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LOUIS F. POST
EDITOR

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The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

Volume VIII Number 387

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, SEPT. 2, 1906.

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EDITORIAL

The westward march of Russian empire.

A writer of distinction writing recently on "Scandinavia in the Scales of the Future," laments the disunion of Norway and Sweden. The reason of his lamentation is not at all based on the internal affairs of the two nations. His fear is that Norway first, and afterwards Sweden, will fall into the clutches of Russia. England, he thinks, has unwisely thrown her influence against Russia's securing an outlet at Constantinople, or on the Persian Gulf, or in the Far East. Barred at these points, Rus-

sia will next attempt to stretch across the 18 miles of Norway that separate her from the Atlantic. But Scandinavia is to England as Corea is to Japan; so here we have a pretty problem for the future.

The college sport.

Several papers have taken note of the statement in the report of Dean Fisher of Yale, that one of the worst evils in the university is the segregation of rich students in expensive dormitories. The Dean should see that under present conditions, without and within, such aggregations of rich young sports is inevitable. So far as internal conditions are concerned, the universities have only themselves to blame. The whole baleful set could easily be eliminated, if the universities would maintain even a moderate standard in class-work and examinations. Does anyone imagine that the occupants of expensive dormitories are in college for the purpose of doing any work?

An episode of the Toledo conference.

If too much alcohol on the brain would operate with other public officials who are secret agents of monopoly corporations as it did with the mayor of Atlanta at the Toledo conference, one might not be very sorry if they, too, should get drunk and make speeches. In his coarse denunciation of Mayor Dunne and the municipal ownership movement in Chicago, he gave form to the spirit of the opposition, and exhibited its essential repulsiveness. And he rendered even a greater service. He revealed the truth about his connection with public franchise interests, and thereby exposed the animus of his violent opposition to municipal ownership. Many another public official opposes municipal ownership for similar reasons, but not all of them get drunk and tell about it.

Captious opposition to Mayor Dunne.

Strangely enough, the "executive" sessions which the majority of the committee on local transportation of the Chicago City

Council insist upon holding for considering Mayor Dunne's plan for beginning the establishment of a municipal traction system (p. 310), purport to be fully reported in the local newspapers. If these proceedings are reported with the consent of the committee, why hold the meetings behind closed doors? If they are not intended to be made public, some one is culpable for reporting them; unless the reports are only the guesses of reporters, and this does not seem probable. But if the reports are not guesses, but do fairly present the proceedings at these "executive" sessions, Aldermen Foreman, Bennett and Hunter are doing much to confirm the impression that they are more interested in serving the interests of the traction ring than in cooperating with the Mayor for realizing the popular demand for municipal ownership. Their reported questionings of Mayor Dunne's plan and du Pont's specifications read less like judicially-minded inquiries for the sake of promoting the policy of municipal ownership, than like querulous objections by "counsel for the other side," with the hope of somehow interfering with that policy.

The corrupting railway pass.

An instance of the pass abuse, brought to light by the questioned if not questionable act of a Chicago clergyman with reference to half-fare clerical passes, brings up a new phase of the subject of pass corruption. While half-fare passes may as a rule be neither given to nor taken by clergymen for corrupt purposes, it is certainly true, to quote the Rev. H. Edward Mills, a Congregational pastor of Seattle, who sees the point clearly, that, "unconsciously the acceptance of a favor implies an obligation, and the acceptance of the half-fare rate tends to seal the preacher's lips against corruption." It should be observed, in addition, that notwithstanding the obtrusiveness of corruption in public affairs, clergymen as a body maintain profound silence on the

subject, and that whenever one of their number breaks the silence persistently, the railroads find a sufficient reason in their rules for denying him the usual "courtesy" to the cloth.

Workingmen and savings banks.

Savings bank statistics are habitually referred to for the purpose of demonstrating a suppositiously increasing prosperity of the poor. This kind of evidence has frequently been discredited by the suggestion that accounts in savings banks are largely patronized by the rich. Nevertheless, the savings bank argument continues to flourish. But now the New York Times, a thorough-going plutocratic paper, admits its weakness. "A savings bank account," it said editorially in a recent issue, "is a good investment and a better loan than capitalists are able to make for themselves;" and then it added: "The original idea that savings banks were a convenience for safekeeping, and for the encouragement of thrift, has become secondary to the idea of return upon surplus funds." Thus the "workingman" whose increasing prosperity is proved by savings bank statistics, turns out to be of a piece with the "widow and orphan" whose "little all" is invested in public utility corporations.

Protection is exclusion.

In his speech at the reciprocity conference at Chicago (pp. 322, 327), Gov. Cummins of Iowa suggested a difference between protectionists and exclusionists, which, in our judgment cannot be sustained. Of course we do not criticise Gov. Cummins for trying to reconcile his opposition to trade exclusion with the protection principles of his party. Party leaders cannot and ought not to be expected to de-partyize themselves. But in reality protection and exclusion are one and inseparable. The object of protection is to exclude foreign products from the home market; and when it fails to do this, or to the extent that it fails to do it, it ceases to be protection. Every dollar of money

that goes abroad, so the protection argument has always run, is so much money withdrawn from trade at home and a check to that extent upon home prosperity. Has Gov. Cummins forgotten the argument? Doesn't he remember how Mr. McKinley used to put it: If an American pays \$20 for a ton of British rails, America gets the rails and England gets the money; but if an American pays \$30 for American rails, America keeps both the rails and the money, and is therefore better off by \$20? Or has he forgotten Mr. McKinley's rather thoughtless boast, that our enormous excess of exports is paid for by the foreigner in "pure gold"? What protection aims at is to export only goods and to import only gold. This means exclusion of goods, as complete as possible; and any loosening of the bonds of exclusion is in the direction of free trade.

The truth is that a light has broken in upon Gov. Cummins. He begins to perceive that trade is not an exchange of goods for gold, but of goods for goods, and that exclusion is its enemy. This is free trade doctrine, for exclusion and obstruction are only degrees of the same thing. Gov. Cummins's "stand-pat" adversaries are correct in accusing him of heresy as a protectionist. We say this with no desire that the movement in the right direction of which he is proving to be a great leader shall be obstructed. Neither would we have him change his method by breaking away from the protection fetish as well as from its doctrines. But the fact cannot be blinked, nor is there any necessity in good policy for blinking it. While the protection fetish is still an object of worship to a degree that would make it impolitic for a Republican party leader openly to slap it in the face, its pedestal is crumbling. The day is not far distant when Americans will recognize in protection the great bunco game that it is; and one of the most encouraging signs of this awakening is the reciprocity movement which Gov. Cummins so ably leads.

The other fellow's ox.

In the August number of the Atlantic Monthly Mr. G. W. Alger showed himself to be one of a numerous company: he likes the prophecy of smooth things. Stefens, Lawson, Tarbell and such he would away with. "These exposures," he says, "form the typical current literature of our daily life. As our appetite grows jaded and surfeited, the stories become more sensational so as to retain our attention. Titus Oates and his plot live again in the amazing historian of modern finance. The achievement of the constructive elements of society has been neglected to give space to those spicy stories of graft and greed." What a difference it makes what is exposed, and what is the basis of sensational and spicy stories! There are certain well-known periodicals which have never published a line of what Mr. Alger calls "the typical current literature of the day," but which hardly let an issue pass without "exposing" the weaknesses and meannesses of labor unions. If the Mr. Algers are so much concerned about the danger of "arraigning humanity itself,"—as Mr. G. W. Alger puts it—why do they not attack this sort of exposure? The labor unionists form a far larger part of humanity than the frenzied financiers.

Workingmen and Congregational churches.

The report of the labor committee of the national council of Congregational churches, to be had of Frank W. Merrick, of West Roxbury, Mass., is a superior document of its kind. Church committees on labor usually report platitudinous recommendations; but this report deals with the question of the relation of workingmen to churches frankly, and places its solution upon the true basis. "Our churches and ministers should remember," it urges, "that the value of organized Christianity in the present industrial struggle is not dependent upon partisanship, but rather upon the spirit in which it stands for righteous principles and for that moral insight that requires of every man

and every group of men to treat each and all, not as 'ways of behavior' but as personalities having similar duties and privileges one with another." It would have been more definite to say, "having reciprocal duties and rights," instead of "similar duties and privileges;" but the thought was doubtless intended to be the same. In another place the report declares that "the industrial difficulty lies more in the moral than in the economic order." This is open to the criticism that moral order without economic order cannot abolish economic disturbance. What is probably meant, however, is that if men come into moral order, they will insist upon economic order. And that is true. If the churches earnestly inculcate moral righteousness, regardless of class, condition or laws and institutions, economic righteousness will be promoted, for moral righteousness produces economic righteousness. The real objection to ignoring economic order while teaching and preaching moral order is that economic disorder will react and produce moral disorder—even to such a degree that the very preachers of morality will come to defend immorality rather than disturb vested interests in economic disorder. Economic disorder and moral order cannot coexist.

Public school reform in Chicago.

Both Mayor Dunne and President Tilden, the latter of the Chicago Board of Education, are to be congratulated as well as commended for what promises to be a far reaching reform in school management. Mayor Dunne's appointments of trustees (p. 233), though of the highest order, fell short of constituting a majority of the Board; but now Mr. Tilden, who was supposed to be out of sympathy with the Mayor, has so far cooperated with him as to give the Board the complexion of which the Mayor's excellent appointments were prophetic. By transferring the Rev. R. A. White from the school management committee, where his ill-

vised and absurd hostility to the Teachers' Federation was perpetually irritating, to the buildings and grounds committee, where, in cooperation with men like Emil Ritter and John C. Harding, his sterling honesty can be made effective, President Tilden has done much, not only to produce harmony and to promote honesty of administration, but also to further sound educational policies. And he has done even more in both directions by appointing Jane Addams to the chairmanship of the school management committee, and giving her such associates as Dr. Cornelia De Bey, P. Shelley O'Ryan, and Mrs. Blaine. In accord with these appointments by its president, was the selection by the Board itself, unanimously though in the face of covert opposition from the old regime, of Ella F. Young for principal of the Normal school. Altogether these events imply at least a strong tendency toward abandonment of the "factory" system of public school instruction for a system more idealistic and human. Rational culture instead of mechanical adjustment on the pedagogical side, and honest management instead of grafty "business" methods on the administrative side, now appear to be close at hand in the public school work of Chicago.

The profit of good government.

In his Chautauqua speech at Milwaukee on the 23d, Gov. Folk of Missouri referred to the economic effects of enforcing the law rigorously. "No State," he said, "can be injured by enforcement of the law;" and to prove that this policy in his own State has paid, he stated that its population is increasing and "real estate values have advanced 25 per cent." This result of the enforcement of the law suggests a question quite as important as the important one of law enforcement. If real estate values have increased 25 per cent. in Missouri, in consequence of the enforcement of the law there, then one class of the community (real estate tenants) are forced to pay

higher rents, and another class (real estate owners) are getting the whole difference, except a slight percentage for taxes—all because of an improved administration of the law. Is this fair? Is it really good government when improved administration enables one class in a community to charge another class for the resulting benefits?

Concentrated prosperity.

A very large proportion of the people of the United States, though they fully understand that the country is prosperous, have been puzzled to reconcile this clamorous fact with the much more obtrusive one that they themselves are not prosperous. But now comes the Commercial Bulletin of Cleveland, with an inadvertent explanation. Our prosperity, so it seems, is of a peculiar kind, and the Bulletin invents a singularly apt descriptive term for it. The term is "concentrated prosperity." Thereby the enigma of a prosperous country with an impoverished populace is solved. The country is prosperous, but its prosperity is concentrated in John D. Rockefeller, et al.

"OPEN SHOP" VERSUS "CLOSED SHOP."

I

Most persons have come to know the meaning of the terms "open shop" and "closed shop." But greater certainty of being understood may be assured if we begin this brief discussion by explaining what the terms mean. Their origin is unimportant. The thing to know is what they mean now.

"Closed shop," then, is the term for a shop, factory, store, or other industrial place where workmen cannot obtain employment without being members in good standing of the labor union of their trade. This is demanded by the unions. Objecting to working in cooperation with "scabs," "rats," "strike-breakers," or other non-union workmen, they insist that the shop shall be "closed" against all employes who, not already belonging to the union of their trade, refuse to join

it. If the union is able to coerce the employer, or he is friendly enough to yield without coercion, this demand is granted and that establishment is consequently a "closed shop."

But if the employer will not yield without coercion, and the union is unable to coerce him, then non-unionists as well as unionists may obtain employment there and the establishment is consequently known as an "open shop."

No term has come into vogue for establishments which exclude unionists from employment. The reason probably is that no employers make this exclusion. The issue they raise is between the "closed shop," which employs only unionists, and the "open shop," which employs unionists and non-unionists without discrimination. And the reason why employers, however inimical to labor organizations any of them may be, never insist upon excluding unionists for being unionists, is because freedom to employ non-unionists is, in present conditions, sufficiently destructive of unionism.

Both sides to the labor controversy realize that the issue of "closed shop" versus "open shop" practically involves the issue of union or no union. Consequently "open shop" or "closed shop" has become the issue over which workingmen's unions and employers' unions are struggling.

Without taking the space at this time to discuss the question of moral right or wrong, of freedom or coercion, of liberty or autocracy, which the issue of "open shop" versus "closed shop" involves, we invite an impartial comparison simply of the probable industrial results of either policy.

Much that is being said and written about the inherent right to work is for the most part pure hypocrisy, when not crass ignorance. Those who say it and write it are usually not worth arguing with, because in their hearts and heads they don't mean it. What they do mean is that non-unionists have an inherent natural right to work—when employers want to use them to break strikes.

This idea of the right to work is true enough as far as it goes. We do not deny it. But the broader one, that all men—not merely strike breakers in strike times,

but all men at all times—have an inherent natural right to work, is still more true, because more comprehensive; and this doctrine is denied by the same speakers and writers, whenever its assertion seems hostile to the interests for which they speak and write.

Let us, then, confine this discussion strictly to the question of industrial results. What would be the effect of the "closed shop," and what the effect of the "open shop," on both workingmen and employers?

To avoid prejudice and the play of selfish impulses either way, we shall find it advantageous, in an inquiry involving so much feeling, sordid and otherwise, to be as abstract as the concrete nature of the question permits. For this purpose, then, let us resolve industrial society into employers with jobs to give, workingmen with a life and death necessity for getting jobs, and a dragon to consume "surplus" products. And for simplicity and transparency of discussion let us suppose that the ratio of workingmen to jobs is as 10 to 9, and that 9 of the workingmen are unionists.

The figures are important only for comparison of greater with less; and the dragon may be ignored as being a factor only in a more complete economic generalization than we intend to make.

II

Now, in those circumstances, what, in the first place, would be the industrial result of the "open shop" policy strictly enforced?

Every shop would be open to the 1 non-union man. But as there are only 9 jobs, his taking a job would disemploy one of the 9 union men.

This would compel the union to support their idle member. If they did not, he would have to leave the union and underbid one of their number for his job, and the latter in his turn would have to leave the union and underbid another, and so on, until the union had been completely disrupted.

But if the union did support its first disemployed member, the wages of the unionists would be by that amount diminished and they thereby weakened in their contest with employers, whose sole object as to them is to get as

much product for as little wages as possible.

As that is the employers' object, it is to be presumed that the non-unionist is getting less than the man he displaced. But if the non-unionist takes less than the unionist he displaced, an attack has been made upon wages. Yet the unionists cannot complain. As the establishment is an "open shop" they cannot object to lower wages for the non-unionist, so long as their own wages are not reduced.

After awhile the shop which employs the non-unionist finds it expedient to reduce its force. Whom will it discharge? Certainly not the cheaper producer, the non-unionist, but the dearer, the unionist. This is not discrimination against unionism; it is discrimination in favor of economy of production.

And now the union must support another idle member during the period of stagnation (when jobs are temporarily less than 9), or have him leave the union and underbid them. In due time, however, demand for labor rises again to 9. But will the employer who reduced his force offer to pay the old wages? Why should he? What object could he have in paying more to the unionist seeking a job than to the non-unionist who is already at work? He will not pay more unless coerced; and the union, with two idle members on its hands, is in no trim for coercive action. So the union strains a point and consents to the return of the union man to work at non-union wages.

But now this employer has an advantage over the others; he can undersell them in the market. So they demand a downward revision of the wages scale. They are good natured about it, for they offer to arbitrate; but as they really are at a disadvantage under the old wages scale, they win in the arbitration, and the whole level of wages is reduced.

The ratio of workingmen to jobs, however, remains unchanged. There are still 10 men and only 9 jobs. If, then, the "open shop" policy continues, what is there to prevent a further reduction of wages through the same process, and then another and another, until the union collapses, and all the 10 men are in a

continuous unorganized, helter-skelter, cut-throat struggle for those 9 jobs? Nothing.

And what of the employers? As wages fall, general purchasing power declines, for workingmen are great consumers, and by the time the workingmen are reduced to pauperism the employers, with an abundance of products spoiling on their hands, are ruined by sluggish trade.

The tendency thus briefly and candidly illustrated, is the inevitable tendency under prevailing industrial circumstances, of the "open shop" policy. If the illustration is imperfect in any determinative respect, we should be glad to have the defect pointed out.

III

But would not the result of a strictly maintained "closed shop" policy, under conditions similar to those of the above illustration, be the very reverse? Incontestably.

In those circumstances the "closed shop" policy, generally and strictly maintained, would raise the wages of the workingmen and maintain an active market for the employers, and this without lessening opportunities for employment of the non-unionist.

Since the non-unionist would be locked out of every job by the "closed shop" policy, he would have to join the union. This might be an infringement of his rights, it is true, but the concrete economic result to him, and it is that and not his abstract right that we are now considering, would be infinitely better than under the "open shop" system. When he had joined the union the 9 jobs would by trade union principles, be distributed so that in effect nine-tenths of each job would be done by one of the 9 men and one-tenth of each job by the 10th man. This would reduce wages below the natural standard, if every man wanted to work full time; but the reduction below that standard would be only one-tenth, whereas under the "open shop" it would be down to the lowest limit of subsistence.

Of course the 9 men might exclude the 10th man from membership. But that point is not involved. Trade union principles demand the admission of all workers.

Even competency is not a requisite. Suppose, however, that we consider the possibility.

Remember, we are not discussing natural rights. What we are discussing is industrial results.

Suppose, then, that the union arbitrarily refuses to admit the 10th man to membership, and consequently that he cannot get employment, the "closed shop" policy prevailing. What would result? Why, the 10th man would die. But now there being only 9 men for the 9 jobs, the employers could not coerce the men, nor could the men coerce the employers. Bargaining would be on equal terms, wages would consequently be at the level of the earnings of the workingmen, trade would be brisk, employers would prosper, and everybody would get what belonged to him,—except what the dragon exacted, and we are not now considering the dragon.

Considered simply with reference to industrial results, is it not evident that the "closed shop" policy is preferable to the "open shop" policy?

IV

Do we favor a "closed shop," then? Not at all.

While, under the circumstances supposed, which we believe illustrate fairly the industrial conditions of our time, we should prefer the "closed" to the "open" shop, simply as a matter of industrial results, we do not prefer it as a matter of just social relations. We object to the principle of the "closed shop." But we object to it totally—not only to its use by and for workingmen, but also to its use in subtler ways to the disadvantage and undoing of workingmen.

The greatest shop on this planet, the one with limitless jobs, with jobs so limitless that there could never be more men than jobs if it were not a "closed" shop, is the earth itself. Yet the earth has by law been made and is still maintained as a "closed" shop, the gates of which can be opened only with a golden key.

Break down those gates, which enclose mineral deposits, farm sites, building sites,—make this earth-shop with all its industrial possibilities, an "open" shop—and there would be continuously more jobs than men. As an industrial

result there would be limitless opportunity for employment in all legitimate vocations, full earnings for wages, brisk trade for employers, and no periods of stagnation. In these circumstances there would be no further contests over "open" or "closed" shops in any of the comparatively little shops regarding which these contests rage now. With the big shop "open" no shop could be "closed."

There would be no such contests then, because the demand for workers in all lines would be so much greater than the supply, all the time, that no workingman would wish to keep out another, and every workingman would be his own labor union.

When those employers and their spokesmen who now decry the "closed" shop which labor unions try so ineffectively to establish—when such men rise up with equal enthusiasm against the laws that make a "closed" shop of the earth, they may count us with them. So long as they only denounce the "closed" shop with which labor unions try to neutralize the industrial ill effects of the great "closed" shop which Nature freely offers as an "open" shop, they deserve neither support nor sympathy. While they maintain that attitude, they are not objecting to wrong things because they are wrong, they are only complaining because their own ox is gored.

NEWS NARRATIVE

Week ending Thursday, Aug. 31.

End of the Russian-Japanese war.

The Russian-Japanese war (p. 327) came virtually to an end on the 29th, when the envoys from the two countries, in conference at Portsmouth, N. H., agreed on the terms of a treaty of peace.

The story of this war may be read in the files of The Public, in continuous narrative, by means of the page references with which we habitually connect our items of news. Readers having access to these files and wishing to arrange the reports for narrative reading, should first insert a slip of paper or other book mark between the

leaves where this week's report appears. Let them then observe the page reference in the first paragraph of this report, and turn back in the file of the present year to the page so referred to, namely, page 327 of the current volume. At page 327, after inserting another book mark, turn back to the page there indicated, which is page 309 of the present volume. In this manner run back through the present volume to page 24, where the page reference is to the preceding volume, namely, volume vii at page 823, and then back through preceding volumes, to the last page reference, inserting a book mark at each report. The files will then be in readiness for consecutive reading. Beginning now with the earliest report and reading from that to the next, and so on, the whole story of the war, from the first manifestation of its causes down to the outbreak of hostilities, and thence to the settlement of peace terms on the 29th of this month, appears in continuous chronological narrative.

At the time of our last report (p. 327) the envoys of the two belligerent nations were at a deadlock, and this continued until the 29th. An authoritative announcement was then made that terms of peace had been agreed upon. On all but two points an agreement had been previously effected. The points of contest were Japan's demands for reimbursement of war expenses, and the disposition of the island of Sakhalin, which had come to Japan by conquest. Russia had refused to make any money payment, even to pay \$600,000,000 for the northern half of Sakhalin. Finally, however, as Mr. Sato, one of the secretaries to the Japanese envoys, officially explained on the 29th—

his majesty, the Emperor of Japan, responding to the dictates of humanity and civilization, in a spirit of perfect conciliation and in the interests of humanity, authorized his plenipotentiaries to waive the question of reimbursement of war expenses and consented to a division of Sakhalin upon terms mutually acceptable.

As finally agreed upon, the terms of peace are reported to be in substance as follows:

1. Russia recognizes Japan's "preponderant influence" in Corea, with her right to preserve order in the civil

administration and give military and financial advice to the Emperor of Corea, Japan binding herself to observe the territorial integrity of Corea and the policy of the "open door."

2. Mutual evacuation of Manchuria.

3. Chinese sovereignty and civil administration to be restored to Manchuria.

4. For mutual respect in the future "the territorial integrity and administrative entity" of China in Manchuria, and the principle of equal opportunity for the industry and commerce of all nations, to be maintained.

5. Cession by Japan of northern half of Sakhalin island to Russia. Japan to retain the southern half.

6. Surrender to Japan of the Russian leases of the Liaotung peninsula, including Port Arthur, Dalny, and the Blonde and Elliott islands.

7. Surrender to China, by arrangement with Japan, of the branch of the Chinese Eastern railroad running south from Harbin to Port Arthur and Newchwang, together with retrocession of all the privileges obtained under the concession of 1898.

8. The limitation of the Chinese concession obtained by Mr. Rothstein and Prince Ukhomsky in 1896, under which the "cut-off" through northern Manchuria was built to connect the Transiberian and the Ussuri railroads, so as to provide for the retention of the ownership and operation of the line by the Chinese Eastern, but with provision for the eventual substitution of Chinese imperial police for Russian "railroad guards."

9. Concession by Russia to the citizens of Japan of the right to fish in waters of the Russian littoral from Vladivostok north to Bering sea.

This settlement, the formal treaty for which is being now prepared by experts, is generally regarded as a surrender by Japan. Some explanations attribute it to Japan's humanity, while others account for it upon the theory that the Japanese "peace-at-any-price" party forced it upon the Japanese envoys, through Baron Kaneko, the Japanese financial agent in the United States, who reached the ear of the Emperor of Japan, over the head of the envoys and through the Japanese statesman Ito. According to the latter explanation the Japanese envoys are said to have waived an indemnity and surrendered the upper half of Sakhalin island against their own judgment and under imperative orders from their Emperor.

Congress of the Interparliamentary Union.

At Brussels on the 28th the con-

gress of the Interparliamentary Union, composed of members of the parliamentary bodies of the world, which met last year at St. Louis (vol. vii, p. 375), assembled with delegates representing practically all the leading national parliaments and congresses. The following message was ordered cabled to President Roosevelt:

The Interparliamentary Congress, at Brussels assembled, sends greetings and has the honor to advise you that it has passed resolutions expressing its high appreciation of your action in calling a second conference at The Hague in the interest of international peace, and its profound thanks for your noble efforts in the interests of humanity to terminate the Russo-Japanese war.

The principal subject of discussion was the American plan for a model arbitration treaty and a permanent congress of the nations, advocated by Richard Bartholdt, a member from Missouri of the Congress of the United States. The model treaty proposes that—

all differences growing out of the interpretation or enforcement of treaties which concern diplomatic or consular privileges, boundaries, rights of navigation, indemnities, pecuniary claims, violations of the right of person or property, or violations of recognized principles of international law, shall be tried by the international courts, established under this treaty and the treaty of The Hague. All other questions, of whatever character, shall be referred to a commission of inquiry, constituted according to the provisions of the treaty of The Hague, or to a court constituted as provided herein, and decided on appeal by a court of the permanent tribunal at The Hague, before resort to arms. Alleged violations of this clause shall be tried by the international courts. Upon filing of a statement of its contention in a case of the kind included, either Power may serve notice that it will be proper for its treaty-making power to accept or reject the decision, otherwise it will be considered that the decision of the courts shall be final. In case the treaty-making Power elects to reject a decision rendered, before commencement of hostilities the Powers concerned and the administrative council at The Hague shall agree upon and publish what shall be considered contraband, the rights and duties of neutrals, as understood by the belligerents, and the day for commencing and ending of hostilities—and the territory within which war may be waged. This being done, the question of war or peace shall be referred to the people of the

appealing nation for their decision before war is actually declared. Courts of first instance shall be constituted as follows: Upon notice of resort to arbitration by either party to a dispute, the members of the highest court of each power concerned shall name two of their own number, or any other two persons whom they consider competent, as judges. These shall each name a member of The Hague tribunal, and the last member of the court shall be chosen by lot from those so named, and he shall be the presiding judge, unless he requests that some one else be elected presiding judge. But by mutual consent of all the designated judges the presiding judge may be chosen by them. In such case he need not be a member of The Hague tribunal. There must be an appeal to the high court of The Hague before exercise of the right to resort to arms, for such right shall hereafter be exercised only after a decision by a high court of The Hague tribunal, either upon original hearing of a controversy, or upon an appeal from a commission of inquiry or from a court of first instance constituted as provided herein. Nothing herein shall prevent entire freedom of action by all signatory Powers in a matter which concerns a Power not signatory hereto.

The American plan as a whole comprises, in addition to the foregoing judicial features, provisions for international legislative and executive functions. Congressman Bartholdt, on behalf of the American delegates, brought this part of the plan before the body on the 28th in the form of the following resolutions:

Whereas, The President of the United States, in response to the request of the Interparliamentary Union, has called a second conference of nations to meet at The Hague; and, whereas, the resolution of said Union upon which such action was secured cites among other questions to be considered by said conference "the advisability of establishing an international congress to meet periodically for the discussion of international questions;" therefore be it—

Resolved, that we reaffirm our belief in the wisdom and practicability of said proposition and urgently recommend the same to the said conference of nations for adoption in order that the international judiciary, now existing at The Hague, be supplemented by an international legislature in the interest of justice and permanent peace; and

Resolved, further, that we recommend the following to the consideration of said conference as a basis of organization for and representation in such an international congress, to wit:

An international congress of two houses, a senate and a house of deputies; each nation to have two representatives in the senate and representation in the house of deputies proportionate to its international commerce; each nation to choose and maintain its own representatives in the international congress and to have power of recalling them at any time, the term of office to be eight years unless otherwise fixed by each nation for its own representatives; each member to have one vote; majority to rule in all matters, and concurrence of both houses necessary; each nation to have the right to withdraw at any time from the congress; the territorial and political integrity of each nation represented in the congress to be respected by all nations represented; deliberations of the congress to be confined to matters which directly affect intercourse between nations, and its resolutions limited to the declaration of general rules or principles for the conduct of such intercourse, and these resolutions to be recognized as law by the nations unless they are vetoed by an agreed number of national parliaments; each nation to treat all other nations on equal terms in matters of commerce, whether they be or be not represented in the international congress, except that any nation can raise a commercial barrier against any other nation equivalent to such other nation's tariff wall; while remaining in the congress each nation to have the right to arm itself according to its own judgment; war to remain a lawful mode of action in any dispute, except as the several nations agree to refer controversies to arbitration by special or general treaties of arbitration; the armed forces of all the nations represented to be at the service of the congress for enforcement of any decree rendered by The Hague court according to treaties of arbitration.

After extended discussion, and on motion of Count Albert Apponyi, leader of the Opposition in the Diet of Hungary, Congressman Bartholdt acquiescing, the entire American plan was referred on the 29th to a committee of specialists from the parliaments of the various nations, with instructions to report in three months.

The Norway and Sweden joint commission.

It was announced from Stockholm on the 26th that the following joint commission to negotiate with regard to the dissolution of the Sweden-Norway union (p. 327) had been appointed:

For Sweden—Christian Lundeberg, the premier; Count A. F. Wachtmeis-

ter, minister of foreign affairs; Mr. Staafl, member of the cabinet without portfolio, and Mr. Hammarskjold, minister of education and ecclesiastical affairs.

For Norway—Mr. Michelsen, the premier; Mr. Loevland, foreign minister; C. C. Berner, president of the Storting, and Mr. Vogt, former minister of the interior.

The commissioners were to hold their first meeting at Carlsbad August 31.

Philippine independence.

Renewed evidence of dissatisfaction in the Philippines with American government there (p. 310), came from Washington on the 29th in the form of the annual report of Brig. Gen. W. H. Carter, commanding the Department of the Visayas. Gen. Carter's report is emphatic in its assurance that the islands under his command (lying south of Luzon and north of Mindanao), are still resisting. American papers printed in the Philippines as late as July 29th and just received at the War Department in Washington, tend to confirm Gen. Carter's report. One of them prints an editorial in double column devoted to an argument showing that Gen. Smith's contention that the Philippines were still to be conquered and could be conquered only by the severest methods (vol. v, pp. 227, 232) was and is still correct.

That Filipino sentiment for independence (p. 310) is still strong was evident on the 29th at Manila, when, according to Associated Press reports, "the marble hall of the municipal building was crowded all day with followers of the professional agitators for the independence of the Philippines. They had been invited by Governor General Wright to appear before the visiting Congressmen who accompany Secretary Taft (p. 310). The meeting was called to order and presided over by Senator Scott of West Virginia. The speakers urged the immediate independence of the islands. One speaker, until lately a member of the Hong-Kong junta, maintained that the Filipinos were better fitted for self government than the Greeks, Bulgarians or Peruvians, and would be willing to accept independence under an American protectorate, or a system of perpetual neutrality arranged by the

United States with the leading Powers which would guarantee non-interference on the part of ambitious Powers.

Australian Labor party conference.

From Australia (p. 307) have come more or less unintelligible dispatches regarding the regular conference of the Labor party of that Commonwealth, which met at Melbourne in July. Reports of the local press are now available by mail. At this conference strong efforts appear to have been made to inject into the platform a protection plank, but they failed. It was decided, however, to take a referendum vote of the party on the question of making protection a party doctrine. The most important thing about the conference was its dubious attitude toward socialism. Its "objective" had previously been stated to be "the nationalization of the means of production, distribution and exchange." For this familiar socialist formula, the conference substituted a demand for "the securing of the full results of their industry to all producers, by the collective ownership of monopolies and the extension of the industrial and economic functions of the State and municipality." This clause might be interpreted to refer only to public monopolies, or to include competitive industry, according to the interpreter's attitude toward socialism; but a resolution which the conference adopted, by a vote of nearly two to one, indicates that probably no reaction from or concealing of the socialistic purpose of the party was intended. The resolution was proposed by Mr. Watson, the party leader and recently the prime minister (p. 307), and was as follows:

That the Australian movement be brought into organized relationship with the international movement, and that, with that object in view, steps be taken to secure Australian direct representation at the next international conference.

It is not easy to understand the allusion in the above resolution unless the international socialist movement was meant. And yet Mr. Watson in his speech on the resolution seems to have limited his advocacy of socialism to monopolies; and other important speakers in support of the resolution agreed with him. One of these

was Senator De Largie, from West Australia, who argued that the nationalization of monopolies only, is the practicable policy; and another, Senator McGregor from South Australia, is reported to have —

found it difficult to approach the question coolly. Members were not here to represent the socialist society of Sydney, but the Labor party. They had only been called socialists two years ago, and they had nothing to do with the international socialist movement, but with the Australian labor movement. The true interests of the workers would be advanced by the nationalization of monopolies, and the extension of State or municipal functions.

Not alone were these speeches against the socialist programme, but a plank suggested by the Melbourne branch of the party, which recited that "capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property," and affirmed "fidelity to the principles of international socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of socialists of all nations," received no support from the delegates, not a single vote being recorded in its favor.

The platform as finally adopted declared the following "objective":

1. The cultivation of an Australian sentiment, based upon the maintenance of racial purity, and the development in Australia of an enlightened and self-reliant community.

2. The securing of the full results of their industry to all producers by the collective ownership of monopolies, and the extension of the industrial and economic functions of the State and municipality.

The "fighting platform" declares for—

- (1) Maintenance of a White Australia; (2) nationalization of monopolies; (3) old-age pensions; (4) tariff referendum; (5) progressive tax on unimproved land values; (6) restriction of public borrowing; (7) navigation laws; (8) citizens defense force; (9) arbitration act amendment.

The "general platform" advocates

- (1) Maintenance of a white Australia; (2) nationalization of monopolies (if necessary, amendment of constitution to provide for same); (3) old-age pensions; (4) referendum of Commonwealth electors on the tariff question when the report of Tariff Commission has been completed. Parliament to give legislative effect to the

- decision of the referendum vote; (5) progressive tax on unimproved land values; (6) restriction of public borrowing; (7) navigation laws to provide (a) for the protection of Australian shipping against unfair competition; (b) registration of all vessels engaged in the coastal trade; (c) the efficient manning of vessels; (d) the proper supply of live-saving and other equipment; (e) the regulation of hours and conditions of work; (f) proper accommodation for passengers and seamen; (g) proper loading gear and inspection of same; (h) compulsory insurance of crews by ship-owners against accident or death; (8) citizen defence force and Australian-owned navy; (9) amendment of Commonwealth Arbitration Act to provide for preference to unionists and exclusion of the legal profession; (10) Commonwealth Bank of Deposit and Issue and Life and Fire Insurance department, the management of each to be free from political influence; (11) uniform industrial legislation, amendment of constitution to provide for same; (12) civil equality of men and women.

The following independent resolutions, in addition to those already quoted, were adopted:

That this Conference favors the abolition of the maximum age limit of applicants for government employment where ability to do the work in question is shown by the applicant.

That the Conference requests the Federal Labor members to urge the Federal ministry to nationalize the iron industry instead of granting bonuses, as we consider the nationalization of such industry would be to the best interests of the Commonwealth.

That this Conference repudiates with indignation the charges leveled against the Australian labor movement of endeavoring to weaken the sanctity of the marriage tie, and to sap the foundations of religious belief; and we furthermore declare our firm conviction that the success of our efforts to improve the material condition of the community would result in the elevation and not the degradation of marriage, and would enable the sublime teachings of the Founder of Christianity to be brought home as a living reality to those members to whom, owing to the misery and privation in which society, as now constituted, has engulfed them, they remain but a mere abstraction.

That this Conference urge, through their organizations, the support of Australian productions by our own workmen, and that our various governments and municipalities be urged to give preference to the products of the Commonwealth.

The next conference of the party is to be held at Brisbane in 1908.

Labor and tax reform in the United States.

One of the important labor union gatherings in the United States was the convention of the International Typographical Union at Toronto, which closed on the 19th. This meeting was distinguished by its action on the following resolution, offered by Weldon L. Crosman, a delegate from Boston and identified in the records as "Proposition No. 49":

Whereas, the plank on land monopoly in the platform of the American Federation of Labor declares that occupancy and use should be the only title to land; and whereas, such an arrangement would be a denial of equality in the right of all persons to the use of the earth; resolved, that the delegates from the International Typographical Union to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, be instructed to propose and support the following change in plank 10 of the platform of the American Federation of Labor: "The abolition of the monopoly system of land holding by taxing all land according to its value."

The proposition was referred to the committee on resolutions, which reported it back without recommendation. Its adoption having then been moved by Mr. Crosman and seconded by A. H. Blain, a delegate from Seattle, Mr. Crosman advocated it on the floor to such effect that a hostile motion to lay it on the table, made by Delegate Condon, of Des Moines, was defeated. It was finally referred to the delegates from the International Typographical Union to the American Federation of Labor, who now have the power to decide whether or not to present it in the name of the Typographical union, to the Federation at its next convention.

Printers' strike at Chicago.

A conflict in the typographical trade, which bids fair to become national, began at Chicago on the 26th. Typographical Union No. 16 (the Chicago union) had set January 1, 1906, for insisting upon an 8-hour day. In view of this the Chicago Typothetae (the Chicago union of employing printers), at their meeting on the 21st decided to offer a continuation of the present 9-hour day, wages and other conditions to remain undisturbed, and in case of the rejection of this proposition to post "open shop" notices in all the printing establishments of their members

—that is, to give notice that they would thereafter employ non-union as well as union printers. But it was left to each member to decide individually when to post this notice, prior to January 1st. No adjustment was effected, and on the 26th some of the Typothetae establishments posted notices to this effect:

Hereafter this composing room will be operated as an open shop. The hours of labor and the scale of wages will remain as before.

The employes paid no attention to these notices, but when the notices were followed, a few hours later, by the introduction of non-union men into the composing rooms, the regular employes struck. The number of strikers on the 26th was 274, distributed as follows among the following establishments:

A. R. Barnes & Co.....	18
R. R. Donnelley & Sons company..	125
Rand, McNally & Co.....	100
Steveys, Maloney & Co.....	6
Wagner & Hanson.....	15
Clinic Publishing Co.....	10

To this number 175 had been added on the 30th. Some of the establishments struck against, had not employed non-union men, but they had refused, upon application of President Wright and John C. Harding, officers of the typographical union, to give favorable assurances.

Municipal ownership progress in Chicago.

Several meetings of the local transportation committee of the Chicago City Council have been held to consider Mayor Dunne's plan for municipal ownership and operation of the traction service (p. 310); but as all have been behind closed doors no authentic information of the proceedings is available for publication, although the local papers are full of gossip reports. But Mayor Dunne has made public the preliminary report to him of his traction expert, A. B. du Pont, of Detroit. This report describes 264 miles, single trackage measure, of streets already available to the city or to become so within two years, and among his estimates are the following:

Cost of system.....	\$25,000,000
Gross earnings for 1908 (first year of operation).....	12,000,000
Net earnings for 1908.....	4,150,000
Gross earnings for 1913.....	15,315,378
Net earnings for 1913.....	4,726,151

An opinion on the legality of the Mayor's plan was ordered on the 28th, by the committee, of Clarence S. Darrow and Edgar B. Tolman, the city's special counsel in traction matters. On the 29th it was announced that Glenn E. Plumb, associate counsel for the city on this subject, has discovered a clause heretofore overlooked in the so-called 99-year act, which makes it clear that this act, instead of granting a long term franchise to the traction companies for some of the most important streets, actually forbids their use of those streets.

Municipal ownership in Springfield.

Satisfactory progress in the municipal ownership movement in Springfield, Ill., (p. 278), has been made by Mayor Devereaux, largely due, as he states, to the committee from the Springfield Business Men's Association, consisting of Joseph Farris, Frank Bode and Henry Bengel. This committee was responsible for the mass meeting which showed the pulse of the public at large and was addressed by James M. Graham, Major Connolly, J. W. Patton and Alfred Orendorff. Notwithstanding the original strength in the City Council of those who favored again leasing the city's lighting plant to the private company, the Council voted on the 28th, 10 to 3, for the following motion offered by Alderman J. H. McCreery:

That the mayor be authorized and empowered to take over and operate the municipal lighting plant for the city as soon as possession of it can be obtained.

NEWS NOTES

—On the 25th President Roosevelt accepted an election as honorary vice president of the Public Schools Athletic League.

—President Roosevelt made a trip to the bottom of the sea on the 25th, in the submarine "Plunger," of the United States navy.

—The fourth annual convention of the Catholic Knights of America, founded in Kentucky in 1877, met at Chicago on the 27th.

—An eclipse of the sun occurred on the 30th. The path of total eclipse began at a point near Lake Winnipeg, in North America, and ended at a point on the Arabian coast east of Aden.

—At the second session, of the school board of Chicago, as changed by Mayor Dunne's appointments (p.

000), Jane Adams, of Hull House fame (Mayor Dunne's appointee), was made chairman of the committee of school management, and Ella F. Young was made principal of the Normal School, in place of the late Arnold Tompkins (p. 310).

—Robert J. Collier, the proprietor of Collier's Weekly, purchased the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln at Hodgenville, Ky., at a public auction on the 28th for \$3,600.

Statistical reports on the 30th relative to the progress of yellow fever in New Orleans (p. 329), published on the 31st, were as follows:

Deaths to August 30.....	278
Deaths to August 23.....	274
Increase.....	54
Cases to August 30.....	1,891
Cases to August 23.....	1,508
Increase.....	323

Twenty-four religious denominations, with an aggregate membership of 18,000,000, are to meet in an inter-church delegate conference on federation, in Carnegie Hall, New York, on the 15th of November.

—At the convention of the League of American Municipalities (p. 329), at Toledo, on the 24th, Mayor Dunne, of Chicago, delivered the principal address. It explained the municipal ownership policy of Chicago. He was repelled to vituperatively by Mayor Woodward, of Atlanta, who is reported to have been at the time scandalously under the influence of liquor. In the course of this reply Mayor Woodward boasted, according to the report of the Chicago Record-Herald of the 25th, that he was agent for a million dollars' worth of real estate owned by electric light and traction companies in Atlanta. A special to the New York Times on the 26th, from Atlanta, reports the feeling there as very bitter against him for his attack on Mayor Dunne, and states that when he left office as mayor for a previous term he was employed by "the Atlanta Street Railway Company, which had got a monopoly of transportation franchises during Woodward's term of office."

PRESS OPINIONS

THE RUSSIAN-JAPANESE TERMS.

Chicago Daily News (Ind.), Aug. 30.—Japan has made a magnificent reply to the charge that it was commercializing war.

Chicago Inter Ocean (Rep.), Aug. 31.—The Japanese deserve great credit for their moderation. They gained in the peace conference all that they declared, in the beginning, they were fighting for. In addition, they established general principles in the East that guarantee Japan's safety and give her full opportunity to work out her destiny.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Aug. 31.—The peace conference is only the last incident of a great war. It confirms the substantial fruits of victory to the Japanese. It did not give Russians "worse and more of it"

than they had already received, but it established the fact that they had been whipped, and well whipped; that they had lost all they originally contended for, and that the Japs had obtained all they went to war for and a good deal more.

Chicago Chronicle (Rep.), Aug. 31.—The Japanese have accomplished all they set out to do in the control of Corea, the dislodging of Russia from Port Arthur and the country behind it and the restoration of Manchuria to China. They have accomplished more in the control of half of Sakhalin and the accompanying closer restriction of the danger to them of Russian aggression through Vladivostok, in the acquisition of fishing rights of great value, and in other ways.

THE POSTAL CENSORSHIP.

The Woman's Journal (wom. suff.), Aug. 26.—Another number of Lucifer has been suppressed by the postal authorities, on account of two articles which are not obscene in any honest or straight-forward sense of the word, and one of which is copied from a newspaper freely circulated in Great Britain. . . . The law is now being strained and applied to a purpose for which it was never intended—to stop the discussion of unorthodox views on marriage and parentage. . . . The articles for which the last issue of Lucifer has been suppressed would not be pronounced obscene by any intelligent jury; and there certainly ought to be some means by which an editor who believes his paper has been suppressed unjustly could bring before a jury the question whether the articles objected to really come within the scope of the law.

The (San Francisco) Star (ind. Dem.), Aug. 26.—The question of the right of post office clerks to refuse to mail newspapers to subscribers because they find printed therein matter of which they and their employers in Washington do not approve, is assuming alarming proportions and has to be sternly met if there remains in the breast of Americans one spark of their boasted love of liberty. Are these mail-bag censors wiser in their generation than all the rest of mankind, that their word shall be law as to the fitness and propriety of subject matter and treatment of every topic under the sun? Is it to be supposed the 10,000 and 1,000 subscribers to a news journal are all wrong in their choice of reading matter, and are to be set straight by a small group of men, who happen for the time to be appointed to serve the people in the distribution of the mails? . . . These government mail censors have been worsted once in the courts, and by a woman; now let the saviors of free speech and a free press come to the support of Mr. Harman. We may not—in fact, do not—agree with his ideas, but what of that? He has the God-given right to be heard, and no man nor government should be permitted to deny him that right.

THE CHICAGO TRACTION QUESTION.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), Aug. 30.—The newspapers opposed to municipal ownership find two things in the session Mayor Dunne held with the Council committee Monday. The Mayor refused to tell where he expected to get the money to build the municipal street railway. He also failed to say who would be the trustees under his plan. Great triumph for opponents of the municipal plan! Great confusion for Dunne! . . . But the money will be forthcoming and the lines will be constructed if the Council in good faith obeys the voice of the people of Chicago, who declared for these things when Dunne was elected mayor. The Mayor's plan has realized the worst fears of the opposition. It is assailable only on two points, and these two points were never before raised against any sort of an effort to secure action from a city council.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), Aug. 28.—Private ownership was good for the speculators that were on the inside, but bad for the people. DuPont has a plan for a compact surface system to be built by the city and operated for the benefit of the people. DuPont is a street railway expert. He belongs to a family that since its forbears came from France have furnished the best men in any line they essayed. DuPont's plan embraces a system of about 270 miles. It will be in the best surface car section of Chicago. It will enable the people to go from one section of Chicago to another on one fare. DuPont estimates the gross earnings in 1908 at \$12,000,000. This will run the average daily earning of a car to \$33. Profitable street car service is reached when the average passenger traffic is six to the mile. DuPont's estimate is well within the figures of conservative street car men. The route mapped out by DuPont would command millions if secured by a private company.

TOLSTOY'S TRUMPET BLAST.

Cincinnati Post (Ind.), Aug. 26.—Leo Tolstoy, greatest of living Russians, has just aroused Europe by a trumpet blast in which he adopts the land theories of George, wholly, completely and enthusiastically, and declares them especially adaptable to the needs of Russia in her present crisis. . . . No wonder, therefore, that European publicists are ransacking libraries and exploring second-hand book stores in search of the all but forgotten works of Henry George. For George has in this day won his greatest disciple, and a disciple may, under more suitable conditions, accomplish more than the master. But how still more eloquent this is of the fertility of ideas. By dint of thinking, a poor San Francisco printer lifts himself into world-wide prominence by a startling conception as to the cause of poverty. He dies, and apparently his ideas are buried with him, when, behold! they flame up again on the other side of the world, where, possibly, conditions are more adapted for the experiment which George advocated.

NORWAY'S REFERENDUM.

Manchester (Eng.) Guardian (Lib.), Aug. 17.—The Norwegians may claim with justice that they have so far done everything within their power to meet the objections of the Swedes to their unceremonious dissolution of the union. The figures of the referendum go to show how gratuitous the curiosity of Sweden really was. Norway has given to the world the spectacle of a nation in which the 1,599 men in every 2,000 think alike in a vital matter of public policy; and one doubts whether in all the history of nations a parallel could be found to such unanimity as this. Norway has consented in this way to regularize her act and to adopt a new line of approach. The next step lies with Sweden, and she seems to have no choice but to withdraw her opposition and to consent to a dissolution of the partnership. If she can bring herself to consent with a good grace she may have for her reward a firm alliance with a good neighbor, which will be worth more to her in the end than a bickering union with a reluctant consort. But in such matters promptitude is the first element of grace. Norway has no international status, no legal government, and no king; and she cannot delay indefinitely the regularization of her position.

OUR LAND OF THE CONSTITUTION-LESS FLAG.

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (Ind.), Aug. 25 (weekly ed.).—Mr. Bryan's visit to the Philippines really fills the Washington Star with apprehension. Suppose he should make a speech—"It might prove a very grave matter." It might stir up sedition, it

might bring on all sorts of woes. The remedy is easy. Let the government forbid Mr. Bryan to make a speech, or, still better, deport him at once after he lands in Manila.

MISCELLANY

CAMPING SONG.

Has your dinner lost its savor?
Has your greeting lost its cheer?
Is your dally stunt a burden?
Is your laughter half a sneer?
There's a medicine to cure you,
There's a way to lift your load,
With a horse and saddle and a mule of
open road.

Is your eyeball growing bilious?
Is your temper getting short?
Is this life a blind delusion,
Or a grim, unlovely sport?
There's a world of health and beauty,
There's a help that cannot fail,
In a day behind the burros on a dusty
mountain trail.

Come out, old man; we're going
To a land that's free and large,
Where the rainless skies are resting
On a snowy mountain marge.
When we camp in God's own country,
You will find yourself again,
With a fire and a blanket and the stars
upon the plain!
—Bliss Carman, in *The Reader Magazine*.

FOR WHAT WOULD ROCKEFELLER TAKE?

Marshall P. Wilder, the story teller, says that he had a dream the other night, in which he entered into business with Mr. Rockefeller, selling potted plants. The business did not thrive, and after it became apparent that the venture would not prosper, Mr. Rockefeller suggested a dissolution of partnership and a division of the assets, Wilder taking the pots and plants. At this juncture, the innocent bystander interrupted to inquire what Rockefeller took. Surely he must have gotten something as his share. And he did. "He took the earth."—*Milwaukee Daily News*.

TOLSTOY IS WRITING A BOOK ON GEORGE'S TEACHINGS.

An extract from a recent interview with Leo Tolstoy at his estate of Yasnaya Polyana, by Joseph Mandelkern, as published in the *New York Times* of August 20.

Hardly had the greetings been exchanged when Tolstoy plunged into talk about Henry George and his theories.

"That's the greatest man your country ever produced," he said. "I am writing a book now about his teachings. It is just what Russia wants. It is the only thing that can save us. What use have we for a constitution? The people are not ripe for

it. We must have a Czar, but one who knows his business—a man who knows not only what to do, but in what order to do everything."

Five times he repeated the same phrase, accentuating his words by swinging the heavy stick on which he was leaning while walking:

"A man who knows what to do first and what to do next!"

Then he began to ask questions, first about the children of George, if they were following in the footsteps of their father; then about the City Government of New York, the details of which he seemed to be quite familiar with.

"You had a good Mayor in Low," he said. "Why didn't you keep him in office? Why did you let in Tammany?" (He called it "the Society Tammanee.")

POST-OFFICE PATERNALISM.

A letter from Erving Winslow, Secretary of the Anti-Imperialist League, to the *Washington Post*.

Those who are deeply interested in democratic institutions must regard with particular apprehension the enthusiasm for "doing things" which are good in themselves, irrespective of the principle involved and the precedents established in doing them.

The imaginative and philosophical judge, Mr. Chief Justice Holmes, struck an admirable note in pointing out the fact that absolute obedience to law is of supreme importance, since, for the very reason that the law is a technical and conventional establishment founded on the consent of the community, the law-abiding element is the only security for a democracy. Hence an evil method for the pursuance of good, that is, lawbreaking to accomplish some apparently desirable end with speed and thoroughness, is a grave crime against the republic.

It is not denied that the action of the post-office authorities in interfering with the mail of shysters and rogues accomplishes much good, but is this kind of paternalism consistent with the common law and with the constitutional rights of the people of the United States?

The post-office is not a judicial department; it is not an authorized censor of morals. Is there any defense for the course which is apparently practiced by Mr. Cortelyou and his subordinates in investigating men's affairs, in formulating decisions without any hearing and authorized process of inquiry, in condemning their

business, and refusing the mail service to those who are thus tried, judged, condemned and executed with practically no recourse?

What justification is there for these methods which might not be pleaded to support, in a similar course, the postmaster, who, being a good Protestant, might regard Roman Catholic propaganda as dangerous and immoral; or, being a devout Catholic, might hold the same views regarding Protestant literature? Were he a strict temperance advocate, after the school of Mrs. Hunt, maintaining that alcohol is the root of all evil, he would, of course, proceed to suppress all mailing matter which recommended intoxicating drinks; or, on the other hand, being a believer in genuine temperance and one to whom the total abstinence propaganda seemed vicious and dangerous, he would feel authorized to exclude it from the mails!

Scores of illustrations might be cited of cases in which what seems meat to one man seems poison to another, where a conscientious Postmaster General might feel himself called upon to discriminate in this autocratic fashion, not to speak of the possible abuse of this power by a not wholly impossible functionary who was not conscientious, but who might use this extraordinary authority for personal or political ends, such as some of us held to be the case in the interference with Mr. Edward Atkinson's mail three years ago.

Is not this subject one of those to which that vigilance, which is the safeguard of liberty, should arouse the press and the public?

TOLSTOY AND HENRY GEORGE.

An editorial by W. M. Reedy, in the *St. Louis Mirror* of August 24.

Count Leo Tolstoy's letter to the *London Times*, published August 1st, in which he sets forth the Henry George land theory as the one thing which, put into practice, will do most to remedy the wrongs of the Russian people, has stirred the world of thinkers. Whatever other queer views Tolstoy may have, his views on the land question are sound and clear; as clear and sound as the same principles were when Herbert Spencer embodied them in his original edition of "Social Statics," Chapter IX., only to eliminate them from all future editions without ever giving an adequate explanation for his action.

The land belongs to all the people. There can be no private owner-

ship of land, in abstract justice. These are propositions Spencer "proved," although proved is the wrong word. The propositions don't need proving. All one has to do to see the truth is to think of land in a newly discovered country. Who owned it before it was discovered? No one. By what authority does anyone take it absolutely after discovery? By no authority. Land is valuable only because people's use of it makes it so, and the community makes it so, not the individual.

There is no escape from this doctrine—absolutely none.

Count Tolstoy goes into the argument of Henry George at some length, but his main contention is that only by giving the land to the uses of the people can salvation come to Russia, the point being enforced by the fact that Russia is chiefly an agricultural country. The people are impoverished because they are cut off from the land from which they should live. Tolstoy believes the people of the whole world are beginning to see the injustice of private appropriation of the land, and that when they do see it and believe it, the remedy will be applied. The influence of the George doctrine is plainly seen in the movement for a greater taxation of land values and of franchises in which the land is granted for quasi-public use. It has made the Irish tenant practically the arbiter of land values, and given him the advantage in dealing with the landlord in purchasing land. Plainly the George theory is forcing the land back into the common possession of the people by taxing it for the benefit of the people.

"The Great Iniquity," which is the title of Count Tolstoy's letter, has been published in full in the Chicago Public of August 19th, and it should be read carefully by every thinking man who knows and feels the injustice of the world as it is organized to-day. The one thought that comes to the philosophic student of the George theory, even after admitting its almost axiomatic nature, is that when the evil of private ownership shall be abolished, the ingenuity of man will probably contrive that the same advantage shall accrue to the shrewd and able and selfish and unscrupulous few that now accrues in what is known as "the unearned increment." Count Tolstoy seems to scent this, for the nubbin of his argument is that the people who refuse to see the truth have no religion. For the bringing about of the better day of

the land owned by the people, he argues, a change of heart is needed. Will such a change of heart come over us? It has come as to other injustices of organized life, and secured their abolition. It may come to make possible the destruction of the evil of a landed few and a landless many. At least we can hope so.

RUSSIA PROGRESSING TOWARDS ECONOMIC FREEDOM.

For The Public.

Count Tolstoy's ringing letter on the "Great Iniquity"* confirms me in the belief which I often expressed during the revolutionary crisis of last winter in Russia, namely, that the land question presents itself much more clearly in Russia than here, on account of the agricultural pursuits of the vast majority of the people; and that it is quite likely that their revolution, when it succeeds, will carry them, not to the point at which we have arrived of parliamentary representation, but far beyond us to actual economic freedom. The Russian sees all wealth coming out of the ground, and he craves land as the source of wealth. Hence any plan for securing the value of the land for the people would appeal to him. The American workman has lost mental hold of the connecting link between land and wealth, and instead of longing for land, he longs for an opening in the city for exercising in some shape or other the attractive profession of graft.

That Count Tolstoy's ideal civilization, a world of industrious and happy Russian peasants, may not be exactly ours, does not in the least diminish the force of his argument. It is true that the possibility of annexing other people's earnings is the great magnet which entices people into our cities to-day, and that when, under just conditions, that pastime becomes impossible, cities will fall back to the natural size of mere markets, entrepôts and ports, such as were the European cities of a century or two ago. The proportion of country-dwellers would vastly increase, and the production of wealth in rural districts would become the prevailing occupation. And so Tolstoy is not altogether wrong in placing so much emphasis upon rural land. But he fails to note how perfectly Henry George's system adapts itself to the urban problem too. In America the crying evil of land-monopoly—the absorption by

* Published in full in The Public of August 19.

private parties of the unearned increment—shows itself most conspicuously in the cities. There is our greatest leak, and the leakage can be stopped there by the simple scheme of the single tax, with the same mathematical perfection as on the fertile steppes of Russia.

And Tolstoy is right in urging the land question as the first question upon Russian reformers. Its settlement should precede a constitution if possible. It is easier to make great changes under the autocracy than under a representative government. The Russians freed their serfs by a stroke of the pen, while we spent four years of blood and anguish in accomplishing a similar task. It is easy to see that it will be more difficult to put a single tax bill through a national assembly made up largely of land-owners, than to obtain the assent of the Tsar. And even if the parliament were composed of peasants, which is impossible, is it likely that they will be more intelligent than our farmers, and see how perfectly the plan of Henry George meets their needs? It is very much to be hoped that those who guide the new movement in Russia will listen to Tolstoy's words. If they do, it will transform the losses of this war into the greatest of all blessings, and place Russia, in spite of her present weakness, in the van of the great nations of the earth—just as Japan's marvelous success may degrade her for centuries to the thralldom of low and material ideals.

ERNEST H. CROSBY.

Rhinebeck, N. Y., Aug. 26, 1905.

HOW THE RUSSIANS CONDUCT A CONGRESS.

The preparedness of the Russians for parliamentary government is a question upon which we have all been speculating. The following account of the late Zemstvo Congress at Moscow (pp. 276, 308), written at Moscow by Victor E. Marsden, appeared in the London Speaker of August 12.

Russia has held her first Parliament, a Parliament in every sense of the word. The members of this assembly, which met for a brief session of three days at Moscow, the heart of Russia, were the duly elected representatives of those who sent them from all quarters of the Empire of All the Russias, excepting only those parts which are not, and never will be, anywhere but on paper, Russian in more than name. And they have fulfilled admirably the first duty of a Parliament; they have talked and discussed, parleyed and played

with great questions of statecraft and administration in a way calculated to rouse the instincts of freedom and good government in every Russian breast. In early days no Parliament can do more, and the future is all before this youngest child of the mighty Mother of Parliaments, upon whose half-forgotten history the struggles of the present movement in Russia are wholly based. Whatever may be the practical outcome of this Parliament in Russia—and the needle points to civil war—there can be no doubt but that a better knowledge of what is best in England must follow from the discussions of those three days, when English precedent and English practice, even English words and expressions used in our party politics, in the original or in ready-made translations, were constantly appealed to by speaker after speaker. Few more important changes of thought are conceivable nowadays than that Russia, the champion of despotic principles of government for centuries past, should become permeated with those principles of freedom for which England and her neighbor France have ever stood together against the world at large and against Russia in particular. An appreciable percentage of the members knew English to speak, many more could read, and for those who could do neither there were plenty of books in Russian selling freely on the staircase dealing with English constitutional history and the theory of freedom. An interesting late addition to the bookstall was a copy of the Japanese constitution. There was no lack of suggestion in the speeches that members had made themselves perfectly familiar with the details of free government in every part of the world.

One hundred and seventy-two members elected *ad hoc* by the zemstvos of thirty-four provinces and one hundred and twelve members elected by the municipalities of forty-seven of the larger towns assembled, without the sanction and in opposition to the express wishes of the Administration, in Moscow, to discuss the political situation of Russia and vote the draft of a constitution.

The place of assembly was the residence of the twin Princes Dolgorukov, sons of the Lord Great Chamberlain of the Imperial Court, whose house is one of the half dozen most ancient and honorable of the historic nobility of Russia. Many more historic noble names figured among the list of mem-

bers; the class corresponding to our old landed gentry accounted for quite half those present, there were four or five military generals—for there are in Russia civilian and even naval "generals" also—who appeared in uniform, and the remainder were leading professional and business men of the great towns. As varied a list and as truly representative of all that counts in Russia as could well be conceived.

About fifty members were capable speakers and five or six rose to the pitch of eloquence. What was most lacking, and to the English eye painfully lacking, was the hard-headed, unemotional, commonsense, sound Parliamentary debater. Of such a type there seemed but one man present, the chairman of the Moscow Zemstvo Executive Board, M. Golovin, whose words and manner would have commanded the attention of that most exacting assembly, the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland.

M. Golovin, moreover, was almost the only member present who was dressed in the style we are accustomed to regard essential to public occasions. This is a matter of more importance than perhaps appears at first sight; it is certainly a criterion of the stage arrived at by Russian public men. In Russia, under the existing regime, every man who has any claims at all to count wears some kind of uniform. The members of this congress of freedom, with the exception of the military men, who are not allowed to cast off their uniforms, made a point of appearing in civil dress. There are no unwritten social laws in Russia as yet about the wearing of civilian dress; it is possible to see combinations such as white flannels and a black silk hat; brown boots and a dinner jacket under the same solemn headpiece; and other equally curious assortments of masculine attire. For the most part the members of the Congress favored lounge suits, with a partiality for the raw-silk variety of summer jacket, which at a distance bears a very close resemblance to the overalls of the laboring man at home. A stranger to Russian ways would certainly have been mistaken every time in an attempt to place nine-tenths of those who assembled in Moscow to plot the regeneration of an empire. Whether at noon or midnight the scene in this respect was the same, and the solemnity of the occasion suffered not a little in consequence, at any rate to the eye.

This is one point of adverse criti-

cism that occurs to one, and the only other is the want of due discipline in the conduct of business. Largely, no doubt, this was owing to the chairman, Count Heyden, whose previous experiences in the chair had apparently not fitted him to deal with a meeting so mixed as this was, where no small amount of control was demanded. Within half an hour of the close of the Congress Count Heyden fairly gave it up, and his successor, M. Scepkin, only kept the chair for ten minutes, having begun with a threat to leave it if the meeting did not keep better order. When he bounced out of the chair it was taken by M. Golovin, who brought the meeting to an orderly close in a few minutes of calm, tactful control. The disorder, at its worst, was a mere trifle to what most British chairmen are accustomed to almost every time they preside at a public meeting; but the habit of public discussion is very new as yet in Russia. During no inconsiderable part of the meetings Count Heyden, as chairman, would be on his feet at the same time as the lawful speaker, while three or four others would be standing up to interject remarks or insist on a right to speak, and the tintinnabulation of the chairman's handbell became very trying to the nerves in its persistence.

The taking of a vote, which occasionally became necessary, although in general all members were in accord on all main questions, was accomplished in a way which would never have satisfied an English meeting. Count Heyden invariably insisted on putting the question in involved language, and several times votes were repeated owing to members not understanding how the question had been put. Very often merely an amendment was put; the "noes" taken by a show of hands, and on the strength of this the original motion was declared carried. Moreover, any number of amendments were allowed, and the chairman then put something which seemed an attempt to combine the points of various amendments, or he simply put the most comprehensive amendment, and this being rejected the motion was carried without further formality. It is necessary to note, however, that there was rarely any voting on anything but very minor points, the main questions being carried by acclamation, to cries of "Agreed, agreed." The only experience of public meetings which members can possibly ever have had in Russia has been obtained in the meet-

ings of the zemstvos and the town councils, each of which has its own methods; the little irregularities noticed arose doubtless from the mixture of the two methods in the absence of any generally accepted code of rules for the conduct of large public meetings.

The speeches, on the other hand, were in general admirable, and in very many cases admirably delivered. Poetry and eloquence are still held in the highest respect in Russia, and not a little of the latter quality was manifested by several of the speakers. M. Muromtsev, of Moscow; General Kuzmin-Karavaev, of Tver; M. Petrunkevich, of Tver; M. Oppel, of St. Petersburg; M. Kokoshkin, of Moscow, and both the Princes Dolgorukov, are all admirable speakers. M. Golovin I have already mentioned. As a speaker he commanded an instant and attentive hearing in the most excited moments of the Congress. Prince Paul Dolgorukov also repeatedly saved a difficult situation by easy, graceful speeches, full of the tact of the leader of public opinion and occasionally suggestive of an immense reserve of fiery earnestness below. The same qualities are equally possessed by his twin-brother, Prince Peter Dolgorukov, and these two great nobles did no little also of the routine drudgery of the executive committee. Not a single member made any use of notes in any of the speeches delivered, even the least capable speaking extempore. There was no time limit placed on the speeches, nor was there apparently any regulation as to the number of speeches a member might make on the same motion. . . .

There could be no doubt about the success of this Russian Parliament, from whatever point of view it be regarded. There was ample evidence of the existence of all the elements of party government, together with the spirit of statesmanlike compromise which makes progress possible without sacrifice of principle on either side.

C. Bower's story is best told in his own words:

"I was workin down on thee Siction fer jimm Hill fer a dollar an a quarther a da an a dom skoonk of a Chinyman come along an took my job fer six (6) bits. I assed fer a pas to Saint Paul an the supertenint sed howe long hev I bin a work-in an I says thirty (30) years an he sed hav i no money an I says no and

he says ef i would work thirty (30) years longer i will hev money fer to pa me fair, and i says ef he will com out hear I will make him look lik thirty (30) cents an he did an I did." —Book-Keeper's Bulletin.

BOOKS

MIRABEAU.

To study the French Revolution is to study the history of the world in concentrated form. It was as if the long conflict of the ages in all progressive lands were compressed into three years in one country and almost within one city. No wonder that more historians and biographers have written of the events and men of these years than of any other period of history. It is not a difficult period. The issue was clear. Nor is it difficult to understand the leading characters. The times called for plain speech, and men, with whatever fear and trembling, spoke their honest convictions hot from the heart.

The greatest speaker, and the man with the strongest intellectual gifts, among the leaders of the revolution was Gabriel Honore Riquetti, Comte de Mirabeau. He is the special subject of the latest work on the Revolution, written by Charles F. Warwick (Mirabeau and the French Revolution, Lippincott, Philadelphia, 483 pp., \$2.50). The causes, issues and general characteristics of the time are very fairly told, and from this single volume one gets a pretty clear view of the Revolution up to the death of Mirabeau, April 2, 1791. The book is lacking in consecutiveness. It is strongest in the interesting narration of special incidents. It is essentially a book to read, rather than a book to refer to for definite information. Though it has an index, the facts are scattered and cannot readily be found, and many are omitted which ought certainly to have been given. The exact date, for example, of Mirabeau's death is not told.

The author is a strong admirer of his subject, and over and over makes the reader see the great power of Mirabeau's intellect and his marvelous insight. In dealing with Mirabeau's character he is perhaps rather too much inclined to make excuses. It is true that Mirabeau's early life and training were most unfortunate. He never knew the meaning of a decent home life. His father was a man of strong intellect, but brutish and tyrannical. His mother was weak and silly. Their marriage was a fiasco. Mirabeau's own enforced marriage was also a failure. There was no ennobling influence in his early life, nor indeed throughout his life. He was only 42 when he died. And yet had he had in himself the root

of the matter, he might have risen above his evil influences. The fact is that he was a man of transcendent ability, but without the basis of character. His secret acceptance of pay from the court, while virtually leading the assembly, can by no explanation be squared with honor.

Whether, if Mirabeau had lived, the red terror could have been avoided, and the monarchy preserved, must always remain an interesting speculation. Mirabeau was doubtless entirely honest in his conviction that having gained the abolition of the unjust laws of privilege the revolutionists should be content, and should uphold the existing government. But it is doubtful whether his power, even at its best, could have counterbalanced the weakness of the King and the folly of the Queen. And his power was not at its best; it lacked the confidence of character. In a little over a year from his death, when some of his transactions with the court were revealed, the assembly veiled his bust. The next year it was ordered that his body be removed from its place of honor. In September, 1794, his leaden coffin was deposited, without stone or tablet, in a cemetery set apart for criminals. Of course these were the acts of the extreme revolutionists; but they tell the story of a fall which his great presence could hardly have prevented.

J. H. DILLARD.

THE RECORDING ANGEL.

Taking its title from a kind of graphophone as yet uninvented, which figures in the plot, this story by Edwin Arnold Brenholz (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 56 Fifth avenue. Price, \$1.00) is a medley of the actual and the hoped for. Its motive is the conflict between labor and capital, and its ideal is socialism. The author appears to have personal familiarity with business methods in some aspects, and a newspaper acquaintance with others; for in some of its stages he walks through his story like a wide-awake observer and reveiator, and in others like a man in a dream. To say that the author walks through the story is literally true. He never leaves his characters to themselves; he is ever in their midst regulating their lives for them. Yet the work is not all bad. Despite the ubiquity of the author and an archaic flavor, it promises more than well until it crosses the line from the realm of life as it is into the fog of life as the author would like to have it. Had the story continued as it seems to begin, with the development of a strong character under the stress of modern business pressure, the interest which the earlier part excited might have been held to the end. One quotation is worth making for the benefit of fatalistic evolutionists: "A product of

evolution, you say? So are rattlesnakes and boa constrictors. We kill the first before he strikes. Why shall we not at least make an effort to kill the latter when it is already folded about us and we feel the monster crushing the life out of us." Two other quotations are full of meat: "I am not the man to make a leader out of; I am too sorry for the rich," and, "I delight in helping to create things, and for me the idleness of the rich has no attraction."

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—Our Philippine Problem. A study of American colonial policy. By Henry Parker Willis, Ph. D. Sometime Armour-Crane Travelling Fellow in the University of Chicago; Professor of Economics and Politics in Washington and Lee University. New York: Henry Holt and Company. To be reviewed.

PAMPHLETS

The "Power of an Ideal (to be had upon application of The Moody Corporation, 35 Nassau street, New York) is at once an example in advertising, a work of art in typography and an interesting story of the origin and growth of one of the greatest, if not the very greatest, "dispensers of financial statistics in the United States." One would hardly guess from a visit to the Moody establishments or an examination of the Moody Manual for 1905, that this great business began in a small inside office, having only one small window opening on a four-foot shaft, no earlier than 1900, and with an office force consisting of one small boy and one enthusiastic man. But that is the fact, according to this little illuminated and illustrated pamphlet in which the concern tells about itself and attributes its surprising success to the power of the ideal that moved the man—the man being John Moody. The red and black vignettes in the pamphlet not only lend effect to the printer's work; they are also quaint and comic—solemnly so, of course, for solemnity and finance are inseparable. The portraits of that "man and a boy," used as a final to the "Foreword," are especially droll.

PERIODICALS

What a consolation it is to have a supposedly bad habit approved by high authority. The famous Dr. Osler recommends reading in bed, and many will hope that he is not joking. The Hartford Times reports him as saying that "provided the light is good and properly placed, and the book not too heavy to hold comfortably, and especially if one reads propped up with a pillow instead of lying flat, all unusual strain of the eyes is avoided. Especially for those who work either mentally or physically, in the evening there is a useful change in reading

a little while just before going to sleep. Sometimes it makes all the difference between sleeping promptly and looking for sleep in vain."—J. H. D.

There are still left many writers on political subjects who can see no pressing problems at home, but must ever be looking 'abroad for international complications. Here, for example, is a writer in the National Review who says that "the question of the army is now the root-problem which England has to solve." England must bend her energies to create an army suitable to her needs. In this way only may she "look forward to a career in this century as brilliant as any in her history." One would like to ask this author what he thinks of such books as "Darkest England," Rountree's studies in York, and London's "People of the Abyss." Does he think that England's growing percentage of poverty will have anything to do with her brilliant career?—J. H. D.

Tomorrow (Chicago) for September would be well worth reading, if for nothing else than the impressive contribution of Johann Hoch, now under sentence of death, who cries out with great force and justice against a criminal procedure which makes it possible for a poor man to be hanged under precisely the same circumstances in which a richer man might be exonerated and certainly could secure a prolongation of his life. Hoch's suggestions for reforming this iniquity indicate that he is by no means the brute he has been pictured. Other articles in this issue of Tomorrow deal with the postal censorship. Regarding the exclusion of fraudulent letters the editor makes the acute observation, somewhat exaggerated perhaps, that if none but honest men are to be allowed the use of the mails the postal department may as well be abolished.

gerated perhaps, that if none but honest men are to be allowed the use of the mails the postal department may as well be abolished.

The great French painter, Bouguereau, who recently died, will always rank among the great masters of modern painting. "Probably no other French painters of the nineteenth century," says the Springfield Republican, alluding to Millet, Corot and Bouguereau, "are more widely known in this country, except Meissonier, and possibly Gerome. It is a pity that Bouguereau is known here to so great an extent through unworthy examples, in which he painted down to the public taste." Of all his pictures, the one best known and most copied in America is the "Nymphs and Satyr," which hangs in the bar of the Hoffman house, New York.—J. H. D.

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We have just issued a descriptive catalogue of the books published and sold by this company. These books include the works of Henry George, Henry George, Jr., Ernest Crosby, Boston Hall, Louis F. Post, Henry Demarest Lloyd, John P. Altgeld, Clarence S. Darrow, Edwin Markham, Lawson Pudy, Thomas E. Watson, Oliver R. Trowbridge, William Jennings Bryan, and others, including Tolstoy and Walt Whitman. There are, in this notable list of books, novels and romances, biographies, histories, poems, essays, sketches, addresses, treatises, and other kinds of books. Every book listed is one of great interest and real importance. The catalogue will be sent to anyone on request.

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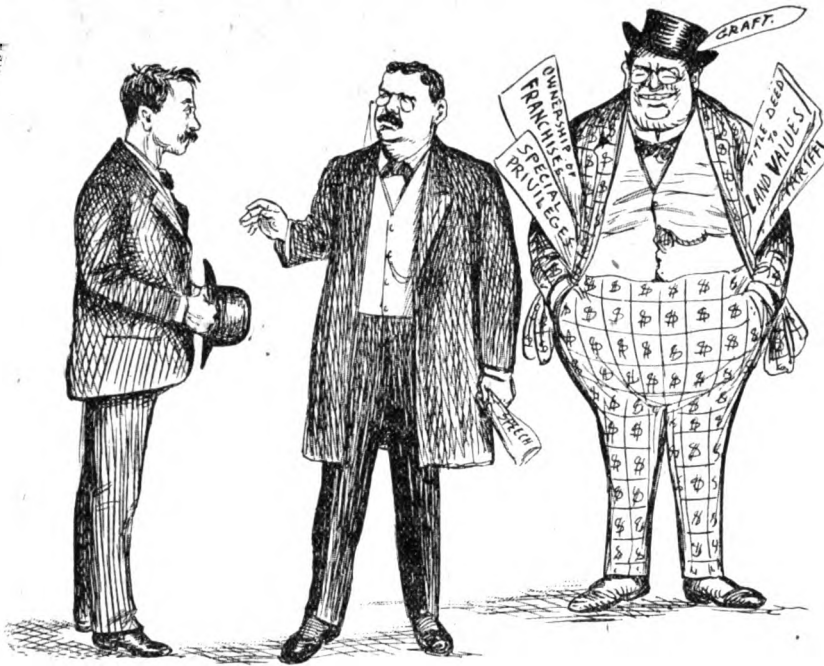
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