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LOUIS F. POST
EDITOR

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The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

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EDITORIAL

The envious policy-holder.

It is perhaps quite natural for policy holders in the Mutual Life to be indignant upon learning that their president gets a salary of \$150,000 a year; that his son's salary is \$30,000; and that his son-in-law's commissions have amounted to \$932,823 since 1893—about \$75,000 a year. But let these policy-holding creatures beware. There is good professorial and priestly authority for saying that indignation like theirs springs from envy, and is the mark of a covetous mind. Is not the laborer worthy of his hire?

Saving the American flag.

"The American flag must be saved," says Gov. Hanly, of Indiana, Republican, "not from the hands of the foreign despoiler, but from the members of our own citizenship." This would have been dense pessimism a few months ago; but recent exposures of great crimes in high places by patriotic and optimistic embezzlers of trust funds, have cast a shadow over the monkey optimism of the past six or seven years. Gov. Hanly is right. We are not so much in need of a great navy to protect the American flag from foreign foes—of whom we neither have nor need to have any at all,—as from corrupt business men and their corrupted beneficiaries in politics, in our own citizenship.

Mine, thine, and ours.

Robert Collyer, who upon his return to Chicago for a visit is warmly welcomed, has said many wise things to the reporters, in his own genial and optimistic way, and one of them is this: "The first man is of the earth earthy, and views things from the standpoint of mine; but the second man is from heaven, and views things from the standpoint of thine; and the second man is arriving." It strikes us, however, that there is something lacking here. The idea of balance is lacking and the idea of common goods is lacking: A world in which everything is looked at as "thine," lists as badly to one side as a world in which everything is looked at as "mine" does to the other. Why wouldn't it be more truly optimistic to say that we are coming to look upon what is mine as "mine," upon what is thine as "thine," and upon what is ours as "ours"?

President Roosevelt and the Loomis scandal.

We have watched for some denial by President Roosevelt or his friends, of Herbert W. Bowen's report of their last interview (p. 353), when Bowen was dismissed from

the diplomatic service. "Mr. President," said Mr. Bowen, according to the latter, "you will remember that after I sent to you all the information I had about Mr. Loomis you offered me a promotion that was intended to lead to an ambassadorship." "Well," the President answered, "I would have done a great deal to hush up the scandal." Here is a direct charge against the President of a very ugly nature; and the accuser implies that it can be proved by witnesses who were present at the interview. Can the President afford, after provoking this accusation by again publicly whitewashing Loomis, the head center of the scandal,—can the President afford to pass it by in silence?

Segregating the goats.

Mayor Dunne appears to have begun the much needed process in the Chicago City Council of segregating the goats. Of the 45 aldermen who voted last Monday against his reasonable proposition in favor of the public interests, and thus for an unreasonable one in favor of the traction interests, some are opposed to municipal ownership on principle; some are opposed to it from motives of business and professional self-interest; some are opposed to it because their party leaders are, and they themselves are thick and thin party men; some are opposed to it because they are in the graft market, and the traction companies either do or may own them. By the proceedings last Monday, Mayor Dunne has identified in the mass the aldermen who are opposed to municipal ownership and in favor of the present useless and corrupt traction companies. With a few steps more along the same general course, he can reduce this mass to its individual elements and exhibit the interesting result to public view. We shall soon know which of the aldermen are Pierpont Morgan's pickaninnies.

Direct legislation in Ohio.

While the plutocrats, and the

grafters, and their agents in the press and in representative bodies, including labor organizations, are resisting the movement for direct legislation with all their might, this movement steadily gains headway. The latest encouraging report comes from Ohio, where the State Federation of Labor has just adopted resolutions calling for a constitutional amendment embodying the principle of the initiative and the referendum. Of course the resolutions were opposed by the usual objection to "dragging in politics." This objection is always on the tip of the tongue of that class of labor leader to whom the plutocrats allude when in their own conferences they advise the putting down of labor organizations by buying their leaders. But in this instance Herbert S. Bigelow silenced the objection with cheers by explaining that he who opposes action of this kind because it may hurt one party or another is the one who really drags in politics.

Grillers grilled.

Extensive preparations were made last week at Chicago by certain organized worshipers of wealth, to grill Mayor Dunne for their delectation at the "first anniversary banquet" of the Chicago Commercial Association. The managers were unable to keep to themselves this particularly savory item of their menu, and the plutocratic papers were hungrily expectant. When the banquet hour arrived, Mayor Dunne was truly in the enemy's country. Probably less than five per cent. of those gathered worshipers of wealth were capable of conceiving of anything in all this universe of matter and mind and spirit as being bigger than a dollar, except two dollars or more. The Mayor was to have been grilled to a turn. But the Mayor had the first say, and instead of offering himself to be grilled, he proceeded smilingly to grill the assembled grillers. Although he never once used the term "tax-dodger," he exhibited a situation which made that crowd realize, as well as mere money-

grubbers can, that it was a sordid, tax-dodging crowd. The speeches that were to have grilled the Mayor came off according to programme; but they lacked fire and buoyancy and go. The grillers had been grilled.

How to promote home-building.

A correspondent of the New York Times has discovered a cause for the scarcity of homes which is always obtrusive and yet seldom seen. Noting a great demand for suburban cottages he utilizes his own experience as a prospective builder to illustrate the chief cause of this scarcity. He found that it would cost about \$1,500 to build a house that a few years ago could have been built for \$1,200. "This additional \$300 cost," he writes, "would necessitate an interest charge of \$15, would mean heavier taxes, increased risk and insurance, and require setting aside more income to offset deterioration. To cover this increased cost it would take about \$24 a year more rent, or, say, \$14 a month instead of \$12." Proceeding, he says: "Now the class of people who rent such houses cannot well afford more than \$12 a month in addition to their commutation. Even if their wages have increased somewhat in the last few years, the advance has been absorbed by the increased cost of living in other directions. Consequently the risk of building such houses caused me to hesitate, as doubtless it has caused others. The people who would occupy such houses are either crowded in tenements or rooms instead of enjoying the fresh air, and perhaps starting to own their own homes, and the lots are lying idle. Whether or no this increased cost of material is due entirely to the tariff is an open question. I do not think it is. But whatever the cause, one thing can be done to offset the higher cost of building material and make it easier for people to move out of the crowded cities and become home owners. To exempt small dwellings from taxation would about offset the cost of car-

rying the additional outlay necessitated by the increased price of materials. While house exemption would raise the tax on the lot, the increase would be but small. Lots now idle would be put to use and earn the taxes charged against them; they would also go up in value, thus adding to the assessable valuable and compensating owners for the increase in taxes." This idea is in line with that of the citizens of New York who are organizing to secure an exemption from taxation in New York on all houses the value of which is \$3,000 or less (p. 379), and on which the New York Evening Telegram is taking a postal card vote.

Covering his tracks.

The St. Paul Dispatch of the 3d gives publicity to a statement from Texas which indicates, if any indication were necessary, that John A. McCall probably knew that he was an embezzler when he "lifted" that first \$50,000, in 1896, for corrupting McKinley's path to the White House. "It seems," says the Dispatch, that Gov. Culbertson, of Texas, impressed by the charges of corporate contributions, wrote to Mr. McCall on December 28, 1896, for a sworn statement, among other things, "giving the amount, if any, paid by or on behalf of the company for political purposes during the last campaign." Mr. McCall sent him a sworn statement, but not his own. He sent him affidavits of Banta, cashier, of Thompson, controller, and of Whitney, auditor, each stating that all payments made by the company pass through his hands, and that, to the best of the knowledge, information and belief of each, "no moneys were, directly or indirectly, paid by the company to the Republican campaign fund during the recent Presidential election." On Mr. McCall's own testimony of a few days ago that was a false statement. Is there any doubt that this type of the "business man" knew that the ignorance of his subordinates was being used in that case as a cover for his crime?

The Chicago traction grafters.

The citizen or newspaper of Chicago, with any pretensions to intelligence, that is disposed even to consider the propriety of adopting the ordinance which the traction grabbers offer as a solution of the traction problem (p. 426), thereby justly becomes an object of suspicion. This ordinance is thrown defiantly in the face of a vast majority of the voters who were intelligent enough and public spirited enough to vote on the question. They have voted overwhelmingly against it three times. It demands a franchise for the full term allowed by law, without any other compensation than about a quarter of a cent per fare for the city and a pretended but invalid relinquishment of comparatively unimportant claims for litigation. And it proffers a referendum which would count for the company every citizen too ignorant or too lazy to vote on the question, which would force the initiative upon the believers in municipal ownership who have taken the initiative three times already and have each time defeated the traction grafters, and which if it went against the company would leave them in possession of a rich field for graft from which they could not be evicted as long as they could control a majority of the Council. It is barely possible that a fool may favor this ordinance honestly; but anyone who has intelligence enough to own a newspaper or to have secured a seat in the City Council has no reason to complain if his complaisance is regarded as an indication that he has bargained for his price. Since these insurance exposures, general denials are not so valuable as evidence of innocence as they were before.

Bribing newspapers and magazines.

The Star-Chronicle of St. Louis makes itself authority for the statement that the New York Life Insurance Company is trying to flood the country with false reports of the exposures of its scandalous management. Its publicity bureau sent to the Star-Chronicle

a "news" dispatch which lifted its scandalous conduct almost to the level of a loyal work of charity, and wired this version of the testimony to all the St. Louis papers with a request that it be printed as news with a news head above it, the line "Special dispatch to the —" and the date, and without advertising marks of any kind, at the same time authorizing each newspaper to make the price "whatever you like" and send bills to the home office. In its exposure of this proceeding the Star-Chronicle recited that on receipt of the New York Life's edited "news" and the accompanying request for publication, it had wired back its rejection of the proposal, offering, however, to print the cooked dispatch as a display advertisement. To this offer the publicity agent of the New York Life promptly replied: "Your proposition does not go. I ordered telegraphic news printed. When I order terrapin I do not propose to accept tripe." The Star-Chronicle refused to publish the dispatch. Other papers published it in the deceptive manner required, and presumably got their bribe money. Similar methods of bribing periodicals have been common enough. The railroads are even now bribing newspapers right and left all through the country. But heretofore it has been regarded as "pessimistic" to mention such facts. Now, however, exposures are widening out to such an extent as to make the sophisticated wonder whether Rockefeller and the Standard Oil crowd are not also engaged in it. Certain it is that a great silence with reference to Rockefeller's rascalities, and a great devotion of space to the bright side of this man of millions, a side hitherto concealed, coincide with an outburst of lavish advertising of Standard Oil specialties.

Philanthropy with unearned money.

There is in Chicago a philanthropist of the name of Pearson. He belongs to the class of seekers of something for nothing of whom Zangwill tells a significant story.

Zangwill's man prayed: "O Lord, give me \$100,000 and I will distribute half of it among the poor. Or, O Lord, if you can't trust me, give me \$50,000 and distribute the rest among the poor yourself." Mr. Pearson has been trusted, whether by the Lord or not is another story, and he appears to have been approximately faithful to his trust. At any rate, of his something for nothing he has distributed a share—mostly among small colleges, which are grateful enough to defend the economic institutions that give Mr. Pearson so large a proportion of the good things that other people earn and he does not. If it is unfair to say that his great income is an unrequited drain upon others, let us call the man himself as a witness. "Years ago," says that witness, "I saw that Chicago was to become a great city. I bought land." He adds that he worked. Perhaps he did, but whether his work was useful he does not say; and we all know that it was not the work he did, but the rise in the value of the land he bought, that has given him his great income. That income is unearned by him. Yet Mr. Pearson does himself an injustice when he says that his money "is no better than Rockefeller's." Rockefeller's money has been got by defrauding the confiding, corrupting public servants and throttling competitors, but Mr. Pearson has got his smoothly and lawfully every year as a free gift from the people of Chicago. There is a difference between loot and a gift. And yet, in the one case as in the other, the earner loses his own and a non-earner gets it. Perhaps Mr. Pearson understood and referred to this when he spoke of his money and Rockefeller's as being alike.

TOM WATSON AND THE LAND QUESTION.

Moved by a persual of Tolstoy's letter on the land question, Mr. Thomas E. Watson, the brilliant historian and People's party leader, who is editor of Tom Watson's Magazine, contributes to that periodical for October a characteristically interesting editorial

on the subject of private property in land.

Mr. Watson approaches his subject in the spirit that one might expect of a critical and conscientious historian, accustomed to comparing facts in the light of principles and challenging hoary historical falsehoods with new and startling conclusions. Asking if it is true that the real grievance of the masses is that the land has been taken away from them, if no reform will bring them relief until the land is given back to them, and if universal happiness would be the result of putting an end to the private ownership of land, he characterizes these as "grave questions" deserving "the most serious consideration."

But we regret to be obliged to say that he does not appear to have given his questions the serious consideration their gravity deserves.

One of the weaknesses of Mr. Watson's criticism is his historical argument in support of private ownership of land. This is an unexpected weakness from such a source; but it exists unless he has expressed himself unhappily, and is so obvious that the wonder is he did not detect the weakness, or its faulty expression as the case may be, in time to avoid it. He argues that history, teaching that private ownership of land is a flower of productive labor, has absolutely settled the land question in favor of private ownership.

Even were it conceded to Mr. Watson that the land question can be absolutely settled without being settled right, this apparent conclusion of his would still impress us as a rash one. Henry George's historical review of the institution of private property in land (chapters iv and v of book vii of *Progress and Poverty*) is better founded in fact and better supported by reason. It seems clear enough that the institution of private ownership of land is based historically upon usurpation, as George undertakes to show, and not upon productive labor, as Mr. Watson asserts.

But when Mr. Watson writes of "private ownership of land," the thought in his mind, we suspect, is not private ownership in the full

sense of that term, but in the restricted sense of equitable security of possession.

This interpretation, which would harmonize Mr. Watson's historical argument with the facts and philosophy of history, seems fairly evident also from a reasonable consideration of the following extracts from his editorial:

What is it that justly belongs to each citizen? It is his labor and the products thereof. . . . As a matter of fact, the right of each citizen to hold as his own a certain portion of the soil began with the laborer who claimed the products of his labor. . . . Having put his labor into the land, having changed it from a waste into a farm, it was the most natural thing in the world that he should claim it as his own. Why shouldn't he? He had made a farm. . . . If it was not just for the idle to rob the industrious, then we must leave the farm to the man whose labor made it a farm, and there you have private ownership of land. . . . The home is the sweetest flower of individual ownership. There can be no such thing as a home—a home to love and beautify and consecrate to the holiness of family life—where there is no private ownership.

Now all this is true, and self-consistent, if by "private ownership" is meant no more than undisturbed private possession upon equitable terms. But if by "private ownership" is meant that absolute right of property which a producer justly has in his own products, or in products for which he has traded his own, and which is commonly claimed by land owners under their titles—if that is what Mr. Watson means by "private ownership" of land, then those quotations from him make nonsense.

Let us consider the absurdity of the quotations upon the theory that by "private ownership" of land Mr. Watson means what is usually meant by the term—absolute ownership in contradistinction to equitable security of possession.

If only "his labor and the products thereof" belong to each citizen, then how can the laborer who changes an area of land from a waste to a farm, thereby acquire ownership of the land itself? The land is not a product of his labor. By producing the farm he does acquire ownership of the farm; but

not of the land, which comprises all nature both above and below the farm. The improvements, whether on the surface or merged in the soil, these his labor produces and these he therefore owns, but not the location. He did make the clearing, the improvements, the farm; he did not make the location, the site, the land. Therefore, on Mr. Watson's hypothesis, he justly owns the one but not the other.

Again. If "his labor and the products thereof" do justly belong to each citizen, as Mr. Watson asserts and we agree, then Emerson was right when he said, in "Mau the Reformer": "Whilst another man has no land, my title to mine, your title to yours, is at once vitiated." And Henry George was right when he wrote in "Progress and Poverty" (book vii, ch. i): "The right to the produce of labor cannot be enjoyed without the right to the free use of the opportunities offered by nature, and to admit the right of property in these is to deny the right of property in the produce of labor; when non-producers can claim as rent a portion of the wealth created by producers, the right of the producers to the fruits of their labor is to that extent denied." Is it not plain that private ownership of land, if it means monopoly of land, compels the landless man to yield a share of the products of his labor as tribute, in order to get permission to produce at all? Not merely like Burns's "poor o'er-labored wight" must he "beg a brother of the dust to give him leave to toil;" he must buy that leave, by relinquishing to "a fellow worm" part of what Mr. Watson rightly recognizes as wholly and justly his own—"his labor and the products thereof."

If Mr. Watson does mean ownership in the absolute and ordinary sense when he approves "private ownership" of land, he is guilty of the absurdity of contending that a citizen's right to own his own labor and its products, invests him with ownership also of that which enables him to levy tribute upon the labor and the products of the labor of others. He would not say that a miner owns the natural deposit and may charge others for mining, because he has mined it; or that a fisherman owns the

stream and may charge others for fishing in it, because he has fished in it; or that a mariner owns the sea and may charge others for sailing over it, because he has sailed over it. Yet this is where his argument leads to.

The absurdity becomes all the greater when we consider the actual circumstances in civilized life of the absolute private ownership or monopolization of land. It is not then the case merely of a laborer claiming ownership of the location of the farm he has made or of the home he has beautified. The claims of ownership which these quotations from Mr. Watson, interpreted literally, would sustain, comprehend vast areas of tillable locations on which no farms have been made; rich mineral deposits from which nothing is, has been, or is allowed to be extracted; myriads of desirable but homeless sites for homes.

And then there is the element of value. Your laborer changes a waste to a farm, let us say with Mr. Watson. Consequently Mr. Watson, literally interpreted, would give him not merely the farm but the location, so that when the farm is no longer kept up he would still own the location, which is neither his labor nor a product thereof. A city or town or village has meanwhile gathered around that location, and land once having no value for any purpose, though very useful for farming or home purposes, acquires comparatively great value for entirely different purposes. What would that involve? Simply this, that the farm maker, who has reaped the products of his labor from his farm as he has farmed it, may now exact the products of other people's labor for the privilege of utilizing, not his farm, which he made, but the location, which he did not make.

Illustrations typical of this effect of absolute private ownership are abundant in all cities and towns and villages. But the effect is not confined to centers of population. The coal and oil regions tell the same iniquitous story over and over again, in another way. And this way of telling it is suggestively illustrated by a less common and therefore more impressive instance in southern Louisiana near New Iberia.

Not so many years ago a family in that region owned, as they probably continue to own, the location or site of a farm. On that farm was a salt spring, of no great utility and of no very great value. But that salt spring led to the discovery beneath the farm of a vast body of salt, at the mining of which hundreds of men have since been engaged. But under the institution of private ownership of land, not one pound of that salt can be brought to the surface without paying toll to the owners of that location, who live in London. Now, the salt that they get for toll, of whose labor is that the product? Neither directly nor indirectly is it the product of the labor of the owners of the location. The institution of private ownership of land enables them to extort from others, as a condition of permitting the others to labor, a share of the labor and the products of the labor of the others. This is quite contrary to Mr. Watson's foundation principle, that "it is his labor and the products thereof" that "justly belong to each citizen."

Private ownership of land, when understood in the literal sense, means ownership of all nature from the surface of the location down to the center and out to the zenith. Or, as Daniel Webster expressed it, "a title to land reaches upward as high as to heaven and downward as deep as to hell." Such a title involves in the last analysis, the disinheritance of the working masses by a globe-owning class.

If this is what Mr. Watson means by "private ownership" of land, then his first proposition, that "his labor and the products thereof" are what justly belong to the citizen, does not support his second proposition, that private ownership of land is justified by its improvement. The whole contention is in that case grotesquely inconsistent and nonsensical.

Now, we are not willing to believe that Mr. Watson writes nonsense when he intends to be serious. Let us, then, consider the above quotations upon the theory that he means by private "ownership" of land, not absolute ownership or unassailable monopoly of location, but the right of un-

disturbed private possession upon equitable terms.

We grant that "his labor and the products thereof" are what justly belong to any man. Who can deny it? Mr. Watson could not have made a truer statement.

Granting this, it follows that products of labor which are affixed to or merged in the soil, as well as movables, justly belong to the citizen whose labor produces them or who receives them in exchange for what his labor has produced.

In order that such products may belong to him, he must have exclusive and undisturbed possession of the location or site to which they are affixed.

But his fellow citizens have as much right to utilize that location as he, and if they are crowded off by his occupation he should compensate them for their loss.

If other locations equally desirable are freely available to them, they suffer no loss to his advantage, and in justice he owes them nothing. But if his location is more desirable, simply as a location (including its natural benefits), than such as are freely available to them, then they do suffer loss to his advantage, and justice demands that he shall make good their loss so long as and to the extent that he profits by it.

Upon these principles, justice and the best interests of civilization demand that each citizen shall be protected in the right of exclusive and permanent possession of the location he improves, on condition that he comply with equitable conditions for the compensation of his fellow citizens whom he thereby forces to less desirable locations.

If, then, Mr. Watson means permanent occupancy on equitable terms, when he writes "private ownership," all he says of "private ownership" is true. In that sense it is a necessity of civilization, both historically and demonstrably. In that sense it does spring from productive labor. In that sense the site of the farm does belong to the farm-maker and the site of the home to the home builder.

But in that sense of "private ownership" of land, neither Leo Tolstoy nor Henry George is at variance with Tom Watson. What both would secure is that

full and complete enjoyment of "his own labor and the products thereof" which the masses of men cannot enjoy under the institution of private property in land as it now exists. For accomplishing this result, George has proposed a differential tax on land monopoly in the ratio of the value of holdings, concurrently with the abolition of all other taxes; Thomas G. Shearman has proved the fiscal practicability of this proposition; and Tolstoy has accepted it as being the best possible governmental method.

Mr. Watson has fallen into confusion in other parts of his criticism. He speaks of the present institution of private property in land as one thing and of misuse of governmental power as another. But the present institution of private ownership of land is itself a form, a fundamental form, of misuse of governmental power.

In this connection and with a surprising but evidently genuine air of innocence, Mr. Watson asks: "Why should railroad kings hunger for land, when they hold at their mercy the produce which toiling millions bring forth from that land?" But how do they hold this at their mercy? Simply by owning land of commanding location—that which commands points of shipment and points of delivery for the produce of other land.

Mr. Watson falls also into the common error of supposing that the Rothschilds are not great landlords. They are, in fact, the greatest in the world. Their railroad securities are titles to railroad land, including terminal points and rights of way; and their government bonds, what are these but pledges of sovereign power over the territory, and consequently over the people of the territory, which the governments issuing them represent? The power that the Rothschilds in any way exert over industry, how quickly it would all dissipate if the masses of men were not forced by land monopoly to beg for work on employers' terms.

Another slip is Mr. Watson's statement that "anybody who wants land can get it." This is an unfortunate example of Mr. Watson's liking for superlative forms of expression.

Still another is his assertion that "land is plentiful and cheap." Plentiful it doubtless is, though monopolized; but cheap it clearly is not. Probably Mr. Watson meant low priced when he wrote "cheap." It is true that there is plenty of low-priced land. But the lowest priced land is as dear as the highest priced—often dearer. The use of the highest priced land returns a profit on its price, over and above the cost of labor; the use of the lowest priced land will hardly return ordinary wages.

After all, however, the question really before Mr. Watson, and which, as the editor of a radical and independent magazine, he ought to answer if he touches the general subject at all, he has overlooked. It is this: If a man's "labor and the products thereof" justly belong to him, ought or ought not the tenure of land to be so adjusted that the value of improvements will be fully enjoyed, free even from taxation, by the improver or his representatives, and ought or ought not the value of location as distinguished from improvements to be taken for common use?

This is the thought in Tolstoy's mind. This is the thought that George expounded so clearly and forcibly that no one of intelligence is at this day quite excusable for not grasping it.

To grasp it is to understand that the real grievance of the masses is that the land has been taken away from them—real in the sense of fundamental, for they can escape no other social grievance permanently so long as this remains. It is to understand, moreover, that whether or not universal happiness would result from remedying the evil to which George and Tolstoy point, it cannot result without remedying that evil. It is to understand, finally, that irrespective of results, the reform that George and Tolstoy stand for is right.

Let's see: France and Russia were together in the late unpleasantness and England and Japan. But France and England are allied over this Moroccan business and France is joined to Russia. Therefore, if the German war lord makes good his bellicose bluff, the exigencies of alliance will—oh, pshaw, it's like comic opera.—Boston Globe.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Thursday, Oct. 12.

The Chicago traction question.

The battle ground of the Chicago traction conflict (p. 426) was shifted by Mayor Dunne on the 9th from the committee room of the transportation committee to the floor of the City Council. Owing to inaction of the committee, the Mayor addressed to the Council the following message:

At the last municipal election, held April 4, 1905, there appeared on the little ballot the following question to the voters of this city: "Shall the City Council pass an ordinance granting a franchise to the Chicago City Railway company?" Upon this question 151,974 voted "no," and 60,020 voted "yes." There also appeared at the same time the question: "Shall the City Council pass an ordinance granting a franchise to any street railroad company?" Upon this question 152,135 voted "no," and 55,013 voted "yes." The local transportation committee of your honorable body, instead of considering plans submitted by me in my message of July 5 for the purpose of bringing about municipal ownership of street railways, is now engaged in considering certain proposed ordinances presented by the Chicago City Railway company and the Chicago Union Traction company, contemplating the granting to such companies of new franchises for the period of twenty years. The consideration of these franchise extension ordinances, in the face of the above referendum, is in defiance of the express will of the people. For this reason I respectfully recommend that your honorable body direct the local transportation committee to cease consideration of the said proposed franchise extension ordinances and further report to this Council at its next meeting the ordinances submitted by me and attached to my message July 5, 1905, commonly known as the "contract plan." I herewith submit an order to that effect and respectfully urge your honorable body to pass the same without reference to a committee.

Adoption of the order submitted by the Mayor was moved by Alderman Werno, chairman of the transportation committee, as follows:

It is hereby ordered that the local

transportation committee do cease the further consideration of the ordinance submitted to said committee by the Chicago City Railway company, and the ordinance submitted, or about to be submitted, to the said committee by the Chicago Union Traction company, extending the franchises of these companies, and that it report to this Council at its next meeting the ordinance submitted by the Mayor and attached to his message of July 5, 1905, commonly known as the "contract plan."

A motion to refer this order to the transportation committee itself, was ruled out of order by the Mayor on the ground that "it would be manifestly inconsistent and contradictory to refer this to the committee at which it is directed." His ruling was reversed on appeal by a vote of 41 to 22. A motion by Alderman Werno followed to suspend the rules and adopt the order, and this was defeated by 45 yeas to 18 yeas as follows:

Nays—Republicans: Dixon, Pringle, Foreman, Young, Bennett, Jones, Moynihan, Smith, McCormick, Reese, Potter, Schmidt (23), Schmidt (24), Hahne, Williston, Dunn, Lipps, Butler, Stewart, Raymer, Larson, Wendling, Burns, Roberts, Badenoch, Eldmann, Hunt, Ruxton, Hunter, Race—30; (Harri-son) Democrats: Coughlin, Dalley, McCormick, Martin, Hurt, Scully, Cul-ler-ton, Maypole, Harkin, Conlon, Ryan, Powers, Dougherty, Sullivan, Carey—15. Total, 45.

Yeas—Republicans: Harding, Bell-fuss, Slits, Uhlir—4; Democrats: Rich-ert, Fick, Hoffman, Zimmer, Considine, Riley, Nowicki, Dever, Finn, Werno, Reinberg, Bradley, O'Connell, Kohout—14. Total 18.

After the Council meeting Mayor Dunne said of this vote:

It simply indicates that the majority of the aldermen do not favor the contract plan. I hardly think there is any possibility of a change in their attitude, but I intend to have another message for the Council next Monday night, and I shall put the matter to them in such a way that they will have to place themselves on record. I cannot say what that message will be, nor upon what lines; but I shall place the matter so that they will have to meet the question squarely and honestly.

No action on the referendum propositions (p. 426) was taken by the Council at this meeting, but two substitutes were proposed, one by Alderman Foreman and the other by Alderman Kohout. The Foreman substitute is as follows:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this

Council that the procedure in dealing with any ordinance or ordinances for the settlement of the Chicago street railway question shall be as follows: The ordinance or ordinances shall be framed up for passage and voted on in committee of the whole without final action by the City Council. Thereupon such ordinance or ordinances as shall receive a majority of votes taken by roll call in the committee of the whole shall be published and the City Council shall take steps to have the question whether it or they shall be passed by the City Council placed on the ballot to be voted on by the people. The form of the proposition or propositions to be placed on the ballot shall be formulated by the committee on local transportation and approved by the City Council. The City Council pledges itself not to pass any ordinance or ordinances that shall not receive a majority of the votes cast by the people upon the proposition or propositions.

Following is the Kohout substitute:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this Council that in case any ordinance or ordinances granting a franchise to any street car company should be introduced in this Council the mode of procedure by this Council shall be as follows: The proposed ordinance shall be considered by the Council in committee of the whole; the proposed ordinance shall then be submitted to the people at the next city election, and no report of the committee of the whole shall be made to the Council or final action be taken by the Council on said ordinance until after the people of Chicago have voted on the same as submitted to them and it is approved by a majority of all persons voting on the question.

Progress of the referendum idea.

The proposed referendums noted above, especially that of Alderman Foreman, for he has heretofore opposed the referendum idea, are indicative of its growing popularity. These instances are in harmony with what is known as the "Winnetka plan" (vol. iv, pp. 340, 342); and so is the recent action of the Central Labor Union of Lancaster, Pa., which has instructed its legislative committee to push the adoption by the local City Councils of a joint resolution that has been introduced proposing that before the final passage of any ordinance it shall lie on the table for 30 days and if within that period 5 per cent of the voters petition that a referendum vote be taken, the ordinance shall be voted upon by the whole body of voters and shall not become law un-

less a majority of the voters favor it. The joint resolution also provides for the advisory initiative, namely: "Every petition to the City Council proposing an instruction to a public official, and signed by at least five per cent of the registered voters of the city, shall be received and referred to committee, testimony shall be taken and the measure reported back, together with such amendments, substitute, or recommendation as is thought best; and a yeas and nays vote taken, after which the measure as originally introduced, together with the amended measure, substitute or recommendation, shall be submitted to an advisory vote of the registered voters of the city."

Another labor organization, "the Workingmen's Federation of the State of New York," which is the State branch of the American Federation of Labor, adopted at its recent annual convention at Ithaca, resolutions for the same non-partisan plan of securing the referendum and initiative through the advisory system. These resolutions declare: "The initiative and referendum is one of the most vital reforms now being demanded by the working people in the interest of the masses, and indeed of the entire community," and they "appeal to the farmers of New York State and all well disposed people of all classes to aid in this movement for popular government," and pledge "hearty co-operation and support to the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor and other organizations which are now so earnestly engaged in the effort to establish the sovereignty of the people."

Along the same general lines were the following resolutions adopted by the Ohio Federation of Labor on the 4th:

Resolved, that the Ohio Federation of Labor co-operate with other nonpartisan organizations to secure from the next General Assembly a resolution submitting to a vote of the people a constitutional amendment embodying the principle of the initiative and referendum. Resolved, that the executive committee of the Federation be instructed to send a communication to the legislative candidates of all parties asking them to pledge their support to such a resolution. Resolved, that the committee be instructed to so

word its address to the candidates that they shall be asked, irrespective of their personal opinion concerning the initiative and referendum, whether or not, if elected, they will vote to submit a constitutional amendment, and thereby give the people of the State a chance to express their opinions. Be it further resolved, that whenever any legislative candidate ignores the communication of the committee or declares himself opposed to permitting the people to vote on such an amendment, it shall be the duty of the committee to so inform all labor organizations within the district of said candidate, to the end that the members of organized labor may not be betrayed, by their negligence, into the support of their enemies.

People's campaign in Toledo.

The successor of the late Mayor Jones, as non-partisan leader, is Brand Whitlock, one of Mayor Jones's closest personal and political friends. Having been selected as the independent candidate for mayor, he accepted on the 6th, and in publicly defining his position he said:

This campaign has become a critical one, and the cause of non-partisanship to which Mayor Jones devoted his life is menaced as never before. The real issue is whether the government of our city is to be administered by representatives of the people or by representatives of some boss, some coterie or some corporation. We must not surrender the fruits of Mayor Jones's great work; that work must not now be allowed to fall; the people must carry this work on to completion, and when it is finished we shall have a republican government, a government of all the people, and this means good government.

The Cleveland contest.

A debate between Mayor Johnson and his Republican adversary, William H. Boyd (p. 406) began the municipal campaign in Cleveland. Over 4,000 were in attendance at Gray's armory, this large auditorium being literally filled. The two candidates and their immediate friends met at Mayor Johnson's house and went together to the hall. C. W. Collister, a supporter of Mr. Boyd, presided. The second debate took place at the Coliseum Theater on the 6th, with Judge Babcock, a supporter of Mayor Johnson, presiding. There were from 3,000 to 3,500 people present. The debate turned altogether upon questions of local administration and local interest.

New York city politics.

Aside from nominations by minor parties, three sets of municipal nominations have been made—(Tammany) Democratic, Republican, and Municipal Ownership—in the city of New York.

That Mayor George B. McClellan would be the Tammany candidate for reelection has all along been expected. He was nominated on the 5th at a Tammany convention which praised President Roosevelt for bringing about peace between Japan and Russia, and with reference to municipal ownership declared:

Municipal ownership of important public utilities has long been accepted Democratic doctrine and has been repeatedly recommended in Democratic State and local platforms. The most serious obstacle to its realization has been the reckless and corrupt granting by State legislatures of perpetual franchises without compensation to our city and in disregard of its interests and charter rights. The present and previous Democratic administrations, in the face of such difficulties and restricted by the constitutional debt limit, have municipalized many public utilities with a just regard for private rights involved. Public ownership is no longer a campaign watchword, but a principle applied and in operation in this, the greatest of American cities. The ferry to Staten Island has been bought, and with the equipment and dock accommodations for which provision has been made, its further extension is already guaranteed. One electric plant for lighting the Williamsburg bridge and its approaches is about completed. For another, illuminating all our present streets, parks and public buildings, \$600,000 has been appropriated for the purchase of a site, in accordance with accepted plans involving a total expenditure of \$7,500,000. An intelligent, conservative and responsible Democratic administration may be intrusted with the continued application and the ultimate triumph upon safe lines of the principle of municipal control of public utilities.

Efforts to make a fusion of all anti-Tammany elements were under way during the Summer and early Fall (p. 117). The principal organized bodies concerned were the regular Republican organization, the Citizens' Union, which has participated in previous fusions, and the Municipal Ownership League (p. 22). The Citizens' Union had selected District Attorney Jerome as its choice for mayor. This choice was accepta-

ble neither to the Republicans nor to the Municipal Ownership League, and under the circumstances Mr. Jerome forbade the use of his name. In his place the names of Judge Gaynor and Judge Seabury, both Democrats, and ex-Senator John Ford, a municipal ownership Republican, were suggested, but to these the supporters of Mr. Jerome in the Citizens' Union objected. The controversies culminated on the 14th of September in the withdrawal of the Citizens' Union from further fusion negotiations. A fusion conference was held, however, on the 18th; and on the 25th, at the request of this conference, the Citizens' Union resumed negotiations. But harmony was not established. On the 30th the Municipal Ownership League, in a conference with municipal ownership members of the Citizens' Union, and with the German-American League, decided to take steps to nominate a municipal ownership ticket; and action was precipitated on the 4th by the nomination (p. 427) at a municipal ownership mass meeting, of William Randolph Hearst for mayor. Mr. Hearst accepted on the 10th, in a letter to Judge Seabury, chairman of the committee of notification, in which he said:

I have felt absolutely unable and unwilling to accept the nomination you have offered me, but I have at length decided to defer to your wishes and not to shirk a task that presents itself to me as a public duty. . . . The machinery of government in this city is in the control of a boss whose fortune is based on contracts awarded by corporations in return for special favors and illegal privileges. The subway, which was owned and built by the city, has been given away. . . . An organization for plunder has planned to secure and exploit all new subways and all other remaining franchises, and has arranged a political combination to make it impossible for the people to protect themselves. And, bad as the situation is to-day, it is as nothing to the four years' riot of corruption that would follow an apparent indorsement of such dishonesty at the polls. . . . Under these circumstances a man asked by his fellow citizens to represent their interests and the honor of the city has no right to refuse.

Ex-Senator John Ford, whom the Republicans have favored for Mayor, but whose municipal ownership views make him objectionable to the plutocratic elements of his party, goes on the Municipal

Ownership ticket for comptroller, with J. G. Phelps Stokes as candidate for president of the Board of Aldermen.

Republican nominations were made on the 6th. The candidate nominated for Mayor was Charles E. Hughes, who has distinguished himself as counsel for the Armstrong legislative committee in the insurance scandal investigations (p. 427). The platform makes no further declaration regarding public utilities than this:

We believe that in the future development of the subways there should be secured the freest opportunity for competition in their construction and equipment, and that such subways should at all times be under the absolute control of the city government. The fact has been established by a legislative inquiry that it is permitted by the city authorities to operate franchises that have expired, and that the price of gas to the private consumer is extortionate. In view of the fact that the lighting trust is an absolute monopoly and of its failure to render to the people fair service at fair rates, we are in favor of the establishment of a municipal lighting plant for the use of the municipality and of its citizens, and of its operation by the city.

Mr. Hughes positively declined his nomination on the 9th, on the ground that he could not accept without betraying the trust reposed in him by the policy-holders of the insurance companies which are now under investigation. Frank Moss has been substituted.

New England politics.

At the Republican convention of Massachusetts on the 6th, Curtis Guild, Jr., was nominated for governor. Eugene N. Foss, of Boston, leading a tariff revision faction, demanded a declaration for free hides, iron ore, lumber and wood pulp, but owing to concessions in the platform he refrained from making a contest, giving notice however that next year his faction would expect the party convention to acquiesce in his demands. The tariff plank as adopted declares:

The Republican party of Massachusetts reaffirms its devotion to the principle of protection, and is opposed to tariff changes tending to depress or destroy any of our industries, or to lower the wages of American labor. But we recognize the fact, as declared by the national Republican convention at Chicago, that rates should be changed when conditions have so

changed that the public interest demands the alteration of schedules. The time at which revision of the tariff should be undertaken must be determined by the representatives of the party from all parts of our country. We approve the position taken by our senators and representatives at the last session of Congress in favor of present action, and we urge that they should continue to press upon their party associates in Congress from other States the wisdom of a consideration of the tariff for the purpose of revision and readjustment.

The Democratic convention followed, on the 7th, with the nomination of C. W. Bartlett for governor, Gov. Douglas having refused to be again a candidate, and adopted a platform declaring that—

the paramount issue at this time before the people of Massachusetts is relief from tariff restrictions. The effect of this policy, forced upon the dominant Republican party by the greed of great and selfish interests, has been to cut Massachusetts off from its natural markets of sale and purchase, and to push the State toward the danger line of industrial decline.

We believe that a sensible relief from these evils could be obtained without disturbance to business by placing upon the free list a number of raw materials of our industries, such as coal, iron, lumber, hides, wood pulp, and by the immediate enactment of a dual tariff law, which, while having the present tariff as its maximum, would give liberal reductions in duty rates to those nations that will accord to us favorable trade opportunities.

We believe that legislation should be enacted giving to cities and towns broader powers in the conduct and control of business which derives its profits from the necessities of the community, experience having demonstrated that under favorable conditions and proper management the business of public utilities can be conducted by municipal corporations with profit to the people, both in price and in service.

The Prohibitionists of Rhode Island nominated Bernon E. Helme for governor on the 7th.

The life insurance scandals.

Further exposures of embezzlement of life insurance funds for political purposes (p. 427) have been made before the Armstrong committee at New York during the week. Vice President Gillette of the Mutual Life, testified that with the concurrence of the president, Richard A. McCurdy, he had

contributed out of the treasury of that company to Republican campaign funds, \$15,000 in 1896, \$35,000 in 1900, and \$40,000 in 1904. At previous sessions of the committee, the associate auditor of the Equitable, Alfred W. Maine, was forced to reveal an alliance of many years' standing between the New York Life, the Equitable Life and the Mutual Life for the purpose of promoting favorable and opposing unfavorable legislation in the various States. The States were grouped territorially in three divisions, each company being responsible for a division, and large sums of corruption money were contributed jointly by the allied companies for the purposes of this alliance.

Pursuant to his announcement of a week ago (p. 427) the Superintendent of Insurance of Missouri, W. D. Vandiver, notified the New York Life Insurance Company on the 7th that the sum of \$148,702, which President McCall had confessed to having contributed out of the funds of the company to the Republican national campaign committee for the years, 1896, 1900, and 1904, must be replaced in the treasury of the New York Life Insurance company within the next thirty days, and that—

unless this requirement is met, or assurance given that it will be met without unnecessary delay, I, as superintendent of insurance for the State of Missouri, will proceed under the provisions of section 8,022, revised statutes of Missouri, to cancel or revoke the license of the company to do business in this State. From the facts already disclosed it is evident that the interests of the policy-holders in the New York Life Insurance company, as well as the public generally, demand a change in the management of the company. This department will, therefore, insist that a new president and vice president and financial committee be put in charge of the affairs of the company as soon as the board of directors may be able to effect the change.

On the 6th Thomas W. Lawson took steps to organize representative men throughout the country to secure the restitution of funds embezzled by insurance officials and the punishment of those guilty. He telegraphed as follows:

Will you, with other governors and the strongest representative men of the country, serve on a policy-holders' pro-

tective committee of the Equitable, New York Life, and Mutual companies? The committee will be unfettered, except that it is to take possession of the New York and Mutual companies and select directors and controllers who shall be pledged to obtain full restitution and full punishment of wrongdoers and also obtain restitution and punishment of the Equitable wrongdoers. There will be no expense to the committee nor need the committee travel. The committee is to represent no faction and is obligated to no one, except the policy-holders. It has been decided that you should represent your section in this sacred duty kindly wire answer at my expense. This is vital! You will not be bound until other members' names are submitted to you."

Favorable replies were reported on the same day from Gov. Johnson of Minnesota, Gov. Beckham of Kentucky, and ex-Attorney General Monnett of Ohio.

Revival of the Philippine question.

At a mass meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League (pp. 21, 25, 305, 343), held on the 10th in Faneuil Hall, Boston, the dean of the Yale Law School, Henry Wade Rogers, was the principal speaker. Prof. Rogers related the colonial policy to an imperialistic tendency at home. Said he:

Ever since the Civil War there has been taking place in this country a steady centralization of government. The treatment accorded our new possessions is one evidence of what has been taking place. The people of the United States have shown themselves unwilling to govern their conduct according to the basic principles upon which our institutions, State and national, were founded. The principle which Lincoln declared would be "in all coming days" a stumbling block has been disregarded within forty years by the party which he founded. In place of the distrust with which the fathers looked upon executive power, we find a disposition to resort to the President for relief in matters which are entirely outside his authority. An industrial dispute arises between labor and capital and men appeal to the President, as a powerful ruler whose wishes, like the command of an autocrat, are not lightly to be disregarded. Congress shows a disposition to delegate to the President powers of government which the Constitution never intended he should exercise. In 1901, for example, the Congress passed the Philippine act, which constituted the President an absolute despot over eight millions of people. The principles of constitutional liberty can only be preserved by strictly conforming to the

limitations of power which the Constitution prescribes. There may be a man in the White House some time whose intentions will not be as good as those of Washington and Lincoln or Cleveland and Roosevelt.

In introducing Prof. Rogers, Moorfield Storey, the distinguished lawyer of Boston, who presided at the meeting, made an address, in which he said that a government similar to that of Russia had been established by the United States in the Philippine Islands.

In connection with this Boston meeting it is to be recalled that Richard Weightman, Washington correspondent of the Chicago Tribune (Republican), reported as follows in the Tribune of October 3, with reference to the Taft expedition (p. 358) to the Philippines:

One fact developed by the Taft expedition to the Philippines is that of the deep desire and resolute purpose of the natives to obtain the privilege of self-government. Other matters are involved in more or less uncertainty. There can be no doubt on this point whatsoever. We hear from time to time positive assertions to the effect that the Filipinos are gradually becoming reconciled to our rule, realizing our superior methods and institutions. These, however, invariably emanate from our own officials or from some beneficiary of our establishment. The Filipinos themselves invariably declare, and with steadily increasing emphasis, that they want to govern themselves. This feeling is not confined to the ignorant, low classes. It is the unanimous sentiment of the educated, well to do, and responsible elements of the population.

Apparently the Philippine problem is more exasperating than reports of the Taft party has revealed, for in the September 28th issue of the New York Age, one of the leading Negro papers of the country, we find a special letter from Manila, dated the 18th of August, in which the correspondent says:

The political pot boiled as it never boiled before in the Philippines during the visit of Taft's party. . . . This feeling reached its climax at a dinner by Senor Arsenio Cruz Herrera, alcalde of the city of Manila and president of the Federal party, to the visiting Congressmen and the provincial governors. Senor Herrera improved the occasion by delivering a speech of bitter denunciation of Gov. Luke Wright and of the class of Americans sent out here to

govern the Philippines, especially the American Commissioners. He made no bones of stating that he and the Filipinos are sick and tired of Wright and his creatures and desire their dismissal, on account of the ineradicable bias against the Filipinos given them by the prejudices against colored races which residence in the Southern States instills. In short, so incendiary did Senor Herrera's speech seem to Secretary Taft that it was, at his request, kept out of the American papers. . . . Gov. George Curry of Samar arose and said something in defense of Mr. Wright, alleging his great rectitude and saying that if the Federals had gone to the governor and made complaint about the outrages he surely would have attended to the matter. Senor Herrera replied, citing the case of the violation of a woman by a constabulary officer, who has not been punished for his crime, and the trial of the Renacimiento editors, ordered by the governor, solely because said newspaper denounced the outrages committed. He continued, that the class of Americans sent here to govern the Islands are responsible for the alienation of the people from the American government, characterized them as "grafters" and "virtue despoilers," and asked the visiting Congressmen to send to the islands a better element of Americans, such as the Filipinos could respect. At this point Gov. Curry, who is an American, became so exasperated that he lost control of himself, and leaping to his feet hurled a glass of champagne—glass and all—full in Herrera's face. The pandemonium which ensued was horrible, and all accounts of it were kept out of the local press and foreign dispatches. The Americans, whom Herrera castigated so bitterly, are full of wrath, and his resignation has been demanded. El Renacimiento, the native organ, is being prosecuted for libel by the government, though charged by an individual, a Colonel Baker of the Philippines constabulary, who commanded the forces in Cavite and Batangos during the recent upheaval. Baker put into use Weyler's old Cuban game of "reconcentration" and used the people very roughly, indeed; and El Renacimiento got its foot into it for criticizing his methods and conduct.

Dissolution of the Norway-Sweden union.

After two days of exciting discussion in the Norwegian Storting over the Karlstad agreement concerning the dissolution of the Norway-Sweden union (p. 409), a proposal of the republican members to submit the agreement to a referendum was defeated on the 10th by 109 to 8, and the agreement was ratified by 101 to 16. It

was ratified by the Swedish Riksdag on the 11th.

NEWS NOTES

—The American Bankers' Association met at Washington on the 11th.

—The American Civic Association was in session at Cleveland from October 4 to 6.

—The will of the late Mrs. E. D. Rand, who died recently in Italy (p. 266), bequeaths \$200,000 for the establishment of a school for the propagation of socialism. The trustees are her daughter, Mrs. George D. Herron, and Morris Hillquist.

—In compliance with the will of George W. Catt, whose widow is Carrie Chapman Catt, the woman suffrage leader, his body was delivered on the 10th, at the conclusion of funeral services in New York, to the Bellevue Hospital Medical College, for use "in such manner as will be most conducive to the advancement of medical and surgical knowledge."

—Field Marshal Edhem Pasha, commander of the Turkish army in the war with Greece, died at Constantinople on the 6th. Born of Christian parents on the island of Chio, he was captured when a boy by Turkish soldiers in a great massacre and became the slave of a Turkish general, who gave him his freedom and educated him at Paris.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (p. 359) for the month ending August 31, 1905, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for August were as follows (M standing for merchandise, G for gold and S for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M	\$225,388,005	\$179,682,262	\$45,704,743 exp.
G	1,429,258	8,090,172	6,660,914 imp
S	8,830,769	5,264,035	3,566,734 exp.
	\$235,648,032	\$193,037,469	\$42,610,563 exp.

PRESS OPINIONS

THE CHICAGO TRACTION RING.
Chicago Examiner (Dem.), Oct. 11.—And the gang in the Council are encouraged by Monday night's session. The prospect for loot brought back the memory of the halcyon days of Carter Harrison, when the traffic in franchises never ceased. It was then that if a gang of boodlers ran short of money they looked around for something the city owned and sold it to the highest and best bidder, until the final coup came in the subway steal. No wonder this gang opposes municipal ownership. No wonder they respond when Harrison attacks municipal ownership in any form. For municipal ownership will put Harrison and his band of grafting politicians out of business. . . . We grant there are some honest men in the Council opposed to municipal ownership. They have a right to their opinion. But the people forbade the granting or the extension of any franchise to the traction companies. There is where they must obey the order of the people. . . .

Shall J. P. Morgan, New York Life Perkins, and their New York partners rule Chicago from New York and own the Chicago Council or shall the people of Chicago be their own masters? That is the question before you, gentlemen of Chicago.

ROCKEFELLER'S TAINTED MONEY.
Springfield (Mass.) Republican (Ind.), Oct. 6 (weekly).—Mr. Rockefeller has a neighbor who illuminates the former's position by contrast. Tom L. Johnson made a fortune in the manufacture of steel and in street railway enterprises, taking advantage of the protective tariff and the neglectful policy of cities in letting out public franchises to private exploitation. He kept clearly within the law, but he believed that both policies were wrong, and he is devoting his life and fortune to the correction of the wrong. There were those who tried to post him before the people as one who was self-condemned and not entitled to public confidence. But the public decided that for this very reason he merited the fullest popular confidence, and he has it to-day. Therefore, even though we are to admit with Johnson that the policies through which he became rich are wrongful, his money is without that mischievous taint which attaches to Rockefeller's. It could be accepted by any college in full freedom from any necessity of defending or excusing the ways in which it was acquired. The college could join with the donor in teaching truth and instructing reform. Is there a sting to Mr. Rockefeller in the cry of tainted money, and would he remove it? Then let him follow Johnson's example. And the more so as he did not stop merely with taking advantage of open and deliberate public policies.

THE PHILIPPINES.
The Nation (Ind.), Sept. 28.—Congressman Herbert Parsons returns from Manila delighted to find that the "principle of the Philippines for the Filipinos" pervades the whole insular government. He also discovered that "all the Filipino political parties are now in favor of independence." Yet they can't have it, for, "to a practical-minded people like us," all their political talk is "academic." So it seems that the "principle" is to be allowed to work only when convenient.

MISCELLANY

WHO KILLED—?

For The Public.
The New York American of October 6 publishes an interview with the insurance commissioner of Nevada, wherein he says that Tom Lawson should be given credit for the life insurance exposure.

"Who killed Alexander, McCurdy and McCull?"
"I," said Tom Lawson,
"When I laid my sharp claws on,
I killed them all."
J. H. WELLS.

MAYOR JOHNSON'S WAY.

From an editorial in the Cleveland Plain Dealer of Sept. 30, 1905.

The difference between Coxism in Cincinnati and Johnsonism in Cleveland is clearly shown by a comparison of the cost of the two governments for the same period.

Service for service, the cost per capita

in Cincinnati under Coxism was \$12.55, and for the same time under the Johnson administration \$8.55.

The pay rolls alone of the waterworks in Cincinnati amounted to 50 per cent. more than the entire running expenses of the Cleveland waterworks, although the Cleveland waterworks pumped 40 per cent. more water and had 50 per cent. more consumers.

In every department the Cleveland government was more economical and at the same time more effective than that of Cox-ridden Cincinnati. The Johnson administration has insisted that for every dollar expended there should be an honest dollar of service.

In one matter only Cleveland spends more money in gross and per capita than Cincinnati. While the municipal expenditure in Cincinnati was nearly 50 per cent. greater than in Cleveland, the money levied for school and library purposes in Cleveland was double that levied for the same purposes in Cincinnati the same year.

That is an "extravagance" which Cleveland does not begrudge. The schools of Cleveland are its pride. Those of Cincinnati are its disgrace.

Coxism did its utmost to reduce the Cleveland schools to the level of those of Cincinnati by substituting the political board system for the federal plan of single direct responsibility. That it only partially succeeded was due to the determined fight made by friends of the Cleveland system. That even a partial success was gained may prove in time to be a serious misfortune.

That, in spite of a municipal code and a school code forced by Coxistic influences upon an unwilling people, Coxism has thus far been kept out of Cleveland is largely due to the efforts of Mayor Johnson—and of those working loyally with him regardless of past party affiliations—for honest and efficient public service, with a laudable ambition to make Cleveland worthy the reputation given it as "the best governed city in the United States."

THE STORY OF ONE EARNEST WORKER.

When Heinrich was employed by the struggling young manufacturing firm he had "been over" just one year. He had not yet lost the rosy cheeks brought from the Fatherland, and his occasional wrestling match with the English idiom delighted the other workmen.

Heinrich, however, took himself seriously. He had attended the excellent Prussian schools, and since coming to America he had learned to read and write English; in fact, he could read and write so well that when the

shipping clerk, whom he had been assisting, took sick, Heinrich was permitted to fill his place during the dull season. To be sure, the shipping clerk received \$10 a week, while Heinrich was paid only \$6 for doing the same work; but there was a better chance to learn.

"I am not to be the president yet," said Heinrich, "for which I was not born in America. For the alderman, the burgomeister, the governor, the Rockefeller, maybe, it is not so. It is to work and learn, and not waste one's money. As for me—why not? Have I not so soon the advancement taken?"

Busy times arrived. The shipping clerk had given up his position, and as Heinrich had performed the duties satisfactorily, he succeeded to the job. One day he presented himself at the manager's desk.

"Well," said the manager, "why aren't you at work?"

"I am at this time the strike on," responded Heinrich, excitedly. "It is that I shall have the \$10 which for my job is the remuneration. I am to get it now."

"Go back to work, Heinrich, and I'll see about it," replied the manager. "Those orders mustn't get behind."

"Nein! Nein! It is now. Already you the time have had." Heinrich made no move.

"Oh, well, go to work, and I'll fix you up," said the manager. "We're too busy to quibble now."

The business of the company was prospering. As the holidays drew near the orders, came flooding in, and for the employes life meant nothing but work and eat and sleep, with a maximum of work and a minimum of sleep. Heinrich would tumble at midnight into a chair in the shipping room for a nap. The first arrivals in the morning found him at his duties.

"It is to work," he would say. "It is thus that all great men have succeeded. The company will not add to my wages unless I am to be appreciated. Is it not so?"

The new year came. Old Mr. Brouch and Mr. Jimley, the two partners, who had begun business five years before with a desk and \$5 in cash capital, divided the year's abundant profits between them. Before departing for California to recuperate from the season's strenuous efforts Brouch dictated a note to the manager. The latter tossed it over to Heinrich next morning. Heinrich received it with trepida-

tion. No doubt it was a letter of appreciation announcing an increase in his salary and perhaps a promotion.

"Cut Heinrich from \$10 to \$8," it read. "The busy season is over, and the job isn't worth as much. Anyway, it doesn't require any particular intelligence to do the work, and even \$6 ought to be enough."

Heinrich swallowed something hard, but walked quietly away.

"No intelligence, is it? We shall see," he muttered to himself, after a few minutes' thought. During the remainder of the day he went about as though borne down by a serious project of some sort.

Next morning when the office force arrived, there were indications that Heinrich had been there early and departed. On the boxes in the shipping room the original addresses had been painted over and new ones substituted. Evidently enough "mix-ups" had been arranged to keep the establishment busy for six months straightening them out. But the errors had been rectified.

A note in Heinrich's handwriting lay upon the manager's desk. It read:

I was mad, and mixed up the addresses because Brouch thinks not that the intelligence is requisite. Yet I have not the dishonesty to do the unright action. It is, therefore, that I have come down early and made it all correct. Even so I am not to stand to be cut down in my reward after so hard a work, and I am dispensed with you henceforth. HEINRICH.

The manager threw the note into the waste basket and dictated an "ad." for "a young man to start in at \$5 a week, with chance for promotion if a good worker."—Chicago Daily News.

THE TARIFF TAX ON HOMES.

Portions of an address delivered by Fred, Cyrus Leubuscher, of New York, before the United States League of Local Building and Loan Associations at its Convention at the Murray Hill Hotel in New York City, July 26 and 27, 1905.

"You are quite presumptuous," wrote a famous political economist to whom I had applied for data, "to suppose that, in the compass of a short paper, you can fully cover such a subject as the tariff tax on homes." He was correct in his criticism—from his standpoint; for he assumed that I meant to discuss not only the house but all of its contents—food, clothing, furniture and bric-a-brac, as well as lumber, brick, stone and iron. It would not only be presumptuous but it would be impertinent as well for me, as a building association man in a convention of the United States League of Building Associations, to attempt to treat, save incidentally, of anything except the building itself and the materials which enter into the making

of it. It would also be impolitic, if I expect to make any impression, for me to arouse political prejudices, as I surely would do if I introduced a discussion of the questions of protection and free trade that are involved in the tariff on food, clothing and furniture. I distinctly disavow any such intention in this paper. I claim that a discussion of the question of free raw materials that enter so largely into the construction of houses, should not shock the most hide-bound protectionist, and that he should join with the free-trader in the demand for untaxed lumber, untaxed brick, untaxed iron and steel, untaxed window-glass, etc.

The July, 1904, report of the Bureau of Labor, based upon new estimates for 2,567 families, gives the per cent. of expenditures for the principal items entering into the cost of living as follows:

Items.	Per cent.
Food	42.54
Rent	12.95
Principal and interest on mortgages on homes	1.58
Fuel	4.19
Lighting	1.06
Clothing	14.04
Taxes75
Insurance	2.75
Labor and other organization fees.....	1.17
Religious purposes99
Charity31
Furniture and utensils.....	3.42
Books and newspapers.....	1.09
Amusement and vacation.....	1.60
Intoxicating liquors	1.62
Tobacco	1.42
Sickness and death.....	2.67
Other purposes	5.87

Total100.00
If we lump the per cents. of rent, interest on mortgages, and taxes, which legitimately belong together, we have a total of 15.28, making it the second largest item in the cost of living. Rent and building materials should be considered together, because the tariff tax on rent is due to the tariff tax on building materials, which greatly increase the cost of building and repairing houses. Those who buy materials and build their own homes pay their tariff tribute on building materials direct to the scores of protected trusts that "guard our homes as a pack of wolves guards a flock of sheep." Those who rent homes pay their tariff tribute through the landlords, who add enough to the rent bills to cover the tariff cost of constructing the rented homes.

In the United States duties are levied for two ostensible purposes: First, to raise revenue; second, to protect our manufacturers and wage workers against the lower prices of foreign countries which would otherwise undersell them and thus tend to drive

them out of business. Are these two purposes subserved by levying the present tariff on building materials? Let us see.

The 1900 census values the principal products that enter into the building of houses as follows:

Brick and tile.....	\$51,270,476
Carpentering.....	316,101,758
Gas and lamp fixtures.....	12,577,806
Gas machines and meters.....	4,392,730
Glass.....	56,539,712
Iron and steel nails and spikes..	14,777,299
Iron and steel pipe.....	21,292,043
Iron work—architectural, etc...	53,508,179
Lead—bar, pipe and sheet.....	7,477,824
Lime and cement.....	28,689,185
Lumber—planing mill products.	168,343,003
Mantels—slate and marble.....	1,153,540
Marble and stone work.....	85,101,591
Masonry—brick and stone.....	203,593,634
Oil, linseed.....	27,184,331
Painting and paper hanging....	88,396,852
Paints.....	50,874,995
Paper hangings.....	10,663,209
Plumbers' supplies.....	14,771,185
Plumbing, gas, etc., fittings....	131,852,567
Pumps, not steam.....	1,341,713
Roofing and roofing materials..	29,916,592
Steam fittings and heating apparatus.....	22,084,860
Tin and terne plate.....	31,892,011
Tinsmithing, sheet iron working, etc.....	100,310,720
Varnish.....	18,687,240
Wood—turned and carved.....	14,338,503
Total.....	\$1,567,133,505

These figures were obtained from factories and, of course, are wholesale prices. I think it is fair to state, that at least one-third more is paid by the final consumer after the products have passed through the hands of various middlemen. This brings the figures up to about \$2,100,000,000. Mr. Byron W. Holt, the well-known economist, has made careful estimates which show that to these figures should be added at least \$200,000,000 for lumber other than planing mill products, and \$200,000,000 more as the cost of foundry, machine-shop and blacksmithing products and of structural iron and steel. He also computes the cost of all other materials at \$117,000,000. This makes a grand total of about \$2,600,000,000 as the annual expense bill of the people of the United States for erecting and repairing buildings. Probably from 20 per cent. to 30 per cent. of this sum is expended on business and public buildings, churches, etc.; making a liberal deduction for these, we find that Uncle Sam's nephews and nieces expend every year almost \$2,000,000,000 (or the wealth of two Rockefellers) with which to protect themselves from wind and weather.

The cost of building materials is now fully 50 per cent. higher than it was eight years ago when the Dingley tariff bill

became a law. This is only in slight measure due to higher wages; and it is estimated that the tariff is responsible for most of this increase. According to Moody's Manual most of the trusts have been formed since 1898; and it is only since that date that the lumber and other trusts have fully realized how the tariff enables them to raise prices.

A large proportion of the rent for homes goes to cover the cost of repairs. These consist largely of lumber, paint, glass, cement, nails, screws and roofing materials, the cost of nearly all of which is increased 40 or 50 per cent., or more, by the tariff. If the materials for repairs on the average house cost \$15 a year the tariff is responsible for about four or five dollars of this amount. I have, therefore, estimated the tariff cost of those who own and those who rent homes together. In either case it is the occupants of homes who pay the so-called protective tariff tax of constructing and repairing the homes of this country—unprotected from the protected tariff trusts. It has required a great deal of calculation to arrive at the average rate of duty under the tariff act of 1897. On some products the duty is imposed according to weight or quantity, on others according to the value, and on still others according to both quantity or weight and value. On Portland cement, for instance, the rate is eight cents per 100 pounds, and on other cement 20 per cent. ad valorem. I have, however, taken the report of the Bureau of Statistics of the Department of Commerce and Labor, and carefully calculated the ratio between the imports for the year ending June 30, 1904, and the duties collected thereon; and I find that the average percentage of duty on the principal materials entering into buildings is as follows:

Brick and tile.....	32
Cement.....	25
Glass.....	68
Iron and steel nails.....	28
Iron and steel pipe.....	36
Lead.....	82
Lime.....	34
Lumber (planing-mill product).....	15
Marble.....	55
Paints (white lead).....	55
Paper hangings.....	25
Stone.....	50
Tin plates.....	33
Varnish.....	97

Now what justification is there for thus handicapping the poor man in his struggle for a home?

Is it revenue? In 1903 less than twelve million (\$12,000,000) dollars was collected in the custom houses from duties on building materials; and in making up the list, in order to be perfectly fair,

I included materials that are not used in the average building, such as asphaltum, coal-tar, oxide of cobalt, iron beams and girders, marble and onyx. So that less than two per cent. of the Federal revenue is derived from this source—surely not enough to warrant the government in discouraging the building of homes.

Even the most hide-bound protectionist must now admit that unless the apologists for a tariff tax on building materials can show that it tends not only to keep men employed who without it would be obliged to seek another livelihood, but also increase their wages, it should be repealed by the next Congress. Remember that we are not now considering manufactured articles, such as cotton goods, shoes, etc., but what are practically raw materials, for all things used for the building of a house are, in relation to it, raw materials. If the tariff on these were necessary in order to keep men employed at living wages, the majority of the American people would bear it patiently, for they seem wedded to the protectionist idea. The prices they pay, however, should be greater than the European prices for similar goods only in the proportion as American wages are greater than the European. As a matter of fact, the prices charged their fellow-countrymen by the trusts which control the principal building materials are many times greater than the difference in wages.

I have thus far shown that the only two reasons that justify a tariff, viz., revenue and protection, do not apply to building materials. The hypocritical pretenses of the building material trusts having been proven, I will now show that they have taken advantage of the situation by not only getting all they can out of their fellow-countrymen, but are actually enabled to undersell foreigners on their own territory. They export large quantities of their products and sell them abroad at competitive free-trade prices.

The tariff committee of the New York Reform Club reports that it has been able to obtain copies of several recent export journals, notably (1) The Exporters' and Importers' Journal of June 18, 1904, published by Henry W. Peabody, 17 State street, New York City; (2) The American Export Monthly of June 18, 1904, published by Arkell & Douglas, 5 to 11 Broadway, New York City; (3) The Export World and Herald of July 5, 1904, published by the American Trading Co., Broad Exchange Building, New York City; (4) El Mundo y Heraldo de la Exportacion

of June 21, 1904, also published by the American Trading Co. The report of the tariff committee states:

"While many of the prices quoted from the journals are not the lowest export prices, yet they are often far below the home prices on the articles mentioned. To supplement and corroborate the information derived from these export journals the tariff committee employed a man who has for 20 years been a buyer of goods for export. Being personally acquainted with the selling agents of many of these exporting manufacturers, he could and did obtain the export catalogues and price lists of most of the manufacturers quoted. Many of these price lists are in the possession of the tariff reform

committee. In most cases the manufacturers themselves, or their agents, have marked their discounts for export on the margins of their catalogues or lists. Sometimes they have also indicated their home discounts in the same way. In other cases the expert who obtained these prices wrote them on the margins of the lists as they were given to him. All of these prices were obtained in June, July and August, 1904.

From the information thus obtained the following comparative lists of prices have been prepared. I have selected only such as come within the purview of my paper, either building materials or tools with which those materials are assembled to make homes:

Articles and Description.	Export price.	Home price.	Difference (Per cent.)
Adzes, carpenters' sq., h 4-in.....per doz.	\$9 90	\$11 00	11
Axes and hatchets, Yankee, unhandled 5 to 7 lbs. "	6 75	7 50	11
Axes and hatchets, Yankee, handled, up to 7 lbs..... "	6 30	7 00	11
Turpentine han. 4½ to 5½ lbs..... "	8 33	9 25	11
Hatchets, carpenters' 4-in..... "	5 85	6 50	11
Lathing No. 2..... "	4 50	5 00	11
Bit stocks (augur)..... "	12 00	14 40	20
Braces, drill "	23 09	24 30	17
Braces, carpenters' 14-in..... "	11 42	13 37	17
Brushes, painters' A quality No. 2-0..... "	3 20	4 00	25
Brushes, painters' B quality No. 2-0..... "	6 30	7 88	25
Brushes, painters' F quality No. 2-0..... "	8 00	10 00	25
Crowbars, steelper lb.	05	06	11
Drilling machines, No. 3..... each	26 00	30 00	15
Drills, breast, Nos. 10-11.....per doz.	23 40	27 54	18
Drills, ratchet 14-in..... each	3 25	3 75	15
Jackscrews No. 10..... each	1 98	2 23	12
Lumber, No. 2 shelving, dressed.....per M.	33 00	35 00	8
Rope, manilla, ex. selected.....per lb.	11	13	32
Saws, rip, 18-in. No. 4.....per doz.	14 18	18 00	27
Saws, hand, 18-in. No. 6..... "	11 81	15 00	27
Saws, bench, 18-in. No. 4..... "	8 87	11 25	27
Saws, buck, 30-in. No. 104..... "	7 00	8 40	20
Shovels, D handles, R point No. 3..... "	7 42	8 25	11
Shovels, A1 No. 2..... "	6 25	8 40	33
Spades, A1 No. 2..... "	6 25	8 49	33
Spades, D handle, R point No. 2..... "	6 97	7 75	11
Spirit levels, 26 to 30-in..... each	1 80	2 11	30
Vises, pipe No. 1..... each	1 25	2 00	60
Wrenches, 10-in. screw..... each	5 04	5 60	11

My table shows the export and home prices of 32 articles, the latter showing an average of about 18 per cent. above the former, though in many instances these exporters charge their fellow-Americans from 30 to 60 per cent. more than they do their foreign customers.

It is only fair to state that the apologists for this tariff claim that the amounts thus exported are very small and constitute only what they term surplus products. Secretary of the Treasury Shaw claims that for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1904, the total exports that were sold abroad at lower prices than in the United States amounted to only \$4,000,000. How he obtained these figures he does not state; but they are easily disproved. Take iron and steel

for example. Our exports of iron and steel goods for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1904, were valued at \$111,948,586. From these exports a half dozen items, each larger than \$4,000,000, and some of them materials that enter into the building of homes, can be picked out, such as wire, \$5,821,921; builders' hardware, \$11,726,191; pipes and fittings, \$6,310,551. If iron and steel alone furnish over \$100,000,000, how stupendous must be the totals of all goods exported by the trusts, for which they charge foreigners less than they do their fellow-citizens. "But," exclaim the apologists, "there is no proof that any appreciable part of these exports are sold for less than American prices." It is indeed difficult to get at the facts because it is to the in-

terest of the trust magnates to conceal them. In an unguarded moment, however, President Schwab, of the steel trust, testified before the Industrial Commission on May 11, 1901, as follows: "Q. Is it a fact generally true of all exporters in this country that they do sell at lower prices in foreign markets than they do in the home market? A. That is true, perfectly true."

Only one refuge is left for our apologists, and they have all fled to it; and that is the claim that these foreign sales are made either at cost or at an actual loss. And why do these philanthropists, the trusts, sell goods at a loss? Simply in order to keep the workingmen busy, so that they will not lose their wages. The argument presupposes that the 80,000,000 inhabitants of this country are too poor to keep the mills and factories at work all the time and that the trusts love the dear people so much that they take money out of their own pockets in order to give them steady work. The exports of the United States for the year ending June 30, 1904, are valued by the government at \$452,000,000. As all of these, according to Mr. Schwab, were sold at a lower price than the goods sold in the home market, the trusts would have the American people believe that they deliberately lost money on almost \$500,000,000 of exports solely for sweet charity's sake. I feel convinced that investigation will demonstrate that on all exports of building materials a profit is made.

Protectionists should therefore join forces with freetraders in demanding the repeal of the tariff tax on building materials as not only utterly unnecessary from the protectionist standpoint, but as a handicap on Americans in their struggle for supremacy in the race of civilization. Remove this tax, and the demand for masons, carpenters and house-builders generally, will be so great, that wages will rise and thus enable the mechanics in their turn to become home-owners. Remove this tax and in a few years the number of homes will be doubled. Remove this tax, and the pressure of population in the tenement-house districts will be lessened, while little cottages will multiply in the suburbs. Remove this tax, and tens of thousands of little pallid children, instead of dying amid the stenches of the tenements, will grow to sturdy manhood and sweet womanhood in God's country.

"The American Home, the Safeguard of American Liberty," the motto of the United States League of Local Building and Loan Associations, demands that

we, above all, should join in the movement to strike the shackles from the home-building industries. Indeed we should be the leaders, for it was to increase the number of American homes that building associations came into existence. Our cooperative thrift movement seeks to depopulate the tenements, those pestilential breeding spots that may some day hatch out the demons that will subvert our liberties.

Let us forget that we are partisans of this party or that, but let us remember that we are partisans of a deep-seated purpose, and that that purpose is the up-building of the American home.

WILLIE'S RECITATION.

To do what you can
As well as you can,
Is a mighty good plan
For most any man.

To work all the day,
To work every day,
Is the only sure way
Of getting your pay.

If I work all the day
And give up my play,
I surely shall climb
To fortune some time.

On that distant day
I'll not want to play;
I'll only keep climbing
All of the time.

When fortune is ripe
I'll reap what I've sown;
A column of type
And another of stone.
—Newark News.

BOOKS

MONKEY SHINES.

How many generations of five-year-olds have rejoiced in the regulation round of stories! How many times the same story has been told in all the languages over and over! It is quite surprising how limited the number is. It seems to be no easy matter to tell a brand-new story that will hold a five-year-old, and make him want to hear it in the very same words every night in the week.

In his "Monkey Shines" (sold by Public Publishing Co., Chicago) Bolton Hall has told some brand-new stories in the right way. If you read to your five-year-old about "A pike is a fish," or "Bobby had a little pony," or "Willie's uncle went to Florida," and then ask him next night what he wants you to read, more likely than not he will ask for the one you read the night before. This is the supreme test for all good stories—they endure repetition; and if the five-year-old wants the story over and over, he gives it the infallible stamp of genuineness.

Mr. Hall is right in his preface in cautioning the reader against preaching the moral. A good story, in fact,

tells its moral well enough. There may not be any gain even in testing now and then, as there is temptation to do how the story has been taken in. For example, George has heard how Willie's uncle sent him a box of oranges, which he would not divide with his cousins. So the oranges rotted in the cellar. George has had the story three nights in succession. Then his uncle gives him a big cake of Peter's chocolate. You suggest division, and ask him if he does not think Willie was sorry he did not divide his oranges with his cousins. Yes, says George, but Peter's chocolate doesn't rot. Which gives you pause, and shows that we must not push a good thing too far. Surely the best way for the little ones is to let the stories take care of themselves.

Mothers who want something for a short reading at night will be grateful for "Monkey Shines," and those who have not yet bought a copy should not let Christmas go by without putting it among the household gifts.

The make-up of the book is very attractive. The illustrations are somewhat uneven, but most of them are good. Twenty-one of the thirty-one stories have a picture of some kind, and if there is any fault to be found it is that the other ten are without one.

J. H. DILLARD.

THE CHICAGO PARK SYSTEM.

A certain official report on Chicago parks is entitled to be taken out of the category of officialdom and, even if not raised to the dignity of literature, to be considered at any rate as something better than a poor relation. This report, illustrated with handsome half tones of scenery and helped out with valuable maps, outlines the history of Chicago parks from the time of the location of Dearborn park, in 1839, down to the present time, when a movement is on foot to surround the city with a continuous system. The development of the playground parks is of course narrated; and incidentally the park systems of other cities are briefly described.—[Report of the Special Park Commission to the City Council of Chicago on the Subject of a Metropolitan Park System. Compiled by Dwight Heald Perkins. 1904.]

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—Bulletin #4 of the New York State Library, Melvil Dewey, director. Indexing. Principles, Rules and Examples. Albany: New York State Education Department. Price, 15 cents. A complete set of classified instructions for indexing books. It was prepared by Martha T. Wheeler, instructor in indexing at the State Library, with the assistance of Elva L. Bascom, and is described by Mr. Dewey as "the outgrowth of several years' practical work in making and supervising indexes to Regents publications and experience in teaching the subject in the Library School." The instructions, which are fully explained, are also abundantly illustrated with examples.

PERIODICALS

The Craftsman (Syracuse, N. Y.) becomes more and more beautiful. An addition of color plates for illustration of interior decoration greatly aids the imagination in an important field. The October number contains an article on "Civic Art in Cleveland, Ohio," with excellent illustrations of the "group plan" for public buildings, upon which the present imposing improvements are proceeding. Among other civic accomplishments in this advanced city, "as the result of a vigorous campaign for lessening the danger from surface railroad crossings, the present city administration, through numerous conferences with the railway officials, has succeeded in having plans made and approved for the elimination of all such crossings in the city, numbering about 100. A law has been passed authorizing this action, one-half of the cost to be paid by the city, and one-half by the railroads." The article is accompanied by full-page portraits of Mr. W. J. Springborn, the able Director of Public Service at Cleveland, and Mayor Johnson, here wrongly called "Thos. L. Johnson."—A. T. P.

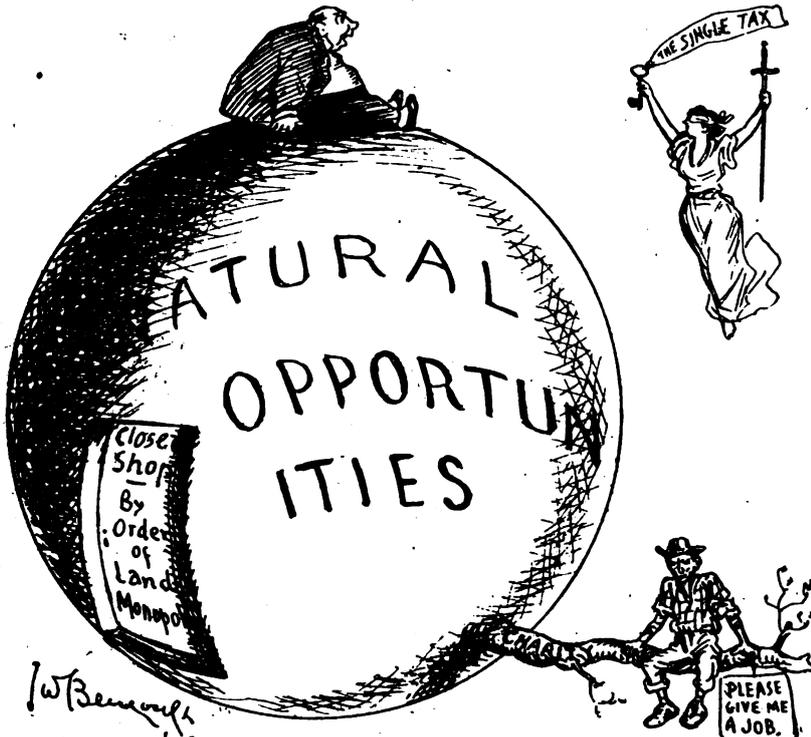
In an editorial in his Magazine for October Mr. Watson argues that for the true cause of the ruin of Italy we must go back to Pliny's famous dictum that "Great estates were the ruin of Italy." "Before a few," he says, "could buy up all the land there must have been some great cause at work, some advantage which the few held at the expense of the many." He finds the true cause to lie in the fact "that the ruling class at Rome had concentrated in their own hands all the tremendous powers of state." No historian knows better than Mr. Watson how difficult it is to get at definite knowledge of economic conditions in past ages. It is hard to say just what was the process of decay in the so-called

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the machinations of speculators and capitalists, and by bringing hardships to the rank and file of the small holders. Much of the land of peasant proprietors had thus passed into the hands of the rich; who, besides, had stolen much of the common land, just as the great landlords of England have done in later times. It was the concentration of own-

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