have blindly struggled to break our legal chains while we were keeping the fires at white heat for our enemies to forge them stronger and stronger for us. It is to our credit that we have earnestly and sometimes heroically protested against every effort of plutocracy to enforce its new system of slavery upon us, but our protests have been in vain. Every new legislature gives us new laws and forges new chains in the name of necessity. Every new set of judges interprets those laws in the interest of the house of privilege and adds strength to the chains. Each successive Board of County Commissioners gives us grand juries who are the friends of special privilege, and each successive county and city election furnishes us with county and city officials who enforce all legislative acts and all judicial decrees against the house of want and helplessness. If we are to remedy these evils through the medium of the ballot; if we are to rid ourselves of the corporation legislator, the injunction judge, the packed grand juries, and the hireling city and county officials, we must get together and devise means by which this end can be reached, and take into our own hands the management of the dominant political parties; to this end we hereby issue a call to bona fide labor unions, economic reform bodies and progressive organizations as hereafter defined, to meet in a delegate convention to take necessary action in the premises.

We would therefore request that you send five delegates to a convention to be held at Brand's hall, corner Clark and Erie streets, Sunday, April 8, 1906, at two o'clock p. m., sharp, with power to act for you, as time may be an important factor. The rules of procedure shall be: (1) Temporary organization; (2) appointment of committees on credentials and permanent organization by the chair; (3) organization of convention; (4) appointment of committees on resolutions and candidates; (5) general business; (6) reports of committees; (7) appointment of executive committee; (8) speeches limited to five minutes, and but one each on each question.

For the purpose of insuring an honest determined effort along the lines indicated, we notify you that no person

will be seated as a delegate who is employed by the city, county, State or nation, or who has not been a member of his organization for at least one year, or who is not a voter in this county. No organization less than one year old, meeting regularly at least once a month, can be represented; no person not in harmony with this movement will be seated as a delegate in the convention. If your organization does not meet in time to take action the president and secretary are requested to appoint five delegates. Individuals or newspapers circulating the report that we are going to unite with any old party organization are either trying to use this movement for their own purposes or attempting to assassinate it, so please pay no attention to them.

The call is signed by—

M. E. Arnold, Ed S. Beavers, J. D. Farrell, J. Fitzpatrick, Ed Nockels, F. C. Roth, E. J. Stuckie, P. C. Winn, William H. Bennett, D. L. Cruice, O. R. Gunderson, A. McCracken, William J. Nevins, D. C. Rumsey, J. H. Sheppard, P. J. Flannery, A. Blakely, J. B. Dunn, C. M. Hall, William A. R. Mitchell, T. P. Quinn, F. J. Ross, Steve Sumner, John Heuer.

Referendum-voting in Chicago.

At the municipal election in Chicago on the 3d three questions of public policy—two of them on mandatory referendum and one on advisory referendum—will be submitted to popular vote. The two questions on mandatory referendum are as follows:

- (1) Shall the City of Chicago proceed to operate street railways?
- (2) Shall the ordinance entitled "An ordinance authorizing the City of Chicago to construct, acquire, purchase, own and maintain street railways within its corporate limits and providing the means therefor," passed by the City Council of said city on the 18th day of January, A. D. 1906, making provision for the issue of Street Railway Certificates not to exceed in amount \$75,000,000, be approved?

Following is the question on advisory referendum:

Shall the City Council proceed without delay to secure Municipal Ownership and Operation of all Street Railways in Chicago under the Mueller Law, instead of passing the pending franchise ordinances or any other ordinances granting franchises to private companies?

Half of the City Council is to be chosen at the same election, and the principal contest is between candidates who oppose and those who approve the foregoing referendum propositions.

Unlawful campaign contributions.

The question of the lawfulness of contributions by directors of insurance companies (p. 856) to the Republican campaign committee, has come before the criminal courts of New York, through an application of the grand jury for legal instructions. The district attorney, William Travers Jerome, gave an official opinion to the effect that unless these contributions were made with an evil intent, they constituted no crime. But on the 23d Judge O'Sullivan charged the grand jury that—

it is not within the province of the court to say whether or not there was intent. That is for you, gentlemen, to determine from all the facts and circumstances in the case. Was it an honest transaction? Was it in the belief that they were acting for the best interests of those whose property was intrusted to them? Was their conduct that of men actuated by commendable motives, or did they proceed stealthily, corruptly, with duplicity, artifice, or concealment? These are the questions for you to consider in determining the character of intent. If such violations of the law are discovered and the claim of honest intent be made to excuse diversion of corporate funds you may ask yourselves, gentlemen, does innocence ask to conceal itself in crime.

Judge O'Sullivan then reviewed the forgery and falsification of books, and saying: "It is your duty to decide whether a crime has been committed and to do so you should proceed without delay to consider all the legal evidence available." he was about to direct the grand jury to retire to its room, when Mr. Jerome asked him to consent to sit as a committing magistrate and issue a warrant charging George W. Perkins, vice president of the New York Life Insurance company, with larceny. Mr. Jerome said that if George W. Perkins had committed a crime it ought to be decided one way or the other at once. It ought also to be decided, added Mr. Jerome, whether Mr. Bliss and George B. Cortell you had received stolen goods. Judge O'Sullivan refused to act as a magistrate.

Again on the 26th Judge O'Sullivan charged the grand jury on the same subject. He said:

Information has reached me, gentlemen, that, owing to the colloquy between the Court and the District Attorney following the Court's instruc-

tions to you last Friday, there exists a doubt among you as to the real meaning of the Court's advice on the question discussed and your duty with regard to it. A copy of the instructions was handed to your foreman for your guidance. I am of the opinion that if you consult it you can have no doubt as to its exact meaning; but, to be certain on that point, a brief reference to it now may be of advantage. Officers of a corporation who are employed to manage and invest corporate funds for the profit of the corporation are limited in that respect to financial investment. So watchful is the law over funds intrusted to such officers that it prohibits, in such instances, investments even in securities frequently considered in the business world as standard securities. There is a wide range between such investments and the giving away of corporate funds to a political party. If you find that they have been so diverted you will find that they have been misappropriated and to that extent a violation of the law. You must find, however, the operation colored with felonious intent before you may call it a crime. Your question, was there felonious intent, must be answered by yourself, but the court gave you the law on the subject and you are bound to take it as the court gave it. If corporate funds were diverted from the rightful owner and given away without the slightest expectation of profit or financial return, was any person deprived of his property? Has any citizen a right to expect profits or financial return from such a transaction with a political party? If a person was deprived of his property, and the transaction was falsely accounted for or not accounted for at all, or if there were false entries to conceal it, or no entries whatever, have you evidence of intention to defraud? Gentlemen, the answer is with you under instructions from the court already given—namely: that felonious intent is criminal intent, and criminal intent is to take with the intent to deprive and defraud. If you find that such officers did so misappropriate property, the court charges you that it is your duty to find that the crime of larceny has been committed. It is a duty the performance of which you cannot avoid even were you so inclined.

But District Attorney Jerome refused to give the evidence in his possession to the grand jury. Instead, he instituted friendly proceedings against George W. Perkins before Police Magistrate Moss. Upon a complaint prepared and presented by Mr. Jerome, the magistrate issued a warrant for Mr. Perkins's arrest for grand larceny. By arrangement with

Mr. Jerome, Mr. Perkins was met by an officer at his lawyer's office, and informally detained there until his counsel had procured writs of habeas corpus and certiorari of Justice Greenbaum, of the Supreme Court. He was then brought before Justice Greenbaum, who paroled him in the custody of his counsel pending argument and decision. The proceeding is not altogether unusual in cases of persons of repute when the question of crime is in doubt on points of law. The matter will now be carried to the Court of Appeals, without subjecting Mr. Perkins to the indignity of indictment and a jury trial, and the decision will depend, not upon the evidence which a grand jury might unearth, but upon the validity of the complaint which Mr. Jerome has made.

On the subject of unlawful campaign contributions, Senator Tillman called the attention of the Senate on the 27th to the fact that he has a resolution pending before the elections committee providing for the investigation of campaign contributions by national banks. He read section 5209 of the Revised Statutes relating to embezzlement and misappropriation of funds by bank officials and said:

If it can be shown that national banks in 1896, and probably since then, have been guilty of disobeying this section and of contributing funds of the banks to campaign committees, it seems to me there is a clear case of malfeasance in office, which ought to be investigated and the men guilty of this disobedience of law called to account.

Mr. Tillman said he had proof he would present to the Senate at the proper time that national banks in one city contributed \$17,000 to the Republican campaign fund in 1896, and he understood that the national banks of Chicago contributed \$70,000. The total of such contributions from all cities that year, he declared, amounted to between \$1,000,000 and \$1,500,000.

Fighting in the Philippines.

Another war of native extermination by American troops in the Philippines (p. 839) was reported by Manila dispatches on the 26th, which were to the effect that—

Gov. Curry of the island of Samar, after hiding thirty-six hours, escaped from hostile natives after the recent attack of the latter and proposes to begin a campaign for the extermination of the Pulajanes. The loyal Filipinos in the island of Samar are eager to assist in the campaign. Gen. Buchanan, commanding the department of Viscayas, has left for Catbogán, the capital of the island of Samar, to lend the aid of the Federal government to the Insular authorities if desirable. Small detachments of Federal troops are now assisting the constabulary in the pursuit of the fugitive Pulajanes. Two companies of Federal infantry will reinforce the constabulary. Gov. Curry in his report to the government on the recent engagement with Pulajanes at Magtaon says: "Had a hard fight, in which Capt. Jones of the constabulary lost half of his command, gaining a magnificent victory in the face of overwhelming odds. The Pulajanes, under a flag of truce, and while promising to surrender, immediately opened fire, charging the constabulary. The leader of the Pulajanes ordered his men to first wipe out the constabulary and then to capture myself and the other Americans. I have requested a company of Federal troops immediately, and later on, when joined by this additional force, will prepare to wage a war of extermination against the fugitives, which is the only alternative. The constabulary did splendidly, though their inferior firearms, which were minus bayonets, placed them at a disadvantage. With the assistance of the Federal troops we will be able to exterminate the fugitives, who are now in the mountains and will destroy the crops. The natives of Samar, with the exception of the Pulajanes, are in sympathy with us and are assisting us. Every town is endeavoring to assist us in the extermination of the fugitives."

NEWS NOTES

—Johnstown, Pa., which suffered so severely from a flood in 1889, was swept by fire on the 27th.

—The bill in the Iowa legislature for reducing railroad fares to two cents a mile was defeated in the lower House on the 28th by 57 to 40.

—The "Ligue pour la Representation Proportionnelle," of France, has a bill before the French chamber of deputies, which is supported by both parties, and is said to have every prospect of success. It provides for the use of proportional representation in parliamentary elections.

—The English Proportional Representation Society, which has been revived under the presidency of Lord Avebury and the secretaryship of Mr. Humphreys, is promoting a bill in Parliament for giving municipalities the

option of using proportional representation in their elections.

—In the British House of Commons, the trades disputes bill for the protection of trades unions against judicial oppression was introduced by the Ministry on the 28th. It provides that no act of a trades union shall be held to be unlawful if such act would not be unlawful when done by an individual.

—At the executive council of the National Civic Federation at New York on the 6th, the following officers were elected: President, August Belmont; first vice president, Samuel Gompers; second vice president, Oscar S. Straus; treasurer, Isaac Seligman; chairman conciliation department, Seth Low; chairman welfare department, Charles A. Moore; chairman executive council, Ralph M. Easley; secretary executive council, Samuel B. Donnelly. With the exception of Mr. Seligman, who takes the place of Cornelius N. Bliss, and Charles A. Moore, who replaces H. H. Vreeland, all the officers were re-elected.

—According to the Yonkers (N. Y.) Observer of March 24, Mr. J. B. Shelley, living in the Lake flats on Riverdale avenue in Yonkers, for which he paid \$12 a month, was in the habit of paying about \$1.50 a month for his gas. The Westchester Lighting company for some reason changed his meter, and presented for the following month a bill of \$15. In two weeks more they made the bill \$24. On Mr. Shelley's inability to pay the sums which they sought to collect from him, they cut off his meter, thus causing the loss of the tenant to whom he had let one of his rooms, and materially lessening his rent and injuring his health. Through the instrumentality of his lawyer, John Brooks Leavitt, of New York city, the matter was taken to the Supreme Court of the State, and a jury on the 19th, rendered a verdict for \$2,260 for Mr. Shelley.

PRESS OPINIONS

THE CHICAGO ELECTION.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), Mar. 29.—Do not imagine, citizens of Chicago, that the franchise plotters have abandoned the hope of another 20-year grant. They do not propose to consult your wishes. They hope to nullify your two Mueller law ordinances in the new Council. You may vote, but they will bribe. . . . The franchise plotters hope to stave off municipal ownership for another year. If they block Mayor Dunne's policy for 12 months they will then put in office the kind of mayor they want. They have already picked out their "settlement" mayor. A franchise worth a couple of hundred millions is worth fighting for, and the traction crowd numbers a good many trained fighters. They have their backs to the wall now. But what about next year, if you fail now to give Mayor Dunne a fighting majority in the new Council? Delay is now the slogan of the traction campaign. It is an issue between the people's aldermen and traction aldermen. You must ratify the two Mueller law ordinances by the "Little Ballot" and send municipal ownership aldermen to the Coun-

oil, if you want action, instead of delay. It is the city's time to be the aggressor. It is your opportunity to clean out the franchise crowd, root and branch, and get municipal street cars.

IMMUNITY.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Mar. 24.—The doctrine of immunity to individuals was first set up by Theodore Roosevelt. It was not offered in Mr. Morton's defense that he had incriminated himself and was immune because the corporation was the offender—or, to quote Mr. Harmon, that "the corporation has stolen out o' nights, when its officers were sleeping and violated the law." Judge Humphrey offered reasons for his decision. He held that they had been compelled to incriminate themselves in the Garfield investigation. Under the law, he insisted, they were immune. Messrs. Roosevelt and Moody offered no reason why Paul Morton and the officials of the Santa Fe should not be prosecuted other than that they didn't believe they were guilty. It was the corporation that had broken the law.

MAYOR DUNNE.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (Ind.), Mar. 22.—Mayor Dunne, of Chicago, continues to plug out victory after victory to the end of municipalizing that city's street railways. He will win, unless the people in whose interest he is fighting are turned against him on faked up issues. You can't believe what the big daily press says about Dunne and his fight. It is doped against him, and is passing on its dope to the unthinking public that accepts its opinions ready made. Dunne is not only a careful politician. He is a very good lawyer, and the progress of his work shows that the street railway crowd can't find better lawyers, even on the bench.

CAUSE OF MUNICIPAL CORRUPTION.

The (Milwaukee) Catholic Citizen (rel.), Mar. 24.—The propriety of municipal ownership should be discussed not only from the standpoint of sound business principles, but also from the standpoint of sound political ethics. . . . From the standpoint of business efficiency, it is doubtless true that the success of municipal ownership depends largely on the intelligence of public opinion and the tone of public morality, and it is sometimes concluded that we must have these things proper before we should attempt public ownership. Yet it is a fact that private ownership is largely responsible, in the process of defending its privileges, for the low state of public morality and for municipal corruption. . . . It is a subject for serious meditation whether the city, in abdicating certain quasi-public functions, like utilizing all the facilities of its streets—lighting, transportation, telephone service, etc., does not inflict a mortal hurt upon itself, does not set up in its halls of legislation and in its courts of justice, permanent influences of corruption; and does not entail for its citizens a loss of public spirit and an abatement of political vigilance—qualities that are indispensable to the success of democratic government itself, to say nothing of the success of municipal ownership.

PROMOTING MUNICIPAL GROWTH.

Cole County (Mo.) Daily Democrat (Dem.).—The city of New Orleans, Louisiana, is reaching out for manufacturing enterprises, by offering to exempt from city taxes for ten years every factory employing more than five persons. . . . A tax upon manufacturing enterprises simply operates to hamper the development of industries of this character. Exempt the manufacturing industries for a term of years, and swell the population by bringing in new people. Each increase in population would add to the value of the land, and the increased land values might be

taken in taxation instead of fining the enterprises that would be in themselves primary factors in wealth production.

THE SEATTLE RECALL.

Denver Catholic Register (rel.), Mar. 23.—We are glad to note that the citizens of Seattle have adopted an amendment to their city charter establishing the Recall. This will enable them to oust dishonest or unfaithful officials. By a petition of twenty-five per cent. of the voters any elective member of the city government may be forced to come before the voters again at a special election. An honest official will not fear the Recall. Any public official who opposes it needs watching.

GOV. FOLK AND TAXATION.

The Detroit News (Ind.), Feb. 15.—Taken by itself, Gov. Folk's declaration in favor of the abandonment of the effort to tax personal property, as a source of State revenue, and his acceptance of the doctrine that real estate and corporation values must be made the basis of taxation, would possess only such significance as attaches to the conclusions of any conspicuous man who has the public ear. Coming at this particular time they gain an added importance from the fact of their marked accord with tendencies elsewhere visible. . . . The trend is so clear and emphatic that, whether we like it or not, it is necessary to recognize the fact that the agitation for the concentration of the tax burden on values that the community creates, rather than on values that the individual creates, must be seriously counted with in the near future. It is no longer necessary to be a champion of that idea in order to realize that it is becoming more and more an effective force in economic and political discussion, and that it is forcing itself rapidly upon the attention of those who are called to attempt the solution of revenue problems.

THE ORGANIZED CHURCH.

Collier's Weekly (Ind.), Mar. 1.—The church is attacked by leaders of radical political and social movements almost everywhere, for the church to-day in every country is conservative on the whole. It is only when they are new that religions are revolutionary. Later they inevitably become allies of the established order. In our own country to-day the churches take little or no part in the public reforms which are being made. "The Public," an able exponent of the socialistic trend, declares that: "The Christian pulpit as an institution has come to be what Roman paganism was in Caesar's time as Froude describes it. It is a living and pliant tool which beneficiaries of privilege manipulate, a sort of moral policeman whose functions beneficiaries of privilege utilize to shield their own big crimes by assailing the petty vices of other people." "The Public," to be sure, was provoked because the ministers of Cleveland not only refused to accept Mayor Tom Johnson's wise opinions about the suppression of disorder, but called him academic for lugging in his panacea, which was, indeed, worked in with something of a wrench. But that most rich offenders in business and finance are pillars of the church is true, and this fact makes an effective part in the moral reform of economic difficulties a rather difficult part for the church to take.

PREJUDICE AGAINST THE SINGLE TAX.

Elizabeth (N. J.) Evening Times (Dem.), Mar. 22.—The opposition to the single tax idea has always come from the selfish, the prejudiced, the ignorant or the afraid. Reasoning men with the strength of their convictions have ever had to admit that the land tax would in all probability accomplish practically every result that the late Mr. George claimed for it. . . . The

bane of our countrymen is, to-day, as it has been for generations, their stupid, insane fear of what they call radicalism. It makes no difference how clearly the radical proves the justice and practicability, as well as the general public utility, of the principles he may be advocating. "It is untried," answers privilege through men who either foolishly pride themselves upon their conservatism, or pose as "conservatives" because it is to their interests to do so. This cry has ever had the effect of frightening the American people, and no doubt it will continue to have for some time as yet, though it will not always be so. The strange feature of it all is that those who are so determined to oppose radical measures when they are suggested in behalf of the people are the same who "stand pat" when it is proposed to do something to put an end to the radical methods of entrenched monopoly.

IN CONGRESS

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the official report of Congressional proceedings. It includes all matters of general interest, and closes with the last issue of the Record at hand upon going to press. Page references are to the pages of Vol. 40 of that publication.

Washington, Mar. 19-24.

Senate.

Consideration of the railway rate bill was resumed on the 19th (p. 4056). It gave place to the fortifications appropriation bill on the 20th (p. 4103), but was again taken up on the 21st (p. 4169), and its consideration continued on the 22d (p. 4207) and 23d (p. 4264). On the last of these dates the Senate passed the fortifications appropriation bill (pp. 4267, 4269), and adjourned to the 26th.

House.

The bill for the reorganization of the consular service was taken up (p. 4064) on the 18th and passed (p. 4067). On the 20th consideration of the legislative, etc., appropriation bill was resumed. There was no session on the 21st, the House having adjourned as a token of respect to Representative Patterson, of Pennsylvania, who had died the day before; but on the 22d it continued its consideration of the legislative, etc. appropriation bill (p. 4233). This was also the principal business of the 23d (p. 4275). The 24th was devoted to private bills and the passage of the naval-school hazing bill (p. 4331).

Record Notes.—Speech of Senator Bailey on railroad rates bill (p. 4091).

**RELATED THINGS
CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT**

A CRY FOR THE SPRING.

Written March 21, 1906, by a little boy seven years old.

Why doesn't Spring come?
We want you, Spring, Spring, Spring.
Come quick; we need you, Spring, Spring, Spring.
Come, come quick; we cannot get along without you, Spring.

Oh, come and drive Winter away, Spring, Spring.

Do come and drive Winter away.
Oh, come, Spring, Spring, Spring.
Hurry up, why don't you come, Spring, Spring?

Do hurry up, Spring; do get a move on!
JAMES HAMMOND STARR.

TEACHING HONESTY.

Fifteen or 20 years ago Bill Small

was a well-known character in a Missouri town whose name need not be mentioned here. Bill was a colored boy who roamed the streets at will. One day he found a pocketbook containing \$40, and the owner's name was stamped on the book. But Bill burned the pocketbook and spent the \$40 in riotous living. Of course it was found out, and Bill was arrested, tried, found guilty, and sent to the penitentiary for two years. He served his time, and when he emerged he knew something about making shoes. The day he returned to his home town an old acquaintance met him and asked:

"Well, what did they put you at in the prison, Bill?"

"Dey started in to make a honest boy out'n me, sah!"

"That's good, Bill; and I hope they succeeded."

"Dey did, sah!"

"And how did they teach you to be honest, Bill?"

"Dey done put me in de shoe shop, sah, nailing pasteboard outer shoes fo' soles, sah."—The Commoner.

LEGISLATION THAT HINDERS PROSPERITY.

A tax of \$2.10 on alcohol has made the use of alcohol for fuel and motive power impossible in this country. That tax shuts farmers out from a market for millions of bushels of corn. It denies to this country what in Germany and France are flourishing industries. It thereby restricts the demand, that is, the opportunities for both labor and capital, and therefore helps to produce an artificial condition in which industry becomes, as Lanier said, "war grown miserly."

This is one of countless ways by which the struggle for jobs and a living wage is intensified by foolish legislation. An utterly unjust and barbaric way of levying taxes is responsible for much of the economic stress that drives men into unions. If the burden of taxation were shifted from improvements to land values; if the check which the tax puts upon improvements were removed; if speculation in land were stopped or lessened by the increase in the assessment of land made necessary by the exemption of improvements; if rents were thereby reduced and the double encouragement offered to industrial enterprises of exemption from taxation and cheaper land.—opportunities for both labor and capital would be multiplied and their unnatural antagonism would

tend to disappear.—Rev. H. S. Bigelow.

MAKING A CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY.

The other day a dead man was elevated to the rank of Captain of Industry. The deceased was a resident of a thriving inland city. Outside of a handful of associates he had been known for a generation (to those who knew him at all) merely as a hard-headed, moderately prosperous business man—one of the large squad of dimly-outlined "substantial men" whose names come in handy now and then to fill out a list of directors. But upon his death it was discovered that he left a fortune running into the millions—and, as a matter of course, he was promptly furnished with a post-mortem reputation to fit the fortune. Two leading newspapers published the personal anecdotes by fellow-millionaires which are everywhere recognized as the proper funeral honors of a departed Captain, and it was discovered that he had been a man of wonderful sagacity, combining infallible judgment of the present and clairvoyant knowledge of the future with impregnable courage and the soundest conservatism. Two men recalled that he had predicted the panic of '93.

As a matter of fact, the deceased had, some 40 years ago—and with the most poignant reluctance—accepted a string of vacant lots in settlement of a claim against an insolvent debtor. The lots were in the line of the city's development. Three-quarters of a million people moved to town. Their presence, their activities and necessities made the lot owner a millionaire. A vast deal of business genius is of this same order.—Saturday Evening Post, of Dec. 16, 1905.

EDUCATIONAL IDEALS.

Extracts from a letter in *Charities* for October 28, written by Mrs. Elsie Clews Parsons.

Our system of education fails, as it often does fail, if it leaves young people without appreciation of the beautiful in nature and art and social living; if it takes away from them, as it often does, too, the childlike habit of living in the present—the secret, more than anything else, of personal charm; if, in short, it turns them out well equipped for life, perhaps, but without the joy of living.

Essential to education is the ideal of productive efficiency. The education of the boy and of the girl is incomplete unless it brings with it the inspiration that leads to production,

not the production that secures only individual satisfaction.

The ideal of productive efficiency in education is coming to be more and more pronounced. Girls are realizing more and more that ability and freedom to work are indispensable to a talent for life. The girl of to-day has oftentimes to resort to makeshifts; but the girl of the future will be a recognized worker. Whether she can work at everything her brother does is and will continue to be a matter of tedious and often sorrowful experimentation, but that she will be expected to become a producer of some kind as soon as the period of her formal schooling closes is, in my mind, a foregone conclusion.

Equally confident am I that there will be no future repining for the old-fashioned girl, for the personality of the new girl will be far more gracious and lovable than that of her predecessor.

DEMOCRACY ON THE MARCH.

Extract from "Das Freie Wort," of Frankfurt, Germany, translated for The Public.

Bad times have begun for the pessimists, who are accustomed to doubt any real progress of the nations and look down with pitying superiority on the reformers who trust in the bettering of conditions. A breeze is blowing through the civilized world, which announces that the winter night is not going to last always and an anticipation of spring has come to many tired hearts, that had already given up hope of seeing the sun shine again. Every new day brings us new proofs that the people have begun to take thought and to try to seek their salvation by determining themselves their fate by their own strength. The people are reaching their maturity and are putting aside their guardians. We have seen with astonishment how France in a few years of struggle has shaken off the rule of Rome; we saw in the last few weeks that the oligarchy has been overthrown, which has so long ruled Great Britain and Ireland, that even the Austro-Hungarian monarchy is thinking of introducing universal suffrage, that Russia, the Mecca of reactionists, is being compelled to make at least the beginnings of a constitution.

The socialists* of all lands are uniting to find means and ways which will make it possible for those classes

*Das Freie Wort is not a socialistic journal.

to aid in determining peace and war, on whom the brunt falls in every war-like conflict. The governments are to be controlled from now on into the smallest detail, all public powers are to render account over what they do and omit doing; this is the deep significance of the great movement which is going through the world. And this movement wishes to put an end to the powers that have come down to us historically, because their time is past; the people themselves wish to rule and they are going to rule.

The holders of power will naturally find it difficult to understand this new world. All innovations which dispossess them seem to them of necessity sinful. The locomotive probably seemed to many a postillion a vile invention, and alizarine-dye seemed to many a planter of madder like an assault on everything that was dear to him. So the pious aristocrats of France think that the dissolving of the concordate is a momentous sacrilege, and the Tories already see England going to pieces, because a few "ancestral" families must release the power from their hands, and many an orthodox Russian "patriot" thinks Russia in the greatest danger, because the autocracy is compelled to begin to make concessions. Time has passed over the postillions and the planters of madder—it will also pass over the "historical" powers, without the sun being extinguished. On the contrary, where progress can exert itself unhampered, it fertilizes everything; whoever opposes it is the grave-digger of all civilization.

THE RELATION OF MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP TO THE SINGLE TAX.

An address delivered in Yonkers, N. Y., March 11, 1906, by Bolton Hall, and written out from memory by John Spargo.

When people nowadays advocate the idea of municipal ownership they are dubbed "socialists," "anarchists," "communists," and lots of other names, by people who don't understand either municipal ownership, or socialism, or any of the other theories they confound with municipal ownership. Though I advocate the municipal ownership of public utilities, I am not a socialist by any means. I don't believe in socialism, but I do believe in municipal ownership.

If we begin with a few definitions, we shall be the better able to discuss the subject before us, and if we succeed in learning the distinction be-

tween municipal ownership, socialism, anarchism, single tax, and other movements commonly confounded, our time will not have been misspent.

I really have never known two socialists who could agree upon a definition of socialism. That is because they are thinkers, perhaps, for all thinkers are heretics. So they are prone to be like the old Scotchman who, talking of his religious orthodoxy, said that there were only two people in the place who were strictly orthodox, himself and his wife, and then added, "An' I'm nae sae sure about the wife." Socialists believe in general that the system of private ownership and competition of the means of production and distribution is wrong; they want all the great means of production and distribution to become social property.

Communists are different. They go further, and want everything to be shared equally. There have been no successful experiments in communism apart from religion. The early Christians were communists, for we read that they owned all things in common.

Finally, there are the anarchists (called "philosophic anarchists," because the name "anarchist" has been sadly misused, and applied to all kinds of freaks), whose fundamental idea is a belief in man's inherent goodness, and who believe that men naturally incline to do right and that most laws, if not all of them, do more harm than good.

To lump all these people together as many do, is absurd—as foolish as it would be to class Theists and Infidels, Unitarians and Baptists together. They are very, very different.

It is equally absurd to confound municipal ownership with any or all of these things. I may be an anarchist and believe in municipal ownership in some form; or I may be a socialist, but not of necessity. It may appeal to me simply as a matter of hard common sense and not of social theory at all. I may not be able to see why the public which has always laid down its own systems of pipes for the conduct of sewage to the sea, should not lay down its own pipes to carry water, or gas. I may not be able to see why railways should not be highways in the best and truest sense of the word, but that does not make me a socialist. Surely it is proper and right to draw a distinction between the public ownership, and possibly operation and control, of things which are in their nature monopolies, but are subject to free competition. Because I believe that the city of Yonkers should own its own

street railways and lighting plant, that does not compel me to believe the city should run the tailor shops. Then, again, municipal ownership does not of necessity mean municipal operation under a gigantic civil service scheme. That may or may not be included. It may be thought more profitable, and better in every way, to lease the city railways and lighting plant upon short lease terms to the highest bidder who will also insure the best service, as is done now in New York with the ferries. So much for the principle of municipal ownership.

Now there are certain natural monopolies, that is to say monopolies which rest upon the ownership and control of the land. The railroad monopolies, the coal monopoly, the oil monopoly, are but a few examples of this class of monopoly. The single taxer would deal with these first. The land question is the bottom question, for man is a land animal. All that we eat, wear, drink, or use in any way, comes from the application of labor to land. If land is monopolized, labor must be enslaved. If the land question could be solved, most of our other great questions, such as the labor question, would be solved.

Looking around Yonkers to-day before coming to this meeting, I saw slums, hideous and foul tenements worse than any I have seen in New York, in this suburban city of 70,000 people. No doubt people will say, "Yes, we do need a better health board," or, "We ought to have some model tenements," but the trouble lies deeper. If we had no land problem there would be no slum problem [applause]. When I first began to study the land question, it was on account of a report upon the bad tenement conditions in Yonkers, and that was more than 20 years ago. Things have necessarily gone from bad to worse since then, because of land monopoly.

The land question is fundamental to life. All wealth and all capital are drawn from the land. The single tax proposes to restore the land to the people by methods now in use every day in New York city and elsewhere, in the theaters and hotels. If you go to a theater and pay for a seat you pay for its value, according to its position. No matter if you stay away from the show; whether you sleep or stay awake, you pay the same price, and you pay nothing else. In a hotel, if you engage a room you pay according to its situation, and no matter what business you do there, you pay the same amount. Now "seat," "situation,"

and "site" are really the same word. The single tax is nothing more than a tax or price, to be paid for the social advantages of a certain site, no matter what a man does with it. In other words, the tax is to be placed upon the value of the land and not upon the business carried on by its owner, or the property he erects upon it, and the proceeds would go to the people for their communal expenses. Thus we should restore to the people their rightful inheritance. To-day we really tax industry and thrift and place a premium upon idleness.

I do not claim that land monopoly is the only monopoly, or that the single tax would solve all problems. When land monopoly has been dealt with, there will still be such monopolies as rest upon patents, to be dealt with, or such as rest upon licenses, like the liquor monopoly. But the land monopoly is the bottom of so many other monopolies which oppress us that once it is settled the rest will be easy.

A LESSON IN TRADES-UNIONISM. For The Public.

Having followed our youngsters to the Pacific coast and located myself on a suburban chicken ranch, I was surprised and pleased to find that one of our nearest neighbors was Billy Gorman. His father, a well-to-do farmer, had been my neighbor years ago in western New York. Billy had at first made but poor use of his abilities and opportunities, and after a brief career as a country lawyer and small politician, had left his country for his country's good. But, soon taking a sudden turn for the better, he had learned the trade of a sawyer in a planing mill in Barberton, O., and had permanently adopted the life and habits of an industrious and thrifty mechanic. With a view to more rapid accumulation of worldly goods he had followed the star of empire and of high wages to San Francisco, coming by way of Texas, where he worked two years in the Murray cotton gin factories in Dallas.

I greatly enjoyed renewing my acquaintance with Billy, who was at his worst a very interesting and likable boy. We had many good visits over our garden fence, in the course of which I learned much of his interesting history since leaving his early home. I even advised him to shed his corduroys, now that his steady habits must be fully confirmed, and take up again the practice of the law, for which he had shown a great liking and aptitude even as a youth. But he claimed

to be contented with his condition, and wished to take no further chances with the excitements and temptations of the forum and its environments.

"Anything fresh, Billy?" I asked him this morning.

"Why, yes," he replied, "I have had a letter from my old foreman with Clark Bros. in Barberton. They are setting up a new plant in Fort Wayne, and directed him to offer me a good place there, if my services are not too high priced."

I had previously known that the Murray company held out tempting inducements to dissuade Billy from leaving Dallas, which he did mainly on account of the suffering of his family in the torrid summer climate of Texas.

"Billy," said I, "you have been marked for promotion in every place where you have worked till you got to San Francisco. Here you have stood four years at the same set of saws, with no prospect in sight of ever being offered a better position."

"But," Billy rejoined, "if Clark Bros. gave me a department in Fort Wayne, I should have to work at least an hour longer and for probably half a dollar less a day than I get here at my saws."

"That may be, but your position here is not so good but it might be better. What strikes me is that you have either lost your superior qualities as a man and a cutter and handler of fine lumber, or else they are not appreciated here as they have been elsewhere. Do you know the reason?"

"Yes, I do," replied Billy. "It is the labor unions here, the same that secure me better pay for hand work than Clark Bros. would have to pay for my alleged superior capabilities in Indiana."

"As to your high wages, I understand that they are at the mercy of those same unions, which may at any time, without your consent or approval, call you off from your work altogether."

"Yes, that is true, and you can see," indicating his pretty home and its ample surroundings, "what provision I am trying to make against such an emergency. Three-fourths of our neighbors, too, are workmen like me, and are throwing the same kind of an anchor to windward."

"Well, whether or no," I pursued, "is not half a dollar a day poor compensation for keeping at manual work which any man could do, and leaving your higher and more valuable capacities unused and undeveloped?"

"O, I give my higher capacities their innings out of work hours. I have found more than a plenty to do and to think of which has been profitable to me in one way or another."

"Yes, Billy; but now let me ask: Do you try as hard to do your best for your employer, now that you are a union man working in a completely unionized industry? And does your employer know or care if you do? In short, does not your union connection tend to make you no better than any one of a dozen sawyers in your shops?"

"Perhaps; but at the same time it tends to make each of the dozen sawyers as good as I am, which on the whole is a great gain, eh? Of course the unions, like many modern improvements, work some disadvantage to individuals, but we claim to show a large balance of public benefit to their credit."

"But you wouldn't claim that they have been a benefit in destroying all friendly personal feeling between employers and employees?"

"Granting that they are to blame for this, which I don't admit," said Billy, "why should there be that friendly personal interest between those who sell labor and those who buy it, any more than between those who produce and sell eggs and those who buy them? Except as a matter of policy I should no more give my employer more than the ordinary amount of effort in a day's work than you should count out 13 eggs for a dozen."

"And the incentive of good policy has been removed through the influence of the unions," I added, inquiringly.

"Yes, by making our proper relations better understood. We no longer regard our employer as a patron to be conciliated by works of supererogation, nor does he look us over in search of a good boy to pat on the head. My employer is a very worthy man and a member of the employers' association. He and I both know that we are liable to be some day engaged in a battle between our respective organizations, a battle caused by no fault whatever of his or mine. Of course this prevents any sense of friendly interest between us, for in war we must not love our enemies."

"These flourishing and prosperous industries of San Francisco then are, in fact, in a state of war?" I asked.

"That is about right. We work under an armed truce."

"Well now, Billy, let us consider. The laborers must be employed, and

the capitalists must employ them, if production and civilized existence are to continue. How do you justify the organizations which have brought about a war between these two inseparable and indispensable classes?"

"On the ground that they haven't brought about the war. They have changed the conditions of it, from an industrial-despotism tempered by riot and insurrection, to a comparatively equal conflict. They have made the numerical superiority of the workers count peacefully in a dispute, as it ought to. And they have called the attention of the world to the fact that there is a war, an irrepressible conflict."

"Well, Billy, what would you call the cause of the war between capital and labor?"

"Why, I should call it just simply ignorance. Employers and employes fight each other because they haven't yet found out whom else to fight."

"Then why haven't your unions found the enemy?"

"Give us time," said Billy. "Have you noticed the labor vote in all the great cities this past year? We union men don't all think, but we all know who among us does think, and where to look for counsel and leadership when we want them. And before you know it the employers' unions and the labor unions will discover what is really doing the mischiefs we have been blaming on each other. They will get sight of the common enemy. Then our guns are all mounted and loaded ready to train on him."

"Do you know 'his' name?" was my final inquiry.

"Sure I do. It is Privilege, Mr. Legal Privilege, short shrift to him!" I took off my hat to Billy.

E. P. ROUNSEVELL.

TO THE DISINHERITED.

For The Public.

Ye who toll for idlers' gain,
Ye who seek for work in vain,
Know ye not the reason plain
For your poverty?
Drudge and save each waking hour,
Clouds of penury still lower.
Ye are robbed by that dread power,
Land Monopoly.

Duped by every tricky knave,
Valued less than chattel slave,
Fleeced from cradle to the grave
Ye must ever be,
'Till ye learn that man-made law
Gives ye helpless to the maw—
Whets the tooth and arms the claw—
Of this tyranny.

See how Want your brethren drives;
See your overburdened wives;

See your children's stunted lives—
Strike for Liberty!
Pledge each other heart and hand;
Boldly press your just demand—
Right of access to the land;
This shall make ye free.

J. K. RUDYARD.

BOOKS

THE SOCIALIZATION OF HUMANITY.

The Socialization of Humanity: An Analysis and Synthesis of the Phenomena of Nature, Life, Mind and Society Through the Law of Repetition. A System of Monistic Philosophy. By Charles Kendall Franklin. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company. Price, \$2.00.

In an ambitious work of 480 pages, Charles Kendall Franklin undertakes "to trace physical, organic and social phenomena to their sources in order to discover their laws." As this last necessitates "reviewing all of the great concepts of the race, matter, motion, life, mind and society," we can do little more here than indicate the trend of the author's thought, while calling attention to two or three contentions which impress us as fundamentally erroneous.

Mr. Franklin seems to find the source of all phenomena in what he calls "the law of repetition," an "order" which "in nature is inherent." Observing that "the most universal phenomena in nature is change," that "everything is in flux," he draws forth from this seeming chaos "the truth that no matter what it is that changes, its process is but a repetition of similar processes throughout the universe, and different only because under different conditions."

Here Mr. Franklin really touches the source of all phenomena—the eternal principle of life (in which are all potentialities), manifesting itself in the transitory phenomena of which our senses are conscious.

But if he had recognized in his "law of repetition" a life principle which is the source of all natural law, his book, as it is now written, would have ended with the second chapter. Seeing, however, nothing more in that chaos of change, so orderly though its processes are, than what we shall have to call "accidental regularity," he actually proceeds to look for the origin of life in the phenomena which this accidental "law of repetition" produces.

"The ocean," he writes, "was the retort in which life was formed;" as if all the phenomena of motion culminating in this wonder that we call life had been till then devoid of life and the life principle. And as life is a product instead of the projector of matter, so, of course, does our author find that mind is a product

of matter. Mr. Franklin regards this as strong ground, for, as he says in one place, "we know what matter is." Yet he would find it about as difficult to demonstrate the existence of matter, as he thinks it to demonstrate the preexistence of idea. Force is demonstrable, for the human senses are directly conscious of force; but to demonstrate force operating in such manner as to demonstrate natural law, is to demonstrate idea or thought within or back of the force; and if the normal tendency of the force be beneficent, it is to demonstrate beneficent idea.

From his materialistic hypotheses, Mr. Franklin proceeds to a consideration of the social organism. That there is such a thing as a social organism resulting primarily from the complexities of specialization and trade, which produce what may be called its economic functions, we suppose no one will deny. But that society is an organism as the individual man is, in any other than an analogical or correspondential sense, we suppose that few believe. But Mr. Franklin is not dealing in analogies. He apparently means that society is developing organically from the inorganic, just as he supposes the individual to have so developed, and that the individual units of society will eventually come to be the repositories of a social sense belonging to society rather than to themselves, whereupon society will be "a social-conscious social organism."

This is the root notion of the socialist theory of "class consciousness," a perversion of the facts of individual selfishness; and Mr. Franklin's book is in reality a treatise in support of the scientific or Marxian cult of socialism, which dominates the organized socialist movement.

It is to be observed that at this end of his inquiry idealistic speculation is as attractive to the author as at the other end he found it repulsive. Although he begins by ignoring the tremendous significance of an "order in nature," which has resulted in the development, from chemical activities, of intellectual and moral beings (because that would have savored of idealistic weakness), he closes with prophecies for the future of the social organism that would appall the most optimistic idealist. His confidence at this stage of his investigation, in the intelligent and beneficent tendencies of the law and order of nature, is extraordinary when it is remembered that they depend upon a certain accidental regularity of repetition in processes whose originating and perpetuating force is neither intellectual nor beneficent.

We wish it understood, however, that in criticizing the philosophy of this



HE STAYS FIXED.

Like some tall cliff that rears its awful form,
Springs from the vale and midway leaves the storm.
Though clouds and darkness 'round its breast are spread
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.—Goldsmith.

book we are not criticising either the author or his performance. In genuineness, clearness, and force, Mr.

Franklin's work is in no danger from comparison with the best on any side of the subject he discusses.

The Public

is a weekly review which prints in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value. It is also an editorial paper. Though it abstains from mingling editorial opinions with its news accounts, it has opinions of a pronounced character, based upon the principles of radical democracy, which, in the columns reserved for editorial comment, it expresses fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without hope of creditable reward. Yet it makes no pretensions to infallibility, either in opinions or in statements of fact; it simply aspires to a deserved reputation for intelligence and honesty in both. Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department of original and selected miscellany, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest. Familiarity with THE PUBLIC will commend it as a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

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