

The Public

**A National Journal of Fundamental Democracy &
A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making**

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EDITORIAL

Free Trade.

Unhampered exchange of products drawn by the labor of free men from unmonopolized natural resources—that is free trade.

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Is Beauty so Injurious?

"Instead of eight thousand dollars' worth of pots and pans, bedsteads, chairs and other things, eighty thousand dollars' worth of tapestries, marbles, oil paintings, armor, porcelains, and other things of like ilk, were exposed to view!" Thus a daily paper anent a recent custom house sensation. And what is the sequence? Thanks and congratulations to the fortunate owner, who had brought these beautiful things into the country? Oh, dear! no! Confiscation of the goods, recovery of a huge fine, and the department of justice in action, with possible imprisonment for the art collector in prospect! We are, indeed, a highly civilized nation. Once we did the world great service by forcing open the ports of Japan. It is said even that this benefited Japan. But of course that must be a mistake. We will not criticize the revenue officials, however. To enforce the customs laws against the packing cases and trunks of the rich, as well as against the tool chests of the poor, may have the incidental advantage, at least, of calling the attention of powerful people to the iniquity of the whole system of tariffs.

Tolstoy's Eightieth Birthday.

On the date of issue of this Public Leo Tolstoy becomes eighty years old. His messages of many years are being told in the days of this week over and over in all parts of the civilized world. While valuing with the rest of the world Tolstoy's widely known gospels of peace and brotherhood which have carried hope and healing to countless thousands, it is fitting that The Public should especially dwell upon Tolstoy's economic message, less well known, and frequently ignored where it is known—especially fitting because his economic message coincides with The Public's especial economic point of view. What Tolstoy wrote in 1894 in regard to the economic remedy for our social disorders, he has many times repeated,—the latest repetition to reach this side of the world coming in an interview which was reported from Russia less than six weeks ago. These two statements we reproduce in this Public.

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To the aged Conqueror we cry, Hail! To the wise Master we render heartfelt thanks. For the beloved Fellowman we pray for the peace that passeth all understanding.

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Mr. Chafin's Acceptance Speech.

Mr. Chafin's speech of acceptance as candidate of the Prohibition party (p. 417) stamps him as a man of great earnestness, with the narrowness of the specialist and a singularly deficient sense of humor. He sees the evils of the liquor traffic so keenly and deplores them with such intensity that he can see no moral difference between the settled policy of imperialism that makes inevitable "the man on horse-back and the silent upturned face," and the purpose to immediately remove the mailed hand of power and put an end to political oppression and industrial exploitation in the Philippines. He sees no moral question involved in the forcible annual exaction of billions of dollars' tribute from our eighty and more millions for the benefit of a handful of the beneficiaries of prohibitory tariff duties, and proposes "a *permanent* tariff commission" which would serve only to strengthen and prolong the power of the exploiters to plunder. He deplores party spirit, quoting the familiar words of Washington's Farewell Address. Yet his nomination is due to the triumph in the councils of his party of that party spirit which is checking the progress of prohibition,—progress due largely to the work of the Anti-Saloon League in its non-partisan and

successful efforts to bring about local option legislation. In a number of States where half or more of the territory has recently voted down the saloons under the provisions of local option laws, there is serious danger of a repeal of local option laws because the party Prohibitionists insist upon running their own party candidates for the legislature, thus contributing to the defeat of Republicans and Democrats who voted for the local option laws and are candidates for re-election.

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Mr. Chafin's nomination is most fitting. It was his partisan speech at the convention, directed especially against local option, that made him the idol of the partisans who felt that the triumph of local option was menacing the integrity of the Prohibition party, and insured his nomination, although he was not a candidate and although his State delegation was sincerely and earnestly trying to secure the nomination of Hon. Daniel R. Sheen, of Peoria, who, as a member of the Illinois legislature, had done effective work for prohibition by aiding in the passage of the local option law. Mr. Chafin is a splendid, typical representative of the partisans who dominated the national Prohibition convention, and who would forbid the army that work for local prohibition because they walk not with them. Yet he it is who in his speech of acceptance says: "The attempt made by the Republican and Democratic parties to create a fictitious issue is the most farcical in our history, in the face of the fact that during the past four years the question of the prohibition of the liquor traffic has attracted wider attention of the press and the people than all other public issues combined." Again he says: "This party strife over false issues for the sake of obtaining office has made moral cowards of many of our public men," etc. This is puerile. In the sense in which he uses the word, there cannot be *false*, or *fictitious*, issues. Office-hungry politicians may indeed try to gain an advantage by pretending to accept this principle or reject that policy, but that the mass of our citizens are either so simple or so dishonest as to wage a sham battle for spoils, is a suggestion unworthy of a sincere man of presidential calibre. Even crafty politicians cannot make false and fictitious issues. Their cunning schemes fall flat; for *issues* must have currency, they must be epidemic and germane to conditions; they cannot be made to order. Even the great, the genuine Lincoln, the "one witness" whom Mr. Chafin calls to show that the Democratic and Republican parties are wrong, the Prohibition party right, and that the Prohibitionists

"are justified in pressing this issue," did not press the issue on which he took such high ground in his earliest published speech, as quoted by Mr. Chafin. He kept that faith, it is true, to the end of his life; but he had the breadth, the vision and the moral grandeur to go along with his countrymen, and achieve that which events made dominant and paramount. Had he been imbued with the non-progressive party spirit which "learns nothing and forgets nothing," he might have been remembered as an able and sincere man, but another hand would have signed the Emancipation Proclamation.

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Far from being fictitious or false, the issues of the present campaign are vital, clear and fundamental. All who struggle toward democracy instinctively turn to Bryan the Genuine, who is the Lincoln of the movement for industrial freedom; all who respond to reactionary impulses, the stand-patters, the imperialists and the plutocrats, turn as naturally and inevitably, if not as enthusiastically, to Mr. Taft, "the tactful, suave, able apologist for things as they are."

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THE RELATION OF WORKINGMEN TO PROTECTION AND FREE TRADE IN THE UNITED STATES.*

The very narrow meaning of the word "workingmen" as I use it now, calls for explanation. In my own vocabulary everybody who does useful work to any extent is to that extent a workingman; his social function is the workingman's function, his interest in the distribution of wealth the workingman's interest. But habits of speech in the United States have relegated the term to narrower uses. We habitually regard as workingmen only those who work for stipulated wages, and for wages in contradistinction not only to interest, rents and dividends, but also to fees, commissions and salaries. In the industrial vocabulary of the United States, a salaried man would not be a workingman even if he worked twice as hard as a factory hand and for half the pay. Only "wage-workers," as we have come to call them—the "laboring man," or "the men who toil with their hands," as our politicians put it—are regarded with us as "workingmen." This is the class, therefore, to which I allude in discuss-

ing the relations of workingmen to protection and free trade in the United States.

Those of you who are at all familiar with the economic history of the United States need only be reminded that while we have never had international free trade, our example of interstate free trade is stupendous. Trade flows over our State lines as freely as it flows across the streets of London. In consequence of this and in spite of our international tariffs, we of the United States have freer trade than any other country in the world in any period of history. Such superior prosperity as we may truly claim is due not to the protection which segregates our Republic, but rather to the free trade which unifies our States.

We did not always have this internal free trade. Until the adoption of our Federal Constitution in 1789, our newly liberated States legislated for local protection in the same spirit in which Congress now legislates for national protection. To prevent exportations of money from New York, for instance, the legislature of that infant State levied a tariff upon importations of produce from New Jersey and of firewood from Connecticut. The States legislated also against one another as to foreign trade, and when the Federal Constitution came to be formulated quaint comments were heard in the Constitutional convention. North Carolina, lying between Virginia and South Carolina, was likened to "a patient bleeding at both arms;" and New Jersey, between Philadelphia and New York, to "a cask tapped at both ends." There were many reasons for prohibition of State laws against trade, and thanks to the completeness of the prohibition then established, we are not bothered now with protection legislation by our States.

But no considerations called for prohibition of protection legislation by Congress. Restraints upon exports were happily prohibited, but our need for independent national revenues, together with the familiar mania for making the people pay taxes without knowing it, secured the adoption of a Constitutional clause authorizing Congress to levy duties upon imports. This authority for raising national revenues indirectly, was availed of by Alexander Hamilton as authority for a protection policy—a policy, as he argued, for the encouragement of domestic manufactures. American workingmen had not then risen to the dignity of having interests of their own of sufficient magnitude to excite the solicitude of our statesmen, and Hamilton's reference was quite incidental and subordinate. Nevertheless, our present policy of protection for American workingmen harks back

* Address delivered August 5 at the International Free Trade Congress, in session in London from August 4 to August 7, by Louis F. Post, delegate from the American Free Trade League.

to his report upon manufactures, made to our first Federal Congress as President Washington's Secretary of the Treasury, which may fairly be regarded as our documentary classic in support of protection.

Although Hamilton's report laid the foundations for our policy of tariff protection for workingmen, it was not until after the war between the States that this policy rose to the altitude of a dominant issue. A policy of protection for the sake of protection, as the object instead of an incident of revenue legislation, had been adopted in 1816, but with little or no concern for workingmen. It was for the benefit of domestic manufacturers who had unwholesomely flourished in consequence of the edicts of commercial non-intercourse which preceded our war with Great Britain in 1812, and of the commercial non-intercourse which that war inflicted upon us. The same tariff policy was strengthened in 1818 and again in 1824. A modification in 1828 was followed in 1832 by a law which our protectionists have since denounced as a free trade measure, but which protectionists themselves enacted and pointed to at the time as their conception of the permanent form of their favorite policy; and a compromise measure that came into operation in 1833, under which the schedules were to stand after successive automatic modifications for ten years, at the moderate level of 20 per cent, was repudiated in 1842 in favor of a protection tariff. Throughout all that period, from Hamilton's classic treasury report in 1790 to the protection tariff of 1842, the interests of workingmen had for the most part been considered only obliquely. Although Henry Clay had alluded to high wages in his debate with Daniel Webster in 1824, and Albert Gallatin's free trade memorial of 1831 had made some very sound observations on the dependence of American workingmen upon our abundance of cheap land, neither appealed especially to workingmen. The hired labor of the United States seems to have been considered in our earlier tariff controversies less as an interest of hired men than as an asset of farmers and manufacturers.

Not until long after the corn law agitation of Great Britain, were American workingmen earnestly appealed to or deeply concerned in the tariff controversies of the United States. The primary appeal of our protectionists had been made at first to manufacturers and afterwards to farmers. To manufacturers they had held out the bait of curtailment of foreign competition, to farmers the advantages of a home market. But these appeals were worn so threadbare during thirty years of in-

termittent flashes of prosperity and thuds of hard times, that the revival of protection in Congress in 1842 owed nothing to them. Neither farmers nor manufacturers were urgent for the high tariff enactment of that year. It was a mere parliamentary echo of battles in a political war that had been fought out and lost, a partisan maneuver so utterly lacking in popular vitality that the Walker treasury report of 1845 easily turned the United States towards free trade.

If among American public documents Alexander Hamilton's treasury report of 1790 is our protection classic, Robert J. Walker's of 1845 is our free trade classic. Submitted to Congress nearly two months before Sir Robert Peel moved the adoption of the British corn laws, it ably advocated a complete reversal of the protection policy in the United States; and brief as are its references to the labor question, they are valuable yet for the precision with which they puncture protection fallacies and for the facts they disclose. In reply to the pretense that protection increases wages, the Walker report observed that wages had not in fact increased since the protective tariff of 1842, and argued with prophetic insight that by protection government arrays itself on the side of employers, thus augmenting their wealth and power and soon terminating in their favor "the struggle between man and money—capital and labor." The Walker report gave us our tariff of 1846, which rested upon the principle that no more money should be collected than is necessary for the wants of the government honestly administered. It was what we call a tariff for revenue only.

The following years down to the Civil War were consequently a period of comparative free trade, the only such period we have ever had in our country. It was highly satisfactory, this brief period of comparative free trade from 1846 to 1860—so satisfactory that the Presidential campaign of 1856 went off without an allusion to the tariff by any of the political parties. To be sure the slavery question was a burning issue then; but as it had been a burning issue in the three preceding Presidential campaigns, partisan silence on the tariff subject in 1856, even if the slavery question was to the fore, is surely significant of public satisfaction with the free trade tendency of the preceding decade. Its significance was emphasized by the passage in 1857 of a still more pronounced free trade measure. We were as near to absolute free trade from 1857 to 1860 as land monopoly and indirect taxation of industry permit. And so firmly set upon a revenue

basis was our tariff policy, that reaction would have been impossible but for the outbreak of war between our Northern and our Southern States.

To meet the fiscal necessities of that war, Congress enacted the tariff law of 1861, which in effect went back from the extremely low revenue tariff of 1857 to the higher revenue tariff of 1846. But it was a revenue and not a protection tariff. Neither the tariff of 1861, nor any of the subsequent Civil War tariffs was protective. It was the Southern and not the Northern States that were protected during our Civil War. We of the North protected them with gunboats. No invasion of the South by foreign goods was allowed that we could prevent, and no overwhelming invasion of foreign goods occurred. Yet the South urgently invited floods of foreign goods, and tried to open the way for them. She wanted to be invaded with foreign food and clothing and foreign building material and machinery, and resented bloodily our bellicose efforts to protect her infant industries from these invasions. Especially significant was her attitude toward the protection of her labor from foreign competition. You will remember that the dominant class at the South owned workingmen as chattels. Anything, therefore, that would benefit workingmen financially anywhere, should have benefited financially the owners of workingmen at the South. If protection would increase the wages of free workingmen, wouldn't it by the same token increase the value of slaves? But the slave owners of the South rejected the labor theory of our protectionists. They appeared to know what our workingmen have only recently learned, that obstruction to commercial intercourse does not add to the market value of domestic labor. Assiduous, however, as we of the North were in protecting the South from imports, we did no more than we could help to protect ourselves. Both as a government and as individuals we were large purchasers of foreign goods all through the Civil War. Although we did increase our tariff rates, this was for revenue purposes, except as it was to offset the burden of internal revenue taxes. Domestic manufacturers could not have competed with foreign manufacturers, if a tax burden had been imposed upon the consumers of their goods and not upon those who consumed competing imported goods. Consequently, as internal revenue taxes were levied, duties on imports were increased correspondingly. It was not during our Civil War, but afterwards, that protection as a policy was restored in our country.

But the war tariffs, with their compensating

duties, made the restoration of protection possible. Within a few years after the Civil War our internal revenue taxes had been largely reduced; but as the compensating tariff duties were retained, protection resulted automatically. So our business tiger got a taste of consumers' blood. He liked it, and thereupon protection for the sake of protection was ravenously advocated. Under the ensuing agitation the wave of protection sentiment rose higher and higher with each succeeding Congressional and Presidential election. Resistance on the other hand grew weaker and weaker. With only slight recessions, quickly reversed, the protective policy swept everything before it, until it culminated in the present monstrous schedules. It was in this period that American protectionists first appealed earnestly and directly to American workingmen, and by those appeals that they won.

They won because they attuned their appeals to a socialistic sentiment which had already begun to stir in the American workingman's mind. Observe that I do not say socialist sentiment. Socialist sentiment is not strong even yet among American workingmen. The materialistic interpretation of history does not interest them as a mass, class consciousness does not control or even attract them, the Socialist parties do not command their support. But they take kindly to the socialistic revolt against competition. It was this tendency of American workingmen to which American protectionists appealed and through which they triumphed. While our representative free traders of the old school were either coldly academic or brutally hostile toward the American workingman, whose sufferings from dreadful economic forces which he mistook for competition were irritating him and had soured his temper, our protectionists approached him kindly with pictures of "a full dinner pail" and charmed him with musical statistics. He had seen competition as a monster, with jagged tusks for teeth and terrible claws for hands—not only seen it but met it and struggled with it—and he abhorred it. Our protectionists saw it in the same way, and proposed a crusade against it as a "foreign devil." But our free traders, instead of denouncing this tooth and claw caricature of competition, defended the monster as a worshipful industrial joss. Do you wonder that our workingmen didn't take kindly to free trade? Its very name became offensive to them—so highly offensive that the nearest approach to free trade by any political party in nearly half a century was made with prudent reserve under the metrical protest of

"No, no; don't be afraid! Tariff reform is not free trade."

Even now, free trade has no charms for American workingmen, although they distrust protection. Their distrust of protection, a policy which for forty years has been maintained nominally in their interest and actually by their votes, is due to its manifest failure to shield them from the economic horrors of what they think of as competition. Those of you who are accustomed to consulting our national statistics for evidence of the effect of our tariff policy on our industrial development, may be surprised to learn that American workingmen are far from enthusiastic over the compensation, the volume, the regularity, and the stability of employment of labor in our country. But it is a mild statement to say that they are not enthusiastic. They are in fact deeply disappointed. And their pessimistic inferences from personal experience and observation are doubtless nearer the truth than any optimistic conclusions from our national statistics. These statistics appear to be of very little value in connection with the relations of American workingmen to American protection.

Articles on them, entitled "Eccentric Official Statistics," appeared several years ago over the signature of Henry L. Bliss in "The American Journal of Sociology," and under other titles in "The Journal of Political Economy," magazines of the University of Chicago. From those articles it seems that whereas the census of 1890, a protection compilation, showed a great increase of wages from 1880 to 1890, the Aldrich report, a Senate committee report and also a protection compilation, showed wages in 1890, in the midst of our present protection era, to have been but slightly higher than in 1872, about the time of its beginning. In reaching his conclusion Mr. Bliss subjected both compilations to a searching criticism, which has never been satisfactorily answered. Although he is neither an official statistician nor one of our statistical cult whose criticisms sometimes pass by authority rather than merit, his work proves his competency, and he has won commendation from worthy sources as an analytical statistician of exceptional ability. It is upon consultation with him, as well as upon his published criticisms, that I adopt the conclusion that our national statistics are of very limited use in solving labor problems.

One point of criticism will appeal readily to anybody's common sense. Our census statistics mingle the value of the actual wealth creations of

the country with the value of mere appropriation of its sites—improvement values with land values. One value is a measure of work done and saved, the other is a measure of the burden that rests upon opportunities to do work. Yet the two are combined in our censuses as homogeneous values in an exhibit of our wealth. In the census of 1900, for instance, the value of all our wealth is reported as \$88,517,306,775. Since the value reported in 1860 was only \$16,159,616,000, there thus appears to have been an increase in those forty years of \$72,357,690,775. But consider how much of that sum stands for mere increase in values representing no produced wealth whatever.

The land area involved is the same, 3,025,000 square miles, no land off the continent being included in either sum; but the increase in land values in those forty years must have been enormous. I have in mind one lot in Chicago, a quarter of an acre in area, which rose in this value that measures merely the price of the legal power to permit or forbid labor to build there, from \$28,000 in 1860 to \$1,250,000 before 1900. But that increase for one particular quarter of an acre was not unique. In every American city and town similar increases had occurred in greater or less degree. Although our national statistics are not garrulous on this subject, they tell us that 33 per cent of our entire population live in cities and towns of 8,000 population and upward. If we add to this a guess at the number of small-town dwellers, we have an immense proportion of our population in places where rising prices for sites upon the planet—ranging from a thousand dollars or more an acre in villages, to eight or ten millions an acre in Chicago and New York—are turning an increasing proportion of the inhabitants of the United States into tenants or dependents of a decreasing proportion of owners of the United States. But these menacing values are not disentangled in our census statistics from the values that spell production. And if we turn to the statistics of farm sites, mineral deposits, lumber lands, natural water power, we find a still more stringent concentration of land monopoly and still more startling suggestions of a growing class of landless men, which miss definite expression in our statistical reports of the increase of American wealth from 1860 to 1900. Yet millions upon millions of acres in the Dakotas and Nebraska and Kansas and farther West, to say nothing of the mineral discoveries that have added fabulous values to the Rocky Mountains, have risen in value since 1860 from nothing—absolutely nothing. Cities have sprung up there in which

land value is estimated now in dollars and hundreds of dollars by the foot, although in 1860 it had no value; and for farming sites, land that was worth nothing in 1860 was poor land indeed if it would not have fetched from five dollars an acre, to fifty or a hundred or more in 1900. And when you consider the value of railroad rights of way hidden in \$9,000,000,000 of railway values, the value of street car franchises hidden in \$1,500,000,000 of street railway values, the value of telegraph and telephone franchises hidden in \$600,000,000 of telegraph and telephone values, and the value of water franchises hidden in \$268,000,000 of water works values, you have an enormous sum to add to the other enormous sum for deduction from what appears by our census statistics to be our increase in wealth from 1860 to 1900. It represents nothing but the value of the power to levy tribute upon labor to be done. No part of the value of our labor-produced wealth, it is simply the value of our special privileges. Deduct that vast aggregate, whatever it may be, from the \$72,357,690,775 of statistical increase in our wealth from 1860 to 1900, and you have no great sum left for our people to have produced in forty years, and nothing for our protectionists to boast of.

But we can only guess at what the residuum of real wealth may be. If we have recourse to local statistics we may not unfairly guess that either of these values—the labor value and the privilege value—is about 50 per cent of the whole. According to the tax report of Greater New York for 1907, the improvement values there were \$2,140,716,428 and the land values \$3,563,293,224. The latter, therefore, was 62½ per cent of the whole. This percentage is high, probably, in comparison with other cities of the East; but in the West, city site values will not depart far from that percentage, and farm values and mining values will often exceed it. To guess, therefore, that the land and franchise values of the United States are 50 per cent of the total values of sites and fixtures may be regarded as extremely conservative. But our national statistics give no help in making this discrimination.

In other respects these statistics appear to be more inexcusably defective. In addition to being inadequate they are untrustworthy, and different methods adopted with different censuses and with different series of statistical reports on similar subjects have made them noncomparable. The data of no two censuses, Mr. Bliss informs me, are at all comparable in certain important respects, except those of the census of 1850 and those of the census of 1860. As an example he points out

that in our earlier censuses only the farm valuations of private property were reported, whereas the latest one includes valuations of parts of the public domain in its aggregate of private agricultural values. One of the farms reported is an Indian Reservation of 3,500,000 acres, valued at \$7,000,000, inclusive of improvements worth only \$25,000. Another example is in the statistics of manufactures, where he informs me that in the censuses for 1890 and 1900 bills receivable and book accounts went into the statistical hopper without allowances for debts. The wealth of our people, therefore, already heavily overestimated by the inclusion of land values, was further overestimated by the duplication and the reduplication of credits without their corresponding offsets.

It is statistics such as these that our protection orators and writers exploit as proof of increased capital, increased production, increased wealth, and increased wages. From such census tables of unanalyzable, noncomparable and otherwise defective data, they argue the virtue of protection in maintaining the prosperity of American workingmen.

Mr. Bliss assures me that the wages statistics they quote do not, in fact, indicate any considerable increase in wages when interpreted as fairly as may be with data so imperfectly collected and classified. He asserts further that the most decided increases of wages occurred in our period of comparative free trade, and that such as have occurred since then are found in the occupations in which workingmen are strongly organized. Even these occupations seem to have gained but little. According to the statistics of railroad labor, which is among the best organized of our occupations, and as they are reported by the Inter-State Commerce Commission, the best official source of such information, railroad wages have not increased much in our highest protection period. The wages of section foremen increased only four cents a day from 1892, the beginning of a depression, to 1906, a high water-mark year in a period of protection prosperity. In the same period the wages of other trackmen had increased only 14 cents a day, carpenters 20 cents, machinists 40 cents, conductors 44 cents, firemen 35 cents, and engineers 44 cents. These increases ranged from 2½ per cent to 12 per cent. Other reports show these increases to be below the average increase of wages, which has been put as high as 15 or 20 per cent for the same period. But even then our increases in wages are more than offset by increased prices of necessities.

No one who has known the United States for

the past ten years needs statistical proof of this, but it is available in a recent report on wholesale prices issued by the Bureau of Labor. Based upon data respecting 258 staple commodities, this report includes nearly everything workingmen would have to have except a place whereon to live. Rent does not figure in the estimate, although the upward pressure upon rents in the United States has been strong in these high protection years. But with rent omitted, the wholesale prices of those commodities are reported to have reached a higher level in 1906 than at any time before in the history of the country; and in 1907, when they were slightly higher, they had risen in comparison with ten years before, the beginning of our period of highest protection, nearly 45 per cent. This is more than borne out by Dun's Review. Up to May, 1907, when they were discontinued, the Index Numbers of wholesale prices in this Review, estimated upon commodities according to the degree of their consumption, showed an increase in ten years of over 51 per cent. No rise in wages at all corresponding to these indications of rise in prices, will be seriously claimed by anyone.

On the subject of volume and stability of employment, our census of 1900 reports that the greatest number of workers employed in factories during that census year was 7,069,144, that the least number was 4,524,466, and that the average for the year was 5,308,406. From this it might be argued that an average of over 1,760,000 factory workers were unemployed during one of our strictest protection years, a year in which it was the universal boast of American protectionists that American workingmen were prosperous. No one can tell, of course, whether that unemployed factory labor was employed otherwise or not. But if the factories needed 7,069,144 workers at one time during the year, and could get them, as it seems they did, and employed only 4,524,466 at another time during the year, and an average of only 5,308,406 the year through, is not the inference reasonable that employment in our factories in 1900 was inadequate and unstable? It may not have been so, of course; for demand for workers in other employments might have diminished the supply of workers in factories. But general observation clearly indicates that employment in the United States is in fact inadequate and unstable—not only is now, in the present period of hard times from which American industry is suffering, but has been all along.

No one can doubt it who realizes the universal fear among American workingmen of losing a

steady job. And there are an abundance of larger facts to confirm the conclusion. Look over the legislative records of our States, and you find laws, and bitterly resisted efforts at making laws, that speak more plainly than statistics can of the employment even of women and children in working conditions which competition would not tolerate if the demand for workers were adequate and stable. Follow these laws and legislative bills to their source among the people who agitate for them, and you learn that the demand for employment is intense in comparison with the demand for labor, and that workingmen are crowded out of work by the children of workingmen. There is statistical value in Denis McCarthy's unstatistical verse:

Dearly do we pay for progress, dearly are our profits priced,

If we have to rob the school to run the mill. . .
Ah, my brothers! Ah, my sisters! You had better turn away

From your ledgers and your dividends and toys;
For a menace to the future is the thrift that thrives to-day

On the bodies and the souls of girls and boys.

Our factory centers are indeed communities of soul-crushing drudgery for women and children whose pitiful wages eke out a pitiful family income. Our mining regions are centers of a pitiless serfdom that could not persist if our labor market were not glutted. Our farming regions are raising a landless peasantry as surely as they are raising corn. You cannot see much of this from the windows of our Pullman cars, you cannot learn much about it in our hotels, our smug churches or our plutocratic clubs; neither can you draw valid inferences from our statistics. But you can learn it from the lips of those who live and work in and about these points of production. It is sadly true. But could it be true after nearly forty years of protection, if protection protected?

We have had recurrent periods of what are called good times followed by hard times. But to workingmen our good times have meant only a little less difficulty in holding a job, and a little higher wages in money to be swallowed up by higher prices for the necessities of life. Once we were told that our periods of hard times were periods of free trade. But we know our economic history better now. Our first period of hard times extended from the close of our war for independence down to 1790, when our States were protecting themselves from one another. Our second period of hard times was from about 1809 to 1824, relieved in the West with a few years of prosperous land gambling, which culminated in a crash

in 1819. During the first half of that period we were protected by non-intercourse acts and war; during the second half by our first protection tariff. Our third period of hard times came in 1835, when the protection tariff of 1833 was in full feather, and the hard times lasted until 1843. Our fourth period of hard times, the only one under a regime at all resembling free trade, came on in 1857 and was of short duration. Our fifth spasm seized upon us in 1873, when protection had begun again to gather strength, and it lasted nearly seven years. Our sixth struck us in the early '90's, when protection was more vigorous than ever before, and lasted through a term of six or seven years of unmitigated protection. Our seventh period of hard times, which began a year ago and after nearly ten years of the most rigid protection we have ever had, rests heavily upon us yet. Never again can the protected interests of the United States deceive the great working mass of our countrymen with fictitious accounts of the responsibility of free trade for American depressions. American workingmen may not yet be able to assign responsibility for the suffering of the working class in those periods, but they are confident enough now that protection has never prevented hard times nor ever restored good times.

There remain to protection agitators, of course, the soothing statistics of our exports and imports, with their demonstrations of our enormously "favorable balance of trade." But the upside-down notion that outgo is more favorable than income is no longer especially popular. In the past year we have exported more than \$600,000,000 worth of goods in excess of our imports; but no one believes any more, as they did when President McKinley told them so, that this is all coming back "in pure gold." Why, our exports for the past decade—merchandise, silver and gold, all told—exceed all our imports by the enormous sum of \$5,000,000,000 according to the same line of statistics, and the aggregate keeps on growing. Either the statistics are false, or else we are losing to foreigners instead of gaining from them—becoming their creditors without their becoming our debtors.

Turned to discords are all the musical statistics of protection in the ears of our workingmen, to weather beaten posters its once beautiful pictures of "a full dinner pail." From sad experience American workingmen have realized that for them, American protection is a fraud. But let no one misapprehend the significance of that awakening. American workingmen are not turning from protection to free trade—not consciously. If free trade is

less obnoxious to them than it once was, it nevertheless is not yet attractive. At best, it suggests to them only a futile readjustment of customs tariffs. It connotes to them the spurious individualism of greed and grab which they encounter in their disputes with employers. It implies to them the jug-handled competition, the only kind they personally know, which mockingly offers them freedom to compete for a living in a labor market overstocked with workers and under-supplied with opportunities for work. And its recognized advocates—so seldom liberty-loving free traders a-thrill with the fervor of human brotherhood—are often the same cold and calculating tariff reformers whom the American workingman finds on the side of his enemies in every industrial dispute. In these circumstances American workingmen very naturally do not turn from protection to free trade. Turning away from protection, they are turning toward socialism.

It is a natural sequel to their former devotion to protectionism. They were protectionists because they wanted to check one-sided competition; and finding that protection has intensified this deadly industrial force instead of checking it, they are looking now, interrogatively yet with some sympathy and some expectation, toward a movement which promises to abolish competition altogether.

But so far from disheartening those American free traders to whom free trade means fair play for everybody, this attitude of American workingmen should inspire them. It is their opportunity to promote the acceptance among workingmen of the principles of free trade in all their scope, by teaching to willing pupils the vital difference between the spurious jug-handled competition that our workingmen instinctively and rightly reject, and the all-sided and evenly balanced competition which by the operation of natural law would guarantee in production and trade equal opportunities and in distribution equitable shares. Evidence that some American free traders have been so inspired appears in the new policy of the old American Free Trade League, of which John de Witt Warner and William Lloyd Garrison are the leading spirits. As William Lloyd Garrison the elder stood in the middle years of the last century for the emancipation of our Negro workingmen by unconditional abolition of chattel slavery, so stands William Lloyd Garrison the younger, in the opening years of this century, for the emancipation of all our workingmen by unconditional free trade.

While there seems to be little free trade senti-

ment among us, and while in fact there is little in the traditional sense, it is a mistake to suppose that the essential principles of free trade have evaporated in the United States. The observer of American affairs who has ears to hear and eyes to see, and is not narrowly literal in his definitions, knows full well that our public opinion is rushing today like the waters of a mill race in the direction of absolute free trade. It is not so named, nor is it commonly so understood. But we may find indications of the fact in all our political parties. It is giving them an impulse which their leaders do not understand, and to which they yield with more or less reluctance when they yield at all. We feel its spirit in all our economic agitations. The trend toward government ownership of railroads, which seems to some free traders so alien to their principles, is in reality a phase of the free trade impulse in the United States. Railroads owned by private corporations have probably done more to obstruct our domestic commerce by carrier discriminations and rates so excessive as to amount to tribute, than custom houses at every State boundary line would have done. That such property must be socialized, is a powerful and rapidly growing sentiment with us, and among our workingmen it is almost a unanimous sentiment. The new spirit abroad in our land, which Thomas M. Osborne, a progressive free trader of the United States, has recently described as "a spirit which means death to all forms of special privilege," is truly the spirit of absolute free trade. And it is the spirit which seems to animate American workingmen as a mass, although it takes on with them the apparently contradictory form of hostility to competition and a consequent trend toward socialism.

The paradox is explained by the fact I have already emphasized. Competition has long meant to American workingmen, as it means to socialists of all types, and as it has unfortunately meant to too many professed free traders, the competition of "tooth and claw." It has meant to them one sided competition, jug-handled competition, competition in which workmen compete for employers but employers do not compete for workmen, competition under circumstances in which special privileges for the few and restricted opportunities for the mass have given us a labor market where there are always ten men hunting for jobs and only nine jobs hunting for men. Hostile to that kind of competition, and unconscious of the possibilities of competition with no special privileges and with opportunities for profitable production abund-

ant and equal, where should American workingmen look for relief but to socialism? If they do look in that direction, are our free traders wholly blameless? I can not completely acquit them.

For note well the significant fact that if the workingmen of the United States are looking for relief to socialism, they recoil from the despotic character of socialism as thus far it has made itself manifest to them in organized form. This is not the socialism they are really looking for. The socialism they would welcome is the socialism that absolute free traders could offer—natural socialism as opposed to artificial socialism.

Those are the two general kinds of socialism—socialism of an artificial social order, and socialism of the natural social order; a socialism of arbitrary rules and despotic regulations, and a socialism of natural social law. Were I to attempt a generalization of their essential marks of distinction, I should classify them as the artificial or despotic, and the natural or democratic, attributing to the former an indiscriminating antipathy to all industrial competition, and to the latter a discriminating acknowledgment of the competitive function in industry as necessary to the maintenance of liberty.

Socialists of the natural order would make competition free under conditions of equal opportunity. In so far as that purpose necessitated public ownership—as with utilities that are governmental in character, such as public highways—they would establish government ownership; in so far as such ownership was not necessary to that end, they would confirm private ownership. They would insist, that is, upon having the government do public business without private interference, and upon leaving individuals free to do private business without government interference.

Socialists of this natural-order type would assign to individualism its appropriate place in the social organism, instead of suppressing it. They would recognize the social whole and the individual unit as having correlative functions, instead of subordinating the individual will in all things industrial to the dictation of the mass. If there are social relations of which they might say with Marcus Aurelius that "what's good for the swarm is good for the bee," there are others of which they would say, "What's good for the bee is good for the swarm." They would not abolish the laws of "mine" and "thine," but would make them apply to "ours," so that my just property should be securely my own, yours securely your own, and

ours securely socialized. They would socialize industry by obeying natural social laws; they would not militarize it, nor imperialize it, nor regulate all its ramifications with government departments and bureaus. In a word, they would stand for absolute free trade—the kind of free trade that means equal opportunity and fair play throughout the industrial field, the kind that Henry George meant when he described true free trade as tending “strongly to socialism in the highest and best sense of the term.”

Socialism of this kind, no free trader should reject. Toward free trade in this sense, American workingmen are quite ready, as I believe, to turn in resistless masses. But the free trade call to them must be made no longer in a spirit of academic authority or social superiority or rigid adherence to all the angles of doctrine in season and out of season. It must be made in a spirit of fraternal sympathy and considerate co-operation, and it must not be confined to tinkering with customs tariffs.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE INTERNATIONAL FREE TRADE CONGRESS.

London, August 10.—At the end of a session of four days the first International Free Trade Congress adjourned on the 7th, after appointing a permanent international committee, and recommending that a second congress be held either at The Hague or at Antwerp in 1910. The committee consists of the following persons:

Australia.—Senator Pulsford, Mr. Max Hirsch and Mr. A. Salaman.

Austria.—Kaiserlicher Rath Adolf Schwarz and Dr. Alexander Ritter von Dorn.

Belgium.—M. Louis Strauss and M. Charles Corty.

Canada.—Mr. J. Martin, K. C.

Denmark.—Dr. Peschcke Koedt.

France.—M. Yves Guyot and M. Gustave Schelle.

Germany.—Dr. Theodore Barth and Professor Plotz.

Holland.—Baron d'Auluis de Bourouill and Dr. A. Heringa.

Hungary.—Professor Mandello.

Italy.—Professor Gaetano Mosca and Signor Edoardo Giretti.

Russia.—Professor Ivan Oseroff and Professor Vladimir v. de Sviatlovsky.

Spain.—Don Pablo Bosch and Don An. Rodriguez.

Sweden.—Professor Cassel and Baron C. C. Son Bonde.

United States.—Hon. John de Witt Warner of New York and Mr. Harvey Shepard of Boston.

Great Britain.—Lord Welby, Mr. Alfred Mond, M. P., Mr. Russell Rea, M. P., Mr. T. Fisher Unwin, Dr. Baskett, and Mr. J. A. Murray Macdonald, M. P.

The idea of the Congress is reported to have originated with Mr. Russell Rea, M. P. Last year Mr. Rea was entertaining ex-Congressman John de Witt Warner and Mr. Shephard at the House of Commons. At the dinner were the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. John Burns, Lord Marchamley,

Lord Robert Cecil, and others. During the dinner Mr. Rea threw out the suggestion of an international free trade congress, and it was warmly taken up by the late Prime Minister. with the result of the meeting which has taken the action noted above.

The Congress met at Caxton Hall on the 4th, immediately after the close of the Peace Congress which had met the previous week in the same hall. It was under the general management of the Cobden Club, and was attended by delegates from Australia, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Canada, Ceylon, Denmark, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Norway, Spain, Sweden, The United States, and Great Britain.

Among the more distinguished delegates were Yves Guyot of France; Theodore Barth of Germany; S. Van Houten of Holland; Cesare Lombroso of Italy; Louis R. Ehrlich, A. B. Farquhar, Joseph Fels, Franklin Pierce, Lawson Purdy, W. G. Sumner, and John de Witt Warner of the United States; and Professor Bastable, W. P. Byles, M. P., Aylmer Maude, E. K. Muspratt, T. P. O'Connor, M. P., J. Murray Macdonald, M. P., Mr. and Mrs. Fisher Unwin and Lord Welby, of Great Britain. The latter presided.

A feature of the proceedings was the wonderful work of the official interpreter, who turned English speeches into French and French speeches into English with a freedom of translation and a vigor of oratory that won the admiration of every one present. His translations were speeches in themselves, and yet substantial renderings of the speeches they purported to translate.

The discussion of the first day's session was on the subject of Free Trade in its bearing on International Relations. It was opened by Winston Churchill, the president of the Board of Trade in the Asquith Ministry.

On the second day, the 5th, the subject of discussion was the Effect on Industrial and Agricultural Development of the Commercial Policies of the various countries represented. Papers bearing on this subject were presented by Signor Edoardo Giretti of Italy; Herr Gothein, member of the German Reichstag; Dr. A. Heringa, secretary of the Dutch Free Trade Union; Dr. Peschcke Koedt of Denmark; Monsieur Jules Lecocq of Belgium; Mr. Russell Rea, M. P., Great Britain; Monsieur Gustave Schelle of France; Professor W. G. Sumner of Yale University, U. S. A.; Messieurs Calvet and De Foville of France; the Hon. John Bigelow and Mr. Louis F. Post of the United States; and Baron Max Von Kubeck of Austria.

On the 6th one of the subjects was Political Morality as illustrated in the making and operation of Tariffs and the establishment of favored interests within the State, the principal papers being by Franklin Pierce of the United States and Joseph Martin of Canada. The other subject was the Revenue Aspects of Protective Duties, upon which Professor Bastable of Dublin University presented a paper.

At the last session Professor Arndt of Germany and M. Yves Guyot of France presented papers on the Present Utility of Commercial Treaties.

None of the papers were read or presented with any fullness orally, the time at the disposal of the Congress being too short to permit of that. But the subject matter was explained in brief speeches, and

the papers were printed and distributed in proof to the members. They are to be put into permanent form by the Cobden Club.

At the close of the Congress some of the delegates found it necessary, in order to prevent misapprehension, to publish the following explanation:

At the International Free Trade Congress we, as delegates from America and Australia, were placed in a somewhat difficult position. We hold that free trade is a policy far transcending mere customs house policy, and that it logically involves equal freedom to produce as well as freedom to exchange. We should have been glad to have had an opportunity of expressing the view that free trade can be advanced in protectionist countries only by associating with it measures which will abolish monopoly in land and transportation, as well as monopoly in trade, and of stating reasons for believing that free trade can be permanently maintained where it now exists only by adopting the same means. Furthermore, as free traders we should have welcomed an opportunity of congratulating the present Government of the United Kingdom on the introduction of land valuation bills for England and Scotland as a preliminary to municipal rating or national taxation, which will promote freer access to the land, and lessen the need for having recourse to the customs house for the provision of revenue. We refrained from introducing this vital aspect of the fiscal question because it seemed to be outside the scope of the conference as arranged, and to have done so might have embarrassed delegates who have not given it consideration. We would, however, respectfully suggest that at the next congress a full discussion of this wider concept of free trade should be invited, as we believe this to be essential to its defence and promotion.

LOUIS F. POST,	}	America.
J. J. MURPHY,		
JOSEPH FELS,		
C. H. CHOMLEY,	}	Australia.
R. L. OUTHWAITE,		

There was a very general feeling that the limitation of the discussions to questions of custom house free trade was calculated to injure the free trade movement wherever economic discussion has struck deeper; but it was recognized that inasmuch as the Congress was distinctively international the limitation of its scope was altogether proper. In the permanent organization, however, it is hoped that departments may be formed within which the more vital aspects of free trade may receive serious attention both locally and in the national gatherings.

The social functions in connection with the Congress were in all instances hospitable, and in some they were vital with peculiar interest. On the evening before the meeting of the Congress, Mr. and Mrs. Russell Rea gave a reception to the delegates at the Hotel Metropole. On the 4th the Cobden Club gave a dinner at the Hotel Cecil at which the Prime Minister proposed the free trade toast in a strong speech, and John de Witt Warner in behalf of the United States made the principal response. The National Liberal Club gave a reception to the delegates on the 6th, and on the 8th Mr. and Mrs. Unwin (son-in-law and daughter respectively of Richard Cobden) welcomed them at the old home of Cobden, which is also Cobden's burial place. A simple tomb is Cobden's in West Lavington church yard in sight of the beautiful Sussex hills; and at Heyshott where he worshipped in an old, old English church, the font at which he was christened still stands as a reminder of the man. Over his old pew

in that church there is this tribute to the man who called John Bright away from his personal sorrows to relieve the law-made sorrows of others: "In this place Richard Cobden who loved his fellow man was accustomed to worship God." Midhurst, which was Cobden's home, is one of the typical English villages of 17th century construction—one of the villages that make you think you are walking through the pages of an old book.

In common with the Peace Congress, the Free Trade Congress fell under the shadow of the "suffragette" movement. At the Peace Congress, when Lloyd-George spoke he was disturbed and the meeting thrown into confusion by repeated interruptions from women who demanded "votes for women." A dozen or more were forcibly ejected before the speaking could proceed. A similar occurrence took place at the Free Trade Congress when Winston Churchill spoke before it, and again at the Cobden Club dinner during the Prime Minister's speech. But these events call for special explanations which necessitate their consideration in a future letter.

L. F. F.

NEWS NARRATIVE

To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

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

Week ending Tuesday, August 25, 1908.

Democratic Politics.

Mr. Bryan began the first of his campaign speaking tours with a speech on the tariff at Des Moines on the 21st. In this speech, which is given in full in The Commoner of the 21st, Mr. Bryan made exhaustive comparison of the attitudes of the two platforms to the tariff. In regard to the corruption induced in politics by tariff privileges, he said:

As a matter of public policy, is it wise that the industries that do pay should be compelled to carry upon their backs industries which, according to the arguments made by their representatives, could not live without aid? Have we not seen this system introducing corruption into politics, and is it not building business upon an unsubstantial basis? Having secured a tariff from one party, the beneficiaries loudly declare that the country will be ruined if any other party obtains control of the government. Manufacturers have intimidated their employees and threatened them with a reduction in wages unless a party favorable to the system was continued in power. This is an old device, and there are indications that it is being resorted to again. The New York Leather Belting Company has sent out a number of letters to companies with which it has business dealings, asking them to post in their factories a notice saying:

"Believing that the election of Taft and Sherman means a safe and conservative administration, the

day following the election we shall start this plant on full time and keep going."

Here is a direct attempt to influence the election by a bribe. It is virtually a promise of wages if the Republican ticket is successful and an implied threat in case of Democratic success; but the offer is so made that it gives the employes no guaranty of its fulfilment. The same kind of promises were made in 1896, and yet for six months after the election times were worse than they were before. There were business failures and bankruptcies, and many institutions that promised their employes steady work and good wages, shut down or reduced wages. If any factory posts up the sign which the Leather Belting company is sending out, the employes ought to get together and ask for a guaranty as to the amount of the wages they are to receive and as to the length of time during which the guaranty is to extend. If the votes are to be bought, the purchase price, at least, should be made secure. If the employe's heritage—citizenship—is to be sold, he ought, at least, to be sure of his mess of pottage.

But the whole system is vicious. Business should not be built upon legislation; it should stand upon its own merit, and when it does stand upon its own merit we shall not only have purer politics, but we shall have less fluctuation in business conditions and a more equitable distribution of the proceeds of toil.

* *

Republican Politics.

In accepting the Republican nomination for the Vice-Presidency at his home in Utica, N. Y., on the 18th, Mr. James S. Sherman (p. 492) answered Mr. Bryan's question, "Shall the people rule?" by saying: "Surely the people shall rule, surely they have ruled; surely they do rule. Shame on the candidate who insults the American people by suggestion or declaration that a majority of its electorate is venal."

* *

Mr. Taft spoke to the same question in a speech at Hot Springs, Va., on the 21st, saying: "The people have ruled through the Republican party. I have no hesitation in saying that not since the beginning of the government has any other national administration done so much for the cause of labor by the enactment of remedial legislation as Theodore Roosevelt and the Republican congresses elected and sitting during his terms of office."

* *

In an interview at Hot Springs on the 22d, Mr. Taft, according to the New York Herald, added his personal pledge to that of the Republican platform, that in the event of Republican success an extra session of Congress for the revision of the tariff will be held immediately following the regular session ending March 3, 1909. He is quoted as saying: "How soon the feeling in favor of revision shall crystallize into action cannot be foretold, but it is certain to come, and with it those

schedules of the tariff which have inequalities and are excessive will be readjusted."

*

According to the Chicago Inter Ocean Postmaster General Meyer declared at Hot Springs on the 23d that the Republican party is in serious danger of losing several Eastern States by default, owing to over-confidence. General Meyer is reported to have remarked that it would be the best thing for the party if the usual majority in Vermont should be so reduced as to make the victory a hairbreadth affair. This would, he said, in view of the September election in that State, arouse the Republicans to a realization that a campaign is on.

* *

The Prohibition Notification.

Eugene W. Chafin (p. 492) was notified of his nomination for the Presidency by the Prohibition party, at the Fine Arts Building, Chicago, on the 18th (p. 417). In his speech of acceptance Mr. Chafin said:

The attempt made by the Republican and Democratic parties to create a fictitious issue is the most farcical in our history, in the face of the fact that during the past four years the question of the prohibition of the liquor traffic has attracted wider attention of the press and the people than all other public issues combined. The calm thought and common sense of the moral citizenship have pronounced sentence of death upon the liquor traffic, and the only thing that stays its execution is the protective care of these two old political parties, kept alive by blind political party prejudice. . . .

The development of the trusts has changed entirely all the old theories of a protective tariff and free trade, and the people demand legislation in their interest on this important matter, which can best be worked out by a permanent tariff commission. We are the only party that strikes a blow at the social evil, so closely allied to the liquor traffic, and propose the only practical method of stamping out polygamy throughout the nation, by a uniform marriage and divorce law. While not a line of history will be changed by the election of a Republican or Democrat, the triumph of the Prohibition party and the placing of its platform in the Constitution and upon the statute books will write the longest, brightest, purest and most beneficent chapter of history that has marked the progress of civilization since governments were instituted among men.

* *

Fixing Responsibility for the Springfield Rioting.

At the regular meeting of the Jefferson-Lincoln Club of Springfield, Ill., on the 21st, the following resolutions in regard to the city government's responsibility for the recent horrible race rioting (pp. 483, 492), were passed by unanimous vote:

The Jefferson-Lincoln club hereby declares its abhorrence of the foul crimes of rape, murder, arson and riot which have been committed in the city of Springfield.

It desires to aid the officers of the law in punishing all persons guilty of these crimes.

It holds morally guilty those city officials who during a long term of years have taught a contempt for law, and who, in violation of the law, have permitted the existence of gambling houses, low dance halls, vile theaters, wine rooms and disreputable resorts where criminals are bred and harbored. They have protected this criminal class in return for money and votes.

It holds that the present boss-ridden city administration has failed to stop these evils; that it is feeble and inefficient, and that it is responsible for the present lawlessness and crime in Springfield.

It holds that especially guilty for present conditions are those business men who, while understanding these things, have helped to maintain them on the plea of making good business; and equally guilty are those men of respectability who have used money and influence to elect weak officials who could be depended on to favor them, at the public's expense, in their dealings with the city.

Those who have committed acts of violence and crime should be punished according to the law.

For the corrupt condition of the city government the remedy is the ballot box.

The Jefferson-Lincoln club earnestly appeals to all of its members and to all citizens to work now and hereafter for the election of honest, capable and courageous officials, who will purge the city of corruption, wipe out its dens of vice, enforce the laws, build up its broken-down finances, serve the public interests and protect all law abiding citizens.

* *

The Standard Oil Case.

The Government has filed in the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals at Chicago a petition asking a rehearing of the Standard Oil case (pp. 412, 415), with the right to submit the entire matter to the United States Supreme Court. The document is signed by Attorney General Bonaparte, and Government Attorneys Frank B. Kellogg, Edwin W. Sims and James H. Wilkerson. Its principal contentions, according to the summary of the Chicago Record-Herald, are:

That Judge Landis' proceeding, instead of amounting to a "strange doctrine in Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence," is in accord with the elementary principles of criminal law.

That the ignorance of lawful freight rates, if due to negligence, is not a valid defense for the acceptance of an unlawful rate.

That each carload shipped at unlawful rates in the case against the Standard Oil Company constituted a distinct offense, and that any other construction would provide a loophole through which the guilty could evade justice.

That an "innovation" is created by the Court of Appeals in holding that a defendant cannot be fined more than the amount of the property he possesses, the government denying that the penalty imposed by Judge Landis is excessive.

That the amount of the fine alone does not necessitate a new trial; that if the Appellate Court holds Judge Landis abused his discretion it is called upon to name a proper fine.

The Usurping Sultan Wins in Morocco.

Mulai Hafid (p. 228), who has been trying for just about a year to wrest the throne of Morocco from his brother, Abd-el-Aziz, the Sultan "of record" (vol. x, p. 492), on the night of the 19th overwhelmingly defeated Abd-el-Aziz, who was deserted, it is reported, by most of his followers. Mulai Hafid has since been proclaimed Sultan of Morocco at Tangier, and announcement of the proclamation has been telegraphed to all parts of the country. All the officials who previously had been under the rule of Abd-el-Aziz in Tangier have declared that they have accepted Mulai Hafid as their leader, thereby making him supreme in all the large cities of Morocco. Since the Powers have heretofore treated with the vanquished Sultan as the ruler of Morocco, the situation is a little complicated. But if Mulai Hafid shall accept the treaties outstanding with the European nations, his recognition may be worked out.

* *

Belgium Finally to Annex the Congo.

The Belgian Chamber of Deputies adopted on the 20th the treaty for annexing the Congo Free State (vol. x, p. 1187) by a vote of 83 to 55. Dispatches state that annexation is assured, as the Senate and the King are ready to indorse the bill. During the first reading the Right secured the adoption of an amendment relieving Belgium of the responsibility of guaranteeing the payment on the Congo debt, which has caused disquiet among those who hold Congo bonds. Nevertheless a deficit in Congo revenues is regarded as improbable. King Leopold had stipulated that the concessions granted in 1906 to two American companies, in which Thos. F. Ryan is interested (vol. ix, pp. 871, 1166), must be respected, and these stipulations were embodied in the final draft of the treaty. Nevertheless, according to the dispatches, the Belgians hope that they will have opportunity through legislative channels to investigate and perhaps revise the contracts under which the American concessions are held. Under the terms of the treaty the Congo's revenues are charged with the following annual allowances: Twenty-four thousand dollars to Prince Albert, nephew of King Leopold; \$15,000 to Princess Clementine, the King's third daughter, and as an especial token of gratitude to the King the sum of \$10,000,000, in fifteen annual installments, for his use in constructing hospitals and schools and forwarding scientific work in Africa. King Leopold retains in fee simple 40,000 hectares of land for coffee and cocoa growing experiments, and during his lifetime he is to enjoy his interests in the Congo concessionary companies, and the property in Belgium and France which he purchased out of the funds of the Congo foundation. Upon the death of the King all this property will revert to Belgium.

NEWS NOTES

—The Atlantic-Pacific fleet (p. 494) arrived at Sydney, N. S. W., Australia, on the 19th.

—John V. Farwell, Chicago's pioneer millionaire merchant, died at his home in Lake Forest, Ill., on the 20th.

—Baron Speck von Sternburg, German ambassador to the United States, died at Heidelberg, Germany, on the 24th.

—A dinner of welcome will be given to Louis F. Post, September 12, in Chicago. Miss Nellie Carlin, Ashland Block, Chicago, is chairman of the committee of arrangements.

—The Lusitania broke all records across the Atlantic by making the voyage last week in four days and fifteen hours. Her previous best record was four days, eighteen hours and forty minutes (vol. x, p. 779).

—Governor John A. Johnson of Minnesota (vol. x, p. 1184; vol. xi, pp. 124, 195) has been renominated for the office of governor, in spite of his refusal in advance to be a candidate. Under the pressure of actual nomination he has accepted.

—At a meeting of all clubs and organizations of Negro voters in Connecticut, held at New Haven on the 21st, a resolution was passed agreeing to oppose William H. Taft, the Republican candidate for President, but to indorse the Republican State and Congressional nominees in Connecticut.

—The central body of the Independence League of Schenectady county, N. Y., on the 18th condemned the action of the national convention of the Independence party in nominating Hilsen and Graves for President and Vice President, and voted to endorse Bryan and Kern, the Democratic nominees.

—The American Tobacco company is to withdraw from the State of Kentucky, beaten out at last by the lawless "nightriders," if reports of the 22nd from Louisville are true. It is said that the company will open up headquarters in Cincinnati, and will start a price war with the growers in Kentucky (vol. x, p. 1232).

—The oldest part of Constantinople, the portion to the southwest of the Golden Horn, known commonly by the old Turkish name for the city, Stamboul, was swept by a conflagration on the 23rd. It is estimated that 2,000 buildings were destroyed, leaving 7,000 persons homeless. Stamboul was burned over also in 1865, and had been largely rebuilt of wood.

—The hideous roll of death sentences (p. 469) in Russia continues. The record for one day, August 19, was thirty-six. The Russian newspapers have ceased to publish statistics of this kind, in order to maintain their circulation in the provincial cities, where the publication of death sentences is prohibited. This regulation does not apply to St. Petersburg or Moscow, but the papers, because of their out of town circulation, have to eliminate any reference to these matters.

—The memorable first debate between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas, in "the battle of the giants" over the slavery question, was celebrated on

the 21st at Ottawa, Ill., where it took place exactly fifty years before. The program included speeches and the unveiling of a commemorative tablet. Nearly five hundred of the auditors to the original debate were present. Six other Illinois towns are to hold celebrations of a similar kind, to mark the successive debates of the great series, as follows: Freeport, Aug. 27; Jonesboro, Sept. 15; Charleston, Sept. 18; Galesburg, Oct. 7; Quincy, Oct. 13; and Alton, Oct. 15.

—As a result of the shocking race war at Springfield, two hundred Chicago Negroes organized at the Institutional African Methodist Episcopal Church, 3825 Dearborn street, on the 18th, the Lincoln Law and Order League, the purpose of which is to work for the elimination of vice and crime among the colored people. The chairman of the meeting, the Rev. H. E. Stewart, pastor of the church, said: "Like all races, we have a vicious and criminal element among us. We believe that the better class of Negroes suffer to a greater extent because of this element than does the better class of whites suffer because of their criminal and vicious class."

—The facts in regard to the recognized falling off in immigration to the United States became better known with the giving out of official figures on the 17th. The total immigration to the United States in the month of July, 1907, was 97,132; whereas in the corresponding month of this year it was 27,570—a decrease of 72 per cent. Immigration from all countries for the six months ending July 31 last, aggregated 193,006; against 786,667 for the same period in 1907, showing a decrease of 75 per cent. The net increase of population for the United States for the eleven months ending with May, is 229,255. This is due to the fact that 883,601 aliens have arrived, while 654,346 have departed.

PRESS OPINIONS

Bryan on the Tariff.

The Johnstown Democrat (dem. Dem.), August 22.—Mr. Bryan's tariff speech at Des Moines is a powerful and convincing presentation of the Democratic position on that vital subject. It is full of sledge-hammer blows at protection and it is likely to stir the old Democracy up as nothing else from Mr. Bryan has ever done. . . . Few Democratic speakers have discussed the tariff with equal force and equal candor. Too many Democrats have conceded something to the protection claim. Too many have feared to press the logic of the Democratic position home. But Mr. Bryan does not hesitate. He is not afraid. He has no apology to make for his telling assaults upon a system which at its best is a false pretense and at its worst is an unblushing scheme of robbery and corruption. The effect of this speech is likely to be not unlike that of Mr. Cleveland's famous tariff message in 1887. It is the keynote of the present campaign and since Mr. Bryan has chosen the tariff as the theme of his first address to the American people it is fair to assume that it is because he deems the tariff the subject of first importance. And that is our view. We believe that the tariff is the keystone of the arch of privilege. To knock it out will be to bring the whole predatory system to the ground.

The Hurtfulness of Protection.

The (London) Nation (Lib.), August 8.—Perhaps the most valuable of the many powerful and original papers read at the Congress was contributed by Mr. Franklin Pierce, of the United States, who declared that the high tariff was the direct cause of the creation and maintenance of the 400 odd combinations in restraint of trade, and that the States in getting rid of the absolutist rule of George III, had only substituted government by oil kings and steel kings, whose system was, in its way, as oppressive as that of the Czar. Controlling politics through their contributions to the campaign funds of the parties—the great manufacturers subscribed five million dollars to the Republican funds in the contest of 1896—the trusts in return exact from Republican politicians the most rigid adherence to their commercial interests; while their influence on American life hopelessly materializes it. Mr. Ehrich* pointed out that 300,000 freight cars were lying idle in the States, even after the return of hundreds of thousands of laborers to Europe. Germany and the States, the two leading protectionist countries, had, he insisted, suffered most from the depression; England, the free trader, least. We observe that no attempt has been made in the British protectionist press to rebut the remarkable and, indeed, overwhelming testimony adduced at the Congress as to the multifold social oppression and the universal industrial depression accompanying protection.

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An English Interview with Lawson Purdy.

The Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury (Lib.), August 13.—The memorable Free Trade Congress of last week drew to London many distinguished men, with whom to converse was to be sure of information, and almost sure of newly acquired wisdom. One of these was Mr. Lawson Purdy, president of the New York Taxes and Assessments Commission. Taxes and assessments are puzzling things in this country, but certain fearless and far-seeing people have arrived at principles which it is good to find warranted by American experience. . . . The [Daily News] interviewer got from him that New York experience does not justify the English idea that land cannot be taxed apart from buildings. The practice of doing this is founded upon that of Massachusetts for the last fifty years. There are several cities besides Boston in which the value of land and the value of improvements on land have to be separately stated. New York has followed. Mr. Purdy holds it a fallacious principle to exempt land because it yields nothing. He holds that if any indulgence is shown it should be to the man who adds to the value of rateable land. Everyone knows that in this country the profit goes to the landlord, and the taxation of rentals is carried to an intolerable extreme, which many think has now almost reached its utmost endurable limit. The "two blades of grass" doctrine, Mr. Purdy points out, is all in favor of the improver, not of the owner. The New York change began in 1904, and occasioned great labor to the department. But there was no friction. The effect immediately appeared in the exemplary higher assessing of unimproved or badly improved sites. Every year the assessment is fairer, and the method is not to single out properties

penally but to fix unit values for unit lots. When this is done the assessment is a matter of mere mathematics.

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Born Aug. 28, 1828

*Mr. Louis R. Ehrich, of New York

CROSBY TO TOLSTOY.

**The Dedication of "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable,"
by Ernest Crosby.**

Hail, Tolstoy, bold, archaic shape,
Rude pattern of the man to be,
From 'neath whose rugged traits escape
Hints of a manhood fair and free.

I read a meaning in your face,
A message wafted from above,
Prophetic of an equal race
Fused into one by robust love.

Like some quaint statue long concealed,
Deep buried in Mycenae's mart,
Wherein we clearly see revealed
The promise of Hellenic art,

So stand you; while aloof and proud,
The world that scribbles, prates, and frets
Seems but a simpering, futile crowd
Of Dresden china statuettes.

Like John the Baptist, once more scan
The signs that mark the dawn of day.
Forerunner of the Perfect Man,
Make straight His path, prepare the way.

The desert too is your abode,
Your garb and fare of little worth;
Thus ever has the Spirit showed
The coming reign of heaven on earth.

Not in kings' houses may we greet
The prophets whom the world shall bless,
To lay my verses at your feet
I seek you in the wilderness.

+ + +

LEO TOLSTOY ON THE SINGLE TAX.

**A Letter Written by Leo Tolstoy, from Moscow, to B.
Eulenstein, at Berlin, Under Date of April 27,
1894. As Printed in the Sterling
Library Leaflet of October
8, 1894.**

Respected Sir: In answer to your letter of the 23d of March, I hasten, with peculiar pleasure, to inform you as follows:

I have known Henry George since the appearance of his "Social Problems." I read it, and was struck with the correctness of its fundamental thought, its extraordinary clearness, which is lacking so much in scientific literature, its common sense, its power of analysis, and, particularly for scientific literature, the exceptional Christian spirit with which the whole book is permeated. When I had finished this book, I then read his earlier work, "Progress and Poverty," and learned to appreciate still more what Henry George has accomplished.

You ask my opinion about what Henry George has accomplished with reference to the question of landed property and his system of the single-tax. My opinion is as follows:

Humanity is constantly progressing in the knowledge of social laws and the establishment of conditions of living which correspond with this increased learning. And, therefore, in every period in the life of humanity there takes place on the one hand a clearing of conceptions, and on the other hand a realization in life of that which has become clear to us through enlightenment.

Towards the end of the last and in the beginning of the present century there occurred throughout Christendom the process of clearing the minds with reference to the working classes who lived in various forms of slavery, and the process of establishing new forms, corresponding with the enlightened spirit of the age; the abolishing of slavery and the replacing of the same by the wage system. At the present time the clearing of ideas is in process, with reference to the use of land, and soon, it seems to me, must begin the process of a realization of the clarified conceptions.

In these processes, which in our time are the main tasks in social economy, Henry George was, and is, pioneer and leader of the movement. It is this which gives him his great eminence. He has, through his most excellent works, materially contributed to the clearing of the conceptions of men with reference to this question, as also to a practical solution of the same.

It is remarkable that in raising this question of the abolition of this notoriously outrageous system of private property in land, the same thing is repeated which, if I remember rightly, occurred when the abolition of slavery in Russia and in America, was in question. The governments, and the leading classes, realizing in the very depth of their souls that the solving of the land question means the solving of all social questions, which would deprive them at once of all their special privileges, and that this question is *the question* of the day, make it appear as if they were greatly disturbed over the welfare of the people, and while they introduce savings banks, inspection of factories, income tax, and even the eight hour working day, they ignore very carefully the land question; and with the aid of a politico-economic science which is devoted to their interest, and will prove anything they want proven, they insist that the expropriation of land would be useless, hurtful, nay, even impossible.

The very same thing now occurs which occurred when slavery was in question. The people have long felt that this condition cannot last long; that slavery is an awful, soul-harassing anachronism; but nevertheless a quasi-religion proved that either slavery was necessary, or that the time had not come yet to abolish it. Now the same thing occurs with reference to the land question, only with this difference, that political economy takes the place of religion.

One would have thought that, to every intelligent man, it must be as clear as day that possession of land by people who do not use it, who refuse hundreds, aye, thousands of starving families the occupation of this land, is as immoral as it is infamous—just like the possession of slaves. Nevertheless, we see cultivated, refined, English, Austrian, Prussian, and Russian aristocrats enjoy this cruel, abominable privilege, and, supported by the ready sophistries which a politico-economic science furnishes them for their excuse, they are not only not ashamed of it, but pride themselves on their possessions.

Now the great merit of Henry George consists in this, that he dissolves into nothingness all these sophistries, which are produced in defense of private property in land, so that the defenders of it do not dare to debate any more, but carefully evade this question, and purposely ignore it with silence. But Henry George has also driven them from this attitude of evasion. And in this, again, lies his great merit. Henry George did not content himself with making this question perfectly clear, so that only those with closed eyes can fail to see the unreasonableness and immorality of private property in land. Henry George was also the first who showed the possibility of solving this question. He was the first who gave a clear and straight answer to the common objections which are brought forward by the enemies of all progress, and which culminate in the assertion that the demands of progress are chimerical, impractical, and wild phantoms which one can and may answer with silence. The plan of Henry George silences these objections and puts the question in such a shape that even to-morrow committees could be appointed for the examination and trial of the plan and its crystallization into law.

In Russia, for instance, we could commence to-morrow to examine the question of buying out the land, or its expropriation without compensation for the purpose of nationalization, and it could be adjusted after various changes in the same way as, 33 years ago, the question of freeing the serfs was decided.

The necessity for a change in their condition has been made clear to the people, and also its possibility (changes and improvements may be made in the details of the single-tax system, but the fundamental idea is certainly feasible), they cannot, therefore, refrain from acting accordingly.

It is only necessary that the fundamental idea of the nationalization of land shall become public opinion.

As I see from your letter and your books you sent me your efforts are in this direction. I sympathize with you with all my heart, and wish you the best of success; for my life is devoted to the same work, which I consider my most sacred duty.

Very respectfully,

LEO TOLSTOY.

AS TOLSTOY VIEWS THE WORLD AT EIGHTY YEARS.

Portions of a Letter Written by Herman Bernstein
from St. Petersburg, July 20. Published in
the New York Times of August 9.

I left St. Petersburg on the day after the first convention of the representatives of the Russian press. The cream of Russian publicists had come together for the purpose of considering the most adequate ways and means of celebrating the eightieth anniversary of Tolstoy's birth. Young men and old, men and women, offered suggestions of how best to honor the man who is at present the Russian people's only pride. They spoke with boundless enthusiasm, with fire, with the zeal and earnestness with which an enslaved people, suddenly set free, speak of freedom.

A young journalist rose and in a forceful speech declared that the most suitable means of honoring Tolstoy would be for the entire Russian press on the 28th day of August, the birthday of Tolstoy, to condemn the wholesale executions that are being committed daily in the Russian Empire and to make a general appeal that these death sentences be abolished.

But Russia—all Russia, except the government, the Holy Synod, and the Black Hundreds—seems to have forgotten for a while its helplessness and its misery in its preparations to do honor to Tolstoy. The people throughout Russia are infinitely more interested in the Tolstoy celebration than in the work of the Russian "Parliament." Only from time to time the Union of the Real Russian People, composed of bands of dark reactionaries, in their organs, which are patronized by the Government, but which are ignored by the people, attack Tolstoy in the vilest terms, branding him as an anti-Christ and a traitor. The Church has done all in its power to hinder the jubilee, and on the day that I started for Yasnaya Polyana I read in the newspapers that the St. Petersburg authorities had refused to legalize a society which was to be formed in honor of Tolstoy and which was to be known as the Leo Tolstoy Society.

On the way to Tula, in the train, a stout, red-faced "man with long hair"—a Russian priest—was seated opposite me. Eager to hear a Russian priest's view concerning conditions in Russia, and particularly his opinion of Tolstoy, I entered into conversation with him. When I told him that I was going to see Tolstoy I noticed how his face suddenly brightened, his red cheeks turned still redder, and bending over to me he said in a low voice, so as not to be overheard by the other passengers:

"You are a happy man. * * * When you see that saintliest man in Russia, tell him that you met a Russian village priest who sends him greetings from the bottom of his heart. Tell him that the priest you met bowed his head with

shame for the manner in which the Church has treated Tolstoy. And tell him that the few peasants who have learned to read, read nothing but the Bible and Tolstoy. They understand his works even better than the Bible." . . .

At about 9:30 o'clock in the morning I found myself at the door of the little white house where lives and works the greatest artist and the most remarkable man in the world to-day—Leo Tolstoy. I was met by Nicholas Gusev, Tolstoy's secretary, an amiable young gentleman, who took me into his room.

Presently he entered. I cannot recall now what I said when I shook hands with Tolstoy, but he put me at my ease immediately, and he strengthened my conviction that the greatest men are the simplest men, even as the chief characteristic of the greatest masterpieces is their simplicity. . . .

He asked me about my impressions of Russia, and particularly about the popularity of Henry George's works in America. I related to him the incident that occurred at the convention of the Representatives of the Press.

"Yes," he said, "an appeal by the press for the abolition of executions in Russia would please me better than any other honor." He spoke in a soft, caressing voice, and the peculiar radiance of his face, the far-away look in his eyes—all really gave him the appearance of a saint, "a man not of this world," as Repin had aptly described him. . . .

"Nearly fifty years ago," he went on slowly, "the great question that occupied all minds in Russia was the emancipation of the serfs. The burning question now is the ownership of land. The peasants never recognized the private ownership of land. They say that the land belongs to God. I am afraid that people will regard what I say as stupid, but I must say it: The leaders of the revolutionary movement, as well as the Government officials, are not doing the only thing that would pacify the people at once. And the only thing that would pacify the people now is the introduction of the system of Henry George. I have outlined a plan according to which the agrarian question can be solved, and have submitted my plan to the Government as well as to the Duma. I have written about it to one who occupies a high post in the official world, and whose family I have known very well. But his hands are tied. His attitude toward the Court and toward his enemies is such that he cannot do anything in this direction. I do not reproach him. I only feel sorry for him. They do not understand that the proper solution of the land question is the only means of pacifying nine-tenths of the Russian population.

"As I have pointed out in my introductory note to the Russian version of 'Social Problems,' Henry George's great idea, outlined so clearly and so thoroughly more than thirty years ago, remains to

this day entirely unknown to the great majority of the people. This is quite natural. Henry George's idea, which changes the entire system in the life of nations in favor of the oppressed, voiceless majority, and to the detriment of the ruling minority, is so undeniably convincing, and, above all, so simple, that it is impossible not to understand it, and, understanding it, it is impossible not to make an effort to introduce it into practice, and therefore the only means against this idea is to pervert it and to pass it in silence. And this has been true of the Henry George theory for more than thirty years. It has been both perverted and passed in silence, so that it has become difficult to induce people to read his work attentively and to think about it.

"It is true that there are in England, Canada, the United States, and Germany very good little journals devoted to the single tax idea, but they have only an insignificant number of subscribers. Among the majority of the intelligent people throughout the world the ideas of Henry George are unknown, and the indifference toward them is even increasing. Society does with ideas that disturb its peace—and Henry George is one of these—exactly what the bee does with the worms which it considers dangerous but which it is powerless to destroy. It covers their nests with paste, so that the worms, even though not destroyed, cannot multiply and do more harm. Just so the European nations act with regard to ideas that are dangerous to their order of things, or, rather, to the disorder to which they have grown accustomed. Among these are also the ideas of Henry George. 'But light shines even in the darkness, and the darkness cannot cover it.' A truthful, fruitful idea cannot be destroyed. However you may try to smother it, it will still live, it will be more alive than all the vague, empty, pedantic ideas and words with which people are trying to smother it, and sooner or later the truth will burn through the veil that is covering it and it will shine forth before the whole world. Thus it will be also with Henry George's idea.

"And it seems to me that just now is the proper time to introduce this idea—now, and in Russia. This is just the proper time for it, because in Russia a revolution is going on, the serious basis of which is the rejection by the whole people, by the real people, of the ownership of land. In Russia, where nine-tenths of the population are tillers of the soil, and where this theory is merely a conscious expression of that which has always been regarded as right by the entire Russian people—in Russia, I say, especially during this period of reconstruction of social conditions, this idea should now find its application, and thus the revolution, so wrongly and criminally directed, would be crowned by a great act of righteousness. This is my answer to your question about the future of Russia. Unless this idea is introduced

into the life of our people Russia's future can never be bright."

Thus ended our first conversation. Tolstoy advised me to meet Nikolayev, the translator of Henry George, who lives a little distance away from the Tolstoy home.

"Talk this matter over with him and then we will continue our conversation." . . .

After dinner Tolstoy played several games of chess with a young composer. . . . Soon the young composer and M. Tchertkov, Tolstoy's most intimate friend, who lives but a few versts from Yasnaya Polyana, took their leave. Tolstoy rose, and, looking out of the window for some time, said ecstatically:

"What a wonderful sunset!"

It was indeed the most beautiful sunset I had ever seen. Tolstoy stood for several minutes, absorbed in thought. Then, turning to me, he said, in a low voice:

"Yes—yes, I am growing old and weak. My end is nearing rapidly. And the older I grow the happier I am. You cannot understand it. When I was as young as you I did not understand it. Yes, the older I grow the happier I am."

Suddenly he asked, in a soft yet searching tone:

"Tell me, what are your religious views on life? But be sincere. Few people are sincere when they speak of this question."

I answered sincerely, as well as I could.

"Religion must be the highest form of love," said Tolstoy after a while, "or love is merely a word. All religions are based on love, but Christianity is based on the highest form of love."

"In practice as well as in theory?" I asked.

"Meanwhile only in theory. But the world is growing ever more perfect. It cannot become perfect unless our inner religious consciousness is directed toward this highest form of love. With the highest form of love as our law we will be perfect."

During the following half hour Tolstoy commented on several subjects. He spoke of Repin's latest work, expressed a lively interest in the coming elections in the United States, and said some very complimentary things about William Jennings Bryan, who had visited him several years ago, and whose photograph I noticed in a conspicuous place in Tolstoy's workroom. . . .

I shall never forget the impressions I received that day in Yasnaya Polyana. The wonderful sunset that I was fortunate enough to watch in the presence of the great master is one that can never be effaced from my memory. Nor shall I ever forget the kindly words of encouragement that Tolstoy said to me as I bade him farewell.

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+ + +

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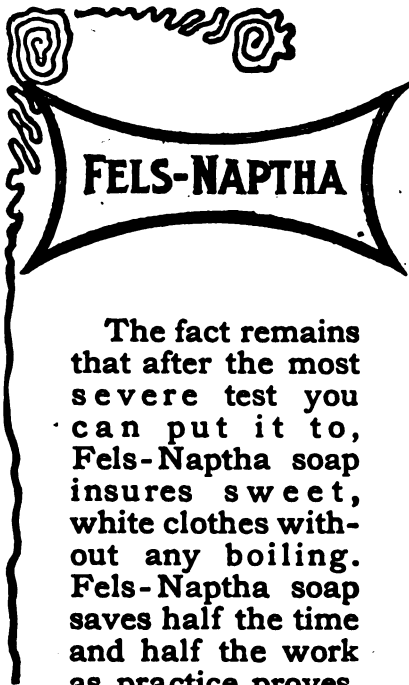
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The fact remains that after the most severe test you can put it to, Fels-Naptha soap insures sweet, white clothes without any boiling. Fels-Naptha soap saves half the time and half the work as practice proves. Guaranteed, or money refunded.

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6% BONDS

We are offering at 95 (par value 100) the unsold balance of a \$130,000 issue of 6% Bonds of the

EASTLAND STEAMSHIP COMPANY

the line to Cedar Point, the Atlantic City of the Middle West. These bonds will net considerably more than 6% and are fully secured by first mortgage on Str. Eastland valued at \$300,000 and insured for full value.

For sale in amounts of \$500 or more.

Send for Booklet G-1 giving full details.

Have you investigated our new Money Order Plan where your money is always on deposit at 4% and yet cashable anywhere at any time? Write for Booklet G-2.

THE DEPOSITORS SAVINGS & TRUST CO.

Tom L. Johnson, President.

CLEVELAND, OHIO.

It Was Mayor Johnson's Idea

In becoming the president of this bank to organize it in the interests of all the people and offer the depositor conveniences never offered by any bank before. At his suggestion we adopted our famous

Bank Money Order Plan

The most perfect method ever devised for the safety and convenience of the depositor. You send your money to us, and instead of returning to you an unsafe and inconvenient pass book, we issue Bank Money Orders in your favor for the amount sent us. They show on their face the exact amount of principal and interest and draw

4% Interest

From the minute your money reaches us. You keep these money orders, and when you want your money you don't have to send to the bank and wait for it, but you endorse the Money Order and cash it anywhere for the principal and full interest shown on its face just as you would cash a check. In fact, our money order is a certified check—the safest and most convenient form of commercial paper—having the very vital advantage of earning interest at 4%. ¶ The plan is ideal—your money is always on deposit, yet you have it constantly on hand ready for instant use in the time of need. ¶ No matter where your savings are deposited now, you owe it to yourself to investigate this new method of banking that assures you so much greater safety and convenience. ¶ Write for our free booklet "G" today or send us your deposit and we will at once mail you Bank Money Orders for the full amount.

THE DEPOSITORS SAVINGS & TRUST CO., TOM L. JOHNSON, **Cleveland, Ohio**
PRESIDENT,

Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to Advertisers.



When the security, the rate of interest and free stock exchange are considered, no investment has ever been offered to the public that is so safe and profitable to the small investor as this.

TOM L. JOHNSON

"TAINTED NEWS."

If the power of the subsidized press of the country was sufficient to make Three Cent Fare in Cleveland an absolute and abject failure, the Municipal Traction Company would long since have lost control of the street railway system of the City and we would now be announcing our dissolution.

Press dispatches have been sent broadcast, luridly detailing the great dissatisfaction of the people with the new management, the losses suffered by the Company, the complaints regarding the routing and service, the cupidity of the people, and the treachery of Tom Johnson—misrepresentation and exaggeration at a premium in our newspaper offices.

Neither the truth nor any report favorable to Three Cent Fare has been allowed to go out to the people of the country.

The steady stream of subscriptions for stock that has come to us from all parts of the country, proves that the people understand the reason for the opposition of the press: **The success of the three cent fare railways under the Municipal Company means the destruction of privilege and the triumph of the people.**

The monopolists know that if the movement is a success in Cleveland, it will be taken up in all the cities of the United States. Why should not the monopoly-controlled press misrepresent and distort the truth?

Fairness, honesty and open dealing have characterized the fight of Mayor Johnson and his associates from the very beginning of the Three Cent Fare movement.

The same policy guides us in the sale of the stock.

Every statement made can be absolutely relied upon—for to win at the sacrifice of principle is to lose.

When we say we will pay you six per cent interest on your investment, and that we will redeem your stock at any time at par and interest,—you know that we mean what we say and that we are in a position to make good our promises.

THE OFFER:

First, we will sell Cleveland Railway Company Stock at par (\$100.00) and 6 per cent interest. That is, \$101.00 a share until Sept. 1st.

Second, we will at any time redeem in cash, at \$100.00 a share, plus interest at 6 per cent from the payment of the last dividend on it, any stock that has been sold through our free-stock exchange.

Thus it pays 50 per cent higher rate of interest than the savings banks, and the money is ready for you when you want it, with no loss of interest and no 60-day clause. We want Cleveland Railway stock to be a people's savings bank paying 6 per cent interest, instead of 4 per cent. As Mayor Johnson says, this stock is equal in security to a GOVERNMENT BOND.

Address all communications to the Municipal Traction Co., Stock Exchange Department, 650 Electric Bldg.
Make all checks payable to the Municipal Traction Co.

The Municipal Traction Company

A. B. DU PONT, President.