

The Public

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A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

Eighth Year

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MAY 20, 1905

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LOUIS F. POST
EDITOR

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The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

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EDITORIAL

The suspicion that the Chicago teamsters' strike (pp. 81, 86) was originally instigated and has been kept alive with a deliberate purpose to provoke wholesale breaches of the peace and necessitate military interference, received further confirmation in the City Council on the 15th.

Alderman Dever, with the commendable object of balking that malign purpose, offered resolutions which every alderman who in his heart believes in law and

order should have been glad to support with speech and vote. The gist of the resolutions, which provided for a Councilmanic committee to give them effect, was a demand that "it is due to the public and to the city that both parties to this controversy should submit the questions at issue between them to some impartial tribunal."

Possibly these resolutions may be ineffective. If so, the fault will lie with the party to the controversy—either or both, as the case may be—which refuses to yield its own peace-disturbing purposes and plans to the public interest. But their effectiveness was not the issue before the Council. What the Council had to consider, when passing on the resolutions, was not whether the parties would allow them to become effective, but whether for the public good they ought to do so.

On that issue there can be no two opinions among persons who are at once thoughtful and impartial. Partisans may be encouraged, and thoughtless non-partisans may be misled, by the plea that the only question is the right to unmolested use of the streets. That plea is a specious pretense, which reveals the fool or the partisan with the infallibility of a chemical test. When two great industrial unions, one of employers and the other of workmen, get into a quarrel over their industrial relations, especially in an era like this, when all industrial relations are in a state of economic disturbance, producing popular unrest, and employers and workmen alike are in some way or other defying or evading the laws, and when that quarrel is of necessity a street quarrel on a large scale—when those are the circumstances, it is either foolish or criminal to insist upon ignoring the merits of the quarrel and limiting public action to "preserving the peace" with extremes of force.

While it is true that the public peace must at all costs be maintained, it is also true that breaches of the public peace must not be unnecessarily provoked. And in a quarrel of this character and magnitude, a stubborn insistence upon ignoring the merits of the quarrel does tend unnecessarily to provoke breaches of the peace.

Yet some of the aldermen met Alderman Dever's non-partisan resolutions in a spirit so rancorous as to mark them as men courting disturbance instead of peace. It is to the honor of the Council that they were voted down. But their speeches disclosed the same arrogance that has appeared to animate the friends of the employers' union since this strike began.

It is a significant fact that the leaders in the opposition to Dever's pacific resolutions were leaders in the Council against the municipal ownership programme which triumphed at the recent municipal election. There is much to indicate that the strike was instigated, at a psychological moment, by influences behind the employers' union, for the purpose of entangling and discrediting Mayor Dunne's administration in such manner and to such an extent as to beat back the tide of municipal ownership sentiment. There is much to indicate that those interests do not intend to allow the strike to end peaceably. The probabilities are very great that if it were about to end peaceably, something would be done by those interests to rekindle the passions which have thus far kept it at fever heat. Under these circumstances it is a significant thing to find aldermen who were leaders in the Council chamber in behalf of the corporate traction interests, ranging themselves now against a measure for removing this gigantic labor quarrel, with all its explosive possibilities, from the public streets and settling it without disturbing the public peace.



One of the welcome effects of municipal ownership in Great Britain is told by the London Daily News of April 19. Out of their profits for the preceding year, the gas committee of the local government of Manchester intend to turn over \$250,000 for reduction of local taxes, while the traction committee are to turn over \$230,000—\$480,000 in all. This effect of municipal ownership ought to be welcome to the owners of building sites, for it relieves them of that much in taxes without depreciating their property. Indeed, their property is increased in value by the municipal ownership policy. This has been the universal experience in Great Britain. It is no reason, of course, for abandoning the municipal ownership policy—this fact that the financial benefit goes from traction stockholders to local landlords; but in due time it will be a reason, either for reducing fares or for making site owners pay a fairer proportion of taxes than they pay now.

The extent of cheap bribing by public corporations of public officials was illustrated by the deluge of passes Mayor Dunne received upon his coming into office. On the 12th "he sent back," says the Chronicle of the 13th, "to the railroads, transportation lines, telephone company and other corporations, the 'courtesies' represented by innumerable passes, free tickets, franks and complimentary privileges received by him since his inauguration." Of course these "courtesies" are not given for nothing. Hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of such favors are distributed every year, and they all go to persons whose official position may make them useful to the companies. No string is tied to them, to be sure, but public officials who accept courtesies which are so manifestly bribes, need no string. Although the favors they grant in return may not be excessive, the relationship established by the offer and acceptance of passes is well calculated to make oppor-

tunity for securing larger favors in return for richer "courtesies."

There is something very significant in this connection about the action of the mayor of Chester, Pa., William H. Berry, and his own comment upon it. He had taken railroad passes. But something happened which induced him to return them all, and this was his explanation: "I am now more than ever satisfied that the whole practice is wrong, and certain facts make it impossible for me to accept the so-called courtesy of certain transportation companies."

A long stride has been taken by the legislature of Minnesota (vol. vii, pp. 646, 651) in the direction of just and scientific taxation. It has adopted an amendment to the constitution which, if approved by the people of the State, will free future legislatures from the absurd restrictions of the present constitution, under which all taxes must be approximately equal and all valuations of taxable property must be uniform. Consequently, Minnesota has found herself in the same category with other States that are constitutionally cut off from making fair fiscal adjustments. The amendment proposed requires, as to uniformity, only that "taxes shall be uniform upon the same class of subjects." As the Minneapolis Journal of the 12th describes the measure, it would require that taxes—

must be collected and spent for public purposes, and they must be uniform upon the same class of subjects; but after complying with these elementary requirements, the legislature at future sessions will have an absolutely free hand.

Great progress in fiscal methods, and the most beneficial results, may be looked for in Minnesota should this amendment be adopted by the people, as the indications are that it will be.

Immigrant Chinese were arbitrarily excluded from this country, and the Supreme Court of the United States found itself with-

out power to overrule the action of the executive officials who ordered it. An Englishman coming to the country was deported because he held opinions on government which any American is conceded to have the right to hold, and the Supreme Court of the United States found itself without power to overrule the action of the executive officials who ordered it. And now a Chinaman born in this country—a native born American citizen—who had left the country on a visit, is denied entrance upon his return, and the Supreme Court finds itself without power to overrule the executive officials who order that. If an American born citizen of Chinese ancestry must never leave the country, on pain of perpetual exile, when executive officers so order, is not an American citizen of African, German, English, or any other ancestry, subject to the same arbitrary treatment, and would not the Supreme Court be as powerless to protect his rights of citizenship? If not, why not? If otherwise, whither are we drifting?

JUG-HANDLED COMPETITION.

The address delivered by D. M. Parry, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, at the tenth annual convention of that association, at Atlanta, Ga., while a powerful defense of theoretical individualism and competitive industry, is a masterful evasion of the notorious fact that competitive industry, as a complete system—or as anything approaching a complete system—does not exist.

His laudation of the competitive principle as the greatest force for good in the realm of industry, is justified by the facts of history; but his assumption that competition has free play, and would continue to have, in the absence of government interference with the railroads, is so egregiously absurd as to baffle faith in his sincerity.

His demand for respect for individual rights, will be applauded by every man who comprehends the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution—by every man, in fact,



who knows social right from social wrong; but it is a great pity that the distinguished gentleman, while detecting an infraction of that sacred principle in the coercive measures of certain labor organizations, fails utterly to perceive any violation thereof in law-created privilege.

Organized labor, Mr. Parry believes, is becoming reformed, as the result of adverse experience. "Current events appear, in fact, to be forcing its reformation," he says. "Sooner or later," he continues, "it must see that it cannot make headway against the individualistic character of our institutions." A very safe assertion—"sooner or later."

Unhappily, it will probably be "later," if Mr. Parry is correct in his opinion as to the political tendency of organized labor. Organized labor is yet to march a weary distance backward before the advent of that happy day when it will be able to see that it cannot make any permanent and persistent headway against the individualistic character of our institutions; for organized labor gives strong evidence of a disposition to stampe into the quagmire of socialism.

If Mr. Parry's own vision were clearer, he would perceive that the element of monopoly which pervades the existing economic system, destroys freedom of individual initiative, robs the competing business-man and wage-man alike of much of the fruits of their labor and enterprise, and coerces them into mutually destructive conflict in blind and futile attempts at an equitable distribution of the rapidly diminishing proportion of their joint product which remains for competitive division.

The pitiful and utterly hopeless struggle on the part of organized labor to compel business men operating in the competitive field to yield up a larger proportion of what the monopolist leaves for the employer and his workmen to scramble for, is not a whit more disheartening than the blindness of Mr. Parry to the obvious fact that such a scramble is the inevitable result of monopolistic infractions of the principle of individual rights.

Mr. Parry's argument in favor of unimpeded operation of natural law in the whole field of human industry is unassailable. But his application of the principle lacks amplitude in its details.

For instance, how can natural law operate freely in the monopolized anthracite coal fields? How can natural law operate freely in the monopolized iron mines? In the monopolized coke industry of Pennsylvania? In the railroad monopoly, where there exists "an agreement between gentlemen" to charge all that the traffic will bear—and the power to carry out the agreement, too?

Mr. Parry's speech is admirable in its scientific aspects, from the theoretical standpoint that he occupies, but it is fatally inadequate to the actual situation that confronts him. If the premises were what he tacitly assumes them to be—that freedom of competition exists under existing laws and institutions—his argument, in so far as it deals with economic law, would be unanswerable. But as millions of American citizens deny his premises, it is incumbent on him to prove them before demanding acceptance of his conclusions.

EDWARD HOWELL PUTNAM.

A PARADOX OF THE MODERN GOOD.

In a Baptist church of a country neighborhood there was a pious old deacon who always raised the tunes. Memory brings him back with his solemn, yet cunning, countenance. As he stood to lead the congregation of which he was the acknowledged chief, the tune rose with his body. It was he who led in worship, he who maintained the rigid moral laws of the community. It was he, who on one occasion, though there seemed to be extenuating circumstances, carried the day for the expulsion of a young man and woman from the church for having attended a dance. It was proved that they did not dance, merely looked on; but even this slight concession to the ways of the Evil One could not be condoned in the eyes of the sturdy deacon. He stood unflinchingly for the truth as he saw it, and thus to all the youth of the neighborhood he shone as the paragon of righteousness. They did not know that he had made

money by charging two per cent a month to needy neighbors, and it would not have meant much to them had they known. A mere matter of business seemed to them to have nothing to do with morality and religion.

A Presbyterian elder in a large city was known as one of the most liberal men. He gave a thousand dollars to begin the educational work of the local Y. M. C. A. Indeed, without his aid the night school could not have been established. He was a man of strictest piety. He would have marked any man for hell whom he saw enter a bar-room. He never failed to be present in church twice on Sunday, and at the Wednesday night prayer meeting. He was also president of a bank. As such he closed out a woman who thus lost her all; but this was business. This transaction and the donation to the Y. M. C. A. happened to take place in the same week. Why not? Business is business, and religion seemed to have nothing to do with the strict duties of a bank officer.

The chancellor of an Episcopal diocese, a lawyer of wealth and great prominence, served on many boards of charity in his native city. At a meeting of the board of an asylum for orphan boys, his great influence and dignity carried the point of concealing from the assessor certain securities which were not legally exempt from taxation. But it was entirely in the interest of orphans, and after all it was only the iniquitous public treasury that was outwitted. And the board were all honorable men. What had a mere matter of taxation to do with honor and religion?

The Rev. John Hutchins, of Litchfield, Conn., has written to the New York Tribune a letter telling of the beauty of Mr. Rockefeller's private life. Mr. Hutchins happened once to be thrown quite intimately into the Rockefeller family circle. He tells of the family prayers and other fine, homely customs. He had many confidential talks with the great man and in some of these talks he boldly ventured on a delicate question. He raised the point "How to reconcile private Christian character with the larger

public dealings in the world of finance." Mr. Hutchins says: "I put the question to him in more than one of our conversations, and could give his answer if that were my object. They were not satisfactory to me. They were to him."

It is a pity that Mr. Rockefeller's answer is not given. He is a Baptist, like the deacon mentioned above, and the cases are as much alike as great world dealings can be like the dealings of a petty neighborhood. To the wicked it seems that all such instances show what Dean Williams calls a "disintegrated conscience." Some statement of reconciliation is manifestly needed. There are many in the world outside of the churches who think they see a paradox.

It is not going too far to say that there are many who have a feeling that there is need of a readjustment of sins. They think that some discussion of this is more needed in church councils than some of the subjects that are so strenuously debated. Why, for example, should it not be a sin to be hard on a neighbor in interest? To take quick advantage of a mortgage? To lie about assessments? To beat down a competitor by bribing a legislature? Why are not some of these doings held up to the anathema of the orthodox? Clearly the churches need to think of these matters if they wish to solve the sense of paradox that many think they see in the modern good.

J. H. DILLARD.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

MEXICO.

Tula, Ver., Mexico, May 10.—Miscegenation is a word that is very popular in the South but it is little used elsewhere. The Southern bourbon keeps it on hand just as his Northern prototype treasures the name "anarchy;" he hurls it like a hand grenade at a fire whenever the spirit of democracy threatens to burst the bonds duly made and provided by the said bourbon.

Mexico is peopled largely by mixed races; the majority of the progressive population has both white and Indian blood in its veins, and a considerable share has also something of Negro ancestry. The leaders in industry and politics, particularly in the latter, are most frequently of this mixed origin,

the amalgamation of races being in some cases recent and in others of several hundred years' standing. The aborigines had a comparatively high civilization, while in our Southern States the Indians were exterminated and grossly ignorant Negroes imported in their stead; this would have given the advantage to Mexico but for the fact that the percentage of white men to the total population was much larger in the South. Yet to-day the cultivated Mexican is the peer of the civilized man of any country, and among the masses the higher middle class exhibits the same sterling traits that are so prized in the ranks of American communities.

Regarding the mixture of races the situation is substantially the same in the South and in Mexico, except that miscegenation is nominally under the ban in the former while it has the prestige of the civilization that has been built up in the latter. The traveler in the South, judging from the variety of shades of color in the population, might well doubt if there is in the entire country a single Negro of pure African blood; the minority of really black men may have been caused by "reversion to type" as easily as by unmixed ancestry.

A law against the intermarriage of races is undemocratic, as it denies the right of private judgment in a matter peculiarly personal in its nature. It thus antagonizes the true spirit of modern progress and has been almost universally abandoned. Like most restrictive laws such a statute is injurious in its practical workings. It is obeyed by the better classes, but does not check the dissolute, as they have no desire to marry; on the contrary, it encourages the libertine if the injured woman has fewer rights. Legislation when backed by a strong public sentiment can to a considerable degree restrain illicit sexual relations, but it suppresses entirely the legitimate union. The better class of offspring being inhibited and the worst kind only partly eliminated, the tendency is downward from generation to generation, except as it is relieved by the innate wholesomeness of human nature—because even the dregs tend constantly to throw up shoots to the light or to die out. But the law in the South is not supported by a united public sentiment against irregular sexual relations between the races; on the contrary they are condoned at least as generally as prostitution is in cities the world over. They are even encouraged by not holding the white father accountable for his illegitimate offspring at the bar of public opinion. This attitude of the parent and of the public teaches many unfortunate children to regard themselves as little above the beasts, so it is a matter of surprise that the worst class of Negro crime is not more common in the South. The community prevents the appearance of the best type of Negro except as he is

painfully evolved through generations of inferior ones; meanwhile it fosters the production of the worst kind and complains gravely of the low character of the Southern Negro! In Mexico even the most unpromising child of mixed blood has for "elder brothers" many of the most illustrious names of the Republic, and public opinion is on the whole disposed to try him on his personal merits; these influences, with the loyalty of white parents generally, must often redeem lives that in the South would become public menaces.

In Mexico the old Spanish families have markedly deteriorated in many localities through persistent intermarriage, despite the freedom given by law and by custom to unions with other races. This illustrates the law of affinity which impels the great majority of men to marry in their own race and even in their particular class, whatever legislation may bar or permit. A law against miscegenation is not necessary to preserve the integrity of the great mass of a superior race. With human nature and public opinion as we now know them, such a law offers little discouragement to unworthy alliances and casual relations between the races; but it prevents the limited number of high-class mixed marriages that would naturally occur and which in their offspring would set a higher standard of emulation and self-respect among all people of mixed blood in the community. Where more races than one are to occupy a country jointly, high-type citizens of mixed blood have an important office to perform, if democracy is ever to be more than an empty word when applied to diverse races. And without democracy social organization is lame and impotent. The superior race is first responsible and must take the initiative; if it is democratic in its attitude towards the man of darker hue he in his turn will be so to his still darker brother. In this way the man of mixed blood will act as the intermediary for social solidarity and human brotherhood; he better than anyone else can understand the man who is darker and the man who is lighter.

Much of the prejudice against mixed marriages really centers upon the assumed inferiority of the one race or the other; but this feeling lessens with growing democracy and culture as the character and personality of the man and not his race and ancestry become the criterions. And the racial inferiority of the Negro will diminish with time until some day he will attain the present high estate of the Japanese. Since the present war in the East no doubt any Jap with cash and culture would be permitted even in the South to marry any woman whom he could induce to accept him—at any rate, if he could not do it there he could anywhere else in the world.

HERBERT FOSTER.



NEWS NARRATIVE

Week ending Thursday, May 18.

The Chicago Teamsters' Strike.

Of violence in connection with the Chicago strike (p. 86) there has been so little during the week that sensational head-line writers have been hard put to it to keep up the pretense of mob rule. It is evident from all the press reports, confirmed by independent observation, that the delays the public are suffering in deliveries of goods are caused, not by violence on the part of the strikers, but by insufficient and incompetent teaming service.

The strenuous efforts to give an appearance of public disorder to newspaper reports of the strike are illustrated by the Record-Herald's summary of "Deaths Charged to Teamsters' Strike to Date," conspicuously published on the 17th. The number of such deaths is eight and the names are given. The facts actually reported regarding each are as follows:

George R. Pierce, a striker, shot by a special deputy sheriff appointed on the application of the employers' union. It is alleged that he had assaulted the deputy sheriff; and on that ground a coroner's jury exonerated the deputy. In behalf of Pierce it is alleged that his assault consisted in jeering at the deputy (see p. 87).

Richard Cummings, a police sergeant, who was run over by an omnibus, apparently by accident.

Peter Klaseen, a small merchant, who died in a hospital. He was alleged to have been hit by strikers or strike sympathizers. This is denied.

Charles Beard, who died from the effects of a blow with a brick dropped from a building into a crowd on the street.

Albert Enders, shot by a strike breaker imported by the employers' union. He is alleged to have assaulted the strike breaker.

Harry Grady, shot in his own yard.

James Jennings, a strike breaker imported by the employers' union, killed by other strike breakers, also imported by the employers' union, at the headquarters which the employers' union provided for them.

Enoch Carlson, a 9-year-old boy, shot by a strike breaker imported into the State by the employers' union. The boy was playing with a party of other boys, some of whom had shouted "scab" at the strike breaker.

It will be observed that in no single instance did these deaths

result from mob rule. One was a run-over accident; one is connected with strike violence very remotely if even at all; one resulted from a quarrel among employees of the employers' union; three were homicides committed by agents of the employers' union under circumstances which leave their justification at least open to serious question; and only two of the eight are chargeable, even prima facie, to a murderous act by strikers or strike sympathizers.

Since the strike began the employers' union has endeavored to bring the team owners' union (p. 70) and the strikers into conflict. The team owners' union is not to be confounded with the employers' union. The latter is a body of miscellaneous employers recently organized along the Parry lines for resisting trade unionism. But the team owners' union is an organization of employers in this particular trade. For three or four years it has operated upon an understanding with the teamsters' union, and much of the friction in connection with the teaming industry in Chicago has been due to the cooperation for offense and defense of these two bodies. During the present strike, the team owners have refused to order their employes of the teamsters' union to do teaming for "struck" houses, and part of the tactics of the employers' union has been to reverse this policy of the team owners. Among other things, the employers' union has threatened to induce railroads to boycott team owners who refuse to break with the teamsters' union, and it has set up an opposition teaming business—a corporation organized under the laws of West Virginia (pp. 68, 70). On the 12th the efforts of the employers' union to bring the team owners' union over to their side were reported to be about to culminate in success. At a meeting of the teamsters' joint council on the 13th, the team owners appeared by committee, representing that they were liable to lose contracts, and asking for a compromise whereby they might, without objection, serve "struck" houses with non-union drivers. This was refused by the council, which at the same time passed a vote of confidence in President Shea, of the international body,

who is conducting the strike. The refusal was confirmed at a meeting of the council on the 15th. Since then nothing has been reported in this connection. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, arrived in Chicago on the 16th for the purpose of advising with reference to the strike. He was in conference on the 17th with Levy Mayer, the attorney for the employers' union.

The Mayor's strike investigation commission (p. 88), owing to its inability to compel testimony, and "the refusal of the officials of the Chicago Federation of Labor and the attorneys representing it and other unions involved in the controversy, to offer any testimony at any session of the Commission, unless it agreed to make all sessions public," has decided, with the concurrence of the Mayor, to suspend daily sessions. The chairman, Prof. Taylor, explains that the Commission—

is authorized by the Mayor to continue to gather, from every available source, all facts bearing upon the causes of the serious interruption to the city's peace and industry, and upon the prevention of the recurrence of similar disturbances. Impartially representing only the public, and with the official authorization of the Mayor of Chicago the Commission is in position to render a judicial and comprehensive review of all the facts bearing upon the causes and consequences of as serious a crisis in the city's industrial relationships as its citizens have ever suffered. To this end, and in justice to all persons and interests involved, cooperation is invited to enable the Commission to include in its final review all attested documents and facts relevant to the inquiry for the causes of the strikes and the attitude and action of the employers relative thereto. This final report of the Commission will be rendered to the Mayor as soon as the available record can be completed. Communications may be addressed to the Commission in care of the Mayor's office.

On the 15th the City Council took action with a view to settling the strike and thereby removing from the public streets the danger of so great and heated a quarrel. The initiative was taken by Alderman Dever, who offered the following resolution:

Whereas, for the last five weeks a strike has been in progress in the city of Chicago which has seriously dis-

commoded and harassed the citizens of this city and compelled the swearing in of about 1,000 special policemen, at a cost to the city of about \$2,000 a day, which is a grievous strain upon the city's limited resources; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, by the City Council, that it is due to the public and to the city that both parties to this controversy should submit the questions at issue between them to some impartial tribunal, which can settle the same and bring peace to the people of this city;

Be it further resolved, that his honor, the Mayor, be and he is hereby authorized and directed by the City Council to appoint a committee consisting of five members of the City Council, and that said committee be directed to urge each of said parties to submit the matters in controversy between them to some impartial tribunal for adjustment.

Be it further resolved, that the committee, the appointment of which is hereby directed, shall not in any way interfere with the work of the Commission heretofore appointed by his honor, the Mayor, to investigate certain charges made in connection with the said strike.

The resolutions were violently opposed. Alderman Snow said, as reported by the Tribune of the 16th, which condemned the resolutions:

The city officials who allow ignorant men to be misguided by the idea they have their sympathy in breaking the law are assuming a responsibility I would hate to have on my shoulders.

Alderman Foreman asked, as reported by the same newspaper:

Every time a law is broken are you going to recognize the lawbreaker and palliate his offense?

Alderman Bennett, according to the same report, declared his belief that—

every good citizen desires the Mayor and the Council to preserve law and order, and to-night an attempt is being made to raise the white flag. It is nothing else, Alderman Dever.

Alderman Raymer said:

This is a matter simply of the maintenance of peace and order, and the Mayor has the police force to do it with. Further, as President Roosevelt said last Wednesday, back of the police is the State and back of the State the nation.

In reply, Alderman Dever said:

The question is, are we going to sit here and allow \$2,000 a day to be spent without any inquiry because a few great and good men say there is nothing to arbitrate? We have power to interfere in any matter which concerns the general welfare of the city. The

opponents of this resolution talk of no other remedy than force. We have got other duties to perform than clubbing people who do not agree with us. It is unfair to say we are waving the red flag and inciting to riot. The men who say that, do it in the hope editorials would be written in the newspapers praising them for their patriotism. If a great disaster were to occur, how would you aldermen answer the question: "What were you doing when this struggle was going on?"

The resolutions were adopted by a vote of 45 to 20, the following aldermen voting against them:

Pringle, Foreman, Young, Snow, Bennett, Maypole, Powers, McCormick (21st), Schmidt (24th), Hahne, Williston, Dunn, Reinberg, Lipps, Raymer, Larson, Badenoch, Eidemann, Bihl and Hunter.

Pursuant to these resolutions, Mayor Dunne appointed on the 16th the following aldermanic committee: Dever, chairman; Dixon, Finn, McCormick and Badenoch.

The Chicago Traction Question.

A definite business proposal for the installation of a municipal traction plant in Chicago (pp. 89, 91) has been made to Mayor Dunne by J. J. Cummings, of the McGuire-Cummings Manufacturing Co., which the Mayor made public on the 12th. Mr. Cummings proposes to buy the tracks, poles and wires of the Chicago Passenger Company from the Union Traction Company, or if that concern would rather tear them up than sell, to build new ones, and begin operation at once. He offers a liberal compensation to the city, proposing to submit to public bidding for the time that he operates the lines, and to accept a lease to be terminated at the option of the city and surrendered with the line itself upon the payment of the actual worth of the physical property.

While Mayor Dunne declares this proposal worthy of favorable consideration, he thinks that negotiations with the present companies should be undertaken first. On that point the reports quote him as saying:

For the city to acquire all the lines, if it can do so at a fair price—and I mean a fair price for what the companies have to sell; their actual property and not stocks and bonds—would be the most desirable settlement. A reasonable time should be given for those negotiations, but of course they

should not be drawn out interminably.

Accordingly, at the Mayor's suggestion, the present traction interests have been invited by the local transportation committee of the City Council to name their price for an outright sale to the city. The resolution of the committee was as follows:

That the representatives of the Chicago City Railway Company, the Chicago Union Traction Company and its underlying and constituent companies, and all the street railway companies of Chicago be invited to appear before this committee at its next meeting, May 18, to name a price and to discuss the terms and conditions for the sale of their existing street railways to the City of Chicago.

The Cleveland Traction Question.

With a view to settling the long traction controversy in Cleveland (p. 90) Mayor Johnson addressed a formal communication on the 15th to Horace Andrews, president of the local traction company, which Mr. Andrews agreed to submit to his board of directors. The Mayor's proposition is to the effect that the company's directors submit to the stockholders a proposition to be made by him, in which terms will be named at which the property shall be leased to a private company and also an option price put on the stock, the price on the option to be not less than recent market quotations. If the terms which he would offer should prove acceptable to the stockholders of the company, Mr. Johnson says the matter must be submitted to the voters of Cleveland for discussion and settlement. He also suggests that the stockholders formulate a proposition stating the best terms they are willing to offer the city for a general extension of the company's franchises, both matters to be presented to the voters at the same election.

The Philadelphia Gas Question.

Two competing proposals for the operation of the municipal gas works of Philadelphia (p. 90) were made to the finance committee of the council on the 15th, one by Philadelphia citizens and the other by a syndicate of New York capitalists. The latter, represented by Edward B. Smith & Co., proposed that—
the gas company shall enter into an agreement with the city to operate

the works for a period of seventy-five years, beginning December 31, 1907; shall pay the city \$20,000,000 cash, with which to reimburse the United Gas Improvement Co. (the present lessee), for improvements and betterments; and shall guarantee to pay the city \$1,250,000 annually. The city shall participate in net annual profits of works in following manner: For the first twenty years, 33 1-3 per cent.; for the remaining fifty-five years, 50 per cent. All gas shall be furnished to city free of cost, according to terms of existing lease. City shall have one-third representation in management of affairs. City may reduce price of gas to consumer by applying annual payment of \$1,250,000 to this purpose. Otherwise price shall be \$1 a thousand feet for first twenty years and 90 cents for remaining time. At end of lease period all property shall revert to city without cost.

In addition, the syndicate offers to meet the city's need for immediate funds by lending it \$25,000,000 at 5 per cent.

Party Reform in the United States.

Originating in and especially related to the Democratic party in Illinois, but with bearings of national import, the Majority Rule League of Illinois (p. 91) has undertaken to wrest, by popular action, the machinery of that party from boss domination. Following is the declaration of principles of this League:

The overwhelming defeat visited upon the Democratic party in Illinois at the last general election is largely traceable to the disgraceful and lawless methods which characterized the conduct of the men who were in control of the party organization at that time and who still dominate the State committee. Believing that all the suggestions of "getting together" and pleas of "harmony" that are being urged by those who were responsible for the outrages committed, are but part of a deliberate plan to perpetuate the power of those who have injured the party and brought dishonor upon the great name of Democracy in this State, we assert the cause of true democracy requires that active preparations be instituted among all Democrats of the State who are in favor of honest methods, for the purpose of giving assurance to the rank and file of the party that their voices shall not be stifled nor their rights trampled under foot by any combination of unscrupulous politicians at the next State convention of Democrats. If it were merely a matter of party policy that was in issue, there might be reasons offered which would be sufficient to justify even great effort to get together the contending elements of the party.

But when the issue is one of principle or of honesty, there can be no middle ground on which an honorable compromise can be effected. To harmonize with fraud and crime would bring honest Democrats into deserved criticism and weaken the cause they thus foolishly sought to strengthen.

This organization will not assume to make declarations of party policy. Nor will it attempt to foster the ambitions of any candidate for party favors. It will deal solely with the questions that relate to fair primaries, honest procedure in conventions, and the selection of a State organization that shall be worthy of confidence and capable of honorable leadership. Many of the present members of the State committee are holding their places through force, fraud and forgery, and are thus wholly discredited as party representatives. They can effect no organization among the true members of the party because they are believed to be lacking in sincerity and good faith. Some of the members of the committee, a minority, were fairly selected and are not in sympathy with the ruling spirits, and as such we invite their co-operation in this undertaking to free our party from the baneful influence of dishonest and selfish bosses.

The Land Question in Great Britain.

British interest in the taxation of land values was again voiced on the 28th (vol. vii, p. 823; vol. viii, p. 72) at a conference held in Edinburgh, which was attended by 270 delegates, many of them officially representing British municipal councils. Over 300 local taxing authorities are reported by the Glasgow Weekly Herald of the 6th to have been represented, but full reports of the proceedings are not yet at hand.

In the evening at a public meeting on the same subject, also in Edinburgh, and presided over by George McCrae, member of Parliament, a message from Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, the British Liberal leader, was read, which declared of the land values taxation question that "the question gains ground every day." Mr. McCrae, in his chairmanship address, said that—

the question had been making rapid strides, and he had been amazed at the progress it had made both in the House of Commons and in the country. He believed that in it they would find the solution of not one problem but two. He did not hesitate to say that any fair-minded man approaching the question without bias would give

but one answer, namely, in favor of the measure which had been before the House of Commons. Giving a practical application of the question to Edinburgh, Mr. McCrae mentioned that in 1899 the taxation of the city was something like \$1,500,000. They had an area of some 8,000 acres, of which 2,300 were unbuilt on, and paying in local taxes to the amount of only \$1,625. He had had the curiosity of calculating what was the rental value of that unbuilt-on land, and taking it at one-half of the renting rate, he found that it would have brought to the city not \$1,625 but \$145,000 per annum. Referring to the capital value of land near the city, he showed how the water trust had had to pay for 45 acres rented at \$15, \$100,000, or 136 years purchase of the rental value; and \$620,000 for 105 acres of land for the gas works, or 212 years of the rental value.

Another distinguished speaker at this public meeting was C. P. Trevelyan, the member of Parliament who has championed the land values taxation bill in the Commons (p. 72). In moving the principal resolution, he said that—

the whole of the local taxation was imposed in a way to be the most destructive and the most evil tax which existed in our fiscal system. They were not nearly sufficiently impatient in denunciation of the badness of the system of local rating. They believed that cities rich with their multitudinous riches bear, if it was on the right shoulders, the great burden of their present local tax, but it must fall on that part of real property which fluctuated only in value with the general prosperity, and it must not fall on the property which was the creation or due to the energy of the owner or lessee of the property. The proposal in his bill was to put the whole local tax on the selling value of the land, and so accomplish half the objects they had in view. It was an extraordinary privilege that landlords might ask their own price for land when it was needed. Greed or necessity might force them into the market at a reasonable price, but their own whim and their own greed operated constantly in the other direction. It prevented their selling land at reasonable prices when it was wanted.

The resolution which Mr. Trevelyan moved, was seconded by Joseph Dobbie, a member of Parliament, and adopted. It was as follows:

That this meeting, holding that land monopoly is a root cause of rural depopulation, urban overcrowding, lack of employment, and their attendant evils—intemperance, disease, insanity, excessive mortality, immorality, and

crime, supports the demand for the taxation of land values which result from the presence, growth, and work of the community, and ought to contribute to the maintenance of the community, and affirms that legislation to that end is urgently required.

Earlier in the same month, April 6, the principle of land value taxation had been approved by the Convention of Burghs, Scotland, in session at Edinburgh. This convention, which meets annually, was established 500 years ago, the meeting in question being the 500th anniversary meeting. Lord Mayor Sir Robert Cranston, of Edinburgh, was chairman, the vice chairmen being the heads of the principal municipalities of Scotland. Mayor Christie of Falkirk moved the approval of the principle of land values taxation, coupled with an agreement by the convention to support, as far as possible, the effort being made by British municipalities to secure the reform. In support of the motion, Alderman Anderson of Glasgow emphasized the point that this was not a party question, and said that in the Glasgow town council the minority on this subject was now so microscopical that it could hardly be seen with the human eye. The resolution was carried by a large majority.

Revolt Against the British Education Act.

Parliament has been brought to a serious consideration of the popular revolt against the education act (vol. v, p. 584), which provides for schools of the State church out of public taxation. Non-conformists have resisted the operation of this act to the extent of undergoing imprisonment for refusal to pay taxes for the support of these schools, and hundreds have been imprisoned. Now the city council of East Ham, a large suburb of London, actuated rather by the excessive taxes that have consequently fallen upon the inhabitants than by marked non-conformist sentiment, has repudiated its functions under the education act. It has given notice of dismissal to the teachers, officials and clerks employed by its education committee, and has notified the education office in London that after June 1 the education act will not be administered in East Ham. The subject was

under debate in Parliament on the 4th, as the English papers report.

De-Russification of Poland.

A disposition on the part of the Russian Czar to make concessions to popular unrest in Poland (vol. vii, p. 758) was reported on the 16th from St. Petersburg. Through an Imperial rescript, he modifies previous decrees restricting personal liberty by giving the Poles greater freedom for acquiring land and permission to introduce the Polish and Lithuanian languages in primary and secondary schools where the majority of the inhabitants are non-Russian. He also reestablishes the assemblies of the Polish nobles, and abolishes, as is understood, all the harsh administrative measures that were introduced at the time of the policy of Russification. Under these measures, personal liberty in Poland became almost unknown; religious freedom was stamped out, or the attempt to stamp it out was unceasing; and young Poles, forced to serve in the Russian army, were sent to distant places, while Russian regiments were invariably thrown into Poland. There is reason for doubting the comprehensiveness in this respect of the Czar's reformatory rescript.

NEWS NOTES

Kirk La Shelle, the noted playwright and theatrical manager, died at Bellport, L. I., on the 16th, at the age of 42.

—The entire municipal government of Limoges, France, resigned on the 12th, owing to charges of maladministration during the recent strike there (p. 40).

—More fighting between United States troops and Moros in the Island of Jolo (p. 60) was reported from Manila on the 15th. The United States troops, under the personal command of Gen. Wood, lost seven killed and 19 wounded, and the Moros, under Pala, lost 300 killed.

—By the signature of Mayor McClellan, affixed on the 16th, a law goes into effect July 1st in New York city which limits the price of gas to 75 cents per thousand feet, and requires it to be of 22 candle power and at a pressure of 2½ inches at the holder and one inch at the burner.

—Four young Filipinos, government students at Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind., although they have been there but half a year, are reported as near the head of their class. They are Ildefonso Patdu, of Bacolor, Pampanga; Jose

Rivera, Jajuna; Silverio Apostol, Iba, Zambales; Alfonso Tuason, Manila.

—Eleven yachts started from New York at 12:15 p. m. on the 17th in a race across the Atlantic, for the prize cup offered by the Emperor of Germany. They are the Ailse, Hildgarde, Atlantic, Endymion, Hamburg, Thistle, Fleur de Lys, Sunbeam, Apache, Utopia and Valhalla. The American "Atlantic" was in the lead.

—The National Association of Manufacturers, of which D. M. Parry is president, in session at Atlanta, Ga., on the 17th, adopted resolutions of sympathy with the employers' union of Chicago, opposed President Roosevelt in his policy of government regulation of railroad rates, and endorsed the "open-shop" policy of employment.

—The monthly statement of the United States treasury department (see p. 25) for April 30, 1905, shows the following for ten months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905:

Gold reserve fund.....	\$150,000.00
Available cash	134,318,681.17
Total	\$284,318,681.17
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1904.....	319,027,403.05

Decrease

—The monthly treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government (see p. 25) for April, 1905, shows the following for ten months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905:

Receipts:	
Tariff	\$219,836,486.09
Internal revenue ..	192,760,907.96
Miscellaneous	59,176,755.11
	—\$451,714,149.16
Expenses:	
Civic and Misc.....	\$126,652,346.58
War	106,706,166.62
Navy	99,414,855.50
Indians	12,281,640.87
Pensions	118,266,556.26
Interest	22,082,040.56
	—\$485,403,706.79

Deficit

—On the 16th, for the first time in 60 years, the Northern and Southern Baptists met in joint convention. The meeting was at St. Louis and was for the purpose of completing permanent organization pursuant to a plan recommended by a committee appointed by the two organizations last January. The plan was adopted by the joint convention on the 17th. These two sectional branches of the Baptist church are thereby brought together in one organization, the "General Convention of the Baptists of North America," the geographical jurisdiction of which comprises the continent of North America and its islands. The first president is E. W. Stephens, of Missouri.

PRESS OPINIONS

THE CHICAGO STRIKE.

The (Chicago) Commons (sociological), May.—Repeated visits to the center of disturbance show the situation to be far less acute and to be held well in hand by the municipal authorities, with little or no warrant, as we go to press, for the demand from certain quarters upon the Governor

for the militia. The very fact that the Mayor has constituted the Commission representing only the public, open on equal terms to all involved in the issue, tends to quiet the excitement over suspected repression of facts and the vehemence of charges and counter-charges, which now are put to the proof.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), May 18.—It is quite true that all persons and interests have and should enjoy the right to use the streets without molestation. It is not true that the admitted infringement of this right is the only issue in this strike. It was not the only issue at the start, it is much less so now. If grafting, or if blackmail, or attempted blackmail, or a vicious tradition of blackmail, had to do with the origin of the trouble, that is an issue—and one involving two culpable parties. If "educational committees" have been organizing a campaign of force, that is an issue—and a public as well as a private one. If the admittedly honest rank and file of powerful unions are being misrepresented and exploited by their leaders, to the disturbance of social peace, that is an issue. If, in the protracted struggle, origins and details have been lost sight of, and labor now regards itself as fighting for its organized existence, that is an issue. If the mere events of prolonged strife have erected passion and resentment into fictitious obstacles to a reasonable settlement, these have become issues. Finally, if the main prerequisite for some adjustment be now that the dignity of neither side shall be sacrificed, then no demands for technical rights and much less for the prestige of absolute victory on either side should block the way to such adjustment. The fact is that neither side of this controversy is eager to have all related facts made public, and neither is wholly without fault. Indeed, in few serious conflicts is the right wholly on one side, and unconditional victory in such conflicts is not likely to be the best thing for either party.

DEPORTING AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

Dubuque (Ia.) Telegraph-Herald (Dem.), May 15.—The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States provides that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States." . . . The Chinese exclusion act forbids from entrance at American ports Chinese whose purpose it is to make their residence here. A citizen, Ju Toy by name, born in the United States of Chinese parents, left this country for a visit in China, and on his return was denied the right to enter the country, under a ruling of the Department of Commerce and Labor. The Department conducted a secret, or at least a non-public investigation of the case. . . . The Supreme Court has just handed down a decision sustaining the decision of the Department and holding that its administrative process was "due process of law." The point for Americans to consider seriously is that Ju Toy was not given a hearing before any but the secret court associated with the Department, presided over by an administrative, and not a judicial officer, was not tried by jury, and was deprived of his liberty—for deportation amounts to that—on the strength of a Departmental order. . . . We are dangerously near a restoration of the Star Chamber and deplorably far from one of the most sacred guarantees of the Bill of Rights, when the order of an administrative officer is enough to deprive a citizen of his liberty.

WORKINGMEN. OTHER MEN, AND LAW.

The (Chicago) Commons (sociological), May.—Violence, either in speech or by overt act, nowhere receives quicker condemnation or less support than here at the heart of the manual wageworking population. It

is an outrageous slander, therefore, upon the best of good citizens, in any way to identify the men, women and children of these great family neighborhoods with any lawbreaking spirit whatsoever. I have yet to hear in all these years from the rank and file of the great army of people among whom we live summer and winter any justification of the illegal conduct of strikes, much less of the violence to which they have led on either side. This wonderfully prevalent loyalty to law is the more remarkable on account of some things which have been long and badly enough at work to undermine it. . . . The bold defiance or evasion of law in high, and therefore more conspicuous, places is a far more insidious and infectious source of practical anarchism than exists anywhere else. Far more dangerous than those against whose violence we rightfully declaim, and should unite to suppress, are they who violate on a national scale the inter-State commerce law in conducting their railway enterprises; who openly thwart the United States Department of Justice in its inquiry into the alleged violation of law in the packing trade; who infest our State and city legislatures with their parasite lobbyists to bribe the representatives of the people to exploit them; who by any form of special legislation make private gain at public expense—these are the real anarchists most to be feared, ostracized and cast out as the traitors to the commonwealth they actually are. Their lawless depredations at one end of the scale do not extenuate, but nevertheless encourage and make possible, the violence at the other end. If for any, law is for all.

FREE TRADE OR ISOLATION, WHICH?

American Machinist (mechanical), May 4.—American machinery builders who have gone abroad and talked business with machinery buyers and users have been brought to see the essential absurdity of the position we take. We in effect say to foreign buyers of machinery, "We want to sell you our machinery, but none of your machinery will be allowed to land on our shores," and "Our machinery is so much superior to that you make for yourselves that, if you buy ours, the things you will produce by it will be much cheaper than the things you are now able to produce. But this same machinery used in our own shops at home does not enable us to produce low cost things. Indeed, the cost of what we produce with it at home in our own shops is so high that we have to be protected against the importation of your cheaper and better machinery by a duty of 45 per cent." Stated in this way the absurdity of our position is at once apparent. It is a form of statement which an American traveling abroad frequently has presented to him by foreigners, and it cannot be said to be very much if at all erroneous. The fact is that we ought to choose and squarely announce what we purpose to do. If we here in America choose to do so, we can undoubtedly get along pretty well without either importing or exporting goods of any kind to any great extent. Our territory is so large, our climate and soil so varied, our mineral wealth so great and the wisdom of our forefathers, in placing in our Federal Constitution a prohibition of tariffs between States of the Union, so profound, that we could get along if we had to or chose to with those things which we could ourselves produce, and this would be at least a logical position for us to take regardless of its wisdom or unwisdom.

On the other hand, we may decide, as we seem to have decided, that we wish to sell some of our products abroad. If we sell them abroad it is clear that we must allow our foreign customers to pay for them in something which they produce. It is true that a considerable share of our exports are paid for by claims against us, held by

foreigners who are owners of American railway shares or bonds, or owners of mortgages or of American real estate, but as the dividends, interest and rents which we must send abroad on this account are not equal to the entire value of all we wish to export, something produced by foreigners must be accepted here in payment for the balance of our exports—something produced by foreign labor and capital. To say that we will not allow any such things to come to our shores in payment is inconsistent and to say, as one of our prominent machinery merchants did some time ago, that "we must preserve our home market for ourselves and at the same time develop and extend our foreign markets" is ridiculous and absurd. We may choose which way we shall go, but we cannot go both ways at the same time.

MISCELLANY

THE OBSOLESCENT STRIKE.

The strike is crude,
The workman rude,
And the employer mighty shrewd;
But be it known
In every zone,
That Justice yet shall claim her own.

And soon or late,
In every state,
Monopoly will arbitrate.
True, life is cheap,
And money steep,
But whirlwind sowers whirlwind's reap.

The time will come
When Labor, dumb,
Shall answer-vote, "Thy kingdom come."
Then strikes shall cease,
And worthy peace
Shall crown with joy the earth's release
From grasp of greed
To human need,
And life abundantly indeed.

WILEY WRIGHT MILLS.
Chicago, May 17, 1905.

THE FIRST CHILDREN'S COURT IN ENGLAND.

The first "Juvenile Court" was established in Chicago. Its success led to the establishment of one in Cleveland, through the efforts of Mr. Harris R. Cooley, Mayor Johnson's able Director of Public Charities. The idea has gone farther, and in the London New Age, of April 20, we find an account of the first "Children's Court" in England.

It is pleasant to hear a bit of good news from Birmingham. There, on Thursday last, the first Children's Court was opened. The Court has a separate entrance, and every precaution is taken to prevent the children who have come before the magistrates from coming into contact with the older and more hardened offenders. Mr. J. Courtenay Lord, chairman of the visiting magistrates, who has been the prime mover in the reform, said they were particularly anxious that children who committed some offense, probably of a trivial nature, should not mix with the criminal classes. Under the Youthful Offenders' Act of 1901, the parents or guardians would be in-

structed to attend the Court, and, if necessary, they would be punished. In the event of its being decided that the child's offense was due to parental neglect. The Bench, Mr. Lord added, were anxious that the Court should be a correctional rather than a penal Court. They believed more could be done by gentle correction than by the imposition of a fine or of other punishment.

Twenty-five children were before the Court at its first meeting, but only three were "prisoners," the remainder being proceeded against by summonses. Several of the cases had reference to the playing of football in the street, and the most serious case was that of a young scapegrace who had robbed his parents and run away from home and who was now sent to a reformatory. All the juveniles were treated with special kindness, the harsh words, when any were necessary, being reserved for their elders. No child was allowed in Court except when his own case was being heard.

TREES IN PARIS STREETS.

The Paris trees are renovated, when necessary, by recruits from the acres of pepinieres, or "tree schools," in the environs of Paris.

Whenever a Parisian tree shows signs of decay a huge truck drawn by four oxen appears, and by an ingenious system of leverage the tree is pulled up by the roots, without injury, by means of a gigantic forceps. Another tree is at once brought from the nearest "tree school" and planted in the place of the invalid tree, which is taken to what is called the tree hospital, where it is replanted and undergoes a course of treatment.

Paris is essentially a gray city. This, to an artist's eye, is one of its charms. But the delicate soft gray would become monotonous unless relieved by a profusion of green leaves and branches, which lend grace to perspectives of long, straight streets and boulevards. The result is that tree culture has become a sort of religious creed with Parisians; and the scientific care and treatment of the city trees afford food for reflection for the municipal authorities of less favored cities.

The annual cost of maintaining trees in the streets of Paris, where they alternate with lamp posts, is \$90,000. There are 87,693 trees in the city of Paris growing in rows along the sidewalks, exclusive of the trees contained in the city parks, gardens and squares. A corps of tree inspectors is

constantly on the alert watching the trees. The soil is frequently renewed. Iron "corsets" are placed around young trees to protect them from injury. A circle at least three yards in diameter is kept free from asphalt or pavement around the base of each tree. The circle is usually covered with an iron grating, to preserve the proper level of the sidewalk. The trees are watered by the street hose twice a day. Excavations are made around the trees, so that the water collects about the base of the trunk and percolates freely to the roots.

The variety of the trees planted comprises horse chestnut, elms, acacias, lindens, sycamore, and the Japanese sumac. Horse-chestnut trees are great favorites, because they come so early in leaf.—The New York Tribune.

MR. BRYAN ON PRIVATE MONOPOLY.

Wm. J. Bryan, in Public Opinion of April 29.

The first question to be decided is whether a private monopoly is bad. If bad, it ought to be destroyed, and it can be destroyed. Whether a private monopoly is bad depends somewhat upon whether competition is desirable or undesirable. If competition is desirable, then a private monopoly cannot be defended. If, on the other hand, competition is bad, and ought to be eliminated, the right of the private monopoly to exist is not yet vindicated, for the question then presented is whether the benefits of monopoly should accrue to the whole people or to a few. Socialists affirm that competition is bad, and that the benefits of monopoly should be appropriated by the state through the public ownership of all the means of production and distribution. The trust magnate who insists that competition is bad and ought to be destroyed defends the basic proposition upon which the socialist relies, and the socialist leaders have been quick to recognize the contribution which the trust magnates have made to socialistic argument.

There are three positions, therefore, one of which must be adopted by those who discuss the trust question. First, that competition is desirable and should be protected. Those who take this position are in favor of the extermination of private monopolies and desire the enactment of such laws as may be necessary to preserve competition by putting the competitors upon as nearly an equal footing as possible. The second position is the position of the trust-de-

fender—namely, that competition is a bad thing, and that a few individuals should be permitted to destroy competition and appropriate the benefits of monopoly. This is the position that the trust defenders must ultimately take. Although, instead of avowing it, they are likely to content themselves with a general denunciation of trusts, while they oppose any effective remedy. The third position is the position of the socialists, who regard competition as a destructive force and who would substitute public monopoly for private monopoly, the benefits of the monopoly to be distributed by the government to all the members of society.

It will be seen that this question is a far-reaching one, and that it cannot be considered without the discussion of fundamental principles. It is a healthy sign that the papers and periodicals of the United States are giving so much space to the arguments advanced in support of the various positions.

WHY SOME MEN DRINK.

I have a friend, an Episcopal rector, very much interested in social problems. He desired to study the tenement at first hand, and one summer went down to what is known as "Hell's Kitchen," one of the worst tenement sections in the city, and there leased a room or rooms. He slept there, and the first morning he awakened with a violent headache and with every nerve in his body crying out for strong drink. The second morning he woke with a sore throat. He began to question whereunto this might lead, and went back into the country to recover himself. A day or two of pure air restored him to a normal condition, and he returned to "Hell's Kitchen." The morning after the first night he awakened with a headache and with this appetite for drink, and the second morning again he awakened with a sore throat. And again he returned to the country. To test the question whether it was a "post hoc" or a "propter hoc," he went back and forth a half dozen times, and every time he slept in that place he awakened with a tremendous appetite for drink, and although a man of splendid physical life and established habits and character—and as I told you, a Christian clergyman—he said to me: "It required all the power of will I possessed not to go into a saloon and call for a glass of whisky." Most men who sleep in the tenement house have not his physique and his training and his fixed principles, and they probably go into a saloon and call for the glass of whisky.

Simply to address yourself to the will of the tenement house dweller is superficial; you must change the atmosphere that he breathes.

A year or two ago a large manufacturing company in Cleveland decided to provide for their men a warm luncheon every noon. Four saloons had squatted around their works, and got their living off the company's men. I was told, pretty soon after the experiment was tried, that within a few weeks three of those saloons went out of business. Meeting a gentleman from Cleveland not long ago who was conversant with the facts, I referred to the statement and asked if it was true. He said: "Yes, three went out of business in a few weeks, and the fourth followed soon after."

The problem of nutrition and the problem of ventilation are back of the problem of intemperance. Do you who are Christian clergymen sustain relations to the problem of intemperance? Then you sustain relations to the problems of nutrition and of ventilation; for to imagine that you can deal with effects without touching causes is quackery.—Josiah Strong, D. D., in the Outlook, July 16, 1904.

A PROPHECY BY HENRY WARD BEECHER.

Under the title of "Prophecy Fulfilled," the Indianapolis Sentinel, of September 10, 1901, published the following prophecy, which it stated was enunciated in an address delivered by Henry Ward Beecher in St. Louis "more than a score of years" previously. The Sentinel said that it was "interesting reading in the light of present conditions." We need hardly add that the conditions of 1904 see the prophecy still more fearfully fulfilled.

I must, however, make haste to say that among the dangers of the times is one which has developed out of the accumulation of enormous and consolidated wealth. If I stand in the city of New York and look southward I see a railroad, the Pennsylvania Central, that runs across the continent with all its connections. Its leases and branches represent a capital of some hundreds of millions of dollars. If I turn my eyes to the north I see the Erie, where many hundreds of millions lie. If still further to the north, I see the great New York Central, that represents hundreds of millions of dollars. These three roads represent thousands of millions of consolidated capital. Now, suppose in an emergency the railroad interest demands more legal privileges; suppose there was some great national question which demanded

that the president of the United States should be a man and the senate should be composed of men playing into the hands of the great national railroads' consolidated capitalists, what power is there on the continent that could for a moment resist them? It is not a great many years since it would seem atrocious to have suggested that thought. But legislatures have been bought and sold, until we think no more about it than of selling so many sheep and cattle. Does anybody suppose that if it were a national interest that these vast corporations were seeking to subvert there is any legislation on this continent that could not be crushed or bought out by this despot, compared with which even slavery itself were a small danger? One of the greatest humiliations as a nation that is so justly proud of so many things is that which has fallen upon our congress. When we see the slimy track of the monster we may justly ask: What are we coming to? There has got to be a public sentiment created on this subject or we will be swept away by a common ruin.

I tell you that the shadow that is already cast upon the land is prodigious. I do not believe in the sociologist, in the international, nor the communist; but when I see what the rich men as classes are doing with our legislatures, what laws they have passed, what disregard there is to great common interests, I fear that the time will come when the workingmen will rise up and say that they have no appeal to the courts; no appeal to the legislatures; that they are bought and sold by consolidated capital, and when the time comes, unless it brings reformation, it will bring revolution. If any such time does come, I do not hesitate to say I will stand by the common people, and against the consolidated capital of the land.

THE BETTER ELEMENT.

The first speaker gave an outline of the first view he had of Minnehaha falls when he was up there trapping skunks in the early thirties. He said at the wind-up: "What we want is more public spirit."

The next speaker gave a graphic description of the moving days of '62, when everybody was talking about the war, and steamboats came up the river and the people stood around in shoals and yelled because they thought steamboats were hot stuff in those days.

His closing sentence was: "What we want is more public spirit."

The third speaker told about how he was brought out to the wilds by his parents when he was only 34 years old, and had grown up with the country. He gave a graphic description of the prairie schooners of the early days, and also a few lines about the details of construction of the early stage coaches. He also dwelt upon the vitally important subject of the early history of the Hudson Bay company, and gave a few side lights on Old Betz and the ginseng question.

His peroration was remarkable for its simplicity and originality. He said: "What we need is more public spirit."

Then the young man whose father had bought him an interest in the firm tore off a few choice bits.

He wore a vest that was parted on the side and the glow of health was in his cheeks and he had a dramatic delivery. He said he appreciated the honor of speaking to such a bunch of Highbinders, and it reminded him of some of the days they used to have at dear old Yalevard around the festive board. Then he gave a graphic account of his dear old college days, which were now, alas, but a memory, told how he nearly made the team, and wound up by saying: "What we need is more public spirit."

He sat down, and a man arose who had tried to promote several deals for the public weal, which had fallen through, and he shook his finger at the assembled citizens and said: "We are a lot of incompetent imbeciles and knownothings, and we are full of prunes, and no good, and lazy, and what we want is more public spirit."

Then the chairman said we will now hear from Mr. Pinchkin, and I was almost too surprised to speak, but finally found my tongue, which was climbing through the roof of my mouth, and I said: "Gentlemen, I am quaking with fear at putting my poor opinions before such a distinguished and wise multitude, but as your chairman asks it. I don't mind telling you that I agree with the sentiment which I think has been heretofore expressed, that what we want is more public spirit. That is, we want it if we want it, but if we don't want it, we don't want it. I would suspect from the speeches I have heard that what the individuals assembled at this banquet want more than anything else is somebody to listen to them talk about themselves, or about other people whom there is a chance to roast. It is the easiest thing in the world to relate one's own history, and tell how one has made money; it is also easy to prove that a bad egg

is bad, but these graphic recitals do not cut any large amount of pie with the relation to the problem you came here to discuss. You gentlemen will talk yourselves hoarse and drink yourselves merry here to-night, and then you will go home and come down to-morrow and work like the dickens for Number 1, and that is human nature."

Then I wiped my beetling brow and sat down.—Sauntering Silas, in St. Paul Dispatch.

THE MORAL OF THE WAR OF SECESSION.

A portion of the London Speaker's review of "Recollections and Letters of Gen. Robert E. Lee," by His Son. The review appeared in the Speaker of April 8, over the signature of D. C. Lathbury.

There have been few conflicts so gigantic as the American Civil War, of which it is possible, after an interval of only forty years, to write with the same sense that we are dealing with history, not with politics. The keenest sympathizers on both sides are at one upon the final character of the struggle. Whatever be the future of the United States, there is no chance that they will ever be reconstituted on the basis of State rights. It is this fact that makes it possible to review the issue decided in 1864 with a calmness which it is difficult to command in reference to some questions of longer standing. The merits of the controversy have a purely historical interest. Whatever life there may be in the principles which stand behind the words, "Federalists" and "Confederates" are to us simply names for extinct divisions of mankind. It is this circumstance that makes it possible to ask, Who would now be the worse if the "wayward sisters" had been allowed to "go in peace"? One answer to these questions can be given with perfect confidence. Though the conflict in its later stages was waged in behalf of the Negro, it is not the Negro who has benefited by it. All that the war has done for him is to raise him to the dignity of a Problem, and a Problem for which there seems no solution. In the South he is disfranchised and occasionally lynched. In the North he is being steadily pushed out of the occupations that were specially his own and without which he cannot retain his political status.

True, he is free, and being free he can no longer be sold or have his wife and children sold. And if the victory of the North had been the only road to emancipation the war would have had one solid result which might have been worth all the sacrifices made to secure it. But the economic forces

which were making for emancipation even before Secession would have been far more operative if the South had become a separate confederation, existing side by side with a watchful and critical North. Abolition was hastened by the war, but in the end the slaves would have been freed had there been no war, and their position when freed would have been happier, because they would have come to it without the aggravation of racial hostility which has followed upon abolition when imposed by a triumphant enemy. In a Southern Confederacy emancipation would have been deliberate and gradual. In the United States of to-day the Negro is a sufferer alike from the worst and from the best feelings of the Whites. He has to bear the hatred natural to men who see in him only so much property which has been taken from them without compensation, and the horror natural to men who see in possible intermarriages the eventual destruction of racial purity.

But what about the political position of the United States? There, surely, the result of the war has been wholly beneficial. How could they have become the Imperial Power they now are if they had been two communities instead of one? I admit that the Imperial idea which has lately taken shape in the United States would have been greatly checked by the success of the Confederates. But the Imperial idea seems to me to be valuable in proportion as it is the outcome of circumstances. If the British Empire lay within a ring fence there would be no place for Imperialism. Propinquity would do all that is necessary. It is the fact that the British Empire is scattered over the whole world, that between ourselves and our kinsmen are interposed not only the illimitable sea, but vast territories belonging to other Powers, that the tie of blood which unites England and the Colonies needs for political purposes to be expressed in a political term, that gives the Empire so prominent a place in our thoughts and our vocabulary.

But the United States lay under no such necessity. Had they but known their own good fortune, they were a self-contained and self-sufficing community. All that they could want for their material welfare was contained within their own frontier. They had no occasion for foreign conquest, scarcely even for a foreign policy. These advantages are really greater than anything which has been gained in Cuba or the Philippines, or can be expressed in Mr. Roosevelt's speeches; and they

would probably have been secured in perpetuity if from being one community the United States had become two. The Federal and the Confederate States would still have been more intimately connected with each other than with any third Power, and as the South would have been spared the ruin brought upon her by the war, she would have been more really one with the North than she is now or is likely soon to be. Cuba and the Philippines would have been left to themselves, and the United States would have been spared the responsibilities which conquest brings with it, even if its motive is benevolence rather than gain. From this point of view, then, the Civil War has been barren of advantage.

It may be objected to all this that no nation which respects itself can consent to treat its own existence as matter for argument. But however true this may be as a general rule, the origin and history of the United States necessarily made them an exception to it. They were in the first instance a voluntary confederation of sovereign States. They had come together for mutual protection, and in order to secure this they had voluntarily parted with certain of their sovereign rights. No provision had been made for the settlement of controversies affecting the continuance of the Union. The North took the absence of any such provision as conferring on the majority of the States the right to coerce the minority. The South took it as leaving to that minority the right to put an end to a compact which had ceased, by force of circumstances, to be the voluntary arrangement it had been in the first instance. Which of the two parties was right as a matter of Constitutional law is not now of much consequence, but as we look back to the War of Secession it may well seem that the Confederates were defending rights far dearer and more sacred than those which lay behind the Northern claim. They had been citizens of Virginia or South Carolina long before they had been citizens of the United States. Their history, their traditions, their social life, all dated from a time when they were separate colonies owing allegiance to no American authority other than their own governor and their own assembly. The tie which bound them to their State was a closer tie than that which bound them to the Union, and the appeal to the larger patriotism fell on deaf ears when to listen to it involved being false to their homes and their dead. The pity of it was that the choice should ever have been demanded of them.

**POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE
STATE AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS
IN RELATION
TO FOOD LAWS.**

Address of Jay D. Miller, of Geneva, Ill., before the International Association of Food Commissioners, in session in St. Louis in September, 1904.

I take my text from the 10th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which reads as follows:

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

The States did not, in adopting the Constitution, surrender the police power to the National Government, and they have not been prohibited by the Federal Constitution from exercising such power. Therefore the States have retained the police power, and have complete and absolute authority over matters of this nature, and it is questionable whether Congress has power to enact any of the food measures now pending.

The danger of such legislation being unconstitutional was fully recognized by Congress in enacting a law to control the sale and transportation of butterine, which to prevent its being unconstitutional was prepared and adopted, not as a police measure, but as a revenue law. And the same course was pursued in framing the law governing the sale and transportation of mixed flour.

There is, however, no doubt that complete power rests in the several States to enact and enforce all desired legislation upon this subject. The courts of last resort in nearly all States where food laws have been enacted have held them to be constitutional, and I am aware of no act of this nature which has been pronounced unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of any State.

The Supreme Courts of Michigan and Pennsylvania have held that all persons who sell adulterated foods do so at their peril, and the penalty will be enforced even though the seller had no knowledge of the adulteration. The Supreme Court of Minnesota has held that no person has the constitutional right to keep secret the composition of a substance which he sells to the public for food. On the question of adulteration, the Supreme Court of Massachusetts has held that the addition of harmless foreign matter, even though it be pure water, is, under the statute of the State, unlawful.

To show the complete power of the States over the sale of food products, it is only necessary to refer to the recent decision of the Supreme Court

of the State of Missouri, Vol. 160, page 474, in which a statute absolutely prohibiting the sale of baking powder containing alum was upheld and enforced.

In order to prevent the sale of deleterious foods, and also to prevent commercial fraud, it is only necessary for the several States to pass adequate laws and enforce them.

Food laws, however, should be enforced impartially, not only as to persons and places, but also as to articles of food. When I refer to the impartial enforcement of the law as to all food products, I mean just what I say. For example, I would not exclude or overlook butter and cheese as is now universally the case. If I were a food commissioner, I would endeavor absolutely to prohibit the sale of all food products containing coal tar colors. I believe the use of coal tar colors, commonly known as aniline colors, in food products to be harmful.

About 15 months ago I had a conference with the food commissioner for one of the States concerning butter color. All the butter on the market is colored, and analysis shows that all the leading brands of butter color are made from coal tar, although I find many persons innocently suppose them to be vegetable colors. This food commissioner advised me he had been experimenting with butter color and had taken a teaspoonful of one of the well-known brands of butter color and administered it in milk to a kitten, which resulted in the death of the kitten. He then obtained a strong, healthy tom cat, weighing about 13 pounds, and a little larger dose resulted in his death. Subsequently he obtained a number of Guinea pigs, which he caused to be killed with butter color.

In the month of March of the present year I had a conference with the commissioner of agriculture for another State at his office in the presence of Mr. John C. Puetz, Hinsdale, Ill., at which time the commissioner stated that his chemist, who was somewhat skeptical on this subject, experimented upon himself by taking a teaspoonful of butter color and as a result became dangerously ill, and it required the services of two physicians for about four hours to revive him.

Mr. Charles Fargo, a farmer living near Geneva, Ill., obtained from a local grocer in the month of May of this year some color intended to color butter or butterine. His daughter, aged four years, unfortunately swallowed a quantity of this color intended to color one pound, and immediately thereafter be-

came ill. Dr. R. G. Scott, of Geneva, Ill., who was called to attend her, subsequently advised me that as a result the child was sick about one week.

Dr. Scott further advised me that after having had this experience with Mr. Fargo's little daughter, he procured one of the leading brands of butter color on the market and, by administering small doses of this preparation, succeeded in killing three cats.

I hold in my hand an official document issued by the State board of health of the State of Iowa, a few days ago, it being Official Bulletin No. 3, Volume 18, for the month of September, 1904. By referring to page 38 you will find an account of the death of the two-year-old son of Mr. Frank Krob, living near Iowa City, Ia., as a result of drinking a quantity of butter color which had been left within his reach.

It appears to me that these cases would indicate to you gentlemen, who are food commissioners representing the several States, and have charge of the gastronomic destiny of the American people, the importance of seeking to prevent the use of coal tar color in all articles of food. You enthusiastically and properly denounce its use in Maraschino cherries, yet you never eat more than one of these cherries at a sitting, and only then in your cocktails, which I assume you rarely take. The masses, however, use butter in large quantities three times per day, and cheese is an article of universal consumption. These are things upon which the people rely for food. Why do you seek to prohibit the use of color in Maraschino cherries, which are so rarely used, and never seek to prevent its appearance in such articles of universal consumption as butter and cheese? Has any dairy and food commissioner ever arrested or otherwise proceeded against any man for selling butter and cheese colored with coal tar? Certainly not. Will any commissioner allow the use of any other product colored with coal tar? Certainly not. Why this discrimination as to articles? What we most need is uniformity in legislation in the several States, and the impartial enforcement of existing laws rather than more laws.

In conclusion, I suggest that I can conceive of no case of adulteration or commercial fraud which cannot effectively be reached by State legislation. If, however, it shall appear that there are cases which cannot be so reached, then it will become the duty of the National Government, in so far as it may have the power, to make pro-

vision therefor, and I believe the manufacturers and dealers in food products will welcome such legislation.

"Well, Snowball," said the patron to the dusky waiter, "how did you ever come by a name like that?"

"Well, sah, I was born in Chicago. Reckon yer never seed a Chicago snowball, sah!"—Yonkers Statesman.

Sunday School Teacher—I hope all the little girls in my class love God?

Eva Brown—I do.

Sunday School Teacher—That's right, Eva. Now tell us why you love Him?

Eva Brown—Got to.—San Francisco Star.

BOOKS

AN IDEAL PEOPLE'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Twenty years ago, Elroy M. Avery was asked by the head of the great publishing house at Cleveland, now known as The Burrows Brothers Company, to join that house in the preparation and publication of an ideal popular history of the United States. It was supposed that less than one decade would be long enough for the task, but a second has almost rounded out as the first of the contemplated 12 volumes appears. If the succeeding volumes equal this one in breadth of historical research, effectiveness of editorial condensation, beauty of publication form, and captivating literary style, the long period of labor devoted to the work will have been well expended.

Of the historical accuracy of the work we disclaim qualifications for expert judgment; but upon this point the assurance of so distinguished an expert as Prof. Edward G. Bourne, of Yale, that Dr. Avery seems to meet disputed questions "with a thoroughly sane judgment," and that his conclusions "are not open to the criticism of ignoring adverse evidence or of distorting the case in any way," is the highest kind of recommendation. The other excellences need no expert approval; they are plain upon the face of the print.

The first volume is described by the author as "the beginning of an attempt to tell the story of the men and measures that have made the United States what it is." This grammatical singular, implying political solidarity, will grate upon the ear of the traditional Democrat; but the fact that these States have almost sunk to the level of larger counties, and the national federation has risen to the power, whether for good or ill, of a Nation, with a big N, is very obtrusive. That fact appears to have been, more emphatically than the abolition of slavery, a result of the Civil

War. Perhaps the historian may no longer be criticised, then, for recognizing it in his literary forms. The attempt which Dr. Avery thus describes begins back in the fogs of prehistoric America. Through this mist he feels his way, confirming himself by submitting the different parts of his work to appropriate experts, down to the appearance of the Northmen, and thence to the advent of Columbus. A tangled skein of fact and fiction is then untangled, so at any rate as to make a consistent and interesting narrative of the period of adventure and discovery, which does not suffer in the least from the author's frank declaration of ignorance whenever research fails to reveal facts heretofore guessed at. The narrative is carried down to the year 1600, and the volume ends with a chapter on the Indians of North America.

Not only is this volume very readable simply as a story so well arranged that it seems almost to tell itself, but glimpses of a staid humor may be caught now and then through the interstices of serious narration. In connection with the Cabot adventures, for instance, we are told that "almost from Cabot's day to ours, the codfish has risen, at short intervals, to the surface of diplomatic correspondence." Nor is the humor always so playful. Sometimes it is tipped with a wholesome sting. An example appears toward the close of the volume, in an explanation of the international law of discovery. The author correctly attributes the law to two principles—the pagan principle that anything which nobody owns belongs to the finder, and the Christian principle that the heathen are nobody. It was by virtue of this theory of dominion that America was parcelled out by grants from European potentates. Our author tersely comments thus upon it all: "Granted these two premises, there is no escape from the conclusion known as the law of the right of discovery. The premises were assumed and the conclusion universally acted upon. The luster is one of law rather than justice."

A book the preparation of which seems to have been a labor of love with publisher as well as author, calls for some reference to its mechanical side. This is really artistic, and adds greatly to the value of the text. For besides the fine paper and the clear, black, legibly leaded type, there is a wealth of judiciously selected and neatly printed pictures and maps correctly illustrative of the text and not confusingly supplemental to it. Most notable of these illustrations, is a richly printed reproduction, reduced in size but a facsimile in every other respect, including color, of the famous Juan de la Cosa ox-hide map of 1500. The original is the oldest known map of America, and belongs to the Spanish government. Much less pretentious, but quite as interesting in

a minor way, is a reproduction of the earliest known print of an American buffalo. The modern maps, of which there are many, make a free use of color with apparently two objects, both of which are secured—beauty of effect and clearness of distinction of the features intended to be distinguished. A color reproduction of the Madrid Marine Museum portrait of Columbus appears as the frontispiece.

Recurring to the literary part of the work, it may be said that Dr. Avery is not a new hand at exact authorship for popular needs and tastes. Although this is his first important volume in the historical field, it is not his first in kinds of authorship with which the writer of a really valuable popular history ought to have familiarity. Dr. Avery is distinguished as the author of works on physics which are largely used in American and Canadian schools, and has scored a success as an author of books on English composition. He is, moreover, a sociological and political student, and has served with honor as a Senator in the legislature of Ohio; he has been a soldier in actual warfare; he has put out historical monographs of distinctive worth; and, as already stated, he has been engaged for nearly twenty years in gathering, sifting, weighing, arranging and describing the material for the ambitious history of his country on which he is now engaged. ["A History of the United States and Its People, from the Earliest Records to the Present Time." By Elroy McKendree Avery. In twelve volumes. Volume I. Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company. MCMIV. Price, per volume, cloth, \$6.25; half leather, \$12.50; full leather, \$17.50. Sold by subscription, but subscribers not obliged to take entire set].

L. F. P.

POEMS FOR TO-DAY.

Frances Margaret Milne's poems "For To-day" (San Francisco: The James H. Barry Company. Price \$1.50) possess a sweetness of expression and sound a depth of feeling which may well make them poems of tomorrow as well as of to-day—even more than of today.

Their chief fault is lack of emphasis and climax. It is difficult to find in them any crisp quotable lines, and such as appear are apt to be in obscure places. Sometimes, too, the meter does not seem the best for the sentiment, as, for example, in the requiem to Henry George, which begins:

Hast thou a requiem strain
Glad, free and strong?

Though glad and free, the strain is not so strong, we think, as it might have been with an additional foot.

But strong thought pervades these verses, and their sweet pathos and sane optimism appeal touchingly to minds attuned to love of justice. Especially welcome are they to those who

have affectionate memories of such men as Henry George and William T. Crossdale. The latter is described to perfection as

Soul for sunshine and for storm.

And—

This is a conqueror's soul
Passing to-day,

expresses what scores of thousands felt when Henry George died.

Less personal subjects fill out this volume of verse, into all of which the author has breathed the breath of genuine spiritual life, as in her song of "The Sowing," where she cries—

There is a joy in the deed for the doer,
That only the spirit may know

Or, in "The Day That Yet Shall Be":

Lo! the desert blossoms in our pathway like
the rose;
Crooked places straighten, and the hill and
valley close;

Who, when God hath spoken, shall His
gathered hosts oppose?

In the same chord is this tribute to a rich man whose riches have not stolen away his manhood:

The curse of gold has passed thee by
As vapors flee the sunlit sky.
The generous current of thy veins
That vampire passion never drains—
To leave thy heart a shrivelled thing,
And break the spirit's plumed wing,
For thou hast seen the vision high;
The curse of gold has passed thee by.

Mrs. Milne's lines to the "Disinherited," suggested by the death of a tenement house babe, should thrill every reader with the love that goes with righteous wrath. We quote the first and last stanzas:

The poor little life, just beginning,
Was gasping and dying that day.
There was clamor of sorrow and sinning
In the squalid abode where it lay.
And the mother bent over the body,
And kissed the wan forehead and hair
With anguish as deep as yours may be,
Tho' her lips had forgotten your prayer.

Our Father! Oh, well may we falter
To name thee, and pray to thee so;
Who turn from thy shrine and thy altar,
Profaning thy image below;
To thy children thy bounty denying,
While heaping the store of our greed,
And, dead to their wrong and their sighing,
Charge Heaven itself with our deed!

L. F. P.

PAMPHLETS

In a pamphlet on the subject of vaccination (Liberator Publishing company, Minneapolis) Mr. Alex. Y. Scott, a member of the Chicago bar, makes what appears to be a strong statistical case against vaccination. Whether this case would stand the test of discussion or not, Mr. Scott has at any rate put the Illinois Board of Health in a queer position. If vaccination is a preventive of smallpox, it is important that all facts tending to prove it should be made as generally known as possible and that their verity should be open to the freest scrutiny. To make assertions as to facts tending to prove the virtue of vaccination, and then deliberately to conceal those facts from scrutiny without good reason, is to discredit the assertions and the in-

ferences from them. Yet this is what the Board of Health of Illinois appears from correspondence with its secretary, Dr. J. A. Egan, published in Mr. Scott's pamphlet, to have done. It gave publicity to reports regarding two Illinois towns afflicted with smallpox, which, if true, tended to prove the preventive effectiveness of vaccination. But when asked for the names of these towns, it at first evaded and then flatly denied the request. The only excuse given is that the towns in question might suffer commercially if it were known that there had once been an epidemic of smallpox there. This excuse is evidently not the true one. Towns don't suffer commercially because they once had smallpox. They are all the safer for the visitation, if the disease can be had but once. Unless a further explanation is made by the Board, no one can be blamed for suspecting that its real purpose in withholding the names of the towns is to prevent detection of the falsity of information it has given out regarding them.—L. F. P.

PERIODICALS

Henry L. Bliss, reported to be one of the best analytical statisticians in the country, contributes to the March number of the Journal of Political Economy (Chicago) a discussion of the census statistics of child labor, in which he demonstrates the untrustworthy character of census statistics on this subject for purposes of comparison.—L. F. P.

A good account, by Allan Sutherland, of the Pingree "potato patch" scheme as now in operation in Philadelphia, appears in the Review of Reviews for May. The photographs accompanying it would be more interesting if they had been snapshots of the people at work, instead of groups of people consciously having their pictures taken.—L. F. P.

Ellery Sedgewick continues in the May number of Leslie's Monthly the good fight in behalf of the Block System. He urges all his readers to join in the fight. "To any one of our readers," he says, "who will send us his address, we will send not only a copy of the bill, but a letter indorsing the bill as well, all ready for his signature, and the address of his Congressman." The whole contention is compressed in the title of Mr. Sedgewick's article—Freight Rates and Death Rates.—J. H. D.

The Craftsman is a healthy, beautiful monthly, published at Syracuse, N. Y. Its February and March numbers contain a life and appreciation of Mayor Jones, by Ernest Crosby. It is safe to say that nothing better has been written about this good man. Contrasting Mayor Jones with Charles Wagner, of simple life fame, Mr. Crosby says: "Both of them preached the simple life as they respectively saw

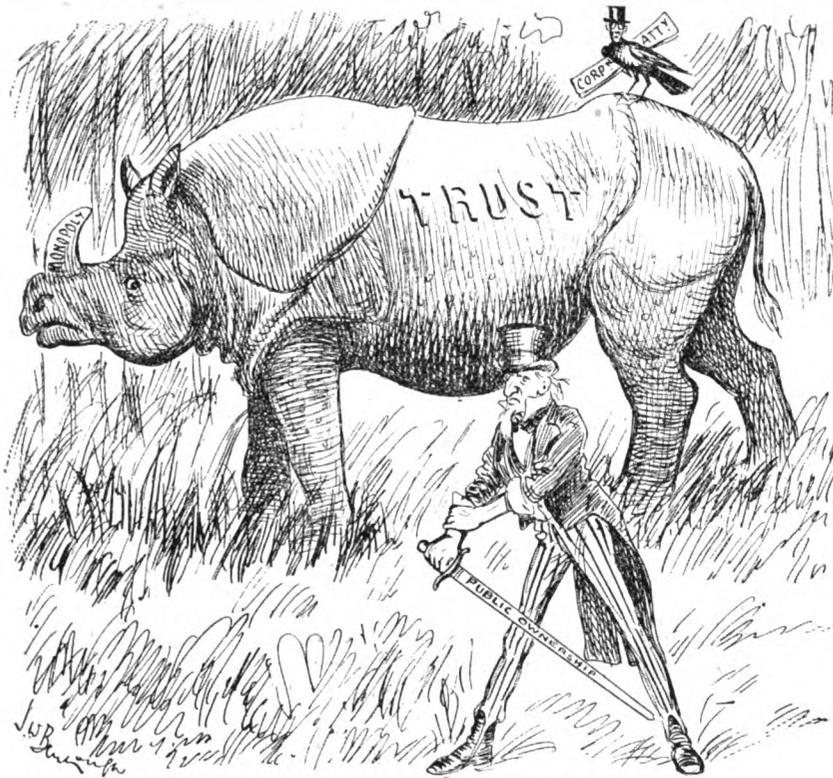
it, but here the resemblance ends, for while the simple life of Wagner means a gentle smoothing and retouching of things as they are, that of Mayor Jones involves little less than a revolution."—J. H. D.

The United Labor Journal of New Orleans advises the teachers of that city to follow the example of the Chicago teachers in the proposed campaign for the purpose of getting more money for the public schools. "I here is no doubt," says the Journal, "that the same conditions exist here as was the case in Chicago and that the ladies here, if they appoint the right committee, will be equally as successful. . . . It is certain that there are numberless pieces of property here (owned by very rich men, of course, for the small man pays the limit) paying taxes on an amount at which the owner would never sell it." If the writer had said "paying taxes on one-third of the price at which the owner would sell," he would probably be nearer the truth.—J. H. D.

The clearest and wisest words that have been uttered on the subject of war and peace are to be found in the article by Felix Adler, in the Ethical Record, on the Real Obstacles to International Peace. There is but one possible criticism: Mr. Adler does not sufficiently recognize the fact that if the Christian system of ethics were really potent in individuals, international dealings would conform; for the double standard would necessarily be abolished, both in international politics, and in home politics as well. But the whole article is interesting and eloquent, and should be widely distributed. The point made against peace societies is well taken. "Everywhere," he says, "international injustice is passed without protest. . . . Why do they come when it is too late? The time for protest is when international wrong is contemplated."—J. H. D.

Buying and Selling News Columns is the subject of a brief editorial in the Springfield Republican, which deserves attention as an exposition of a shameful abuse. The articles are sent in with some such direction as follows: "This will be set as news matter in news type, with a news head at the top of column and without advertising marks of any sort." And yet the sender expects to pay "at the lowest net cash rates." The Republican refers especially to an article booming Boston gas companies and directed against the public franchise league. "This proceeding is," says the editor, "a fraud at both ends. It is an illegitimate act on the part of the promoters of corporate interests, who thus put their money where it will do the most good for the accomplishment of their ends, and in the process deceive the people as to the source of the statements made."—J. H. D.

The first number of the Free Trade Broadside has been issued by the sec-



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retary of the American Free Trade league, Mr. William Lloyd Garrison. It is well printed, and is filled with interesting matter, not the least so being the contribution of the editor, entitled the Moral Problem. To all who believe in the doctrine, Mr. Garrison makes a strong plea for the support of the league. "Twenty-one years ago," he says, "this league was founded. Having attained its majority it is fitted for more virile work. It has faithfully performed useful, economic service and done its best to expose the waste and inexpediency of protection. Its labor has not been in vain." The address for the League is 6 Beacon St., Boston. The membership fee is one dollar a year. All who really believe that "protection is robbery" have an opportunity through the League of assisting in the process of education. They cannot do better than begin by circulating this first issue of the Free Trade Broadside.—J. H. D.

The first article in McClure's for May, by Professor William James, tells of a most interesting character, Thomas Davidson, who died about five years ago. He was a brother of Morrison Davidson, author of the New Book of Kings and of other radical works. Thomas Davidson, teacher, author, philosopher, was one of the most learned men of modern times

and one of the freest and freshest thinkers. His frank outspokenness was most delightful, whether you agreed with him or not. He was thoroughly unconventional, and strongly maintained that he would have no habits—good or bad. Thus it happened that with all his learning he held no high academic position. In fact he had a contempt for the routine and narrowness of academic life. He would not be bound. He had to live his own free way and speak "truths without accommodation." To anyone who knew him the following words of Professor James will have a reverential meaning: "The memory of Davidson will always strengthen my faith in personal freedom and its spontaneities, and make me less unqualifiedly respectful than ever of 'Civilization,' with its herding and branding, licensing and degree-giving, authorizing and appointing, and in general regulating and administering by system the lives of human beings."—J. H. D.

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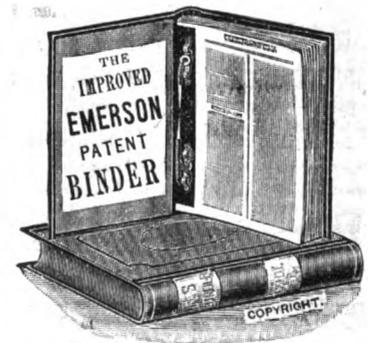
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