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Newspaper accounts of the recent extraordinary episode at the White House, are pointedly suggestive of conditions under the old regime of France just before the revolution. It is out of such incidents that French revolutions may easily flame forth.

In the place of the old noblesse were a group of autocrats of American highways and American coal deposits. The third estate was represented by the leader of a great labor union and two of his lieutenants. Both groups had appeared before the head of the nation, an executive of peculiar weakness, who had called them together for the purpose of inducing them to compromise their differences. But the American nobles knew no compromise.

Haughty in their sense of power they scorned the canaille with whom the President had dared confront them; and with a degree of impudence to which history affords no parallel, they arrogantly formulated orders for the President himself. They would tolerate nothing from him but the performance of his imperial duty to resort to arms in their behalf. With this significant living tableau in the foreground, one can almost hear the rattle of distant tumbrils and see the advancing shadow of a guillotine.

Simply as a matter of conventional good manners, the conduct of the representatives of the coal trust compared most unfavorably with that of the labor leaders. The latter were

dignified, self-contained and respectful. They offered to arbitrate the issue—which, by the way, is not a question of unionism, but of wages and honest dealing—and to allow the President to appoint the arbitrators. The trust magnates, on the other hand, were unreservedly angry and defiantly insolent. They had nothing to arbitrate; what they demanded was guns. And they presented their demand to the President in a manner that would have disgraced a guest in any gentleman's drawing-room.

The President was entitled to common courtesy at least. It may be true that he had no official right to summon the conference. It may be true that he has no authority over the persons or the subjects of controversy. It may be true that he cowered before the powerful capitalists who confronted him. Yet he had respectfully invited these men to appear before him and they had come. Their right to refuse to go was undoubted. They might without impropriety even have represented the unauthorized summons. But they did go. They were voluntarily in the President's presence, in his home, and upon his invitation. Under these circumstances, arrogant demands, impudent suggestions and insolent criticism were inexcusable.

But the contention of these magnates with reference to what they call their "property," is a different thing from their bad social manners and their arrogant assumption in setting it forth. Under the existing laws of property the contention of the coal trust is unassailable. It owns the mines, it owns the railroads. These are as much its property under the law as the humblest man's hat or his coat is his property,

or any home owner's house is his house or farmer's crop his crop. They have the same legal sanctions as every other kind of property. The laws make no distinction. When the trust magnates insist, therefore, upon managing their own mines and railroads in their own way, refusing to tolerate outside interference and demanding military protection, they are in precisely the same relations to the law of property as the householder who calls in a policeman to eject an intruder. And so they are with reference to the prevailing ideas of what may rightly be property. Not only are the railroads and the coal mines the sacred property of the trust, in contemplation of law, but they are their sacred property also in accordance with the idea that highways as well as conveyances, coal deposits as well as coal products, are alike proper subjects of ownership.

This confusion of different kinds of property—of property in products with property in natural sources, places and ways—is not confined to the greedy nor to the indifferent. In the present emergency, which has been caused by the coal strike, the air is full of propositions to interfere with the management of the railroads and coal mines, by the owners, not because the recognition of highways and of natural coal deposits as property is wrong, but because all "property has duties as well as rights!" Property has neither rights nor duties, though property-owners have both; but property-owners have no duties which require them to keep their property in use when their own interests, of which they themselves are the proper judges, demand that it be withdrawn from use. Just as workingmen have the right to stop working,

so have property owners the right to stop using their property. This is of the essence of property rights. To say the contrary as to property in general is to deny the principle of property rights altogether; and to deny that principle is to support the opposing principle of servitude. So long as the difference between property rights that are just and property rights that are unjust is not distinguished in the public mind, the contention of the coal trust will properly have all the support of a stand for the defense of just property rights. But let that difference be once clearly recognized and asserted, and their power for evil will be gone. To expose their fallacy is to dissipate their strength.

The conditional character of President Roosevelt's proposal to the striking miners is inexplicable upon any possible theory of his duties as President. He either has the power to appoint a commission of investigation, or he has not. It is either his duty to do so, or it is not. Yet he makes his doing it conditional upon Mr. Mitchell's securing the immediate return of the miners to work! From that humiliating exhibition, it is a far cry back to Mr. Roosevelt's bold speech about "shackling the cunning" of the trusts, and his later one about the futility of "words without action." Is it possible that his courage is only physical? At any rate, Morgan's deputation of coal mine magnates seems to have cowed him completely.

No reply to such a request was possible, other than the one Mr. Mitchell is reported to have made—unless the strikers were actually losing ground and glad to avail themselves of an opportunity to make a "patriotic" virtue out of an economic necessity. Acceptance would have been regarded as graceful submission to defeat, and disorganization would have followed. It would have been better for the trust than an injunction against the union. In worse

plight than before they struck, the miners could have hoped for nothing from Mr. Roosevelt's promise of an investigation. A President who bows his head so abjectly to financial combinations which he has the legal power to call to account, would be weaker than a broken reed to lean upon in an emergency like that with which his cowardly request confronted the striking miners.

Gov. Stone's order calling out all the militia of Pennsylvania assumes an insurrection which the local authorities cannot control. It is rather remarkable that observers like Bishop Fallows, who have gone all over the country, see no signs of the insurrection which the coal trust magnates describe so loudly and the governor acknowledges so submissively. Is it not somewhat significant of a design on the part of the coal trust to arouse indignation and incite violence by marching troops into the affected communities?

Mr. Baer's assurances that mining operations can proceed if non-union miners are protected by troops, implying as it does that there are plenty of men willing to work for the wages he pays, is either a wilful misrepresentation, or else there is no such prosperity among working men as Mr. Hanna and his plutocratic cronies are boasting of. According to Mr. Baer himself the wages of the 26,270 miners employed by the Reading mines, which he controls, average \$296.20 a year. Mr. Mitchell puts it at much less, but never mind; let it go at Mr. Baer's figures. Out of this sum comes rents, and rebates for powder, oil and company's doctor, leaving a neat balance of \$148—slightly more than \$2.75 a week—for the support of a miner's family. If miners can be easily got for these wages, provided they are protected by troops, what kind of prosperity is it that we are enjoying? Does it quite warrant the Republicans in declaring that prosperity is the foremost issue of the campaign, and urging the people to "stand pat."

It is a piteous wail that Congressman Grosvenor, of Ohio, sends up to J. Pierpont Morgan through the president of Mr. Morgan's ship trust. "Stop the coal strike, and stop it now, or the 9,000 miners in my district will vote against me!" is the burden of his cry. And so demoralized is Mr. Grosvenor that he silences his civic conscience and begs Morgan to interfere. If you do not, screams Grosvenor, there will be a Democratic Congress and your trusts will go to smash; but if you do, you will not only be the greatest man in the country but your trusts will continue to flourish under the fostering care of another grateful Republican Congress. Mr. Grosvenor's fears have run away with his discretion.

"There is no duty whatever on anthracite coal," said President Roosevelt at Cincinnati, when arguing that trusts are not fostered by the tariff. This was supposed to be a "clincher," for it showed that the tariff does not foster the coal trust. But alas for Mr. Roosevelt's argument, there is in fact a duty on anthracite coal. Ordinarily it would not be needed, for but little anthracite coal is known outside of the United States, and the tariff on bituminous coal ordinarily serves to protect anthracite. Yet the anthracite trust evidently feared that a time might come—something like the time that has come—when a tariff on anthracite itself would be handy. So, while leaving anthracite on the free list, in order to cover their tracks—it had been on the free list since 1870—the makers of the Dingley bill fixed a duty upon it surreptitiously. This was done in paragraph 415, which reduced the old duty on bituminous coal from 75 cents to 67 cents, and by which it is provided that not only bituminous coal, but "all coals containing less than 92 per centum of fixed carbon," shall pay the 67 cents duty. Now the fact happens to be that there are no commercial imports of anthracite which come up to that standard. Consequently all imports of anthracite pay duty.

This construction of the law was made by the board of general appraisers and has been sustained by the Federal courts. Mr. Roosevelt was mistaken when he asserted so positively that there is no duty on anthracite coal.

It is boasted by Republican papers, upon the authority of some statistician, that "a rail roller in an up to date mill is paid less than 1 per cent. per ton for rolling, against 15 cents at a not remote date;" also that within the same period "a wire rod roller has seen his earnings per ton reduced from \$2.12 to 12 cents per ton, and yet he earns larger wages at the lower figure; while 5 cents is paid to-day for heating billets to make wire rods, against 80 cents during the period referred to." If all this is true, then, in view of the further fact that the products mentioned have not been reduced in price but are rather higher, a very significant question arises: Who gets the difference?

While the Republican majority in the Ohio legislature is carrying out the orders of Senator Hanna, Senator Foraker, and a greater than either—"Boss" Cox of Cincinnati—to make a municipal code that will keep Tom L. Johnson's hands off the railroad tax dodgers and the street car monopolists, and to that end is striving to establish some municipal system with divided responsibility admitting of boss-ships, it is interesting to compare one of the most important results of that kind of government with the corresponding result under the federal plan which was in vogue so long and satisfactorily in Cleveland. The result to which we refer is the personnel of city councils. Cincinnati has a board system which divides responsibility and thereby enables one man, "Boss" Cox, to rule the city—a "boss" who could not be elected by popular vote to any office. The low character of this irresponsible kind of government is reflected in the city council

of Cincinnati, the personnel of which is as follows:

Merchant .....	1
Detective .....	1
Commission man .....	1
Brewer .....	1
Gasoline lighting contractor .....	1
Collector for telephone company .....	1
Retired saloon keeper .....	1
Brick contractor .....	1
Newspaper man .....	1
Salesman .....	1
Locomotive engineer .....	1
Doctor .....	1
Cigar dealer .....	1
Lawyer .....	1
Saloon keepers .....	17
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>31</b>

Cleveland, on the contrary, has had popular government under the federal plan. The only kind of "boss" that can get in power there is one whom the people choose at municipal elections and whom they can hold to a strict responsibility at the polls. Compare, then, the Cincinnati council, as shown above, with the Cleveland council as shown below:

Manufacturers .....	3
Merchants .....	3
Mechanic .....	1
Doctor .....	1
Newsdealer .....	1
Undertaker .....	1
Cigar manufacturer .....	1
Instructor of gymnastics .....	1
Printer .....	1
Dock foremen .....	2
Bartender .....	1
Foreman .....	1
Real estate dealer .....	1
Lawyers .....	4
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>22</b>

Isn't that a fair commentary on the difference between a city where divided responsibility generates the "boss" system, and one where the people rule? And doesn't it stamp the action of those Republicans in the Ohio legislature, who are "standing pat" for "boss" rule in cities, as treacherous not only to the political rights of the people but to their local interests as well?

To recommend board government, its supporters in Ohio have circulated a comparison of the cost of government in Cincinnati under "boss" rule with its cost in Cleveland under the "federal" system, in which they profess to show that the Cincinnati government costs less than that at Cleveland. But this comparison is not confirmed by an actual comparison of the auditors' statements of the two cities. Though the Cincinnati rate is less, the taxes are \$500,000 more than in Cleveland. "The reason Cleveland pays less taxes than

Cincinnati although Cincinnati has a smaller rate," says the director of accounts of the former city, "is that in Cincinnati everything that lives, walks or can be located on the surface of the earth is assessed for taxation. Consequently Cincinnati has an assessed valuation of \$215,000,000, while Cleveland is assessed at only \$190,000,000. This gives out the impression that people in Cincinnati are not paying as much taxes as Cleveland, whereas the actual facts are just the opposite." Added to this exposure is the revelation that the exact difference in the cost of the Cleveland and the Cincinnati governments for 1903, as shown by the department estimates, is \$994,000 in favor of Cleveland.

The Republican machine in the Seventh senatorial district of Illinois is evidently demoralized by the vigor of the campaign that Western Starr is making against Humphrey, of "Humphrey bill" fame. Otherwise it would not have charged Starr with having been indicted in Dakota 15 years ago upon a charge of perjury. This has served to bring out the fact that while in Dakota Starr fought a corrupt and powerful ring there, as he is now fighting a corrupt though not so powerful ring here. The president of the Voter's League, who vouches for Mr. Starr's integrity, gives this frank account of the matter:

Mr. Starr swore out a warrant charging a certain person with theft. The man was attempting to take stolen property out of the Territory. Mr. Starr in behalf of a client secured a warrant and it was served. Afterward the client lay down and the case was not prosecuted. Mr. Starr had been fighting a political ring in the Territory, and several months afterward, on the last day of the grand jury term, he was indicted on ex parte testimony, the whole job being put up by the prosecuting attorney, who belonged to the ring. Mr. Starr was released on his own recognizance. There was no term of court for a year, and when it met the indictment was quashed. The matter was submitted, with all witnesses present, before the next grand jury and they refused to reindict. The records of Stark county, North Dakota, bear out these facts. We have investigated

the matter, and are fully convinced that the entire proceedings were an attempt on the part of political manipulators to discredit an antagonist.

The New York World, which neglects no opportunity for a fling at Mr. Bryan as the author of all the ill-fortune at the polls of the Democratic party, allowed its correspondent at Saratoga, on the eve of the Democratic State convention, to set forth as a prominent feature of the improved fortunes of the Democracy, with Hill in the saddle, the following described state of affairs:

While the party in this state possessed the taint of Bryanism, the big railroads as well as other corporations withheld their usual contributions to the Democratic cause. This year, however, when the Democrats have a chance of regaining control of the State government, the corporations are expected to again contribute liberally to the Democratic managers. In view of this situation the belief here is that Mr. Hill and his associates will not allow the convention to adopt any canal plank which may alienate the financial support of the railroads.

The newsgatherer of the World was more candid than its editor. The editorial comment of the World has steadily ignored the influence of Mr. Bryan in creating anew the vital moral tone in the party which has made it till now idle for the plutocratic forces to approach it with bribes. The paper of Mr. Pulitzer has persisted in seeing nothing but silver-advocacy in the Kansas City platform and Mr. Bryan's leadership. In employing this pretext for opposition to Bryan, it parrots, in a way most discreditable to a leader of any claim to dignity or following in the Democratic party, the disingenuous cry of the "reorganizers" everywhere. A deeper slough than the Democratic party has ever wandered into awaits it if it surrenders to the mercenary New York professionals who consider it a triumph to be in a position to draw again upon the corruption funds of the predatory plutocracy. This is to be the test between the assistant-Republican Democracy and the democratic Democ-

racy: "Are you bidding for the money that the Republican party draws on?"

#### COAL DEPOSITS AND COAL PRODUCTION.

A dramatic incident affecting the common life of the people is teaching them better than they could possibly learn from books, the vital difference between property in the products of man's labor and property in his natural sources and channels of supply.

Between a coal deposit on the one hand, and on the other the machinery and excavations for extracting coal, together with the coal when extracted, there is a natural difference which no man can rationally deny, and which the people are now coming suddenly to see. Even to the extent that they are not yet noting the difference distinctly, their vision is growing wonderfully clear as to one of its phases. They are realizing as great masses of men have never realized before, that the riches of Nature cannot justly be property.

Probably they would not so formulate the thought. Their formula would more likely run into some sententious expression to the effect that "God didn't make the coal deposits expressly for the pious Mr. Baer." But their meaning and its significance would be the same.

Prominent instances of this tremendous awakening are too numerous to admit of special mention; but of the popular impression, what better proof could be desired than that a Democratic convention of New York state, controlled by David B. Hill, an astute seeker for votes, has demanded governmental ownership and operation of coal mines?

The crudeness of the plan proposed by this convention fairly reflects the crudeness of popular thought upon the subject. There is no necessity for ownership or operation by the government, in order to secure full enjoyment of the common right to coal deposits. So, also the proviso that full compensation be paid reflects the vagueness that still continues regarding the difference between property in labor products and property in natural sources of supply. If property in the bare privilege of permitting coal to be mined is not just property, then it would be unjust to make the people pay for terminating it. To award compensation for ending this predatory priv-

ilege, imposed upon the people of today by the "dead hand" of generations long since turned to dust, would amount to reviving the same privilege in another form. It would transform the owners of coal deposits into owners of a burdensome and unjust public debt.

But the crudeness of the plan proposed and the weakness of the compensation proviso, are of minor moment. When public sentiment once realizes the enormity of property in the natural sources and channels of supply, it will make short work of the compensation folly, just as it did when it realized the enormity of slavery. If owners of coal lands are expecting to take advantage of the sentiment against property in these natural deposits to sell out to the government at a fancy price, they are to be disappointed. Nor will the public be at any loss for a simpler and better plan than the New York convention proposes of securing common rights.

The encouraging thing about the demand of the New York convention is that it arrayed itself definitely against the principle of property in coal deposits, and did so under the pressure of popular sentiment. When that sentiment has become more pronounced, it will have the intelligence to see that all the advantages, with none of the disadvantages and dangers, of public ownership and operation of coal mining, can be accomplished with no more drastic change than the general exemption of labor products from taxation.

If this change were made, industry and commerce would be encouraged by the abolition of its greatest burden; and natural opportunities for industry could no longer be withdrawn from use.

Consider a moment the effect of such a change upon the coal strike situation.

The anthracite coal trust owns thousands of acres of coal deposits. It also owns mining equipments and the value of excavations for mining purposes. If taxes on labor products were abolished, the value of its equipments and excavations would be exempt. But so would similar property, which competition might produce; and that would make it much easier to compete. Very different would be the status of coal deposits. With taxes on production abolished, it would pay better than ever to use these deposits; and as they would then be taxed well up to their value

as deposits, whether used or not, it would not pay at all not to use them, but would entail a continuous and enormous loss.

That double reform would stimulate profitable coal mining, and bring into competition with the mines already opened, every unopened deposit in the whole anthracite region. How long could owners of coal deposits afford to prevent or suspend operations when operation paid and non-operation caused enormous loss? How long would the miners want to remain on strike when new capital had come into the field to work mines instead of closing them down. Not a day. No owners could make their money any longer by monopolizing coal deposits, but only by operating them; and this would make more jobs for miners than there would be miners to respond, which would send wages up with a bound.

Is it replied that outside workmen would come into the anthracite region in droves to get these extraordinary wages? So they might if it were not for the fact, as fact it would be, that the same double reform, operating upon all kinds of business, would produce like results in all callings.

For this method contemplates the application of tax exemption for labor products, and full ad valorem taxation upon natural sources and channels of supply, not only to coal mining but to all other industries. Coal mines are only impressive illustrations of a general principle. The owners of valuable city lots who hold them out of use because they cannot get their price, are doing precisely the same thing as the owners of coal deposits who hold them out of use because they cannot hire labor cheap. The city lot is a natural source of supply as truly as a coal deposit. It supplies the site for a house while the coal deposit supplies fuel to warm the house. If men were exempt from taxation on their buildings, but were taxed the value of their lots, houses would speedily go up on valuable lots that are now given over to weeds, just as exemptions on coal mining but high ad valorem taxes on coal deposits, would cause coal to pour freely out of mines that are now guarded by troops. If the owner of vacant city lots may say "this is mine," and deprive his fellow-men of the shelter they might make, the owner of coal deposits

may quite as justly say, "this is mine," and deprive his fellow-men of the fuel they might procure.

The lesson to be learned from the coal strike goes deep. It is the lesson of "mine, thine, and ours." What I earn is mine; what you earn is thine; but the natural sources of our supply are ours. The pick I shape is mine; you may use it on the terms to which you and I agree. The coal you dig with it is yours; I may have it on the terms to which you and I agree. But the coal deposit is ours, and neither of us may justly withdraw it from the other's use. That is the natural law. That is the universal principle. Nor does it make any difference—the principle still holds—when instead of a pick I have shaped gigantic mining equipments, and instead of digging handfuls of coal you dig millions of tons. The equipments are mine, the extracted coal is yours, but the coal deposit is ours.

It is a gratifying fact that every day this distinguishable difference, which is the basis of all civic morality, is becoming clearer to popular apprehension. And curiously enough, the man who seems to have done most at this juncture to produce that effect, is Mr. Baer. His offensive claim to a God-given right to property in coal deposits has so shocked the moral sense of the community as to lead it to question anew all paper titles to the globe upon which we live, and to its stores from which we draw. To question such titles thoughtfully is to condemn them.

## NEWS

President Roosevelt's intercession for the purpose of amicably terminating the portentous coal strike in the anthracite regions (p. 406) has not been successful. The principals of the parties in interest, whom he had invited to call upon him at the White House on the 3d, appeared promptly in response to the invitation. The representatives of the coal trust had arrived in Washington the night before in a luxurious private car which they made their headquarters during their stay. They were E. B. Thomas, for the Erie road; President Baer, for the Reading; President Fowler, for the Ontario & Western; David Willcox, for the Delaware & Hudson; President Truesdale, for the D., L. & W.; and John Markle, an independent coal operator. There

was no representative from the Lehigh Valley, one of the principal coal carrying roads. In rather dramatic contrast with the trust magnates, the representatives of the striking miners arrived on a day car, and at midnight walked to a small hotel near the railroad station. They were President Mitchell and three district presidents—Nicholls, Duffy and Fahy. It was President Roosevelt's expectation that at the conference he had thus assembled the coal strike and the consequent coal famine would be ended simultaneously and at once by mutual concessions. But he was speedily undeceived.

When the contending parties arrived at the White House at 11 o'clock on the morning of the 3d, the President read a brief address in which he declared that he spoke neither for the operators nor the miners, but for the general public. Yet he disclaimed "any right or duty to intervene upon legal grounds" or from his official position, explaining his extraordinary action by referring to the gravity of the situation. "The evil possibilities are so far reaching," he proceeded, "so appalling, that it seems to me that you are not only justified in sinking but required to sink for the time being any tenacity as to your respective claims in the matter at issue between you." In conclusion, he said:

In my judgment the situation requires that you meet upon the common plane of the necessities of the public. With all the earnestness there is in me I ask that there be an immediate resumption of operations in the coal mines in some such way as will without a day's unnecessary delay meet the crying needs of the people. I do not invite a discussion of your respective claims and positions. I appeal to your patriotism, to the spirit that sinks personal claims and makes individual sacrifices for the general good.

As soon as the President had closed his address, Mr. Mitchell expressed sympathy with its sentiment, and proceeded to explain that the strikers felt they were not responsible for the gravity of the situation, as they had all along been willing to meet their adversaries and try to adjust their differences. "If we cannot adjust them that way, Mr. President," he added, "we are willing that you shall name a tribunal who shall terminate the issues that have resulted in the strike, and if the gentlemen representing the operators will accept the

award or decision of such a tribunal the miners will accept it even if it is against our claims." Nothing further was done at the morning session, a recess having been proposed at this point by the President himself.

At the later session, beginning at three in the afternoon, several papers were read by the representatives of the trust. Notwithstanding that the President had indicated his desire that the claims and positions of the conflicting parties should not be discussed, Mr. Baer entered, in his paper, upon a discussion of the merits of the strike. He enlarged upon his assertion that from 15,000 to 20,000 miners were at work, but needed the protection of armed guards, and that the strikers made life and property unsafe; and he admonished the President in these plain terms:

The duty of the hour is not to waste time negotiating with the fomenters of this anarchy and insolent defiance of law, but to do, as was done in the war of the rebellion, restore the majesty of the law, the only guardian of a free people, and to reestablish order and peace at any cost. The government is a contemptible failure if it can only protect the lives and property and secure the comfort of the people by compromising with the violators of law and the instigators of violence and crime.

Baer declined Mitchell's arbitration offer, and proposed instead to continue the wages paid at the time of the strike and to take up at each colliery and adjust any grievance, agreeing that if the employers and employes at any particular colliery could not reach a satisfactory adjustment of any alleged grievance, it should be referred to the judges of the Court of Common Pleas of the district in which the colliery is situated for final determination. The other papers were in the same spirit and to the same effect. Mr. Markle definitely demanded that the President "at once squelch the anarchistic condition of affairs existing in the anthracite coal regions by the strong arm of the military." Mr. Truesdale urged that the government at once institute legal "proceedings against the illegal organization known as the United Mine Workers' association, its well-known officers, agents and members, to enjoin and restrain permanently it and them from continuing this organization," saying that the counsel of his company advised that the government could do this. In the course of the afternoon session

Mr. Mitchell and his associates put his arbitration offer of the morning into formal shape; and in reply to the strictures of the trust magnates he refuted their charges of anarchy and riot.

Nothing further was done by the President, or which there is yet any positive public knowledge, until the 6th, when he sent to Mr. Mitchell, by the hand of Carroll D. Wright, United States Labor Commissioner, the following request:

If Mr. Mitchell will secure the immediate return to work of the miners in the anthracite region the President will at once appoint a commission to investigate thoroughly into all the matters at issue between the operators and miners, and will do all within his power to obtain a settlement of those questions in accordance with the report of the commission.

Promptly upon receiving this communication, Mr. Mitchell issued an address calling upon the local unions to vote upon the question of returning to work. Accordingly, on the 8th, a vote was taken in every lodge throughout the anthracite region. A total of 260 have reported as these words are written (Oct. 9), leaving 40 or 50 still to hear from. All those reporting had voted unanimously against terminating the strike. Mr. Mitchell acted upon these instructions by sending a letter to the President on the evening of the 8th which is understood to be a courteous refusal of the President's request. The letter has not yet been made public.

Meanwhile, Gov. Stone, of Pennsylvania, had ordered out the entire militia force of the State—some 10,000 men. His order, which was issued on the 6th, recites the existence of mob law in the counties of Luzerne, Schuylkill, Carbon, Lackawanna, Susquehanna, Northumberland and Columbia, and orders that all men who desire to work, and their families, have ample military protection," that railroad trains and all other property be protected, and that order be preserved. Every colliery is to be individually guarded by soldiers. All the state troops are now actually in the field.

The governor's order for protection of the operators by military power was supplemented on the same day by an address from the officers

of the miners' union, in which they urged that—

great care should be exercised that those on strike do not permit themselves to be provoked by the coal-and-iron police into the commission of overt acts. The operators, failing to break the strike and deprive you of your well-earned victory, are now attempting to array public sentiment against you by making false claims that a reign of terror exists in the coal fields. Be steadfast and true while this struggle for living wages and American conditions of employment is going on, and we have no hesitancy in saying that victory will be achieved in the not distant future.

The oppressive prices to which all kinds of coal have been raised by the continuance of the strike are now followed by an increase of from 9 to 15 per cent. in the price of standard loaves of bread. Other products of the bakery, though unchanged in price, are being reduced in size.

It is probably the pressure of prices upon the general public more than any peculiar interest in the cause of the strikers, that has aroused the indignation which is being expressed so vigorously all over the country. The most notable demonstration of this feeling is the conference at Detroit (p. 406), which assembled on the 9th. The governor of New Jersey, as well as the governor of Ohio and the mayor of New York, declined to send delegates; but as we write (October 9), the attendance promises to be otherwise widely representative and very large.

Grave fears are evidently felt by Republican leaders regarding the possible effect of the coal strike on the political situation. An extremely significant expression of this feeling is a telegram of the 4th from Congressman Grosvenor, of the Eleventh Ohio district, to Clement A. Griscom, head of the J. Pierpont Morgan ship trust, of Philadelphia. We give it in full:

Chicago, Oct. 4.—To Clement A. Griscom, New York: Public sentiment in this section bitter against coal operators beyond description. If continued will assure Democratic Congress and financial ruin. Mr. Morgan, if he interfered and effected settlement now, would establish himself in a position stronger than any living American. The result would react favorably upon all his great

enterprises. It would be better from a mere selfish standpoint than all the anthracite coal in the country is worth, but from the humanitarian standpoint would be a benefaction. I go home to-morrow to face 9,000 coal miners, and with a miner candidate against me. C. H. Grosvenor.

Senator Hanna's systematic campaign of Ohio began on the 6th (see p. 408), when he left Cleveland in the private railroad car upon which he and his companions are to live while making the tour. In his speech at Steubenville on the 6th Mr. Hanna is reported by the press to have thrown out a challenge to Tom L. Johnson to debate the tariff question, on condition that "the subject must be discussed from a strictly economic standpoint and with no reference to monopolies." The challenge was at once telegraphed to Mayor Johnson, who immediately replied with an unqualified acceptance, agreeing to debate the subject in any way or at any time Senator Hanna might name. But on the 7th, at his Barnesville meeting, Mr. Hanna denied having challenged Mr. Johnson to debate economic questions with him on the same platform. "I did say," he explained, "that I would discuss certain questions with him, referring of course to our respective campaigns." In his Barnesville speech on the 7th, Senator Hanna, who is confining his speeches to the trust question, opposed tariff revision, saying that it "would affect every State in the Union, and nobody would know where it would end. "But I know," he added, "where the Republican party would end if revisions were attempted. It would end in the ditch."

From Upper Sandusky, where Mayor Johnson's campaign tent was pitched on the 29th (p. 409), Mr. Johnson, Mr. Bigelow and the rest of the party went down to Kenton for their meeting of the 30th. Kenton is in Hardin county, which is a Republican locality, though close. The attendance was 3,800. They went next to Marion, in the Democratic county of Marion, where an audience of 3,500 greeted them on the 1st, and Mr. Johnson applauded nine Republican members of the legislature for voting against the so-called "curative" measure and exoriated eight Democratic members for voting for it, one of them representing the county where the meet-

ing was held. The significance of all this may be best understood by reference to Mr. Johnson's explanation of the "curative" measure, which he made as follows:

Six years ago a Republican legislature passed the Rogers bill, which allowed town councils to give away franchises in the streets of cities for a term of 50 years. It was so iniquitous that the next legislature repealed it, not daring to let it remain on the statute books. But, meanwhile, the mischief had been done in Cincinnati, and Mr. Foraker and Mr. Cox had bought a council and had secured possession of the streets. Not until this year was the Rogers act tested in the courts and declared unconstitutional. It is to render invalid the decision of this court and to reenact the 50-year franchise that the "curative act" was drafted and forced through the legislature.

Mr. Johnson spoke the same night (October 1) at Columbus before an audience of 5,000. The other speakers here were John H. Clarke, James Kilbourne, John J. Lentz and Judge Badger. At this meeting also Johnson denounced the recreant Democrats of the legislature. The next place for the Johnson-Bigelow meeting was at Galion, in the strongly Democratic county of Crawford, on the 2d, where the tent was packed with 5,500 people, while hundreds stood outside unable to get in. Bigelow is reported to have made at this meeting an exceptionally eloquent speech. Johnson pursued his policy of denouncing the recreant eight legislators of his party, one of them representing this county. On the 3d the meeting was at Mansfield, in the Democratic county of Richland, 2,000 people attending in a deluge of rain. Recreant Democratic auditors and legislators were not forgotten by Mr. Johnson, while Mr. Bigelow discussed the subject of franchises. Ashland, in the Democratic county of Ashland, was the place of meeting on the 4th. Here also the attendance was enormous, fully 5,500 people being within hearing of the speaking. After a Sunday's rest, the speakers appeared on the 6th at Wooster, in the strong Democratic county of Wayne. Mayor Johnson had been warned by the Democratic legislator from this county that if he were denounced for his vote for the "curative" act the audience would hiss Johnson. Johnson did denounce him, and instead of hissing, the audience—numbering

fully 6,000 both within and around the tent—applauded vociferously.

The Republican convention of Massachusetts met at Boston on the 3d and nominated John L. Bates for governor. The platform pledged the party to support President Roosevelt for another term, and indorsed tariff revision, to be made along the lines laid down by President Roosevelt and in harmony with protection.

What has excited more interest among Massachusetts Republicans than the State convention, is the nomination, not only by the Republican Congressional convention, but in obedience to the result of a contest before the Republican primaries, of Eugene N. Foss, whose platform demands—

Tariff revision along such lines as will give New England industries fair play and every man a fair chance to earn a living.

Reciprocity with Canada, our best foreign customer per capita, and Cuba, our ward, and for such reciprocal treaties with other countries as will build up our home industries and increase our commerce.

The improvement of Boston harbor, the natural port of New England and Canada.

The upbuilding of the American merchant marine, which can never be sustained except upon the principle of reciprocity.

Free coal, free iron, free hides.

On the 4th the first official announcement of the government relative to bank reserves as government deposits (p. 468), was made. After a conference between the President, the Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller of the Currency, it was agreed and the banks were notified that the law requiring the banks to hold a reserve against deposits will not be enforced so far as it relates to government deposits.

Since the announcement of a contemplated military expedition against the Moros, in the Philippine islands, (p. 362), two have been made. The first was a reconnoitering expedition under Capt. Pershing, of the Fifteenth infantry. He found the Maciu country strongly protected, and his proposal to the Moro sultans that they surrender was rejected. Returning to Camp Vicars on the 23d, Pershing headed a second expedition, which left camp on the 28th. His

force was a strong one, and news of his victory was telegraphed from Manila on the 4th. The final and decisive action began on the 30th, when Pershing drove the Moros back into their strongest fort. After a bombardment lasting 15 hours, the Moros abandoned this fort on the 2d. The Americans suffered no loss, only two being wounded and they slightly; but less than 40 Moros escaped unhurt. One of their sultans was killed and 40 forts were captured and destroyed.

The Philippine commission at Manila passed an act on the 7th, pursuant to the order of President Roosevelt (p. 410), providing for taking a census of the inhabitants of the archipelago. Gen. Sanger is to be director of the census.

A riotous street car strike in the United States proper recalls attention from the Philippines to the American city by the Gulf. A complete tie-up of the New Orleans street car system began on the 28th. It continued until the 6th when the mayor advised the street car company to run its cars, intimating that otherwise steps would be taken to annul its franchise. Police protection was given and on the 7th an attempt to run cars with imported employes was made. Disorder occurred and the attempt was abandoned. A call by the mayor for volunteer patrolmen met with no response, and application was made to the governor on the 8th for troops. On the same day, before troops had arrived, a sanguinary conflict occurred between the strikers and the police. The company had made a second attempt to run cars. They were manned by men sent from Chicago for the purpose by a Chicago concern of "strike-breakers," under the charge of Peter Johnson and Alfred Clark of Chicago, who had brought 30 with them. An immense crowd had gathered, and as the first car approached Dorgenois street the crowd turned itself into a mob and threw obstructions on the track. When the car came to a standstill the crowd rushed upon the strange men who were running it, and hurled missiles at it. Policemen on board the car charged the mob, and shots were fired. One policeman was fatally wounded and several persons were painfully injured, including at least one striker and one "strike breaker." Upon being ordered out against the strikers one company of the First regiment resigned in a body.

NEWS NOTES.

—The National Irrigation Congress was in session at Colorado Springs, Col., on the 7th.

—Gen. E. S. Bragg, consul general at Havana, has been transferred to Hongkong, in consequence of his having made himself persona non grata at Havana.

—A general strike of the French coal miners' federation, having a membership of 60,000, was ordered on the 8th to begin on the 9th. Troops have been sent to the scene of the strike to guard the mines.

—W. R. Hearst, proprietor of the New York Journal, the Chicago American and the San Francisco Examiner, was nominated for Congress on the 2d by the Democratic convention of the Eleventh New York district.

—Judge Lacombe, of the United States Circuit Court for the Southern district of New York, decided on the 7th that a citizen of Porto Rico is not therefore a citizen of the United States and can be excluded as an undesirable immigrant.

—Fourteen of the 80 Irish members of the British parliament were in jail on the 2d, serving sentences of from two to six months, in many cases with hard labor, after summary trials (see pp. 362, 377) without juries. One of them is William Redmond.

—One of the prominent citizens of St. Louis, indicted for bribery in connection with street car franchises (p. 361), was convicted on the 4th. One witness, a councilman, testified that he and five other councilmen each drew \$5,000 annually to vote for certain street railway interests.

—The National League of Republican Clubs, in session at Chicago on the 4th, adopted resolutions condemning trusts "whose purpose is self-aggrandizement at the expense of the people or the nation;" declaring for a protective tariff without mentioning revision; and deploring the coal strike.

—The monthly statement of the treasury department for September shows on hand September 30:

Gold reserve fund.....	\$150,000,000 00
Available cash balance.....	221,253,394 12
Total .....	\$371,253,394 12
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1902.....	358,574,115 85
Increase .....	\$12,679,278 27

—Senator Mitchell, of Oregon, who has just returned with two other senators from an official tour of investigation in the Hawaiian islands, reports that the islands are "in a state of great commercial and industrial depression, caused, as it is generally claimed, by the low price of sugar and the scarcity and high price of labor."

—Arthur H. Stephenson, of Philadelphia, died on the 4th, of abscess on the

brain, caused by blood poisoning following a severe attack of typhoid fever. Mr. Stephenson, a man of 40, who was head of the firm of Stephenson & Co., wholesale worsted and woolen merchants, was one of the most active and prominent single tax men of the East. He became a convert to Henry George's economic doctrines as early as 1886 and always remained a vigorous supporter of them.

—The September treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government for the three months ending September 30, 1902, shows the following:

Receipts:	
Tariff .....	\$77,233,751 37
Internal revenue.....	58,933,201 70
Miscellaneous .....	10,829,932 23
	<u>\$146,996,885 30</u>
Expenses:	
Civil and misc.....	\$31,153,911 33
War .....	35,564,955 84
Navy .....	20,813,199 93
Indians .....	3,584,731 14
Pensions .....	36,323,910 04
Interest .....	10,031,287 81
	<u>\$137,481,976 06</u>
Surplus .....	\$9,009,909 24

PRESS OPINIONS.

THE ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE.

Pittsburg Post (Dem.), Oct. 5.—Admit the lawlessness of the strikes, has there not been greater disregard of law by the operators, who attempt to pose as the conservators of the public peace?

Duluth News (Rep.), Oct. 5.—The miners must bear the full responsibility for the anarchistic conditions that prevail. But the refusal of the operators still leaves them under the ban of the public disapproval.

Johnstown Daily Democrat (Dem.), Oct. 2.—The one certain means of bringing this war to an end is to give notice to the barons that they are no longer to enjoy the privilege of dodging the tax laws of Pennsylvania. If that notice were given them to-morrow in a way that would convince them that it would be made effective in taxing their coal lands at their true cash value, before night they would be hunting for somebody to help them let go. Their monopoly would then present to them the hot end of an economic poker and the longer they should hold on to it the worse it would scorch their hands.

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE.

New York Tribune (Rep.), Oct. 3.—There can be little doubt Mr. Mitchell's offer will be generally regarded as fair, and that the curt refusal of the operators even to take it into consideration will be universally condemned.

Philadelphia North American (Ind. Rep.), Oct. 3.—John Mitchell, on behalf of the miners, proposed a plan of settlement which cannot be regarded as other than perfectly fair. The coal road presidents not only rejected Mitchell's conciliatory advances, but heaped upon him abuse, insults and contempt.

New York Herald (Ind.), Oct. 3.—Property has its duties as well as its rights, and the unyielding attitude of the coal mine owners indicates that they realize neither the duty they owe to the people in the present crisis nor the intensity of public feeling.

Milwaukee Daily News (Ind.), Oct. 7.—President Roosevelt is in a difficult position. . . . If he "flukes," as there is every reason to believe he will do, owing to his recognition that his party is bound



hand and foot to organized wealth, he will weaken the confidence the great mass of the American people now have in what they conceive to be his fearless devotion to duty.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Oct. 5.—It is impudent, it is insulting, it is audacious of the coal presidents to speak of "lawlessness" in the coal regions when they themselves are the greatest offenders against the law. They are the real anarchists, the real revolutionists, the real subverters of law and order. They themselves have invited criminal rioting and set the example.

Chicago Chronicle (Dem.), Oct. 6.—The anthracite operators were conspicuously unreasonable, arrogant and pig-headed when they notified the President that they would not recognize Mr. Mitchell as the representative of the anthracite operatives at the Washington conference because he is an outsider—that they would recognize only their own operatives. This is no more reasonable than it would be to deny the right of a workingman to employ a lawyer to represent him in court because a lawyer is not a manual laborer.

Springfield Republican (Ind.), Oct. 3 (weekly ed.).—The President and his administration repose over a volcano. Rightly or wrongly, a people well-nigh panic-stricken will hold them responsible in a measure for the dire consequences that are threatened, and that cannot be wholly averted. And rightly will the President be held to some accountability in this matter. . . . He has all along been in possession of power to move legally against the anthracite operators in processes of compulsion or seizure of their properties for temporary public operation.

Chicago American (Ind. Dem.), Oct. 9.—"What!" cries President Roosevelt, stung to anger and resolute action by the insult of the coal trust. "What! You defy me, do you? Then let the consequences be upon your own arrogant heads. By the Eternal, I shall instantly ask the strikers to give in!" No one contemplating this powerful ending of Mr. Roosevelt's efforts in this affair can fail to be impressed with the extreme value of the idea of the strenuous life when put to the practical test. Who but an advocate of the strenuous life would ever think of absolute and unconditional surrender as the only way out of a tight place?

**THE COAL MINE PROBLEM.**

Boston Advertiser (Rep.), Oct. 3.—We advocate the national ownership and operation of the anthracite coal mines.

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.) Oct. 3.—In the presence of national and state impotence to regulate the coal and railway combine by less drastic methods the public mind has been more and more directed to state condemnation of all coal lands and state ownership or control of all railways.

Columbus (O.) Daily Press (Dem.), Oct. 1.—Very naturally, Philander Knox is of the opinion that the President cannot constitutionally interfere in the coal strike. The constitution is a great instrument when it can be quoted in favor of the "captains of industry."

Buffalo Times (Dem.), Oct. 5.—The coal mines have been given to the operators by the people, and what the people give, the people can take away. Not by anarchy and the force of arms, not by clash of weapons and flash of fire, but by the same calm, deliberate methods by which the presentation was made.

Milwaukee Daily News (Ind.).—It is well to recognize the fundamental principle involved. If the trust has a right to the ownership of the coal lands—the same right that a man has to the coat on his back—then the public has no right to

complain if the trust mines coal or not. If the trust has no right to the land, if the interests of the public are paramount, then why should the trust be permitted to remain in possession of the coal fields and the coal mines?

Johnstown (Pa.) Daily Democrat (Dem.), Oct. 4.—The strength of the coal trust lies, not in the mines that it operates, not even in its alliance with the coal roads, but in the mining opportunities it holds out of use simply because these opportunities are assessed at less than their value for taxation. If all coal lands were taxed on the basis of their fair cash value, as the law provides, it would be impossible for the coal trust to hold them out of use. It would be unprofitable to do so and therefore commercially impossible. But these idle coal lands are assessed on a purely nominal value. It many instances they are rated as agricultural lands. Thus it is easy to carry them along and prevent outside capital and labor from entering upon and developing them.

**GOVERNMENT BY COMMISSION.**

The Commoner (Dem.), Oct. 3.—By all means, let a commission of financiers settle the money question; let a commission of trust magnates settle the trust question, and let a commission of manufacturers settle the tariff question. This would be a settlement by experts, but, on the same principle, why not let the wolves settle the sheep question—don't they understand the flavor of mutton?

**HOME RULE IN OHIO.**

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), Oct. 4.—Irrespective of the alleged plans of Cleveland's mayor to Johnsonize the cities of Ohio, the adoption of a municipal code for Ohio that does not provide for home rule will be a step backward, and must be regarded by the people as a triumph of partisanship over civic advancement.

**TROOPS AT THE MINES.**

Chicago Daily News (Ind.), Oct. 7.—It will now be in order for the operators to show what truth there is in their declaration that their miners are willing to go back to work but are afraid to do so. Since Gov. Stone has taken this step it is timely to ask what, if anything, is to be done to make the operators conform to the law.

**MISCELLANY**

**FREEDOM'S CALL.**

For The Public.

Hark, freemen, to the trumpet's call!  
Its battle cry is ringing;  
With clash of steel on steel, the foe  
With fierce assault and deadly blow  
Now to the strife is springing.  
'Tis Freedom calls! 'Tis Freedom calls!  
Why are ye hesitating?  
Oh, falter not while others lead;  
Hard goes the fight, great is the need,  
A nation's fate's in waiting.  
Bestir ye, men! Bestir ye, men!  
The power of Greed's uprising!  
The miscreant's hand e'en grasps the prize  
Bought by our fathers' sacrifice,  
And bloody agonizing.  
Awake, Americans! Awake!  
The time's arrived for granting  
Full powers to Freedom's loving hands  
So only may we save our land  
From the rule of Greed's implanting.  
Ye burden bearers! Toilers all!  
Call ye yourselves true freemen?  
Ye live by sufferance in the land,

The servants of a purse-proud band  
Of Freedom's deadliest foemen.  
But power is yours! And right is yours!  
Your will, expressed, sufficing.  
Know then, that light and air and land  
Are God's free gifts, none may demand  
Of Labor for their using.

WALDO S. COULTER.

**THE PROSPERITY OF ANTHRACITE COAL MINERS.**

An article in the current number of Mr. John Wanamaker's magazine describes the dwellings of the miners in a certain anthracite village in Pennsylvania as follows:

They live in houses built of sheet iron and boards, about 16 feet square and sunk about three feet in the ground. Of course, there is but one room, and in this room the family—anywhere from six to ten humans—cooks, eats and sleeps. Although there is plenty of space, these hutches are crowded together like troopers' bunks on a transport. The streets are so narrow one may almost touch a house on either side simultaneously. Behind these hutches stretched a great heap of ashes—the dump from the furnaces that ran the engines, a reddish-brown heap, packed hard by the rain. For obscure reasons parts of it were yet hot, and steamed under the contact of the veil of wet. And this mass, in cooling, threw off a stench like that of burning bones; an acrid, foul odor, sweet with a nauseating, revolting sweetness, powerful, unescapable, that pervaded the entire community.

It may be that the employers of the men who live in these habitations, the "coal barons," as they are termed, sail around in their yachts, live in winter palaces on Fifth avenue and summer palaces in Newport, buy their clothes in Europe and spend a fortune in American Beauty roses for a single dinner. But this is not such prosperity as a country may boast of or that uplifts the nation.—Baltimore Sun.

**THE G. O. P.**

For The Public.

It is a sorry predicament, that in which the full dinner pail party finds itself. At last and all at once it is in a hopeless tangle. Tariffs, trusts, imperialism and prosperity have proved too much for the party of action. The team grows ungovernable. The horses are kicking, snorting, backing, plunging and rearing and the drivers are in dismay. Drivers, for they appear to outnumber the steeds some ten to one. If the team were all right, one charioteer should suffice if fairly skilled and strenuous. But alas! no driver has confidence in another, and every one is trying to snatch and hold the reins.

Was ever party in such a fix before? But yesterday it was going forth to seize the next house of representa-

tives, elect the president for the next Olympiad and reign forevermore. Today it knows not what the morrow may bring forth. All is in grievous uncertainty. Beef, coal, Henderson and Tom Johnson have upset all calculations. Hanna, to be sure, with his miraculous civic federation still harps, "Let well enough alone;" but Platt, he has flatted out, Quay has quaked before the divinity of Baer, Lodge is less luminous than ever, Root is routed more than ever, and the trusts have lost all trust in the Rough Rider. Confidence is gone, the dinner pail is ditched and prosperity is a plague.

Such, without bias, appears to be the situation, and though it is the most deplorable that ever confronted a party, it is precisely the pit which the party, with eyes open and with great strenuosity, has all along been digging for its self-engulfment. Over and over and over again we have ventured to intimate to the strenuous G. O. P. that it was digging the pit and that it had better look out, and over and over and over again the haughty answer to us has been: "Mind your business—we are the party of action."

Nor is there any doubt about it. The party of action it has assuredly been. There is evidence of it everywhere. The testimony stands out in conspicuous proportions. For instance, in tariff schedules framed to enrich the few to the impoverishment of the many; in combinations of capital gigantic enough to defy their creator and soulless enough to be deaf to the cries of humanity; in elections state and national carried by barrels of money contributed in return for favoritism in legislation; in the prices of the necessities of life running up far faster than the wages of toil can climb after them; in a multitude of appointments to office, civil and military, whose only fitness has been the fitness of politics; in the downcast look of Cuba, queen of the Antilles, sighing and sobbing over the broken promises of a great nation; in a war as base, mean, perfidious, cowardly, unjustifiable, shameless and otherwise wicked as ever was waged, a war which, let alone the criminality of it, has been the crowning financial blunder of the age; in the violence done to the most cherished traditions of the republic; in the trampling upon all the great precepts of the republic's greatest men, from Washington down to Lincoln, and in a contemptuous spitting upon the charter of our national life in a ferocious purpose to repeal the declaration of independence.

Such in brief is the abundant evi-

dence that the party that is now in a pitiful pickle has been the party of action. Just now a campaign is on. As it proceeds there will be heard from many a Republican stump words, words, words, but it is altogether probable that many, many voters with very considerable emphasis will retort: "Actions speak louder than words."

A. A. PUTNAM.

Uxbridge, Mass., Oct. 2, 1902.

### THE EARTH IS THE LORD'S—NOT BAER'S.

For The Public.

Psalm 24:1. "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof."

Isa. 5:8. "Woe unto them that join house to house and lay field to field, till there be no room."

Lev. 25:23. "The land is mine."

Ecl. 5:9. "The profit of the earth is for all."

The concentration of wealth foretold by Lincoln has gone on until 99 per cent. of our country's wealth is owned by one per cent. of the people. So dependent has the working man become upon those who have monopolized the resources of life that he is now spoken of as a ward of the rich, as witness the famous letter of Mr. Baer, in which he said that the "rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for—not by labor agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God in his infinite wisdom has given control of the property interests of the country." But if God gave the property interests of the country into the hands of these few with the expectation that the rights of the laboring man would be well cared for, he committed a pathetic blunder, for the laborers who support all are too often robbed by the ones whom they support. The worker builds a palace for the drone and a hut for himself, and pays the drone rent. He makes silks and satin and broadcloth for the idle, and clothes himself in shoddy. He raises beef for him who does nothing, permitting the gentleman of leisure to take the porterhouse, while he puts up with the soup bones and liver. Queer, isn't it? And queerer still that there are those who think that it is all right that it be so.

It is an unnatural and false condition, and out of its comes alternating waves of depression and prosperity—prosperity for some, but never for all. In the shadow of the palace lurks the hovel. Trailing behind every plutocrat come a thousand paupers. While some who work

with their brains, and some who work not at all, enjoy daily incomes equal to a king's ransom, most who work with their hands are disproportionately paid, some are reduced to starvation wages, and nearly all are dependent for work, and, therefore, for bread, on the rich and powerful who control the production of the world. At best, labor gets but a portion of what it earns, nursing mothers toil in sweatshops, and little children are remorselessly consumed by the Moloch of mill and mine.

The whole infamous system was unconsciously shown lately in an eight-line item in a Chicago paper. The dead body of a man had been found. There was nothing upon it by which it could be identified, "but," said the paper, "from his clothing it was evident that the deceased was a working man." There you have it. The man was shabby, therefore he was a working man. The worker is distinguishable from the idle by the poverty of his appearance. It is natural, and in these days, logical, to infer that if he works he is poor. Under our system the worker is dependent on the rich for his support. He knows it, and is made to feel it. Though being the wealth producer, he has accepted the common assumption that it is natural and right that he should be poor. He feels that he is an inferior and touches his hat to the man whom he supports, but upon whom, paradoxical though it be, he is dependent for his own bread. He is grateful for an opportunity to perform the labor that enables himself to live and makes his employer rich. And the employer thinks that he is a public benefactor because he lets the poor man work for him.

If this monopolizing of the opportunity to work and live meant only material discomfort, it would even then be a sight to make angels weep; but the evil is not limited to material things. It exerts a powerful effect upon the morals of the people—both of those who have so little, and of those who have too much. All economic questions are at bottom ethical questions. Sociology cannot be divorced from religion. So long as our spirits inhabit our bodies they will be materially affected by the material conditions in which we live.

The remedies proposed are various and some of them are wonderful. While some have merit, most of them are but temporary makeshifts that

but touch the surface as with a soothing ointment, without attempting to effect a cure by getting at the cause of the disorder and removing that. I am not certain that I know the cure for the poverty and the labor troubles that beset us, but I do know the effect that must be produced before the cure can be achieved. The germ is special privilege; the serum must be something that is death to that.

Most of the labor troubles and anarchy and much of the vice and crime are the outcome of inequality of opportunity, and inequality of opportunity results from the applied doctrine of Mr. Baer expressed in a sentence, the doctrine that some are born to be masters and others to be slaves, that it is perfectly right and well-pleasing to God that many shall toil for the enrichment of a few, that one man has a better right to the world's bounty than another, that it is legitimate and Christian to get control of the sources of life and compel others to work for you. There is where the trouble lies. Make one man dependent on another for his life, and he will do the work of both at the bare cost of living. "When you admit that another who is born into the world at the same time you are has a superior right to the material resources from which you both must live, then you come into the world saddled and bridled for the other fellow to ride." And the labor disturbances about us everywhere are mainly attempts of the saddled and bridled to get the others off their backs. They are a part of the great world-struggle for an equal opportunity. I am not a friend to anarchy and riot, but violence in defense of human rights is not so bad as campaign contributions and political wire-pulling and bribery of courts and legislatures for the perpetration of wrong.

A good allopathic dose of the "single tax" would have a wholesome effect upon the hard coal situation, for it would prevent the holding of large areas of undeveloped coal lands, and so break up the monopoly, open more mines, and, by competition among producers, reduce the price of coal. It would compel a resumption of work in mines now idle, for not even a railroad or a Morgan would feel very long like paying a just tax on a property that was yielding nothing.

Doubtless, also, the frequent occurrence of miners' strikes will give im-

petus to the doctrine of the government ownership of mines and railroads, for if the public is not magnanimous enough to interfere in the interest of the miners it is selfish enough to insist upon a recognition of its own rights—and that it has a right to coal is slowly finding its way into the public mind.

But would it be right for the nation to take over the mines (and the railroads, for the mines would be worthless without the roads) and operate or lease them for the benefit of all the people? Nobody questions the right of eminent domain. It is conceded that when the interests of the people demand it the state may take land for a railroad or bridge or park or public building. Why may it not take land with coal in for the interests of the people? The people may take land to build a reservoir for a water supply; why not land for the supply of fuel? for in this climate one is quite as necessary as the other. We can take land for a cemetery in which to lay away the dead; why not the coal lands to sustain the living?

Under normal conditions we pay nearly two prices for anthracite coal, and now we cannot get it at any price. Philadelphia, on the edge of millions and millions of tons, brings coal from Wales with which to heat her school buildings. Here are the idle thousands, and here are the mines filled with treasure for which the people wait; but a little company of men who think that into their hands God has given these mighty interests, having made the coal beds for them, lock up the treasures and let the country shiver, and the miners and their families starve. The lines of Gerald Massey are pertinent:

Lo! plenty ripens round us, yet awakes the cry for bread,  
The millions still are toiling, crushed and clad in rags unfed!  
While sunny hills and valleys richly blush with fruit and grain,  
But the paupers in the palace rob their tolling fellow-men.

Think of it! The people of Pennsylvania importing a necessity of life at an enormous price from across the sea, and taxing themselves to maintain a militia to guard the property of the men who make it necessary. What a commentary on the eternal fitness of things! It is no wonder that there are anarchists. It really seems that we are carrying the worship of "property" too far, that in our concern for vested

rights we are in danger of forgetting the right of every man to work and live.

Oh, the arrogance and impudence and irreverence of the claim that God has given the vast coal beds stored up ages ago for all the people into the hands of a half dozen railroad kings! No! No! "The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof," yet. Is it not time for a reaffirmation of the law given ages ago, and never repealed: "The land shall not be sold in perpetuity, for the land is mine," saith the Lord. "The profit of the earth is for all." We have forgotten that, and are permitting the profit to be seized by a few. Out of the impenetrable mystery of Sinai, when civilization was young, there came the commandment: "Thou shalt not steal." That law has never been repealed. "The profit of the earth is for all." The flower blooms for the beggar child and for the princess. God is no respecter of persons. His sun warms the broad-cloth back of the millionaire and the shoddy back of the tramp. There is no favoritism in nature, no special privilege granted by the Most High. There is enough for all if men will but learn to be just. There is no need of poverty. There will be none except voluntary poverty when we learn to do right, to be just.

I am a man of peace. I hate war, and my heart is sickened at the sight of blood. But I thank God that the people are coming into a recognition of their wrongs and are demanding an opportunity to be men. The social disturbances all about us are protests in varying form against the further Morganizing of the earth that has for its object the making of the millions the bond-servants of the few. It can't be done. The divinity in man has scented liberty, and never again will be enslaved. Humanity has recognized its wrongs and has come to believe in the possibility of better things. It is long-suffering and marvelously patient, but it is determined, and he who would thwart its righteous purpose to enter into its heritage of a just share of the profit of the earth it will grind to powder. It will be well for society if it heeds the warning of Charles Mackay in those prophetic stanzas: "The Voice of the Time:"

Hark to the voice of the time!  
The multitude think for themselves,  
And weigh their condition, each one;  
The Grudge has a spirit sublime;  
And whether he hammers or delves,  
He reads when his labor is done;

And learns though he groans under penury's ban,  
That freedom to think is the birthright of man.

Be wise, oh, ye rulers of earth,  
And close not your ears to his voice,  
Nor allow it to warn you in vain;  
True freedom of yesterday's birth  
Will march on its way and rejoice,  
And never be conquered again;  
The day hath a tongue, aye, the hours utter speech;  
Wise, wise will ye be if ye learn what they teach.

CARL F. HENRY.

Cleveland, O.

### THE MAYOR OF CLEVELAND ON OHIO POLITICS.

An interview with Hon. Tom L. Johnson, reported by a staff correspondent of the Chicago Tribune, and published in the Tribune of October 1.

"John McLean is a contamination for the Democratic party, and the sooner we get rid of him the better it will be for our interests in Ohio. He represents nothing but himself, and he stands for nothing but boodle in politics. He is a nice man personally, and there is no objection to him on that score, but from the lowest possible standpoint—that of expediency—the Democratic party in Ohio ought to be rid of him. He has been a burden for years and has undoubtedly lost us the State in the past.

"I say that, from the mere standpoint of expediency, McLean must be thrown overboard before we can win. For every vote we lose from his immediate following we will gain ten from the independent vote of the state. That independent vote will never come to us so long as the Democratic party is charged up with John R. McLean and what he represents in politics."

In this breezy fashion, and with a candor characteristic of the man, Mayor Tom L. Johnson, of Cleveland, talked as he settled himself in a sleeping car seat on a night train from Cleveland to Cincinnati, to which latter place he was hurrying to speak before the county convention.

"One moment, Mr. Mayor, may I quote you as to what you have said about Mr. McLean?"

"Of course you may quote me; that's why I arranged to give you this interview on a railroad train—because I had no time to talk to you in Cleveland."

Mayor Johnson had been out for two weeks on the road with his circus tent and his red automobile, and had returned to Cleveland for a single day with his family. He was confronted with an entire afternoon's work, dedi-

cating a monument to Kossuth, where he was on the same platform with Gov. Nash and his constitutional political enemy, Mark Hanna. They took all the afternoon, and yet this man who had not been home for two weeks consented when he was asked over a long distance telephone to take a night train for Cincinnati, speak before the county convention there, and then take a day train for Upper Sandusky to meet his date with the circus aggregation at sundown, thus crossing the State twice within 24 hours, and doing it all without a murmur, and as if he liked it. It was this sudden engagement which forced him to disarrange his plans and to invite the correspondent of the Tribune to accompany him on the train when it left Cleveland.

Glib of tongue as Tom Johnson undoubtedly is, he possesses physical endurance to an extraordinary degree, and the fat little mayor can talk half the day, ride an automobile the other half, walk when the gasoline gives out, and then ride on a railroad train half a night without losing either his temper, his voice or his appetite.

He has his subjects at his finger ends, but he is a mighty busy man, is Tom Johnson, and it is a hard matter to secure an opportunity for an interview. When he talks, especially if he and his auditor are sitting face to face in a sleeping car during the still and late watches of the night, he has a way of grabbing his hearer's knee and accentuating his good points with a friendly pinch, while his broad, round face breaks into a merry smile, as if he knew he was getting off a good joke on some one.

He is so full of his subject of taxation that he is almost a monomaniac, but he is not at all a mountebank, as many people believe him to be. He is thoroughly earnest, apparently honest, and certainly the bravest and frankest man that ever talked politics to a newspaper. He does not hesitate to mention names, or places, or figures, and is never afraid of being reported, provided always that he is reported correctly. The quotation given above is verbatim, and it expresses Mayor Johnson's views as to the McLean faction with entire frankness.

When it was suggested to him that the Cincinnati Enquirer, Mr. McLean's powerful newspaper, was not attacking him, but was merely reporting his speeches, Mayor Johnson said: "Yes, that has been a feature of the campaign. The Enquirer people have said they propose to give me all the rope I needed so that I would hang myself with it. I am glad they are giving me

the rope, and I'll take chances on the hanging. The fact of the matter is that John McLean is a coward, and he is not willing to get into a political fight with me. I have not concealed my sentiments, and I honestly believe that we cannot hope to redeem Ohio until we have driven McLeanism out of politics."

When asked to define briefly the principal features of his campaign, which of course is his attack on the unequal tax on railroads, Mr. Johnson said:

"I have previously charged that Mark Hanna, Senator Foraker, 'Boss' Cox, of Cincinnati; Gov. Nash, and the republican leaders in the legislature, entered into an actual compact to perpetuate the present infamous franchise system. If the franchises for street railways in Cleveland and Cincinnati were put up at public auction without any reference to tracks, rolling stock, or buildings, the franchises alone would sell for enough to pay the actual public debts of those two cities.

"The great question before us in Ohio now on which I am attempting to make my fight is that of home rule for our city. What I am trying to do particularly is to show the glaring inequalities under the present taxing system, and I charge here, now, that Mark Hanna, Senator Foraker, Gov. Nash and the other republican leaders entered into a compact to perpetuate this system of robbery of the people, and are at this moment seeking to pass a law through the legislature for this purpose.

"Mr. Hanna's railroad in Cleveland is assessed at only six per cent. of its actual value. The Toledo street railroads are even worse, for their assessment is only four per cent. of their value. The steam railroads are assessed an average of not over 20 per cent. of their actual value. The farmer and the small householder pay, as is shown by official figures, on an assessment which ranges from 60 to 100 per cent. of the actual value of the property. The capital stock of banks is by general custom assessed at 66 per cent. of its value, although the law requires 100 per cent.

"We have taken up the steam railroads because they are tangible property which go into every county of the State, and are not subject to local conditions. We insist that these railroads should be forced to pay at least as much as the small farmer, or as the capital stock in a bank. We are going after all forms of public service corporations, but just now the steam railroads are being made the basis of at-

tack throughout the country counties of the state."

"What is your method of campaigning in this regard?"

"In every county I go into I hunt up the auditor. I ask him how much he assesses the railroads in his county, whether he travels on a pass, and whether he treats the railroads in any different way than he treats the farmer. It sounds kind of cheeky, of course, and some of the auditors have a good chance to tell me it's none of my business, but when they do I report these facts to the meeting in the tent, made up of neighbors of that auditor, and I depend on them to make it warm for him.

"You must understand that in Ohio each railroad is taxed by a board composed of an auditor from each county through which the road passes. That board decides on the ratio of assessment at so much a mile, which is thereupon distributed among the different counties. It is in the power of the auditors to raise these assessments, but every railroad in the state maintains a so-called 'land agent,' who is nothing more than an 'auditor agent.' Many of the auditors travel on passes, and are under constant obligation to the railroads whose property they are called upon to assess.

"I am attacking both the Republican and Democratic auditors, and it is funny to see the way they squirm around to escape responsibility. In one case I asked an auditor how he had assessed a little railroad 11 miles long, which was all in his own county, so that he was the whole board. He put the assessment at \$37,500. I asked him if he did not know that in the recorder's office next door there was official evidence of a mortgage on that road for \$375,000, showing that the owners would not probably sell for half a million. He said he did not know it, whereupon I said and repeated in the tent: 'If you don't know that you don't know enough to be auditor, and you ought to go back to plowing.' This is the style of my campaign so far as the auditors are concerned, and it seems to take with the people a good deal better than national issues do."

"How are the Republican leaders responsible for the acts of individual auditors who may be either Republicans or Democrats?"

"It all comes from the refusal of the legislature to correct these inequalities by law. We have appealed to them and yet have been met by nothing except hostile instead of friendly legislation. Take the Nickel Plate road as an example. Its total assessment per

mile of main track and branches is \$36,260 in Indiana and only \$13,713 in Ohio, or much less than half as much. I cannot understand why this road should be gold plated in Indiana and only nickel plated in Ohio.

"I had prepared by Prof. Bemis a complete and reliable list showing the difference in the assessments as between Indiana and Michigan on the one side, and Ohio on the other, on railroads which are identical, except that in Ohio there is a larger percentage of second track siding and, naturally of rolling stock than in either of the other two States, and the result is startling. The legislature has it in its power to correct this inequality and to force the auditors to do their duty, but it has persistently refused to do so, and this I charge is a proof of my statement, made a year ago and more, that the two Ohio senators, the governor, and the Republican leaders generally, were in a compact to protect all the great corporations at the expense of the people.

"After I was elected mayor of Cleveland I set to work to readjust and advance the assessments of all local public service corporations, including the street car system, of which Senator Mark Hanna is the actual head. Instead of being sustained in such a work as this, the state officials were all against me.

"I was elected by the people of Cleveland as their mayor, although I was a Democrat, for this express purpose, and yet the State government has prevented the execution of every plan for the proper taxation of Mr. Hanna's street railway, which, as I have told you, is assessed at only six per cent. of its actual market value, and the mere franchise for which on a 25-year basis is worth enough to pay off the debt of the city of Cleveland.

"We sought to issue brief franchises to competing companies on parallel streets on a three-cent fare basis; thereupon the attorney general of the State brought suit to attack our charter. He was entirely successful in showing it to be unconstitutional. No one ever attempted to attack it until I began to force the local corporations to pay their share of the taxes. Then the charter was successfully attacked, but the Republicans, like Samson in the temple, brought the whole building down about their ears. They were merely seeking to clip my wings here in Cleveland, and this was done at the personal dictation of M. A. Hanna. The court, however, not only upset our charter, but knocked out every municipal government in the State of Ohio.

"The legislature is now in session, and it is seeking to perpetuate all the evils of the old system. They propose to govern the cities by boards for the express purpose of evading responsibility. Boss Cox, in Cincinnati, prefers a board, of course, to any single responsible Republican official. By dividing the responsibility among four or five men he distracts attention, and riot and extravagance in public affairs naturally go unpunished, because the people cannot hold any one man responsible."

"How do you propose to remedy this when you get your own way?"

"There is only one way I can see, and that is absolute home rule for cities. You have a measure of home rule in Chicago, but it is not enough. Here in Ohio the State government, through its legislature, assumes to dictate to us just how we shall run our cities. The extent to which this is carried is absurd. They even fix the wages of our policemen, so that I am unable to pay the man who daily risks his life in dangerous police duty any more than a broken-down old copper who is not fit to watch a hole in the sidewalk. It is generally recognized that no city council or local government should have the power to issue bonds, and thereby run the people into debt without referring the question to a popular vote.

"That is a correct general principle. Yet when valuable public service franchises are about to expire the Ohio legislature proposes to have those franchises renewed without the slightest chance on the part of the people to express themselves on the subject. This is a gross wrong, and one which is clearly manifest to every honest man.

"The so-called Nash code, and the curative acts now being pushed in the legislature by Hanna, Foraker, Nash, Cox, and other leaders, have for their sole object the perpetuation of the present franchises to street railroads and similar corporations. It is an outrage upon the people, which we believe they will resent, and we are seeking to make our entire campaign on the theory that no franchise in a city be granted by a legislature nor by a city council without the approval of the people.

"You cannot buy the people at any price. They are often fooled, but they are never bought. In place of the unfair and corrupt law which the republican leaders are seeking to force upon the people, we advocate merely a general incorporation law for cities, permitting each municipality to adopt and execute such a form of city govern-

ment as is best adapted to local conditions. Home rule for cities and just taxation for railway property for the country are the principal points of our campaign."

"Are you seeking to avoid national issues entirely?"

"Not at all. Whenever I am asked about my views on general matters I never hesitate to express them. I have found, however, that the people to whom I talk in my circus tent are far more interested in local issues than in national ones. I have confined myself to these local issues, because they are matters which come up before me day after day as mayor of Cleveland, and I have sought to bring these issues before the people at large because it is only through the legislature that we can correct these evils, so that this local issue is a State issue, although it ought not to be."

"You are running on a State platform which specifically indorses the Kansas City declaration, including the free silver plank. How do you reconcile that with your own position on the money question?"

"Everybody knows, who knows me at all, that I was not and am not a silver man. The theory of 16 to 1 is as dead as a door nail, and everybody knows it. Aside from that I believe the Democratic platform at Kansas City a great declaration of Democratic doctrine. When I say that 16 to 1 is a dead one, I don't mean at all that the money question is dead also; quite the contrary, I think the time has come to put a stop to the influence of Wall street on the treasury of the United States.

"There is a tendency towards expanding and perpetuating our national bank currency. You and I take that currency because it is based on government bonds—that is to say, the credit of the United States and not the credit of the banks is what floats the currency. I believe that all notes ought to be issued by the United States government, without the intermediary of a national bank, which gets all the benefit, while the government assumes all the responsibility. I do not believe in fiat money, by any manner of means.

"I would have the government issue notes, based on its legitimate power to pay. I think congress should fix the amount of both bonds and notes to be issued by the government. That is as far as congress should go. The notes should be convertible into bonds at will and the bonds into notes. This would give the necessary elasticity. When money was tight the interest bearing obligations would become non-interest bear-

ing circulating medium, and when people were looking for investments the bonds could easily and readily be substituted for the unnecessary surplus notes. The idea is not mine, and it is an old one, but it seems to me that the convertible note will solve many of the problems which face us to-day."

"Have you changed your views on the tariff?"

"Not in the slightest degree, I am a free trader of the rankest kind. I would abolish all custom houses. I would not have a tariff even for revenue. I am willing to admit that in some cases the protection theory does build up a certain infant industry, but I assert that it does that at the expense of the country. Why should we perpetuate and propagate poor-houses? If some fellow were to devise a scheme for raising bananas in hothouses some other fellow would get up a tariff to protect that industry, and forever afterwards, when we undertook to put bananas on the free list we should be charged with attacking a promising infant American industry. I believe that a tariff in any shape is in restraint of trade. I believe it is better for us to buy our bananas by selling our shoes and our agricultural machinery instead of trying to raise them under glass. I do not believe in any taxation except the tax on monopoly and privilege."

"Do you preach your Henry George idea to the farmers, and if so how do they take it?"

"I do not talk Henry George or his systems of taxation only because we are carrying on a campaign on local issues. My meetings are peculiar in the degree to which they invite honest questions. Any man who comes into my circus tent has a right to ask questions and now and then attempt to corner me in regard to my single tax theories. There is no concealment in that regard.

"I thoroughly believe in Mr. George's theory of taxation and everyone ought to understand it by this time. I would tax the street railroad or the electric light plant or the corner lot or anything else which is in the nature of a privilege given by the people either to an individual or to a corporation.

"You and I are both too sleepy to go into a long sermon on Henry George, but I can simply say that since I have been mayor of Cleveland I have vetoed every ordinance seeking to establish a license system. I have done this because I believe of necessity that licenses in every shape are wrong in principle, being a taxation upon trade and commerce, from the nature of things.

"When the farmers understand this question they are not at all afraid of the bugaboo of Henry George. They know that the taxable value of the land itself on which their farms are conducted is practically nothing providing one eliminates from that the value of their stock, their houses, their agricultural implements, and the various improvements they have themselves put on the land. In the cities, however, a million dollars an acre is not an extravagant valuation for the land, because real estate must be valued not by its size but by the use to which it can be put.

"The small farmer and householder has so little at stake, although comparatively so much, that he cannot afford to spend much time or money presenting his claims for a lower assessment. The result always is that the small holdings pay much more proportionately than the larger ones. An honest auditor or assessor can fix the value of a little house or a farm with reasonable accuracy, whereas he would be completely staggered for want of technical knowledge if he were to attempt to estimate the value of Mark Hanna's street railway property in Cleveland. In all honesty he could make a mistake of millions, and no one could blame him for it."

The attention of Mayor Johnson was called especially to some figures given by Gov. Nash to the Tribune correspondent, in which it was shown that the city of Cleveland as managed by Mr. Johnson had a tax rate of \$3.15, while in Columbus, another Democratic city, the rate was \$2.75, and in Cincinnati, admitting that Mr. Cox ruled it under Republican auspices, the rate was only \$2.26.

"I am mighty glad you called my attention to those figures. Gov. Nash is a good man, but the last fellow who gets at him makes the best impression. Did you ever try the experiment of poking your finger into a bag of salt on one side and then see how the dent would come out when you poked your finger into the bag on the other side? That's Nash all over. He honestly would not have given those figures if he had known what they represented. The tax rate in Cleveland is higher than it is in Cincinnati merely because our assessment is far lower than it ought to be.

"We have much more money and a much larger population than Cincinnati, and yet Cincinnati raises annually \$300,000 for city purposes more than we do strictly for city purposes on the ordinary tax list. Besides that, they derive a revenue of \$600,000 from licenses.

They license everything in Cincinnati, and I have refused to license anything in Cleveland. The result is that Cincinnati spends \$900,000 more for city purposes than Cleveland does, although we have greater wealth, greater territory, and greater population. Gov. Nash probably doesn't know this. When he hears of it he probably will stop making such statements as he gave to you and will be sorry he invited the comparison."

In closing his interview Mayor Johnson made some interesting notes on the difference between political bosses and political idols. With special reference to two types, George B. Cox, of Cincinnati, as a boss, and Gov. Pingree, of Michigan, with whom Johnson had several stormy episodes, as a political idol.

"I don't know Cox well, but I do know his reputation as a boss and why he succeeds. A political boss must have two essentials to success. He must possess the elements of leadership and he must also be absolutely true to his word. A political idol must also possess the elements of leadership to a large extent, but he must be especially ready for a fight at any time. He need not be always a man of his word. Pingree, whom I liked, was not at all a man of his word, but he had the quality of putting a thought in an original way to express just what the people had attempted to say themselves, but had failed.

"I have talked to you now so long that my throat is getting hoarse and if I keep it up much longer some of these fellows in the berths back of us will get to throwing shoes, so I'll say good night."

**"YOUR FATHERS KILLED THE PROPHETS, AND YE BUILD THEIR TOMBS."**

Lately, with mingled pride and pity,  
The genial mob of London city  
Thronged 'round the heroes of the day,  
Botha, De Wet and Delarey.  
With cheers and shouts of "Sirs, well done,  
You fought like lions, though we won;  
And England never fails to show  
All honor to a gallant foe."  
Just then some idiot, in the press,  
Whose ignorance would make you guess  
A brother of the Seven Sleepers,  
Cried: "'Arry, which of 'em is Scheepers?"  
—London Speaker of Sept. 13.

The published pictures of Brother Baer leave no doubt whatever that he said it.—Chicago Chronicle.

Hothead—I claim that I am as good as any man.

Bighed—That's not the point. Do you admit that you are no better than any other man? — Toronto Moon.

**BOOK NOTICES.**

**THE HISTORY OF IRELAND.**

Dr. P. W. Joyce has done a real service in writing what he calls "A Child's History of Ireland" (Longman's). He says in his preface: "Though the book has been written for children, I venture to express a hope that it may be found sufficiently interesting and instructive for the perusal of older people." This hope he has undoubtedly fulfilled, and so well that it may be unfortunate that he did not call the book simply a history of Ireland, as older people may be deterred by the title from reading it. His style is simple and familiar, as indeed all style should be, whether for children or grown folks; and in 500 pages he has given us a sufficiently complete history of the Irish people down to the death of O'Connell, in 1847.

The early history of the country, its legends, traditions, customs, are told with interesting fullness; and the illustrations, which are very happily chosen, add greatly to the value of the book. We have rarely seen a history better illustrated. The author has very properly taken as much pains with his illustrations as with his text. The insight which he gives of early Irish art—in writing and illumination, in gold, silver and bronze work—is greatly enhanced by the apt illustrations gathered from various sources.

The history of Ireland is too little known. It is full of interest, full of heroism, and full of lessons. By the measure of force the Irish have gone down before the Anglo-Saxon oppressor, but they have never been subdued. Except as to external government they are, in sentiment, in ideals, in patriotism, as distinct a people as any nation on earth. Force may exterminate, but it can never assimilate; and Ireland will never be English. Perhaps, as Father Sheehan intimates in his great novel, "Luke Delmege," Ireland will yet have a great part to play in the higher development of humanity.

We can heartily commend this work of Dr. Joyce to any one who may wish to get, in a compact and yet entertaining form, the leading facts and characteristics of Irish history.

If any fault is to be found, it is that the desire for impartiality has sounded the rehearsal of wrongs in too calm a note. Think, for example, of all that is involved in the following statement: "Near many of the villages in various parts of Ireland were 'commons,' stretches of grassy upland or bog, which were free to the people to use for grazing or for cutting turf, and formed one of their chief ways of living. These had belonged to them time out of mind, being in fact the remains of the Commons Land of ancient days; but about this period the landlords had begun to enclose them as private property, chiefly for grazing." One cannot but wish the author had felt justified in using more forceful terms in writing of this and other acts of Irish landlords. The Irish land question is indeed one long story of devilish wrong and cannot be written truly except in righteous indignation. Happily, its true story has been told. Henry George has told it in words of prophetic eloquence, the echoes of which, though sometimes faint, will continue to be heard through Ireland till justice be done.

J. H. DILLARD.

**PERIODICALS.**

—Wiltshire's Magazine (Toronto) for October opens with a "heart-to-heart talk," by the editor, to Mayor Johnson of Cleveland on the basis of a friendly letter from Mr. Johnson. The letter and the comment make an interesting contrast of socialism, as represented by the magazine, with the single tax principle as briefly stated by Mayor Johnson.

—The Westminster Review for September is as usual far ahead of all its competitors in the freshness, originality and liberality of its contents. The article by Frederick W. Mueller, entitled the "Horns of the Dilemma," is a strong plea for free trade—and more. Replying to a recent article in

the Fortnightly Review, the author says: "Compared with the combinations of capital wielded by these concerns (the trusts), Mr. Henry George's 'bugbear of landlordism' is, in the mind of Dr. Crozier, dwarfed into insignificance. This is a pity, for with apologies to Dr. Crozier, it is an important point. Without land there is scarcely a concern in the world capable of amassing overpowering capital. Without it nearly every trust, every monopoly in America or elsewhere, would fall to pieces like a house of cards." The article, while applying especially to England, may well be read by free

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**MIND READING IN COLORADO.**

*Prof. Monopoly.*—This gentleman's mind is strongly against the Australasian Tax Amendment. He doesn't want to have the power of adopting a tax-system to suit his own local requirements; he would rather be tied down by the Constitution to taxing improvements and encouraging speculators. He will vote against the Amendment in November.

*Mr. Colorado County*—(aside). Will he? You wait and see!

traders everywhere as a good stimulant. "Away with the futile discussion of remedies that have no virtue, of measures that are worse than useless"—so begins the

writer's last paragraph, which concludes with the sentiment of free access to land and water, free production and free exchange. J. H. D.

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