

# ARNOLD TOYNEBEE

And his Humanitarianism Subject of the Last Lecture by

## PRES. JEROME H. RAYMOND

Of West Virginia University Before the Wheeling Teachers' Association Saturday Evening—Toynbee Devoted all his Powers to Awakening Mankind to an Appreciation of its Needs and Possibilities—The Toynbee Social Settlement Near London and its Work.

On Saturday evening, President Raymond delivered the sixth and last lecture of his series, "A Group of Social Philosophers," before the Wheeling Teachers' Association at the high school hall. His subject was "Arnold Toynbee and Humanitarianism," and was received with attention by the large audience. The speaker began with the following pathetic little story, which he said he had found in the "funny column" of a newspaper.

"The crowds were hurrying to the dog show. 'Move on there, you!' shouted a policeman to a ragged, dirty-faced boy with newspapers under his arm, who had got in the way of a party who had just alighted from a carriage at the entrance. The boy moved on. 'I wish I was a dog,' he said, wiping his eyes with the sleeve of his ragged jacket."

The very fact that this anecdote was inserted in the funny column for the purpose of provoking laughter, is a tragic commentary on the inhumanity, which, under the guise of sentimentalism, is a part of our modern life. It is this same inhumanity which Carlyle condemned when he asked that the laborer might fare at least as well as the draught-horse, even though he be not accorded the right of a man to the decencies of life. When a rational human being, born to a birthright of hope and aspiration, longs for the lot of one of the lower animals that he may have comfort and consideration, and that to him now, one cannot help wondering whether the whole conception of the sacredness of human life has not gone far astray or utterly died out. We talk and work in abstractions. The phrase, "love of humanity," is constantly on men's lips, and yet, somehow, we have not made our "love of humanity" concrete. We have, it is true, grown tired of theoretical Christianity, and demand a practical gospel of love. We have regulated the workings of our charitable organizations to clock-work precision, and have collected data enough to write a whole library on poverty and distress. Yet in some manner, there is still a "great gulf fixed" between the intelligent and self-respecting man and those whose lives are blighted by ignorance, by poverty, by suffering. We need more definiteness in our social service. What the world needs, what it is suffering for, is actual, loving service from enlightened men and women who see in the world around them their field of labor, and who believe that there can be no higher duty than that of making the lives of those around them happy and useful.

Toynbee's Life and Work. Dr. Raymond then proceeded to discuss the life and work of Arnold Toynbee, who devoted all the powers of his intellect and soul to touching men's lives, to awakening men to an appreciation of their needs and their possibilities. In the brief life of Arnold Toynbee, he has left us an enduring monument of self-sacrificing devotion to the interests of humanity—a monument which has become an inspiration to many an earnest thinker, trying to discover the best way out of the maelstrom of human sin and misery.

Two lives are more attractive to the student of social conditions than that of Toynbee, and yet all his hopes, his aspirations and his burdens for humanity were crowded into thirty-one short years. His father spoke of Arnold as his "child of promise" and aided in a great degree in the moulding of his character. As a lad, Toynbee was mainly fearless, high-spirited, yet possessing a beautiful sense of delicacy and hearty kindness which made him a natural leader among boys. Grown to manhood, he went through a period of terrible uncertainty of mind, not knowing what was to be his work in the world.

At the age of twenty-one he went to Oxford where he worked the remaining ten years of his life, the first five years as an undergraduate, the second five as a lecturer and tutor at Balliol college. He drew around him a circle of young men over whom he exercised a marvelous influence. His sweet purity of life, his winning personality, his generous appreciation of others made him loved and revered. Those who knew him well, looked upon him as almost inspired; and indeed, he was inspired, inspired with a burning desire to be of use to men, to bring them if he might, some new blessing of intellect or soul. It has been said of Toynbee that "he touched nothing that he did not elevate." The discussions in which he engaged took a higher tone. The "Apostle Arnold," he was called by those who watched the young man wield his almost magic influence over his friends.

One of the most striking marks of Toynbee's influence over all who were in any way associated with him, was that they all became eager to know their duty in life and to do it. They aimed at practical work in social reform. Especially did they desire to bring into closer relation the educated and the wage-earning classes. One who belonged to this "Toynbee group," as it is known at Oxford, says that Toynbee's beautiful life and clear-cut lofty ideals, had the effect of impressing them all deeply with their individual duty as citizens.

His Desire for Social Reform. While tutor at Balliol College, Toynbee supervised the studies of young men preparing for the civil service of India. To no better hands could such a task be entrusted, for no one could feel more keenly the responsibility involved in the training of future administrators of the Indian government, with his mind filled with an ardent desire for social reform in England and English possessions, Toynbee gladly accepted the work of lecturing to his pupils on political economy. With his clear insight into economic conditions, he saw unmistakable signs of great social changes approaching. His sympathy with the working-classes led him to hope that these changes would materially improve their condition. At the same time, he saw that they needed guidance, and he realized that their guides must be well versed in economic science. The steps leading to Toynbee's becoming a student and teacher of political economy are plain. "For the sake of religion he had become a social reformer; for the sake of social reform he became an economist."

With the aid of the historical method of investigation, he now sought to show the origin of the doctrines of the older economists, examining and comparing them critically, showing their application and their effects on economic conditions. As he studied and taught, a great and burning desire to help England, to help all mankind, grew stronger and stronger in his mind. At last he took lodgings at Whitechapel, in the East End of London, among the poor and degraded, where distress and ignorance held sway; here he entered into the lives of the poorest of the poor,

studying the causes of their degradation, and endeavoring to understand clearly their feelings and conditions. He addressed workmen on economic subjects, attending their clubs and trying to get as close to them as possible.

Toynbee had infinite faith in the people. He believed that they were eager to know the truth about the institutions and conditions of their country. He knew that workmen were prejudiced (justly he believed) against political economy, and he felt that the only way to remove their prejudices was to teach them to give something definite to reason from, not to evade and quibble. Not only did he give public addresses to workmen on such subjects as free trade, the law of wages, industry and democracy, but he invited them to his own rooms, and talked to them familiarly on economic subjects. He grew to be almost a saint in the eyes of the workmen who, after his death, would say, "He understood us. He would have done so much for us if he had only lived."

But Toynbee's physical being was not strong enough to endure the strain of all the duties he exacted from it. College tutor, a close student of economic and social science, public lecturer, each required the full strength of a strong man, and Toynbee, always delicate, was now unstrung from overwork. He died, one might almost say, in the harness, for he went straight from the lecture hall to his death-bed. Even there his mind wandered and overwrought from five years of intense strain, turned again and again to the one thought of his life, the sorrow and suffering in the world, and those who watched his life, still so young, go out, knew that in his heart he was still fighting the battles of the poor, the helpless, the despairing. He begged that the sun might shine in upon his bed. "Light purifies—the sun banishes evil—let in the light," his friends heard him say just before he closed his eyes forever on a world over which his heart yearned as a mother's over her child.

A Beautiful Character. Those who have read Mrs. Humphrey Ward's novel, "Marcella," will remember the beautiful character of Edward Hallin, who was such a power for good among the poor of London. The original of this character was Arnold Toynbee. Mrs. Ward admirably portrays his self-sacrificing life, the wonderful magnetic power of his unselfishness, the pathos of his last illness.

Dr. Raymond then summed up Toynbee's services to the world. He spoke of his clear and forcible writing on Political Economy. His aim was to construct a new political economy which should be related to actual life. He asserted that morality must be united with economics as a practical science. He was convinced of the necessity of social reorganization. The old social system had been destroyed by the Industrial Revolution. "Socially left and right," Toynbee declared, "cannot right itself." Social readjustment must come from organized effort, having in view moral ends, and guided by the scientific study of economic laws. The doctrine of individualism, he declared, most pernicious. Social ills can never be remedied, while all men are pursuing their own individual interests. Between men who are unequal in material wealth, there can be no freedom of contract. Toynbee strongly advocated action by the state in the interest of the whole people, controlling the excesses of competition and regulating the conditions of labor and exchange in the health and happiness of all.

Like Kingsley and Ruskin, Toynbee believed that the time must come when citizens would be provided with water, lighting and railways by the municipalities. He believed in trades unions, in the co-operative movement in all organizations which militated against social disintegration.

Dr. Raymond then discussed in detail the social settlement which was a direct outgrowth of the life of Toynbee, who, by living among the poor, and learning to know their spiritual as well as bodily needs, taught others that crime and misery would not diminish until the intelligent and enlightened were willing to give, and it necessary to die for their less fortunate brothers. The first social settlement founded in 1884, the year after Toynbee's death, was known as Toynbee hall, and was situated in East London. The residents of these settlements are university men, who give all or a part of their time to friendly intercourse among the poor of the neighborhood. They carry on an extensive education in all departments of education, the sciences, literature, art, economics, manual training. Their public rooms have become meeting places for every class of people. Discussion of every subject is welcome. Workmen, students, teachers, representatives of every social element and class, mingle on terms of social and intellectual equality.

Inspired by Toynbee. Dr. Raymond then discussed briefly other social settlements which have sprung from the inspiration given by Arnold Toynbee's life, noting especially the Neighborhood Guild of New York and Hull House, of Chicago. After describing certain distinctive features of these settlements, Dr. Raymond said, "The social settlement is not an almshouse or a charity bureau. It is not an 'institution.' It is rather a center for social and intellectual intercourse, with a heaven of the consciousness that we are all, rich or poor, created or ignorant, bound by social obligations to make life a little easier, if we may, for the others. We say the age of miracles is past. Let us rather say that we are waiting for that golden age to come, when moral deformities shall be healed; when intellectual destitution shall be unknown; when men shall see that in their own hands lies the sacred gift of cure for the sorrows and heartaches of humanity. This new age of miracles the social settlement is trying to usher in."

After rapidly reviewing the services rendered by the five men whose life and work have formed the subjects of discussion for his previous lectures, Dr. Raymond closed thus: "Mill and Kingsley, Carlyle and Ruskin and Morris, gave men revelations of light—revelations which most men have as yet caught but dimly. Arnold Toynbee caught these revelations. He was the heir of all the others. He was the living embodiment of all their teachings. Toynbee's very name is known to many educated men and women, especially in America. He is not usually counted among 'earth's chosen heroes.' Yet in one sense, Toynbee is even more than any of the others. He is the very flower, the beautiful result of the teachings of the others, for he has shown us by his life that greatness is not in the making of money, not in the holding of prominent positions, not even in the writing of many books, not in what one does at all, but in what one is; not in length of life, but in quality of life. It is as Owen Meredith says:

Flows "No stream from his source  
But what some land is gladdened,  
No star above him, how lonely soever its course,  
And yet without influence somewhere.  
Who knows  
What earth needs from earth's lowest  
Can be pure in its purpose and strong in its style,  
And all life not be purer and stronger thereby?"

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Mr. Crayler is one of the leading merchants of this village and one of the most prominent men in this vicinity.—W. G. Philipp, editor Red Creek Herald. For sale by druggists.

# SPLIT DEMOCRACY.

Another Chapter of the Bryan-Belmont War.

## THE NEBRASKAN ANSWERED.

Belmont Gives the Origin of the Reversal and Repudiation in 1890. The Chicago Platform Examined. Jefferson the Standard and Test. Lesson of the Elections—Bryan's Many Evasions.

NEW YORK, April 23.—Hon. Perry Belmont in answer to Hon. W. J. Bryan's last letter in regard to the controversy between them, writes in part as follows: You have clearly indicated in your recent volume, entitled "The First Battle," when and where was the origin of the conspiracy to repudiate that Democratic policy of 1892. The time was May, 1894, Omaha the place, and the first step was a call to silver Democrats to assemble at that place June 21st, 1894, which led to a nominal control of the ensuing Nebraska Democratic state convention, on a platform substantially like the Chicago platform of two years later. There was a Democratic "bolt" from your silver platform, because it was in violation of the national Democratic policy of 1892. The candidates of the bolters had, at the next state election, more votes than your candidates received. In two or three chapters of your book, it is plain that you conspired with Populists, Republicans and silver Democrats of all shades of opposition to the Democracy and its platform of 1892. You mention Senator Teller as one of your fellow conspirators both before, during and after the Republican convention of which he was a member. The Nebraska Democrats, whom you and your fellow conspirators denounced, declared, in their platform of 1895, your financial plan meant "poorer money and less of it, less wages for the laboring man and bankruptcy for all save the mine owner." Did not that convention sympathize with labor?

The New York Democratic state convention of June 24th, 1896, adopted a platform similar to that of the regular convention of the Nebraska Democrats, and I was sent to Chicago as a delegate upon that platform. It declared among other things:

"We are opposed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver in the absence of the co-operation of other great nations. We declare our belief that any attempt on the part of the United States alone to enter upon the experiment of free silver would not only prove disastrous to our finances, but would retard or entirely prevent the establishment of international bimetallicism. Until international co-operation for bimetallicism can be secured, to which end all our efforts as a government and a people should be in good faith directed, we favor the rigid maintenance of the present gold standard as essential to the preservation of our national credit, the redemption of our public pledges, and the keeping inviolate of our country's honor."

I preferred the declaration on coinage by that Democratic state convention of New York, adhering to the Democratic policy formulated in 1892, over the language in the Indianapolis platform alluding to gold monometallism, but I preferred either one to the silver monometallism of the Chicago platform. I did not write a sentence or word, of the Indianapolis platform.

The condition of the country in 1895 and 1896 by reason of business and commercial depression which began three years before owing to the Sherman silver law, whose repeal you resisted, the "endless chain," short crops, long western droughts, diminished foreign demand for our cereals and reduced prices everywhere, offered a fertile field for our efforts. Under the present changed conditions we can calmly analyze the novelties of the Chicago platform.

It began by affirming that the first coinage law of 1792 made the silver dollar the money unit. That is a matter of statute interpretation and has been much debated. Jefferson said, as you have mentioned in your letter to me, that the unit should "repose on both metals," and so it is probable that the draughtsmen of the law of 1792 intended a bimetallic standard.

It declared that the Democracy "was unalterably opposed to monometallism," but the framers of the Chicago platform argued what the country believed would be silver monometallism.

Many things demanded by the platform could be done only by Congress, such as opening our mints to silver and gold alike, on a fixed ratio, legislation to prevent freedom of contracts by making debts payable not in such a dollar as contractors preferred, extinction of the national bank notes, and making government notes the only paper currency. The right to grant other demands—such as, for example, the refusal to government creditors of the right, existing for twenty years, to select the coin of payment, whether silver or gold—was, and is now perhaps, in the discretion of the secretary of the treasury, to whom the law has so generally given decision in such matters. It is not given to the President. The Chicago platform clearly intended that the President should nominate, and, if the senate confirmed, appoint a head of the treasury who should forthwith pay all government creditors in silver dollars, the gold price of the bullion in each of which was then worth a trifle over fifty cents. You may say that you believed at the time that the opening of our mints to everybody's silver on the ratio of 16 (the bullion ratio in 1896 was over 30), "without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation," would bring sixteen ounces of silver to a commercial parity with an ounce of gold, but, if you did, there were probably very few experts in any country who sympathized with your belief. All felt that the time would be far off, if it ever came, when such parity could exist. The Chicago platform plan, however, was not to await the opening of our mints by Congress and the arrival of parity, but for the treasury to begin at once to pay the pensioners, officers of the army and navy, laborers and all government creditors in silver dollars.

You condemn me because I did not support that in 1896, and because I would prevent such delirium in 1900. Had the Chicago platform not urged the immediate free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold on a ratio of 16 to 1, but awaited the commercial bullion parity of the white and yellow metals before compelling the creditors to accept the former, the scheme would have been more tolerable. You well know that our silver dollars are now in our country kept equal to the gold dollars simply and solely by restricted coinage of the former, and by controlling exchange demand. You ought to know that if our gold and silver dollars shall be at commercial par on the ratio of 16 and France shall open her mints again on the ratio of 16, then, since in our country sixteen ounces of silver would be required to buy one ounce of gold, our silver would, just as it did in 1834, go to France, where only 15 1/2 ounces would be needed.

"Every tree is known by its own fruit." What has been the fruit of the Chicago platform? A tabulated statement of percentages for 1892, 1896 and 1898, omitting the scattering votes and classifying as Democratic the Silver vote, the Populist vote and the Democratic vote, will be more persuasive than any other form of words. In Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, North Dakota and Wyoming the Democrats had not in 1892 an electoral ticket, but voted the People's Party ticket in order to take those states from the Republicans. That was true also in Nebraska.

In your unwarranted letter to me of March 16 you arraign my political opinions because, as you assert, they are hostile to those of Jefferson, "who stood for sacred, well defined principles." Jefferson was by you made the standard and the test. In order to gratify your desire to know my opinions I mailed to you a correct record of all I had said or written on the Chicago platform since the election of 1896. I did not, as you wrote in your letter of the 8th inst., to which I am now replying, ask you to point out objections. I said: "You are at liberty to indicate and expose any portion that is unpatriotic, un-Democratic, un-American or in conflict with the Democratic creed as set forth in Jefferson's first inaugural address. You reply that you have not a standard by which to determine whether a given opinion is patriotic or American. I had suspected as much.

On the issue raised by yourself over Jefferson you endeavor to make not his state papers the test of Democracy, but the innovations your co-conspirators, chiefly Republicans, inserted in the Chicago platform. You complain of our first Democratic platform, which was Jefferson's inaugural address, that it dealt only "with general principles." Of course it did. It is the function of a platform, in the American sense, to deal with questions the conditions of which are permanent. Jefferson did, however, insist "on honest payment of our debts, and sacred preservation of the public faith," which you ignore in your unreasoning spite against creditors. In your hatred of creditors, you ignore the public credit.

Again shifting your position, you forget to apply Jefferson's platform to these three topics on which you stand. I have "taken a position." First, standard money; second, paper money; third, the income tax.

As to the first, you affirm that Jefferson "favored the double standard," but the Chicago platform declared that the first coinage law of 1792 set up a single standard which was the silver dollar, and insisted that alone was Democratic.

As to the second, there is no "paper money" under our constitution. Only specie can be "money." Everything in paper is mere currency and should not be legal tender. Jefferson said nothing of banks in his inaugural, but that he became intensely hostile to "the Bank" is true. The conduct of the state banks in his time was enough to excite his condemnation. Gallatin wrote on June 14, 1811, that Jefferson "brought down a decided enemy to our banking system generally, and especially to a bank of the United States," but in the Briscoe (Kentucky) case a Democratic supreme court, led by Taney, decided that a state could empower a bank to issue circulating notes and that they would be protected by the constitution. I leave you to wrestle with that judgment and with the fact that the existing national banks and their notes are Republican creations.

In the darkest days of the war of 1812 Jefferson, on September 10, 1814, did suggest the issue of treasury notes for the same basis as specific taxes, leaving the door opened for the "entrance of metallic money," and urged the states to relinquish the right to establish banks, but he did not advise that evidence of government debt be made a full legal tender. During seventy-three years after the constitution was adopted no Democrat, or Whig, tolerated that idea.

I put to you in my letter two or three questions easily capable of an affirmative, or negative, reply. One was, "Do you deem the money question as presented in the Chicago platform as now paramount to all others?" You evade.

Another was, "Do you insist on the infallibility of the coinage ratio of 16 to 1 as a test of Democracy?" You again evade.

Another was, "Must all Democratic voters line up in 1900 on a federal statute making every contract illegal which stipulates for payment in gold?" You evade again.

Another was, "Will a law preventing wage earners and salary earners from demanding and securing payment in gold dollars, if they prefer gold dollars be a winning issue in 1900?" You again evade.

You go out of your way as a defeated presidential candidate of three years ago, and an aspirant for re-nomination, to condemn my Democratic opinions. I have no wish to suppress what I did at Chicago, and have subsequently done in that regard. I am perfectly content with my course. I was present at the conventions of 1876, 1884, 1888 and 1892, and on July 7, 1896, I was correctly reported in the New York Sun as saying that I had no candidate at Chicago, "because the platform presented by the free silver and Populist elements would ruin any candidate." At a meeting of the New York delegation I remarked that "Altogether cannot compel me to yield to Populism." In the New York Herald I replied that "the contest has been over a prolix, prolix, agrarian, centralizing, socialistic interpretation of the constitution. It has been over an effort to tear down the gold standard in the interest of a silver standard. The vigor of the onslaught was born of the depression and disaster of the panic of 1892 and 1893, caused by legislation enacted by the party of McKinley. The platform of 1896 came when the hard times which disappeared when the party of Populism and silver monometallism was burned again in a Democratic national convention. Yours truly, PERRY BELMONT.

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